

ABSTRACTS

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Yoryia Agouraki:

Accommodating the ‘recalcitrant’ data of Cypriot Greek clitic placement

The starting point for the paper is the general theory for clitic placement and the specific theory for clitic placement in Cypriot Greek proposed in Agouraki (1997, 2001). Namely, that pronominal clitics always fill the head position of a dedicated functional category in the inflectional layer, and that clitic position with respect to the verb does nothing more than mark verb placement, which is independently set for each language. If the verb is in C, there is enclisis, while if the verb is in I there is proclisis. Arguably, in Cypriot Greek the verb is in C unless the C-position is occupied by a complementizer, negation or a null complementizer in *wh*-questions (How the system works with *wh*-questions will be briefly addressed). If one adopts a clitic placement theory along these lines, there appear to be some ‘recalcitrant’ data, namely cases where exponents of the C category do not behave as predicted. The paper addresses these data.

The problem

The ‘recalcitrant’ data fall into one of two categories:

(a) Negation (*en* or *men*) and a subset of complementizers (i.e. *ama* ‘when’, *andan* ‘when’, *epidhis* ‘because’, *perki* ‘lest’, *amba/memba* ‘lest’, *mandes/pandes/sandes* ‘as if’) yield enclisis when sentence particle *ðʒe* is encliticized to them. In the absence of the particle, proclisis obtains. In addition, there is *otitʃe/osondʒe* ‘as soon as’, which also yield enclisis, but there is no *oti/oson* in a temporal meaning. It should be noted that *oti* and *oson* on their own are neuter relative pronouns.

(b) A subset of complementizers (i.e. *oti* ‘that’, *afu* ‘since’, *epidhi* ‘since’, *yati* ‘since’) yield either proclisis or enclisis.

The working hypothesis

For the ‘recalcitrant’ data I will explore the minimal working hypothesis compatible with the clitic placement theory I adopt. Namely, that the functional morphemes in question have either shifted semantically (with the addition of particle *ðʒe/tʃe*),

and are now markers of some distinct functional category that is not hosted in C (cf. (a)), or are in the process of changing or ambiguous, hence the double behaviour (cf. (b)).

With respect to category (a) the semantics/distribution of functional items *endže/mendže*, *amandže/andandže/epidhistfe*, *perkitfe*, *ambatfe/membatfe* is juxtaposed to the semantics/ distribution of *en/men*, *ama/andan/epidhis*, *perki* and *amba/memba*, respectively. In all cases there are shown to be systematic differences. In addition, the semantic extension of *mandestfe/ pandestfe/ sandestfe* from a simile marker to a modality marker is investigated. It is claimed that in most cases the particle *dže/tfe* relates not to the homophonous coordinating conjunction, but to the Ancient Greek particle *ge*, and, to a lesser degree, to the Ancient Greek particle *kai*. Semantic differences are proposed also with respect to the double behaviour of the items in (b).

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Katerina Alexandri:

Η μορφή και η σημασία της διαβάθμισης στα επίθετα που δηλώνουν χρώμα

Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση έχει ως αντικείμενο την εξέταση του φαινομένου της διαβάθμισης των επιθέτων που δηλώνουν χρώμα της νέας ελληνικής, τόσο σε μορφολογικό όσο και σε σημασιολογικό επίπεδο.

Ένα ζήτημα που έχει απασχολήσει ιδιαίτερα τους ερευνητές του πεδίου των

χρωμάτων είναι το κατά πόσο τα χρώματα επιδέχονται διαβάθμιση. Όπως έχουν διαπιστώσει πολλοί ερευνητές (μεταξύ άλλων: Kleiber 2007, Whittaker 1994, 2002, Noailly 2005, Molinier 2006), είναι δύσκολο να συναντήσουμε ονοματικές φράσεις στις οποίες το επίθετο που δηλώνει χρώμα να τροποποιείται από επίρρημα διαβάθμισης ή επίτασης: ? Η Μαρία αγόρασε ένα πολύ γαλάζιο φόρεμα. Η διαβάθμιση στη βιβλιογραφία ειθισται να συνδέεται με την κλιμάκωση (βλ. Lyons 1977). Αντίθετα, η Demonte (1999: 174) υποστηρίζει ότι δεν μπορούμε να αναγνωρίσουμε μια συγκεκριμένη σειρά μεταξύ των διαφορετικών τιμών της ιδιότητας του χρώματος. Επισημαίνει ότι οι ταξινομήσεις που προτείνονται στη βιβλιογραφία δεν στηρίζονται σε γλωσσικές μαρτυρίες αλλά στη σειρά των χρωμάτων ως φυσικών οντοτήτων μέσα στο φάσμα του φωτός. Δεν υπάρχει, λοιπόν, γλωσσικό κριτήριο για να αποφασίσουμε αν το κόκκινο προηγείται του πράσινου ή αντίστροφα. Οπότε, δεν υπάρχει κάποια συγκεκριμένη αλληλουχία αυτών των τιμών. Ο Kleiber (2007: 10-12) για το ίδιο φαινόμενο υπογραμμίζει ότι, ενώ η κατηγορία των χρωματικών επιθέτων παρουσιάζει οντολογική διαβάθμιση (βλ. χρωματικό φάσμα), δεν δέχεται εύκολα τη γλωσσική διαβάθμιση.

Ωστόσο, η ικανότητα των χρωματικών επιθέτων να δέχονται μορφολογικούς και συντακτικούς τροποποιητές διαβάθμισης (προθήματα, επιθήματα, επιρρήματα, παγιωμένες εκφράσεις, στερεότυπες παρομοιώσεις, ειδικά επίθετα ή/και διπλασιασμός τους, επιτονισμός κ.ά.) αντιτίθεται σθεναρά στη δήλωση ότι αυτά τα επίθετα δεν είναι σημασιολογικά διαβαθμιζόμενα (βλ. Cruse 1986, Demonte 1999). Εξάλλου, μια ιδιότητα είναι διαβαθμίσιμη στο βαθμό που μπορούν να γίνουν αντιληπτά διάφορα επίπεδα της είτε σε σχέση με άλλες οντότητες είτε σε σχέση με την ίδια σε διαφορετικές στιγμές. Το παράδοξο της κατάστασης αυτής φαίνεται από το ότι ενώ από οντολογικής σκοπιάς τα επίθετα που δηλώνουν χρώμα φαίνεται να αποτελούν οντότητες που υποδηλώνουν ένα φάσμα που επιτρέπει τη διαβάθμιση, από την πλευρά των συνδυασμών με εκφράσεις που δηλώνουν διαβάθμιση ή επίταση συμβαίνει ακριβώς το αντίθετο, καθώς μόνο σε πολύ συγκεκριμένες περιπτώσεις τα επίθετα αυτά δέχονται εκφράσεις που δηλώνουν τον βαθμό.

Όλα τα παραπάνω θεωρητικά ζητήματα που αφορούν τη διαβάθμιση των χρωματικών επιθέτων σε επίπεδο μορφολογίας και σημασιολογίας, παρουσιάζονται, αναλύονται και ερμηνεύονται στην παρούσα εργασία, με στόχο να καλυφθεί το κενό που υπάρχει στη βιβλιογραφία αναφορικά με τη μελέτη των χρωματικών όρων της νέας ελληνικής.

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Dimitra Alexandridou:

Verbal inflection in Modern Greek

This paper aims to propose a new morphological classification of the Modern Greek verbs based on the theory of Paradigm Function Morphology (Stump, 2001) and the theoretical tools developed by Bonami & Boyé (2003, 2004, 2006, 2009, 2011). Firstly, we examine the existing classifications of Greek verbs; secondly, we propose a classification that consists of one inflectional class and of one initial stem for each verb; finally we explore the role of each morpheme and we define regularity and irregularity within the inflectional system.

The initial stem serves as a base for the derivation of deverbal nouns and adjectives and for the production of three stems that are used in inflection : one for the active and passive imperfective forms, one for the active perfective forms and one for the passive perfective forms. Each stem is combined with a thematic vowel and associated to cases of the paradigm. The past is expressed as an accent in the an-

tepeultimate syllable, as an accented vowel /e/ or as the affix /ik/ (Spyropoulos & Revithiadou, 2009). The endings express person and number agreement.

Several verb classes are formed due to particularities that are mostly inherited from Ancient Greek. For example the formation of the active and passive imperfective stem with the adjunction of a /t/, kop-kopto «cut» ; the formation of certain past forms with an accented /i/, elpizo-ilpiza-ilpissa «hope» ; the suppletion of the active and passive perfective stem vlepo-ida-idothika «see» ; the suppletion of forms, beno-bes «enter». Moreover, the pragmatic distinction [±learned] has been applied to account for stem variations such as kopto/kovo «cut», kriftho/krifto «hide» or paizome/paizume «play».

Finally, we have created automatically, by means of a Perl script, a dictionary of all the inflectional forms of approximately 30.000 verbs from the Reverse Dictionary of Modern Greek of Anna Anastasiadis-Simeonidis, 2002. Furthermore, we have created an electronic platform for its interrogation.

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Georgios Alexandropoulos:

The intertextuality in the epitaphs of Gregory of Nazianzus

Gregory of Nazianzus (329 – 25 January 389 or 390), also known as Gregory the Theologian or Gregory Nazianzen, was a 4th-century Archbishop of Constantinople. As a classically trained orator and philosopher he infused Hellenism into the early church, establishing the paradigm of Byzantine theologians and church officials. The present study discusses the polyphonic construction of four epitaphs: Panegyric on His Brother S. Caesarius, On his Sister Gorgonia, On the Death of his Father, Funeral Oration on the Great S. Basil.. Through a comprehensive examination of discourse representation, we can investigate the ideological consequences of the integration of other voices and its contribution to the reproduction of power relations, following these axes: i) sources and their representation, ii) the object of

representation and the means with which it is introduced, iii) the modes and forms of representation, iv) the functions of discourse representation. For this reason, van Leeuwen's (1996) typology is adopted with an aim to study the way that the source of the integrated text is represented. We also adopt some methodological theories, as the Caldas - Coulthard (1997) and Leech (1980) typologies, about the way that the integrated speech is incorporated into the text either as an oral and written speech or as a mental representation of the first speaker. Thompson's (1995) typology about the way of introducing the intertextualistic source (quoting, paraphrases, etc) is adopted for this study. Lastly, with reference to the intertextuality functions, Bazerman & Prior (2004) model is adopted in the attempt to understand the functions of the intertextualistic source after the recontextualization.

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Stavroula Alexandropoulou, Sofia Bimpikou, Yaron McNabb & Rick Nouwen: Different modified numerals do not impose an upper bound uniformly: Experimental evidence from Greek

This study focuses on the upper-bound numeral modifiers (NMs) mehri ('up to') and to poli ('at most') in Greek, whose English equivalents share the same semantics and pragmatics according to Nouwen (2010). Specifically, it investigates whether those NMs impose an upper bound to the same extent. By means of an experiment, we show that 1) in the case of to poli, the upper bound is derived from its semantics, and 2) in mehri, it is derived as a pragmatic inference.

Background. Schwarz et al. (2012) via a series of diagnostics comparing up to vs. at most conclude that different semantics have to be assigned to those NMs. Blok (2015) shows that, contrary to at most, the upper bound with up to is not entailed, but implicated, as it can be cancelled (see the contrast in (1)). Blok further argues that this difference can account for the differences Schwarz et al. observe.

(1) Peter is allowed to choose {up to/#at most} ten presents, perhaps even more. Experiment. We used target items like (2) and asked subjects to rate the naturalness of such pairs of sentences occurring together, on a -3 to +3 Likert scale.

(2) Every student read {mehri/to poli} n papers. One of them read m papers. Conditions differed w.r.t. choice of modifier and w.r.t. whether $m < n$ ('under' conditions) or $m > n$ ('over' conditions). A control condition was added, where n was modified by *lighotero apo* ('fewer than').

'Mehri-Over' items received scores significantly higher than 'Lighotero-apo-Over' items ($p < .05$). On the natural assumption that the upper bound for *lighotero apo* is entailed, this result indicates that the upper bound for *mehri* is derived via pragmatics. This confirms Blok's relevant prediction. Moreover, Schwarz et al. and Blok assume that at most provides an upper-bound entailment. Indeed, this is indicated by 'To-poli-Over' items being rated significantly lower than 'Mehri-Over' items ($p < .01$) combined with the previous finding. This is strengthened by the fact that 'To-poli-Over' items were not significantly different from the control 'Lighotero-apo-Over' items ($p = .324$).

Conclusions. The upper bound is part of the semantics of *to poli*, while in *mehri* it is derived via pragmatics. Crucially, this finding lends support to Blok's account and sheds important light on Nouwen's semantic classification of NMs which takes the NMs in question to be semantically and pragmatically synonymous.

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Shanley Allen & Kalliopi Katsika:

Online relative clause processing in Greek children: the role of relativizer and word order

We present online parsing data from children's subject and object relative clause processing in Greek. Although numerous studies have investigated children's offline comprehension of relative clauses in various languages (see e.g. Arnon, 2005; Arosio, Adani & Guasti, 2009; Kidd & Bavin, 2002) including Greek (Stavrakaki, 2001; Varlokosta, Nerantzini & Papadopoulou, 2014), very little research has been conducted online. In adult online processing, the difference in processing difficulty between subject relative clauses (SRCs) and object relative clauses (ORCs) appears to be strongly connected to the configurational properties of the language under investigation (Kovács & Vasishth, 2013). Particularly interesting for the present study

is the finding that, in free word order languages, online relative clause processing depends strongly on the linear distance between the RC verb and the relative pronoun independently of whether the structure is an SRC or ORC (Levy, Fedorenko & Gibson, 2013). In two online self-paced listening experiments in Greek, we manipulated the type of relative clause (SRC vs. ORC), RC internal word order (canonical vs. scrambled), and type of relativizer (relative pronoun vs. complementizer). In total, we recorded online listening times and grammaticality judgments from 61 11- to 12-year-old children. Our experimental sentences included RCs introduced with either the relative pronoun *o opios* 'who' (nominative case in SRCs, e.g. *O majiras-NOM o opios-NOM esprokse ton servitoro-ACC ekapse to fajito*, 'The cook who pushed the waiter burned the food', accusative case in ORCs, e.g. *O majiras-NOM ton opio-ACC esprokse o servitoros-NOM ekapse to fajito*, 'The cook whom the waiter pushed burned the food') or the complementizer *pu* ('that'). Each sentence was presented in a segment-by-segment fashion, and in the end of every sentence participants were asked to judge the grammaticality of the sentence by pressing one of two buttons. The analysis of participants' mean listening times revealed no main effect of relative clause on the verb of the relative clause (RC), and thus no SRC vs. ORC preference. This reflects findings from two other free word order languages (Levy et al., 2013; Kovács & Vasishth, 2013). A significant two-way interaction between type of RC and word order indicated that local configurations (verb adjacent to relativizer) are preferred over non-local ones. In addition, listening time analyses of pre- and post-verbal NPs indicate that Greek children immediately make use of morphosyntactic cues to process complex structures, and seem to experience higher processing cost than adults in case of late structural disambiguation.

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Angeliki Alvanoudi:

Να σου πω κάτι; The grammaticalization of a conversational routine in Modern Greek

The interrogative subjunctive clause *να σου πω κάτι*; occurs in two interactional contexts in Modern Greek: in summons/answers sequences and argument sequences. In summons/answers sequences, the interrogative clause maintains its status as a question seeking a response, while in argument sequences the clause has lost its status as a question and has shifted into a feature of argument talk. The present study examines empirically the use of the interrogative clause in naturally occurring conversations among friends and relatives (Corpus of Spoken Greek, Institute of Modern Greek Studies) and demonstrates that the clause a) is employed as a summons (Schegloff 1968), i.e. a request for a display of availability to talk, and b) occurs in turns expressing counterclaims (Muntigl and Turnbull 1998), i.e. alternative claims that do not directly contradict or challenge the addressee's claim and allow further negotiation of the disputed positions. In the latter case, the clause functions as a pragmatic marker (Brinton 1996) that prefaces soft disagreement and engages the recipient to respond. Drawing on Hopper and Traugott's (1993) and Traugott's (2003) studies of constructions in grammaticalization, I show that the development of the pragmatic marker *να σου πω κάτι*; can be considered as an instance of early grammaticalization. Based on Couper-Kuhlen's (2011) idea that many grammatical constructions have emerged from the sequential routines of mundane conversational interaction, I argue that the pragmatic marker *να σου πω κάτι*; has grown out of the summons-answer routine in Greek conversation. The present study contributes to the ongoing debate about the role of context and inference in grammaticalization (Diewald 2002; Heine 2002; Traugott 1982, 1989; Traugott and Konig 1991), by addressing the ways in which sequential context (Schegloff 2007) and practices for social action (Enfield 2013) affect the morphosyntactic and semantic development of constructions.

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Elena Anagnostopoulou:

Ordering patterns and the syntax of the Person Case Constraint (PCC)

1. Outline. The paper investigates a puzzle for syntactic approaches to the PCC, namely that it arises in clusters of weak objects/clitics regardless of their relative order. The literature on clitics has mostly remained silent about this, implicitly or explicitly resorting to templatic clitic ordering. But since templates are implausible for weak pronouns, different serializations in clusters showing PCC effects in e.g. German vs. English force us to spell out the relationship between different ordering patterns and the emergence of PCC effects in a way that explains the observed

indifference to word order variation. Following Richards (1997), I argue that IO>DO orders involve movement of the two objects to a single probe which results in crossing (1), while DO>IO orders result from targeting two probes and nesting (2). In this analysis, the higher IO blocks person licensing of the 1st/2nd DO in both orders. (1) [IO DO H ϕ [IO DO]] (2) [DO Z ϕ [IO Y ϕ [IO DO]]] Evidence for attachment to a single head in (1) vs. two heads in (2) comes from a difference w.r.t. 3rd person case syncretisms in the two patterns (Nicol 2005), which has broader implications for agglutinative vs. fusional object agreement morphology and supports the view that object agreement markers are clitics (Preminger 2009, Nevins 2011, Kramer 2014).

2. The PCC in German. The PCC prohibits 1st/2nd person phonologically weak DOs in clusters with IOs of the same type. It has been documented for a large number of typologically unrelated languages and comes in several versions (Strong, Weak, “Me-First”, Ultrastrong; Bonet 1991, Anagnostopoulou 2005, Nevins 2007). While the PCC with clitics and agreement has been extensively discussed, its manifestation in weak pronoun clusters is an understudied domain. English and Swiss German have the PCC (Bonet 1991). Cardinaletti (1999) and Haspelmath (2004) claim that German lacks it on the basis of examples like (3), but Anagnostopoulou (2008) has identified PCC effects in contexts like (4). (3) weil er/Maria dich ihm vorgestellt hat (4) *weil dich ihm er/Maria vorgestellt hat ‘because he/Mary you to-him introduced has’ ‘because you to-him he/Maria introduced has’ German weak pronouns undergo obligatory movement to the W(ackernagel) position (Lenerz 1977), a position preceding all adverbs and non-pronominal arguments. Subjects may either precede or follow W-pronouns (Müller 2001). Crucially, PCC effects arise only when the subject follows the W-pronoun cluster, as in (4), and not when the subject precedes it, as in (3). German has the weak PCC, i.e. 1st and 2nd IO/DO combinations like mich dir ‘me to you’ are fine in contexts like (4). There is a second factor influencing the emergence of the PCC in German. W-pronouns are reported in the literature to have a rigid DO>IO order (es ihm ‘she it-DO him-IO’ *ihm es, Lenerz 1977). The speakers that have PCC effects require a strict serialization of W-pronouns. However, speakers of mostly Southern dialects (e.g. Austrian German) accept both permutations; for these speakers, PCC effects do not arise in (4).

3. A high head entering Agree. Syntactic research has treated the PCC as arising in a configuration where two goals, IO/G1 and DO/G2, enter Agree with a higher head H (ν or T) bearing a ϕ -probe, as in (5a), or, alternatively, as a case where the G2/DO is in the complement domain of H (ν or applicative Appl) and the G1/IO is its specifier, as in (5b):

(5) a. [H ϕ [G1 ϕ G2 ϕ]] b. [G1 ϕ H ϕ [G2 ϕ]]

In approaches based on (5a), the PCC has been argued to result from the intervening

G1/IO, which blocks person Agree between H and G2/DO (Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Bejar and Řezáč 2003; Richards 2005; Nevins 2007, 2011). Accounts based on (5b) have either assumed that the specifier G1 blocks person Agree between H ϕ and G2, which requires a Spec, Head configuration, (Baker 2008, who takes H to be ν EPP-attracting the IO), or that G2 enters cyclic Agree with H ϕ , preventing H ϕ from selecting for/agreeing with G1, (Adger & Harbour 2007 taking H to be Appl; cf. Bejar and Řezáč 2009). German provides evidence for the syntax in (5a): the fact that the PCC only arises in the pre-subject position suggests that H entering Agree with W-pronouns is high in the T domain, close to the left periphery.

4. PCC regardless of order. While the site hosting W-pronouns is high in German, the locus of weak pronoun clusters in English is low. Pronouns in (6) follow the main verb which remains ν P-internal. In contrast to German, English pronouns are strictly IO>DO.

(6) a. John showed **her it** b. *John showed **it her**

Like German, English has the PCC, as shown in (7b, c) (Bonet 1991). (7c), in addition, shows that English has the Strong PCC (M. Richards 2008):

(7) a. They showed **me it** b. *They showed **her me** c. *They showed me you/you me

The comparison between German and English shows that PCC effects arise both when the order of pronouns is DO>IO, as in German, and when the order is IO>DO as in English. The same holds for clitics. Nicol (2005) studies a wide variety of Romance modern and older varieties (e.g. Aragonese, European Spanish, Latin American Spanish, Galician, Standard Italian, Italian dialects, Occitan, Romanian, Catalan, Corsican, Modern and Old French) and establishes that even though they vary a lot with respect to IO>DO or DO>IO ordering, they uniformly show PCC effects. In Romance, the DO>IO ordering is an old pattern and the IO>DO ordering a modern one. Most languages have shifted from DO>IO to IO>DO with the exception of French (Wanner 1974, Nicol 2005). Despite the fact that clitic languages vary a lot w.r.t. clitic ordering, they all have (different versions of) PCC effects.

5. The syntax of different orders, evidence from syncretism. All pronominal and clitic languages that have been studied in some detail have been argued to have an IO>DO order of DPs (Larson 1988 for English, Frey 1989, Haider 1993, Lechner 1998 for German, contra Müller 1995, cf. the literature on clitic languages). This entails that IO>DO pronoun/clitic clusters preserve the base object order, while DO>IO pronominal/ clitic clusters reverse it. Following Richards (1997) I propose that order preserving movement results from the syntax in (1) and reversal of base orders results from the syntax in (2). Both (1) and (2) have been independently proposed for the PCC, by Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) and Preminger (2014), respectively. Preminger takes Y in (2) to be a Person probe P and the higher Z to be N(umber) (building on Bejar and Řezáč 2003). In the present account, both analyses are correct, but for different clusters. In e.g. English (7) a single head (bearing P and N) hosts the IO>DO pronouns, while in German (4) the IO attaches to P and the DO to the higher

N. The same applies to IO>DO vs. DO>IO clusters of clitics. Old Romance patterns involve clitic attachment to P and N, while clitics attach to a single head in modern Romance orders where P and N have been fused into a single head. An additional assumption needed for clitics is that they undergo Matushansky (2006)-style head movement (Nevins 2011). Independent evidence for (1) and (2) comes from the following correlation: Romance languages with IO>DO clusters have case syncretic 3rd person clitics, while in DO>IO languages, 3rd person clitics are asyncretic. The IO>DO order is associated with productive syncretic allomorphs in the plural, the same form for singular dative and plural accusative, etc. By contrast, the conservative DO>IO group has asyncretic clitics or employs asyncretic allomorphs in clitic combinations. See Nicol (2005) for extensive discussion of ‘the Case Syncretism Property (CSP)’ in Romance, which will be shown to be further supported from Greek and German. The CSP can be accounted for if the mechanisms deriving the relevant types of syncretism (e.g. the rule of Impoverishment; Bonet 1991; 1995) operate in local domains, and attachment to a single head in (1) counts as local, while attachment to two different heads in (2) is non-local. Note that the CSP considers only 3rd person pronouns; 1st/ 2nd person pronouns are case syncretic due to feature identity (Adger and Harbour 2007). Moreover, when DO>IO permutations are employed as a strategy to circumvent PCC violations (Swiss German, Greek imperatives), a single head is targeted by the DO first. I discuss the implications for the syntax of object agreement markers in agglutinative languages showing nesting (in e.g. Samba, Riedel 2009) vs. languages with portmanteau morphemes. Modeling this distinction in terms of the derivations in (2) vs. (1) entails that object agreement markers qualify as clitics.

Anton V. Anashkin:

Towards a Question of Use of the Dative Case in Byzantine Greek (According to Late Byzantine Canonical Question-and-Answers (Erotapokriseis))

The purpose of the present report is to illustrate some features in the use of the dative in Late Byzantine canonical question-and-answers (ἐρωταποκρίσεις) and to understand how these data can shed light on the functioning of the dative in Byzantine Greek of the late period.

Erotapokriseis (questions and replies) are the genre (or rather genre form) that had been invented in the ancient literary tradition and was widespread in the Byzantine Empire and the Eastern Christian countries. It assumes formation of dialogue and it is similar to didactic genres (for instance catechism, treatises, apophthegm etc.). The format of the question-and-replies was borrowed from the Ancient Greek dialogue, and the very stylistics came from the genres of chapters (κεφάλαια) and

apophthegm (ἀποφθέγματα - “Sayings of the Fathers”). In Byzantium the question and answer collections became one of the most preferred ways of organizing and imparting knowledge in a number of such fields as theology, philosophy, grammar, medicine, law (Y. Papadoyannakis, *Instruction by Question and Answer: The Case of Late Antique and Byzantine Erotapokriseis*, in S. F. Johnson (ed.), *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism*. Adlershot 2006, pp. 91-92).

The object of our research are 9 Byzantine church-canonical questions-and-answers of the late XI-th and the XV-th centuries (among them: canonical answers by Nikeas, metropolitan of Herakleia (XI c.), Nikolas III Grammatikos, patriarch of Constantinople (XI c.), Peter Chartophylax (XI c.), Nikephoros Chartophylax (XI c.), Elias, metropolitan of Crete (XII c.), Loukas Chrysoberges, patriarch of Constantinople (XII c.), Niketas, metropolitan of Thessalonike (XII c.), Neilos, metropolitan of Rhodes (XIV c.), Joasaph, metropolitan of Ephesus (XV c.)). These texts are collections of different answers by leading clerics concerning to canon law, liturgy, spiritual practices, marriages and so on and they correspond inherently to the epistolary genre (rather to the genre of an official correspondence) So these texts reflect some features of living language to a certain extent.

The observation shows that the dative is still alive and productive case form in these texts.

Eva Anastasi, Ageliki Logotheti, Stavri Panayiotou, Marilena Serafim & Charalambos Themistocleous:

A sociophonetic study of Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek Stop Consonants

Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Cypriot Greek (CG) differ significantly in their phonemic inventories; most notably they differ in their stops: SMG contains both voiced and voiceless stops whereas CG contains only voiceless geminates and singletons (in CG there are prenasalised voiced stops). Besides their phonemic differences, previous research has shown that the two varieties differ in the acoustic representation of stops. This study examines the effects of stress and syllable position on CG and SMG stops’ closure duration and VOT. 45 speakers took place in the study: 20 SMG speakers and 25 CG speakers. The research took place in Nicosia and Athens. Overall, /p t k/ differed in their closure duration and VOT. Moreover, stress and syllable position had significant effects on closure duration and VOT both between and within varieties. To conclude, the study confirms and expands on the previous work on SMG and CG stops and advances our knowledge on typological differences across Greek varieties.

**Anna Anastasiadis, Aggeliki Fotopoulou & Tita Kyriacopoulou:
Greek multiword expressions: present and future**

In this presentation, we will proceed with a brief review of the research carried out on Greek multiword expressions. The term “multiword” covers a wide range of terms and, according to Howarth (1996: 6), this is due to the fact that researchers usually focus on the analysis of a certain class of multiword expressions.

In Greek bibliography, for instance, we encounter the general terms set phrases – for verbal structures (Fotopoulou, 1993, Diakogiorgi & Fotopoulou, 2002), stereotyped expressions (Anastasiadis-Symeonidis & Efthimiou, 2006), multiword lexemes (Xydopoulos, 2008: 64), fixed phrases or expressions (Dictionary of Modern Greek), frozen uses – expressions (Dictionary of Modern Greek) and phrases (Dictionary of Modern Greek). In the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek, the abbreviation “PHR” (phrase) is also used in lemmas for phrases and expressions having as hyperonym the term phraseologisms. Clairis & Babiniotis (2005: 727) use the term stereotyped verbal periphrases. Motsiou (1987: 231) has used the terms idioms or phraseologisms. Other terms are: loose (multiword) compounds – for nominal phrases (Tsopanakis, 1998: 718-720, Ralli, 2005: 199), lexical phrases (Anastasiadis-Symeonidis, 1986), idioms or phrasal idioms (Xydopoulos, 2008: 67). In the Dictionary of Modern Greek, the terms lexical collocations, peri(phrasal) words, proverbs, idioms and scientific terminology are encountered, while in the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek the terms phrases and expressions are used. The Dictionary of Current Greek (2014), the most recent dictionary of the Athens Academy, refers to nouns as complexes and to all the other types as stereotyped or idiomatic expressions. Multi-words of all grammatical categories and types (i.e., nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, interjections, proverbs, clichés...) used to be a marginal phenomenon for many years both in the Greek and international bibliography, a phenomenon full of paradoxes and problems –mostly from the aspect of learning a language. A linguist’s interest for multiword expressions intensifies during the 60’s when new grammatical theories appear: the Transformational Grammar, for instance, was based on the syntactic behavior of verbal phrases at first, laying the foundations for the basic principles of the Generative Grammar. The aforesaid interest is reinforced over the last 30 years thanks to the availability big data, mostly through the Web.

In Greek bibliography, there is a wide range of pertinent research concerning various aspects (morphological, syntactic, semantic, lexicographic, cognitive, and psycholinguistic) and methodological frameworks.

In this first, synthetic review of research activities in the field of Greek multiword expressions, we will focus, among others, on Natural Language Processing approaches, such as electronic dictionaries, morphological and syntactic analyzers, recognition of named entities and other perspectives for Greek studies in the digital era.

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**Anna Anastasiadis-Symeonidis, Maria Mitsiaki & Elisavet Kiourti:
Inflectional Morphology at the service of Lexicography: ΚΟΜΟΛΕΞ, A Cypriot
Nominal Morphological Dictionary**

In this paper we illustrate the decisive role that inflectional morphology plays in the description and analysis of the Cypriot nominal system. The purpose of our work is two-fold. Firstly, we discuss the morphological structure of the Cypriot nominal system (nouns & adjectives) and we propose an inferential-realizational morphology-driven analysis which provides a formal account of inflected word formation within the Paradigm Function Morphology framework (PFM, Stump 2001, 2006, 2007, 2012). Secondly, we describe in detail the compilation of a Cypriot electronic

morphological dictionary (Κυπριακών Ονομάτων Μορφολογικό Λεξικό, ΚΟΜΟΛΕΞ). The basic theoretical questions undertaken in the present paper is (a) how inflected word forms are composed and encoded, and (b) how morphosyntactic properties license the attachment of a suffix to a stem in the case of the local linguistic variety spoken today in Cyprus (see also Symeonidis 2006, Arvaniti 2011, Katsogiannou et al. 2013, Symeonidis 2014). These questions seem to be adequately answered by the PFM theory (see also Anastasiadis-Symeonidis 2012 & Nikolaou 2012 for the inflectional system of the MG noun and adjective). PFM postulates that inflectional systems can be reduced to a series of blocks of rules which realize specific morphemes based on which morphosyntactic properties are associated with the inflected word itself. The order of application of these rule blocks can be defined by a Paradigm Function (PF), a mathematical operation that governs the way in which specific stems and affixes are selected and ordered. In this way, the Paradigm Function generates the each cell of the paradigm of an inflected word and it is able to account for the various stem alternations.

Such a theoretical approach exhibits several advantages: (a) it treats morphology as a separate and autonomous component of the grammar, (b) it achieves economy and descriptive simplicity, and (c) it gives prominence to the principle of prototypicality. In the second part of our paper, we draw attention to ΚΟΜΟΛΕΞ, a Cypriot Greek morphological dictionary, liable to the demands of inflectional morphology and built on a Microsoft Access database. After discussing the basic technical and methodological issues that arose during compilation, we present the way we established the morphological information necessary for the dictionary user, i.e. the production of the whole paradigm of each word. As the final product of this endeavor, ΚΟΜΟΛΕΞ is designed with respect to abstraction, economy and simplicity, and yet it is no more complicated than printed dictionaries.

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Georgia Andreou & Matina Tasioudi:

Η ανάπτυξη του λεξιλογίου σε παιδιά με Σύνδρομο Απνοιών στον Ύπνο

Στα πλαίσια της παρούσας εργασίας διερευνάται η επίδραση του Συνδρόμου Απνοιών/Υποπνοιών στον ύπνο (ΣΑΥ) κατά την πρώιμη παιδική ηλικία κυρίως σε επίπεδο λεξιλογικής ανάπτυξης με στόχο την πληρέστερη κατανόηση της σημασίας του Συνδρόμου για την ομαλή γλωσσική ανάπτυξη του παιδιού. Το Σύνδρομο Απνοιών στον Ύπνο (ΣΑΥ) επηρεάζει σχεδόν το 3% του συνολικού παιδικού και εφηβικού πληθυσμού και ως πρωταρχικό σύμπτωμα εμφανίζει το ροχαλητό. Οι Διαταραχές Ύπνου σε παιδιά έχουν συσχετιστεί με προβλήματα μειωμένης προσοχής, υπερκινητικότητας, παρορμητικότητας, μαθησιακών δυσκολιών, αλλά και με χαμηλότερο δείκτη IQ σε σχέση με αυτόν παιδιών χωρίς διαταραχές ύπνου, λόγω των διαταραχών αναπνοής κατά τη διάρκεια του ύπνου, της διαλείπουσας νυκτερινής υποξίας και των συχνών αφυπνίσεων που αυτή προκαλεί (Gozal, 2008). Επιπλέον, υπάρχουν μελέτες που εξέτασαν την κατανόηση και παραγωγή λεξιλογίου και βρήκαν σημαντική επίδραση του ΣΑΥ και στους δύο τομείς (Montgomery-Downs κ.α., 2005, Honaker κ.α., 2009). Σε ελληνικό πληθυσμό έχει διεξαχθεί μόνο μία έρευνα σχετικά με την επίδραση του ΣΑΥ σε εφήβους και μεταξύ άλλων σημειώθηκε και εκεί χαμηλότερη επίδοση των συμμετεχόντων στις δοκιμασίες λεκτικής ευχέρειας που χορηγήθηκαν (Andreou & Agaritou, 2007). Δεδομένου ότι δεν υπάρχουν δεδομένα για την ελληνική γλώσσα σε μικρότερες ηλικίες, στην παρούσα έρευνα εξετάζεται η ανάπτυξη του λεξιλογίου σε επίπεδο παραγωγής και κατανόησης σε παιδιά ηλικίας 4-7,11 ετών που πάσχουν από ΣΑΥ με τη χρήση των 4 λεξιλογικών υποδοκιμασιών (Εικονο-λεξιλόγιο, Λεξιλόγιο Συσχετισμού, Προσληπτικό Λεξιλόγιο, Προφορικό Λεξιλόγιο) του ψυχομετρικού κριτηρίου γλωσσικής επάρκειας ΛαΤω Ι. Στην έρευνα συμμετείχαν 15 παιδιά με Σοβαρό ΣΑΥ και 15 παιδιά χωρίς αναπνευστικές δυσκολίες κατά τη διάρκεια του ύπνου. Τα παιδιά με σοβαρό ΣΑΥ είχαν χαμηλότερη επίδοση στο σύνολο των υποδοκιμασιών

σε σχέση με την ομάδα ελέγχου. Σημαντικές διαφορές βρέθηκαν κυρίως στις υποδοκίμασιες του Εικονο-λεξιλογίου και του Προσληπτικού Λεξιλογίου, ενώ δεν υπήρξε στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά επίδοσης στις υποδοκίμασιες του Προφορικού Λεξιλογίου και του Λεξιλογίου Συσχετισμού. Τα αποτελέσματά μας συμφωνούν εν μέρει με τα έως τώρα ευρήματα της διεθνούς βιβλιογραφίας, καθώς παρουσιάζεται επίδραση του ΣΑΥ στο επίπεδο της κατανόησης λεξιλογίου, αλλά δεν βρέθηκε επίδραση στην παραγωγή λεξιλογίου στα παιδιά αυτής της ηλικίας, σε αντίθεση με ό,τι έχει βρεθεί στους εφήβους. Η διαφοροποίηση αυτή εικάζουμε ότι μπορεί να οφείλεται στη διαφορετική φύση των χορηγούμενων δοκιμασιών, αλλά και στη μικρότερη χρονική διάρκεια κατά την οποία τα παιδιά που συμμετείχαν στην έρευνα ζουν με το ΣΑΥ, σε αντίθεση με τους μεγαλύτερους ηλικιακά συμμετέχοντες άλλων ερευνών.

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Marios Andreou (→Ioannidou)

Maria Andria:

Προσεγγίζοντας θέματα Διαγλωσσικής Επίδρασης μέσα από το πλαίσιο της Γνωσιακής Γλωσσολογίας: ένα παράδειγμα από την κατάκτηση της Ελληνικής ως Γ2

Τα τελευταία χρόνια, έχει υποστηριχθεί ότι η Γνωσιακή Γλωσσολογία μπορεί να αποτελέσει ένα πρόσφορο θεωρητικό πλαίσιο για τις έρευνες που διεξάγονται στον κλάδο της Κατάκτησης και της Διδασκαλίας Δεύτερης Γλώσσας (*Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Pedagogy*) (Achard & Niemeier, 2004· Robinson & Ellis, 2012· Tyler, 2012). Ειδικά σε περιπτώσεις μελέτης φαινομένων

Διαγλωσσικής Επίδρασης (*Crosslinguistic Influence*) (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008· Odlin, 1989), όταν δηλαδή αντικείμενο έρευνας είναι η επίδραση που δέχεται ο μαθητής της Γ2 από τη πρώτη του γλώσσα (Γ1) ή από τις άλλες γλώσσες που γνωρίζει, το συγκεκριμένο πλαίσιο μπορεί να προσφέρει μια πιο σφαιρική και εις βάθος ανάλυση (Cadierno, 2004·Cadierno & Lund, 2004).

Η παρούσα μελέτη έχει ως στόχο να παρουσιάσει ένα φαινόμενο διαγλωσσικής επίδρασης που λαμβάνει χώρα κατά την κατάκτηση της ελληνικής ως Γ2 από μαθητές με Γ1 τα ισπανικά ή/και τα καταλανικά. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, το υπό ανάλυση φαινόμενο αφορά την περιφραστική έναντι μονολεκτικής έκφρασης της εμπειρικής κατάστασης: π.χ. *tener hambre/tenir gana* *έχω πείνα έναντι πεινάω, *dar vergüenza/fer vergonya* *μου δίνει/κάνει ντροπή έναντι ντρέπομαι. Στα ισπανικά/καταλανικά η εμπειρική κατάσταση εννοιοποιείται (*conceptualized*) ως ένα αντικείμενο που κάποιος κατέχει ή δίνει, ενώ στα ελληνικά ως μία πράξη στην οποία ο ομιλητής είναι το υποκείμενο που ενεργεί. Μέσα στο πλαίσιο της Γνωσιακής Γλωσσολογίας, τα γλωσσικά σχήματα-θεωρήσεις (*construals*) που χρησιμοποιούνται για την έκφραση ενός γεγονότος συμβολίζουν τον τρόπο με τον οποίο το γεγονός έχει συλληφθεί και εννοιοποιηθεί από τον ομιλητή (Langacker, 1987, 2008). Στόχος της εργασίας είναι να μελετήσει αν η συγκεκριμένη διαφορά στα σχήματα που χρησιμοποιούνται για την έκφραση της εμπειρικής κατάστασης θα οδηγήσει σε περιπτώσεις γλωσσικής παρεμβολής (*transfer*).

Στην έρευνα έλαβαν μέρος 114 μαθητές ελληνικών (N=114) διαφορετικών επιπέδων γλωσσομάθειας (από A2 μέχρι B2.2) με Γ1 τα ισπανικά/καταλανικά, καθώς επίσης και 30 φυσικοί ομιλητές ελληνικών. Τα εργαλεία που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν σχεδιάστηκαν εξ αρχής για τις ανάγκες της συγκεκριμένης μελέτης και ήταν τα εξής: ένα τεστ γραμματικότητας, μία άσκηση γραπτής περιγραφής εικόνων, μία άσκηση προφορικής περιγραφής εικόνων, καθώς και ένα ερωτηματολόγιο. Διεξήχθησαν τόσο ποσοτικές, όσο και ποιοτικές αναλύσεις των δεδομένων.

Τα αποτελέσματα έδειξαν στατιστικά σημαντικές διαφορές ανάμεσα σε μαθητές της ελληνικής και φυσικούς ομιλητές ως προς την έκφραση της εμπειρικής κατάστασης. Οι μαθητές έτειναν να χρησιμοποιούν περισσότερο περιφραστικές δομές, ακολουθώντας έτσι το πρότυπο της Γ1 τους- γεγονός που παρατηρήθηκε ακόμα και σε προχωρημένα επίπεδα γλωσσομάθειας. Τα αποτελέσματα, τα οποία ερμηνεύονται υπό το πρίσμα της «Παρεμβολής Εννοιοποίησης» (*Conceptualization Transfer*) (Jarvis, 2007, 2011) και της θεωρίας “Thinking-for-Speaking” (Slobin, 1991, 1996), δείχνουν ότι η κατάκτηση σχημάτων με γνωσιακές προεκτάσεις (όπως η εννοιοποίηση ενός γεγονότος) και η ανακατασκευή των σχημάτων της Γ1, μπορούν να αποτελέσουν μια πιο απαιτητική διαδικασία για τους μαθητές μιας Γ2 (Han & Cadierno, 2010· Stam, 2010).

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Anthoula Eleftheria Andresaki:

Ιατρικές μεταφορές στον δημοσιογραφικό λόγο της κρίσης: Η οπτική γωνία των Γερμανών

Στόχος της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης είναι να εξετάσει πώς κατασκευάζεται γλωσσικά η οικονομική κρίση στον γερμανικό δημοσιογραφικό λόγο, εστιάζοντας στις μεταφορές που προέρχονται από τον χώρο της ιατρικής. Οι σχετικές με την υγεία και την ασθένεια μεταφορές αποτελούν συνήθεις τρόπους δημιουργίας θετικής ή αρνητικής αξιολόγησης στον λόγο (Charteris-Black 2004: 149-150). Μέσω της δημιουργίας κατάλληλων συνειρμών οι μεταφορές αυτές μπορούν να επηρεάσουν την κοινή γνώμη και έτσι καθίστανται ισχυρό εργαλείο του πολιτικού και δημοσιογραφικού λόγου. Προηγούμενες μελέτες της μεταφοράς Η ΧΩΡΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΕΝΑΣ ΑΣΘΕΝΗΣ και παραλλαγών της έχουν υποδείξει ότι η αναγωγή των προβλημάτων μιας χώρας σε ασθένεια αποσκοπεί, μεταξύ άλλων, στην παρουσίαση μιας οικονομικής ή πολιτικής τακτικής για την επίλυση τους ως αναγκαίας και αυτών που την εφαρμόζουν ως ειδικών (Musolff 2004: 89, Tsakona 2012).

Τα δεδομένα της έρευνας αντλήθηκαν από ένα σώμα 50 κειμένων ειδήσεων στα ελληνικά του γερμανικού ραδιοτηλεοπτικού σταθμού Deutsche Welle, οι οποίες είναι διαθέσιμες μέσω της ιστοσελίδας του. Η ανάλυση των μεταφορών γίνεται με βάση τη θεωρία της εννοιακής μεταφοράς (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Στην έρευνα αναλύονται οι ιατρικές μεταφορές που εντοπίστηκαν στα κείμενα, τα δεδομένα συνδέονται με τα πολιτικά γεγονότα της περιόδου και αναλύεται το πού αποσκοπεί ο γερμανικός τύπος με την επιλογή των συγκεκριμένων μεταφορών. Ταυτόχρονα επιχειρείται η στατιστική ανάλυση των ιατρικών μεταφορών στο σώμα κειμένων. Στο σώμα κειμένων των ειδήσεων απαντά ένα πλήθος μεταφορών που προέρχεται από τον χώρο της ιατρικής όπως: τα ευρωμόλογα είναι το μαγικό φάρμακο ή μόνον ο επίδεσμος, ο Έλληνας ασθενής κείται στο κρεβάτι του πόνου, οι γιατροί, που δεν είναι άλλοι από την τρόικα της ΕΕ, του ΔΝΤ και της ΕΚΤ, πιάνουν κάθε τόσο τον σφυγμό του ασθενούς. Λιγότερο απτοί όροι όπως η οικονομική κρίση, η Τρόικα και τα μέτρα δημοσιονομικής προσαρμογής παρουσιάζονται ως ασθένεια, γιατροί και φάρμακα αντίστοιχα, δηλαδή με έννοιες στις οποίες όλοι έχουμε πρόσβαση σε μεγαλύτερο ή μικρότερο βαθμό από την καθημερινή μας εμπειρία. Η ανακοίνωση αναδεικνύει την οπτική των Γερμανών δημοσιογράφων για το ελληνικό πρόβλημα, έτσι όπως διαμορφώνεται από τις συγκεκριμένες γλωσσικές τους επιλογές. Με τη χρήση αυτών των μεταφορών, η Ελλάδα παρουσιάζεται να αντιμετωπίζει ένα πρόβλημα τόσο σοβαρό όσο μια ασθένεια, το οποίο δεν μπορεί να αντιμετωπίσει χωρίς τη βοήθεια γιατρού, δηλαδή χωρίς την παρέμβαση της Τρόικας.

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Jannis Androutsopoulos & Christopher Lees:

From Facebook to the language textbook: Digital language practices among Greek secondary school students

This paper will report on the design and findings of a research project that examines language practices of Greek secondary school students in social media with the aim of developing language class material for secondary schools. Caught in a tension between the dominant ideologies of language in Greek society and the reality of their everyday lives, Greek youth draw on the affordances of social media to create spaces of translanguaging practices (Canagarajah 2013) in which they enact and publicly display agency over their linguistic resources. Our analysis takes into account both the conditions of network language practices in general and the sociolinguistic resources available to the participants under study. Following a mixed-methods approach to data collection and analysis, timeline events derived from the Facebook profiles of fifteen students are examined as sites of creative language use, focusing on the fluctuating use of English resources, the tension between the Greek and Latin script, and elements of digital orality in the pupils' digital language. We argue that these language practices stand in sharp contrast to the language ideologies that prevail in Greek secondary school language textbooks, which adopt a technophobic approach to media and, as such, marginalise new media language practices. The material developed for use in class endeavours to counterbalance these representations and show how this could be integrated into language teaching by drawing on findings from the analysis to design a course module, in order to demonstrate how school pupils' digital language practices could be integrated into language teaching.

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Argiris Archakis (→Tzortzatos)

Timofey Arkhangelskiy & Elizaveta Kuzmenko:

Composing the Corpus of Modern Greek: features and methods

The project we present is the Corpus of Modern Greek <<http://web-corpora.net/GreekCorpus/search/>>, a comprehensive morphologically annotated array of texts with an on-line search interface which can be used for studying various aspects of Modern Greek literary language. The corpus currently comprises about 40 million tokens and is based on the data from contemporary Greek newspapers (Η Καθημερινή, Μακεδονία, Το Βήμα, Ελευθεροτυπία) and fiction prose (original works as well as translations into Greek). All texts belong to the 19th or 20th century.

The corpus we present differs from the existing Modern Greek corpora, e. g. HNC (Hatzigeorgiu et al. 2000), DELOS (Kermanidis et al 2002), or CGT (Goutsos 2010). One of the main characteristics of our corpus is a free, publicly available search interface. The texts in the corpus are not restricted to a particular domain (as in the case of DELOS) but rather represent the Modern Greek language in general. Specifically, we included Katharevousa texts in the corpus (about 2 million tokens so far). Finally, the tokens in the corpus have full morphological annotation rather than only part of speech tags.

The crucial part in the development of the corpus was designing a system for automatic morphological annotation of the texts. The annotation was carried out with the help of a morphological analyzer UniParser (Arkhangelskiy 2012) which uses a formalized description of the morphology and a grammatical dictionary. Compiling a grammatical dictionary for Modern Greek was carried out mostly automatically based on unannotated texts and a description of Greek morphology; the dictionary was manually corrected afterwards. The tags with morphological annotation include lemma and grammatical features expressed morphologically in the token. The search in the corpus can be performed using wordform, lemma, or English translation.

The corpus can serve various purposes:

- linguistic research of all domains of the language;
- studying Modern Greek as a foreign language;
- studying variations in register and style, especially between Demotic and Katharevousa variants.

In future we plan to enhance our corpus in the following ways:

- augment its size;
- improve morphological annotation, especially for Katharevousa;

- perform automatic morphological disambiguation in the corpus (an ongoing project which is close to completion by now).

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Spyros Armostis (→Tsiplakou; Petinou)

Amalia Arvaniti (→Kapogianni)

Amalia Arvaniti & Argyro Katsika: Multiple cues to focus in Greek

Research on the syntax and pragmatics of focus often assumes that focus is associated with prominence, which is often in its turn said to be realized as high or rising pitch. In this view, phonetic details such as the distinction between high and rising pitch are seen as immaterial and often discarded. On the other hand, in the autosegmental-metrical framework used to study the intonation of focus, the existence of distinct pitch accents denoting focus is accepted; the differences between them are said to depend on the realization of pitch, especially differences in the alignment of tonal targets. The importance attributed to such differences leads to little tolerance for variability and has given rise to standing disagreements, e.g., as to whether English has a H* ~ L+H* contrast.

We used a corpus of Greek in which speakers read sentences such as ['ine apo

'malama] “it is made of gold” in contexts likely to lead to the realization of the focal accent on ['malama] as H* (new information), L+H* (contrastive accent) or H+L* (information considered by the speaker to be in the common ground and thus obvious). The three accents are by and large distinguished by differences in pitch: H* is realized as a fall within the stressed syllable; L+H* shows a rise before the fall; H+L* is realized as a fall from high pitch (realized on the syllable preceding the accented one). These differences, however, are not always present in exactly the same form: e.g., L+H* may be realized as a long plateau. Pitch scaling differences are also important, with H+L* always starting substantially higher than the other two accents. Further, phonetic parameters beyond pitch play a part in the realization of each accent: e.g., L+H* is accompanied by longer accented syllable duration. Finally, not all parameters need be present for the accent to be successfully identified.

The variable phonetic realization of accents and the use of multiple (and thus redundant) cues is in line with the view that a principled distinction must be maintained between the phonetics and phonology of intonation. Intonation should be treated as a component of phonology to which standard diagnostic criteria apply: attention should be paid not only to the phonetic details of accent realization but also to pragmatic meaning when establishing intonation contrasts, while intonation contrasts should not be collapsed when studying focus from a semantic or syntactic perspective. Finally, the idea that intonational contrasts are based exclusively on differences in pitch or that target alignment is the primary cue to accent should be abandoned in favour of a more nuanced view of the realization of intonation that takes into account both the autosegmental (f0-related) and the metrical (prominence-related) component of the AM framework and their associated phonetic exponents.

Athanasia Asylogistou, Raffaella Folli & Christina Sevdali: Ancient Greek prefixed verbs and the Res-to-v parameter

This talk focuses on the Ancient Greek (AG) system of encoding Path/Goal within the verbal domain. Talmy (1985) distinguishes between verb-framed and satellite-framed languages, based on whether languages chose to realise the goal of motion inside (v-framed) or outside (s-framed) the verb boundaries. One question that arises from his typology is how to adequately account for languages with morphologically transparent Path elements, obligatorily instantiated within the verb boundaries, as is the case with AG, Latin (Matellàn 2010), Russian (Svenonius 2004, Gehrke 2008) and Hungarian (Gehrke 2008). Folli & Harley (2013) argue that a Result-to-v parameter accounts for the typological variation of Motion Events; verb-framed languages have this parameter set on on and, therefore, the lexical content of the verb has to be supplied via head-movement.

In this talk we explore the system of prefixed verbs in AG, focusing on the combinatorial variety of prefixes, prepositional phrases, and oblique Case marked DPs used to express Goal in AG. We provide evidence that this type of AG verbs (cf. (1)) the Goal phrase is obligatorily instantiated within the verbal domain through head movement, along the lines of Folli & Harley's (2013) proposal.

(1) Prepositional prefix – verbal stem

Eis-erho-mai

In.come1SG-PRES

We further argue that in AG Res-to v surfaces in a number of different ways: prefixed verbs can leave a copy in the base-generated position (2), move part of the Goal Phrase (3), license an oblique Case DP complement of the moved prepositional prefix (4), (5), or combine all the aforementioned cases (6):

(2) apo-pe:de:santes apo tou logou (Plato, Theaetetus 164c)

off.leap-PAST-MASC-PTCL-PL from the-GEN argument-GEN

'leapt away from the argument'

(3) para Theodote:n eie:n eis-ele:lutho:s (Plato, Letters 349d)

by Theodotes-ACC be-OPT-1sg to.-RED.come-PERF-PTCL-MASC-SG

'I had come to Theodotes' s house'

(4) em-vallontes to:i [...] apanto:nti (Plato, Republic 563c) in.hit-PTCL-PRES-MASC-NOM-PL the-DAT meet-PTCL-PRES-MASC-NOM-SG

'bumping into everyone who they meet'

(5) Ek-kekroukas me elpidos (Plato, Phaedrus 228e)

Out.RED.bang/shake-PERF-2sg PRON-1sg-ACC hope-GEN

'you have shaken me out of hope'

(6) Hotan en auto:i deilian em-poie:i (Plato, Republic 590b)

When in PRON-3sg-DAT cowardness-ACC in.make-PAST-SUBJ-3pl

'when they input cowardice in it'

These data show that Res-to-v movement is morphologically transparent, in AG, and this provides further evidence in support of F&H's proposal. This is also an argument in favour of the evolution of Modern Greek into a 'verb-framed' language (Papafragou et al. 2002, Slobin 2006), where the Path is completely incorporated into the verbal domain.

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B

Julia Bacskai-Atkari:

Ambiguity and the Internal Structure of Comparative Complements in Greek

My talk focuses on a particular type of comparative constructions that displays ambiguity with case-syncretic remnants in Germanic, while in Greek the syntactic status of the element corresponding to "than" is decisive.

The construction is illustrated in (1):

(1) I saw a taller woman than my mother.

(A) 'I saw a taller woman than my mother saw.'

(B) 'I saw a taller woman than my mother is.'

In Germanic languages, (1) can be ambiguous if the remnant DP following than is case-ambiguous, though typically reading (A) is preferred (unless the context makes only reading (B) available). Unambiguously nominative remnants (e.g. "she") trigger reading (A) only: the predicative clause underlying (B) must be tenseless, as its antecedent in the matrix clause (the attributive adjective) is also tenseless, and the subject for this clause is assigned accusative case.

Greek shows the following pattern:

(2) Eida mia gynaike psiloteri...

saw.1SG a woman taller

'I saw a taller woman...'

a. ap'oti i mitera mou.

than the.NOM mother my

‘than my mother saw.’
 b. *ap’oti ti mitera mou.
 than the.ACC mother my
 # ‘than my mother.’
 c. apo ti mitera mou.
 from the.ACC mother my
 ‘than my mother is / ??than my mother saw.’
 d. tis miteras mou.
 the.GEN mother.GEN my
 ‘than my mother is.’

The Greek pattern can be explained as follows. Reduced clausal comparatives with the C head “ap’oti” are assigned reading (A) with nominative remnants, (2a), like in Germanic. However, the accusative case is not permitted, (2b): “ap’oti” takes tensed clauses only. Inherently genitive-marked DPs, (2d), are tenseless by definition since they are not clausal, hence only reading (B) is available; similar phenomena can be observed in Italian phrasal comparatives.

PPs headed by “apo”, (2c), seem to be exceptional: reading (B) is strongly preferred but reading (A) is also available (in an appropriate context): “apo” is a P head taking a clausal complement (Merchant 2009), which is either a tensed or not, and “apo” also moves from P to a functional p, which is an option attested also outside comparatives (Lechner and Anagnostopoulou 2005). Greek apo-comparatives are exceptional cross-linguistically only because (i) other P heads introducing comparative standard complements are unable to take tensed clauses, and (ii) other P heads do not take part in such movement, even though their position in multiple PPs show that they are base-generated as lower P.

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Metin Bağrıaçık:

Ki as a Spurious Complementizer in Phrasiot Greek

Language Setting: Phrasiot Greek (PhG) is an Asia Minor Greek dialect spoken today in few villages of West and Central Macedonia and Epirus by about 25 first and second generation refugees (Bağrıaçık in preparation).

Data Introduction: It is reported that PhG employs an optional conjunction (sic.) *ki* following the reporting/matrix predicate to introduce (i) direct quotations and (ii) embedded clauses. (Dawkins 1916:685, Anastasiadis 1976:259). Data from written and oral sources reveal that *ki* also functions as (iii) a coordinator-like morpheme connecting *reason* and *result* clauses of what I call a *reason-result*-construction, (iv) a complementizer-like morpheme occurring with a matrix predicate which—regardless of its original semantics/valency—always obtains a SEE/REALIZE-reading, (v) a morpheme obligatorily right-aligned to epistemic adverbs (Ernst 2003, Speas 2004) such as *clearly*, *evidently* and (vi) as a (root)-clause-final emphatic particle.

Aim: I propose a unified account of (i)–(vi), based on the Cartographic framework (Cinque and Rizzi 2010 and References therein, Cinque 1999). First, I show that *ki* is neither a complementizer nor a coordinator/Boolean operator in PhG, but an element that should nevertheless be related to higher portion of the CP-layer. Then, I will show that certain differences exist between (i)/(ii) and (iii)–(vi), such as constituent order and root nature of the second clauses in the latter group but not in the former. Some syntactic/semantic tests will reveal that *ki*—at least in (iii)–(vi)—realizes $\text{Mod}_{\text{Epistemic}}^0$. Thus epistemic adverbials are directly generated in the Spec, $\text{Mod}_{\text{Epistemic}}^P$ (v). Similarly, the first clause in (iii) and (iv) are also base-generated in the same position as adverbials. This explains all the syntactic and semantic peculiarities of these constructions. In (vi), the root clause is attracted to the same Spec position, and it is this movement that makes the clause emphatic (I will explain what is ‘emphatic’ in this construction). Finally, in (i)–(ii), I propose, by extension, that the predicate may optionally move to $\text{Mod}_{\text{Epistemic}}^P$, which makes the *ki* resemble an ordinary complementizer in these structures, and which explains differences of these constructions from those in (iii)–(vi).

ki is taken to be a (globally-)copied morpheme from Turkish. However, considering the fact that the functions of *ki* in Turkish and PhG do not entirely correspond to each other, this wholesale copying account raises some eyebrows. Thus, I propose two possible sources for the ultimate PhG *ki*: a Turkish one, and a Greek one *ke* ‘and’, which, especially in (Eastern?) Medieval Greek, was employed as a complementizer in lieu of *óti* and survives in MG only marginally.

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Tim Baldwin:

Multiword Expressions: From Theory to Practicum

In this talk, I will first present a general overview of what multiword expressions are and what forms they occur in across the world's languages, and then present preliminary work on an approach to automatically determining the range and distribution of multiword expressions in a "novel" language, focusing on Greek.

Mary Baltazani & Pepi Stavropoulou:

Early focus effects on post focal prosodic structure

This paper discusses the effects of early focus on pitch accent realization and prosodic phrasing in the post focal domain. Early focus has been argued to cause deaccenting and possibly dephrasing of post focal material (Truckenbrodt, 1995; Ladd, 1996). There is recent evidence however, (a) for alternative strategies to deaccenting, like tonal compression (Jaeger, 2004; Jun & Fougeron, 2000; Hellmuth, 2006) and (b) that phrasing may remain intact despite deaccenting (Norcliffe & Jaeger, 2005). Such reports challenge two key assumptions of the traditional Autosegmental Metrical view (Beckman & Pierrehumbert, 1986; Ladd, 1996): a) that there should be at least one accent in each prosodic phrase and b) that there are no post nuclear pitch accents.

This study examines the effect of early focus on accenting and phrasing in Modern Greek. We investigate (a) how consistently de-accenting occurs and (b) whether de-accenting co-occurs with dephrasing in a production experiment on the realization of list structures in the post focal domain. Capitalizing on the strong requirement for each element in a list structure to be produced within its own phrase (Nespor & Vogel, 1996) we created materials crossing two conditions: Focus (Early, Late) and Boundary Strength (+IP, -IP) as follows. Late Focus (1a,b) was the default condition

of neutral sentences where each list item was produced within its own phrase ending in a H boundary; in Early Focus (2a,b) the lists are placed in the post focal field, thus forcing this phrasing requirement to be antagonistic to the requirements for post-focal dephrasing/ deaccenting. As list item boundary tones are reversed from H to L after focus (Baltazani & Jun 1999) and can therefore be difficult to detect, we used two segmental criteria to detect boundaries: s-voicing (voicing of an [s] before a sonorant is more likely phrase medially than across a strong boundary; Pelekanou & Arvaniti 2001; Baltazani 2006) and phrase final lengthening (Kainada 2010; Katsika 2012). Target words ending in [s] (*nuveles* 'novels' in 1 and 2 below), followed by voiced sonorants were placed either next to a list phrase boundary (+IP condition 1a, 2a) or phrase medially (-IP 1b, 2b).

1a. Late Focus (-F) +IP

sto licio djavazame istories]IP nuveles]IP mistiria]IP ce paramiθça]IP

"In high school we read short stories, novels, mysteries and fairy tales."

1b. Late Focus (-F) -IP

sto licio djavazame istories]IP nuveles mistiriu]IP ce paramiθça]IP

"In high school we read short stories, mystery novels and fairy tales."

2a. Early Focus (+F) +IP

sto [licio]F djavazame istories]IP nuveles]IP mistiria]IP ce paramiθça]IP

"(No,) In HIGH SCHOOL we read short stories, novels, mysteries and fairy tales."

2b. Early Focus (+F) -IP

sto [licio]F djavazame istories]IP nuveles mistiriu]IP ce paramiθça]IP

"(No,) In HIGH school we read short stories, mystery novels and fairy tales."

Preliminary results for s-voicing and preboundary lengthening suggest that phrasing is preserved in the post focal domain. Pausing and final lowering of F0 observed at phrase boundaries also served as additional cues to phrasing. Finally, intonational analysis of the post focal field revealed both compressed pitch accents and headless phrases, suggesting that the two strategies (deaccenting and tonal compression) co-occur and dephrasing is independent of deaccenting.

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Maria Barouni:

Challenging strict negative concord in Greek: the case of *Oute*

The current talk is focusing on *oute*, a particle with ambiguous interpretation, and proposes a syntactic analysis to account for its distribution. *Oute* belongs to a class of n-words in Greek which so far has been neglected in the discussion of Negative Concord (NC henceforth), displaying properties similar to the elements of non-strict Negative Concord Languages (NCLs henceforth). People fall into two groups regarding the distribution of *oute*. Variety A treats *oute* as a Strict NC element with the meaning of "even", and as non-strict NC element with the meaning of "neither/nor". On the other hand, variety B licenses both interpretations in both structures (though with certain restrictions (Barouni to appear)). The above data pose a challenge for any theory of NC which assumes a strict dichotomy between strict and non-strict NCL. Therefore, firstly, I am showing that a prevalent syntactic theory, that of ZEIJLSTRA (2004, 2008), fails to account for the above facts in its current form. Then, I propose a new analysis based on ZEIJLSTRA (2004, 2008), but deviating from it in crucial assumptions. More precisely, I claim that the negative markers (NMs) in both strict and non-strict NCLs carry interpretable features [INEG]. Further, I argue that the semantic interpretation of negative elements is not restricted to its surface syntactic position. Finally, it is suggested that the Neg^o in NCLs, both strict

and non-strict ones, is always filled, either with an overt NM or a silent one. A theory with these assumptions, which are empirically motivated, can adequately account for the data of *oute*, as well as for any language with 'hybrid' properties, such as Afrikaans. Overall, the current analysis supports the view that there is no cut and clear distinction between strict and non-strict NCLs, in that any strict NCL may have n-words with non-strict NC properties. These cases, which are intermediate stages of a language from a non-strict NCL to a strict one, or vice versa, should be properly included in any analysis of NC.

Sofia Belioti:

The Etymological Wordplay in the Funerary Epigrams (Anth. Pal. VII)

The epigram constitutes one of the most persistent and long lasting genres of ancient Greek literature. Initially the term ἐπίγραμμα had exactly the same meaning with the word ἐπιγραφή (inscription), which denoted writing by inscribing on material whose primary use was rather different. During the early classical period (5th century BCE) epigrams –in contrast to their archaic predecessor– begin to be more elaborate. The use of allusive language and etymological wordplay are very important characteristics of the epigrams and they are connected with the nature of this genre, in which the epigrammatist tries to express many ideas in a few verses through etymological wordplay, whose main aim depends on the theme of the epigram, the period in which it has been written, as well as the influences of the epigrammatist.

As far as the funerary epigrams is concerned (Anth. Pal. VII), it is worth stating that they are modes of communication between the anonymous versifiers and the future passers-by, something which could explain the association between the funerary epigrams and the gnomic statements that are constituent parts of them. For that reason, the epigrammatists –through their linguistic skillfulness– try to use concrete devices, textual characteristics, allusive language and etymological wordplays in order to reflect religious beliefs, cultural values and social concerns. Furthermore, the public display of inscribed epitaphs becomes an important factor for the interpretation of certain formulaic characteristics of funerary epigrams, as the epitaphs, as well as the funerary epigrams were the sounding-board for crucial social concerns of the city state during a transitional period and that they constitute an expression of family honour. In this paper, I will try to explore the contrast between the public display of the monument and the private commemoration of the deceased in association with the epigrammatists' linguistic skills and manipulation of the language in the funerary epigrams of the Greek Anthology. To be more specific, I will attempt to show how the language and the use of etymological wordplay could be a way of

expressing social norms and values, as well as alluding information about the dead e.g. age, education, profession etc.. Furthermore, it would be very interesting to examine the etymological wordplay and the effect of the social aspects –including cultural norms, expectations, and context– on the way the language is used, something which is subject of sociolinguistics. It would be also very interesting to point out that the above-mentioned contrast is coherent to the contrast between sociolinguistics and sociology of languages. On the one hand the private commemoration of the deceased is connected with the expression of social norms and the effect of society on the language (sociolinguistics). On the other hand the public display of the monument is associated with the language's effect on the society (sociology of language).

Roberta Berardi:

Linguistic tools in studying Greek texts: the case of Demosthenes in Photius's Bibliotheca

This paper analyses the initial paragraphs of patriarch Photius' commentary on Demosthenes's corpus in chapter 265 of his *Bibliotheca*. Its first goal is to demonstrate how Photius understood the style of the most-famous Greek orator. Thus, Photius' commentary may allow us to understand how a ninth century Byzantine thinker engaged with the language of the most representative personality of fourth century b. C. Attic oratory. Its second aim is to unpick which of Photius's observations are based on his interpretation of earlier sources and which are the result of his own reading of Demosthenes's work. Some scholars maintain that the patriarch failed to study the corpus, assuming that his chapter merely derives from other commentaries. This approach reduces Photius' work to the derivative and the purely 'Byzantine'. Is it really possible that the learned Photius never read Demosthenes's orations? A close analysis of the language from which he constructed his commentary suggests that this is a question that can be answered. Carefully analysing the Byzantine elements in Photius' writing and those with classical roots can place the text in a truer context. To do it, it is necessary to find (with the aid of the online TLG) all the attestations of rhetorical terms contained in this chapter, in order to see how many times they occur in Classical, Late Antique and Byzantine Literature, and then classify them according to their meaning. The same procedure could be repeated for other relevant terms. Afterwards, these data are improved through the consultation of ancient and modern lexicons. A particular attention is paid to the information given by Dionysius of Alicarnassus about Demosthenes' style and language. The following step is to make a statistic about all these data and determining through it, if possible, which paragraphs include an entirely Byzantine language and which do not. Finally, an attempt is made to establish whether a styli-

stic criterion is to be trusted as a reliable tool in the analysis of a written work. What emerges from this study is how important a combined use of different cultural tools and skills can be in examining an ancient text.

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Roberta Berardi (→ Filosa)

Svetlana Berikashvili:

Influence of Contact Languages on Grammatical Gender in Pontic Greek (spoken in Georgia)

The paper presents an empirical study on cross-linguistic influence of contact languages (Turkish, Georgian, and Russian) on the process of transference (including loanwords, loan-blends and code-switches) in Pontic Greek. The presentation focusses on the influence in the domain of Grammatical Gender in Pontic Greek spoken in Georgia. The study is based on corpus data, which are collected through several fieldwork periods in the Pontic-speaking community of Georgia (by Evgenia Kotanidi, Svetlana Berikashvili & Stavros Skopeteas 2005, 2014).

The novel contribution of this presentation is (a) that it presents data of an understudied variety of the Pontic dialect (as currently spoken in Georgia) and (b) that it compares the morphological integration of words originating in concatenative languages with words originating in non-concatenative languages in order to disentangle the role of the source language in transference phenomena.

Grammatical gender is one of the most interesting issues in Pontic Greek morphology. It has only partially preserved the Greek Gender System, while the main dif-

ference to SG is the morpho-syntactic role of the animacy hierarchy. As a result of this feature the decline of grammatical gender in Pontic is assumed to be due to the contact with a language of the concatenative morphological type, namely Turkish. In the case of Pontic speakers of Georgia, the contact languages at issue are two languages with concatenative morphology (Turkish, Georgian) and a language with non-concatenative morphology (Russian). This paper outlines the changes this contact causes while transferring single words or constructions. The discussed topics can be presented as follows: a) changes of grammatical gender in single occurring words (transferred from Russian, Georgian and Turkish); b) influence of contact languages in the selection of gender in the agreement of nominals (adjectives, pronouns) based on animacy; c) tendency of Neuterization (internal factor of the dialect), which is characteristic to Greek in general; d) metaplasm of the gender in the plural forms of the borrowed nouns based on animacy; e) the use of the article to indicate gender while transferring embedded language islands; and f) neuter agreement in the predicate-argument domain.

The claim is that influence of contact languages stimulates different processes in language, from one hand the impact of agglutinative languages (Turkish, Georgian) alongside with the internal factor (tendency of Neuterization) causes decline of the use of grammatical gender, while from the other hand the influence of non-concatenative morphology (Russian) reduces the tendency of the gender loss in Pontic.

Sofia Bimpikou (→Alexandropoulou)

C

Costas Canakis:

Talking about same-sex parenthood in contemporary Greece

This paper investigates aspects of discourses on same-sex parenthood in contemporary Greece based on data derived from semi-structured interviews which are part of a broader interdisciplinary project on parenthood and kinship vis-à-vis assisted reproductive technologies (ARTs). As ARTs have seriously enhanced the chances of same-sex couples for parenthood in Greece, there have emerged new opportunities for the investigation of discourse produced by a part of the population for which parenthood has been typically relegated to the realm of the unthinkable. This is a recurrent issue in the interviews we are focusing on here: two gay men and two lesbian women in same-sex relationships, who have decided to have a child by

artificial insemination, give lengthy accounts of this experience while repositioning themselves not only vis-à-vis gender, sexuality, and parenthood, but social institutions and gender-appropriate expectations at large. They use this opportunity to construct rich narratives of their life stories which negotiate proscriptions and possibilities and “make a statement” in an attempt to resignify their own position as gendered and sexed citizens.

The challenge of any such study is to combine research on the narrative construction of gender and sexuality (e.g. Archakis & Lampropoulou 2009) vis-à-vis both time-honored and changing norms. We propose that various perspectives on sexuality as identity (Bucholtz & Hall 2004) and desire (Cameron & Kulick 2003) as well as recent queer linguistic approaches to discourse (Motschenbacher & Stegu 2013) can be fruitfully explored to this effect.

Based on research on discourse and social identity focusing on narratives (Bamberg 1997, Archakis & Tsakona 2012, De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2012), we are investigating aspects of the discourse produced by the prospective parents regarding the self, the child, the family, and their social visibility and status. We maintain that this is preeminently a discourse of tensions between resistance to existing norms and claims for social change. As such, it is characterized both by “doing being ordinary” (Sacks 1984) and by explicit attempts at naturalizing the “extraordinary” (cf. Lawrence 1996). Moreover, the perceived tensions are not limited to the subjectivity/identity of any one of the people involved, but can be traced back to the collective experience of a community of practice presented with new opportunities and challenges.

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Andrea Ceolin (→Guardiano)

Andreas Charatzidis, Athanasios Georgopoulos, Despina Papadopoulou & Alexandros Tantos:

Anaphora Resolution in Greek: A corpus-based study

Anaphora resolution investigates the complex discursive association of anaphoric expressions with their antecedents as well as the linguistic circumstances – semantic, pragmatic and syntactic – under which this relation is established. The aim of this corpus study is to investigate the anaphoric pReferences of subject anaphoric expressions – DPs or pronouns – in Greek and to explore the factors that dictate the accessibility level of antecedents. Ariel’s *Accessibility Theory* (1990) predicts variation on the behavior of anaphoric expressions regarding the saliency of their antecedents, in that anaphoric expressions that contain less linguistic material seem to be linked to more salient antecedents and vice versa. Additionally, the Centering Theory (Grosz, Joshi & Weinstein, 1995) and the Parallel Preference (Chambers & Smyth 1998) accounts maintain that the syntactic position affects antecedent prominence. *Topicality* also has a significant impact on saliency, since topic antecedents tend to be more salient than non-topic antecedents (Ariel, 1990). Moreover, the focus on the “packaging” of the linguistic message, as conceived by Information Structure approaches (e.g. Krifka, 2006), provides ground to interpret discourse topic as well as [topic shift] in relation to both anaphoric expressions and antecedents. Finally, according to the Right Frontier Constraint (RFC, Asher & Lascarides, 2003; 2007), the type of rhetoric relations amongst utterances affects anaphora resolution. More specifically, only antecedents which are in the RF (the previous utterance and any utterance in subordination relation with it) of the anaphoric expression are possible referents (see Χαρατζίδης 2014 for empirical support on RF in Greek). In the present study we explore how all these factors affect Greek anaphora resolution by means of a 30,000-word corpus, which consists of written texts produced by native speakers of Greek. The texts were of narrative, descriptive and argumentative style so as to have a representation of different genres. The material gathered was annotated using the UAM corpus tool in terms of the anaphoric

expression and their antecedent(s) properties, such as their form, their syntactic position, their information structure features and their position in relation to the RF. Preliminary results indicate that discourse factors, such as the RFC, topicality and the [topic shift] feature, play a significant role in pronoun resolution in Greek. Moreover, each of these factors seems to interact with the syntactic function of the antecedent in a different way. Our findings will be discussed in relation to (a) previous work in pronoun resolution in Greek (e.g. Dimitriadis, 1996; Miltsakaki, 2001; 2007; Papadopoulou et al., 2014) as well as (b) current theories about pronoun resolution.

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Chariton Charitonidis:

Evaluative heads in Modern Greek and English compounding

This lecture deals with the semantic operations in two-word Modern Greek (MG) and English (EN) compounds expressing positive or negative stance, taken from Ralli (2007, 2013) and Algeo (1991), respectively. In the analysis an evaluative/pragmatic level of meaning with special properties is deployed, i.e. the socio-expressive (SE) tier (Charitonidis 2014). In this tier {+stance} refers to a positive stance towards a situation or entity, and {-stance} refers to a negative stance towards a situation or entity.

In MG, the linking of denotational (DE, i.e. semantic and/or categorial) and SE (evaluative) heads yields two main classes of two-word compounds, i.e. phrasal [A N] compounds (class A_{MG}) and phrasal [N N] or [N N_{GEN}] compounds (class B_{MG}).

For instance, in the A_{MG} compound *mávr(i) aghor(á)* 'black market' in (1), the right-hand constituent is the DE head and the left-hand constituent is the SE head. In contrast, in the B_{MG} compound *eterí(a) maimú* 'dummy corporation' (lit. company monkey) in (2), the left-hand constituent is the DE head and the right-hand constituent is the SE head. In both (1) and (2), {-stance} survives in the output in competition with {+stance}.

(1)	[NON-HEAD] (A)			[HEAD] (N)			[OUTPUT] (N)	
	<i>mávr(i)</i>	,black' (,illegal')	+	<i>aghor(á)</i>	,market'	→	<i>mávr(i) aghor(á)</i>	,black market'
	{-stance}			{+stance}			{-stance}	
(2)	[HEAD] (N)			[NON-HEAD] (N)			[OUTPUT] (N)	
	<i>eterí(a)</i>	,company'	+	<i>maimú</i>	,dummy' (lit. monkey)	→	<i>eterí(a) maimú</i>	,dummy corporation'
	{+stance}			{-stance}			{-stance}	

Accordingly, a different linking of DE and SE heads defines two main classes of compounds in EN, i.e. one class with a right-hand DE head and a *right-hand* SE head, cf. *brain drain*, etc., and one class with a left-hand SE head and a right-hand DE head, cf. *trash television*, etc.

This analysis is in accord with pragmatic accounts such as that in Recanati (1993, 2004), Weiskopf (2007), etc. The {stance} operations in the EN compounds are largely confirmed according to visual recognition tasks described in Kuperman (2013) and Warriner, Kuperman, and Brysbaert (2013). In these works, the {stance} category shows up as the semantic variable 'valence' gauging the amount of pleasantness or discomfort that a person feels when reading a word.

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Chariton Charitonidis:

Levelling in verbal derivation: the case of colour verbs in Modern Greek

Berlin and Kay (1969) defined seven evolutionary stages of basic colour vocabulary depending on the number of Basic Colour Terms (BCTs) that a particular language has. Languages with eight to eleven BCTs are assigned to stage VII.

(1) [Berlin & Kay 1969: 4]

I white, black

II red

IIIa/IIIb green or yellow

IV green and yellow

V blue

VI brown

VII purple, pink, orange, grey

Colour verbs in Modern Greek (MG) are mainly derived by means of *-ízo*, cf. *kokinízo* ‘become/make red’ (*kókinio* ‘red’), *movízo* ‘become/make purple’ (*mov* ‘purple’), etc. The base adjectives at Stages I–IV end in *-os*, *-i*, *-o* for masculine, feminine, and neuter, respectively, cf. *kókinos*, *kókini*, *kókinio* ‘red’ in *kokinízo* ‘become/make red’ at stage II, etc. Each of these endings is associated with a different inflectional class (IC), i.e. IC1, IC3, and IC5, respectively, and is not stressed (see Ralli 2005: 119–120). After the exceptional Stages V–VII, mainly containing verbs of French origin, cf. *movízo* ‘become/make purple’ (*mov* ‘purple’), *rozízo* ‘become/make pink’ (*roz* ‘pink’), etc., and with the exception of the onset stage beyond Stage VII containing *ghalázio/ghalanó* ‘light blue’ as a 12th BCT (Androulaki et al. 2006), MG colour verbs follow a highly uniform pattern. They have as bases adjectives in *-í*, assigned to IC6, cf. *ladhízo* ‘become olive-green’ (*ladhí* ‘olive-green’), *visinízo* ‘become cherry red’ (*visiní* ‘cherry red’), etc. This ending is always stressed and at the same time derivational. Overall, at high stages a very productive morphological pattern, i.e. the derivation of adjectives from nouns by means of the ending *-í*, is accompanied by the suffixation of a highly productive element, i.e. *ízo* (Charitonidis 2005, 2011, Efthymiou 2011, Efthymiou et al. 2012).

In the lecture I will argue that these patterns of unification are a special case of morphological levelling (cf. Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 273–274). At the same time I will present the corresponding levelling patterns of English colour verbs and I will give a principled account of the similarities and differences in both languages. Towards this goal I will additionally draw on further findings on BCTs in Kay & McDaniel (1978) and Kay & Maffi (1999).

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Georgios Chatziioannidis (→Tantos)

Tasos Chatzikonstantinou, Anastasia Giannakidou & Christina Manouilidou: Gradient Strength of NPI licensers

Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) including Greek NPIs are known to be licensed by negation as well as downward entailing (DE) and nonveridical expressions that may not be explicitly negative (Giannakidou, 1998, 2006). NPI licensers do not all come with the same strength. Negation itself is the strongest licenser, but licensers that are mere DE as “few”, are weaker (called minimal negation in Zwarts 1996):

- (1) Η Αριάδνη δεν είδε τίποτα. (Strong Negation)
- (2) Ελάχιστοι θεατές είδαν τίποτα. (Minimal Negation)

Giannakidou (1998, 2006) postulates that there is an additional class of licensers such as “only” and “emotive factive” verbs that are not, strictly speaking (i.e. logically, at LF) negative, but may license NPIs indirectly via negation in the non-assertion. E.g. “I am amazed that you talked to anybody” presupposes that I didn’t expect you to talk to anybody. Giannakidou calls this “indirect licensing” and is a secondary licensing mechanism compared to LF licensing. The current investigation contributes empirical evidence showing the difference in the three kinds of licensers. Experimental Task: 75 native speakers of Greek were presented with 30 statements-pairs and were asked to point on a 1–5 scale whether the second statement is an acceptable continuation of the first. Importantly, the second statement contained the NPI *ποτέ*, the type of dependency tested in this study. Materials included five types of (S2) continuations differing on the (non)licensers (table 1). Sentence structure was kept as similar as possible e.g.

(S1) Τα ειδικά εφέ είναι ακριβιά.

(S2) Ελάχιστοι / Μου έκανε εντύπωση / Μόνο σκηνοθέτες χρησιμοποίησαν ποτέ ειδικά εφέ.

or for negation

(S2) Κανείς σκηνοθέτης δεν χρησιμοποίησε ποτέ ειδικά εφέ.

Based on the nature of the dependency, we expect direct licensing to be more felicitous than indirect. We predict that within indirect licensing, some of these licensors may carry minimal negativity (ελάχιστοι) whereas others not (e.g. factives) and additionally some may lead only to negative implicatures (ελάχιστοι) whereas others to both negative and positive (μόνο). Therefore, we predict the following acceptability scale:

negation > ελάχιστοι > μόνο/emotive factives > no-licenser

Results (Table 1) show that each licenser was associated with different degree of acceptability with all t-tests comparing conditions being highly significant. This finding indicates: a) a distinction between licensing by negation and licensing by DE (ελάχιστοι), and (b) further difference between licensing by entailment (both cases in (a) and (pragmatic) licensing via non-asserted negation. Overall then we have the existence of a gradient strength of NPI licensing depending on the nature of the dependency and the semantic/pragmatic profile of the licenser. These differences cannot be captured in uni-dimensional accounts such that von Stechow 1999, who do not differentiate between modes of licensing (direct vs. indirect) and strength of licensors.

(table 1)

Licenser Dependency Acceptability Rate

negation direct licensing 4.7

ελάχιστοι direct licensing, DE 3.5

μονο indirect licensing 2.5

emotive factive indirect licensing 2.3

no-licenser - 0.3

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Stergios Chatzikyriakidis & Dimitris Michelioudakis:

On the syntax of association with focus in Greek

The contribution of sentences with Focus Associating Operators (FAOs), like English *only* in (1), crucially depends on the choice of *associate* for the FAO. The associate of a FAO is determined by a combination of syntactic and prosodic factors. In, e.g., (1), the associate corresponds to the element with prosodic prominence, i.e. *a book*, even though the FAO itself attaches to the VP *gave a book to Mary*. Importantly, association is only possible under the syntactic requirement that *only* c-commands its associate. (See Beaver & Clark 2008 for recent overview)

(1) John only gave a BOOK to Mary.

‘John gave a book, and nothing else, to Mary.’

To the best of our knowledge, the issue of how associates are determined for Greek FAOs has never been systematically explored. This talk establishes the basic generalizations that govern this determination, focusing on two FAOs; the exclusive *mono* ‘only’ and additive *ke* ‘and’. Greek seems to generally pattern with English in that the associate canonically corresponds to the prosodically most prominent element. However, Greek exhibits systematic cases in which the c-command requirement appears to be violated, at least superficially, as in, e.g. (2) and (3).

(2) O Janis penepse mono ti Maria. Den ekane tipota alo olo to proi.

(3) Q: Ti ekane o Janis to proi?

A: Protá, efage patatakia. Isterá, penepse ke ti Maria.

Pressuposition: John did something other than praising Mary.

We establish the syntactic factors that determine association with focus in this language. We argue that association with focus in Greek is subject to a syntactic requirement of sisterhood. We use this to probe into the properties of Greek clause structure and provide novel evidence that (i) finite verbs are subject to V-to-T movement, (ii) nonfinite verb forms also move higher than *v*, (iii) the subject in VS orders is obligatorily *vP*-internal, (iv) the subject in SV orders is not obligatorily left-dislocated, (v) focus associating adverbs do not occupy a fixed position on the clausal spine. Notice that the case of additive *ke* comes with its own set of challenges, as it is well known that *ke* performs a variety of different functions (Tsiplakou 2005). We develop criteria that unambiguously distinguish between its different uses and make a suggestion as to how additive *ke* might have arisen from a use of the conjunction particle *ke* as a distributive operator.

**Stergios Chatzikyriakidis, Dimitris Michelioudakis & Giorgos Spathas:
Promiscuous *by*-phrases in Greveniotika Greek**

This paper investigates the grammar of genitive constructions in Greveniotika Greek (GG), a variety of Greek spoken in the North-western part of the country in and around the city of Grevena. We show that next to a construal introducing possessors and other arguments of nominals using (morphological) genitive case, as in Standard Modern Greek, (SMG), GG employs a construal in which possessors and arguments of the nominal are introduced by *apo*-phrases '*by*-phrases'. So, whereas *apo*-phrases in SMG can only introduce Sources/Agents, *apo*-phrases in GG can be used to introduce all types of arguments expressed by genitives. We exemplify this with the case of a deverbal noun in (1). Whereas in SMG, (1) can only mean that the mayor described something, it is ambiguous in GG; (1) can also mean that someone described the mayor.

- (1) I perigrafi apo ton dimarxo GG
the description by the mayor
'The mayor's description/the description of the mayor'

Crucially, we show that '*apo DP*' in GG is not simply an alternative exponent of morphological genitive. DPs with inflected genitives and *apo* differ syntactically in a number of ways. For instance, whereas genitives can only introduce a single argument, as in (2), *apo DPs* can be used to introduce more arguments, as in (3).

- (2) *I perigrafi tu dimarxu tu dimosiografo GG/SMG
the description the mayor.GEN the journalist.GEN
'The mayor's description of the journalist'
- (3) I perigrafi apo ton dimarxo apo ton dimosiografo GG
the description by the mayor by the journalist.GEN
'The journalist's description of the mayor/
?The mayor's description of the journalist'

This is compatible with an analysis of SMG as having a unique functional projection licensing inflected genitives, Longobardi's (2001) GenO (5), while *apo DPs* are freely iterable 'free' prepositional genitives of the sort found in Romance (*di/de-DPs*). As such, inflected genitives are expected to display strict hierarchy effects (Possessor>Agent/Author>Theme) with respect to another functional position, e.g. pre-adjectival possessives, arguably in Longobardi's (*ibid.*) GenS (4), while no hierarchy

and ordering effects obtain among prepositional genitives (3). When an inflected genitive co-occurs with an *apo-DP*, the latter is expected to be incompatible with a possessor reading, but not with an agent reading since this remains a possible (non-genitive) realization of demoted agents.

- (4) I diki mu fotografia tu dimarxu GG/SMG
The my picture the mayor.GEN
'My picture of the mayor'
(poss>author/theme, author>theme, *theme>poss/author, *author>poss)
- (5) [D... [GenS [(A*) [N GenO [_{NP} t_N ... (free-GEN)

Anastasia Chionidou (→Nikolaidis)

**Michael Chiou:
the pragmatics of future tense in Greek**

Even though epistemically and metaphysically the future is unknown, communicatively, speakers can make predictions or simple statements of fact about the future, which can be labelled '*prospective readings*', by the use of the future tense.

In Greek, future tense (henceforth FUT) is formed with the particle *tha* ($\theta\alpha$ = will) followed by the [+perfective], [-past] verb form. Current research (see Giannakidou 2009, 2012, 2014 Giannakidou & Mari 2012, 2013, 2014, Holton et al. 1997, Tsangalidis 1999), has shown that: a) particle *tha* is an epistemic modal operator with present (now) perspective and b) the Greek [+perfective], [-past] verb form cannot function as an independent tense and therefore it is treated as a non-deictic time. Moreover, it has been argued (Giannakidou 2013) that FUT constructions are semantically non-veridical assertions conveying partitioned, non-homogenous epistemic states which allow for at least two alternative updates, namely, *p* and $\sim p$. In other words, at the level of sentence meaning, FUT constructions have the semantics of inquisitive assertions and convey epistemic possibility ($p/\sim p$). Nevertheless, what is actually communicated is an informative statement conveying an apparently homogenous epistemic state, namely, a future prospective reading (*p* only).

The question then arises: how a non-homogenous modal interpretation (epistemic possibility) at the level of sentence meaning turns out as a future prospective reading (epistemic necessity) at the level of what is communicated?

In this paper, building upon the theoretical findings so far, I argue that the preferred prospective reading is not compositional but it arises as a default, more informative reading of the modal semantic base. A way forward, is to propose that the future

prospective reading of FUT constructions is a generalised conversational implicature, in the spirit of Levinson (2000), triggered by virtue of background assumptions about language use, interacting closely with the form of what has been said.

This study adds up to the arguments in support of the theorising that future tense is subsumed under modality. Moreover, it puts forth the idea that future tense, at least in the case of Greek, is achieved at the level of communication and it is subject to a body of knowledge and practice related with the use of language, semantic information and the availability of alternate expressions.

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Maria Chondrogianni:

Assertions-in-disguise in Greek political debates

Declarative sentence type utterances are used by speakers in order to impart information, whilst interrogative sentence types express the speakers' intention 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 (Givon 1989).

In this paper we analyse the function of utterances disguised as questions that speakers use in political debates- as part of the recent Greek pre-election campaign and post- elections discussions- to express assertions. We demonstrate that such uses form part of a grammatical system through the interface of pragmatics with morphosyntax and phonology; we show that in such disguised uses of the indicative, a question-like intonation is adopted to achieve a special effect. Sadock (1971, 1974) shows that a rhetorical question has the illocutionary force of an assertion (and a polarity opposite of what is asked), as in example (1) by the Greek Prime Minister.

(1) Ποιος μπορεί να ζητάει από μια κυβέρνηση με νωπή εντολή και με πρωτοφανή κοινωνική αποδοχή και στήριξη, να αποδεχθεί ότι ο λαός της δεν είναι κυρίαρχος; Pios bori na zitai apo mia kubernisi me nopi entoli ke me protofani kinoniki apochoi ke stirixi, na apodechthi oti o laos tis den ine kiriarchos?

Who may request a government with a fresh mandate and unprecedented social acceptance and support, to accept that the people are not sovereign?

Athanasiadou (1991), examining students-lecturers dialogues, states that the function of such utterances is to hold the attention of the speaker, sometimes in order to give prominence to a particular argument.

(2) Και, αλήθεια, ποιον θα βοηθούσε μια τέτοια εξέλιξη στην Ευρώπη; Ke alithia, pion tha voithouse mia tetia exeliki stin Evropi?

And, truly, who would help such a development in Europe?

Similarly, Athanasiadou states that such utterances might express reproach or wonder, while they might reflect the personal engagement or concern of the speaker in relation to a particular situation. Applying the discussion to recent Greek political debates, we demonstrate that the fundamental difference between rhetorical questions/assertions in disguise and interrogatives is that the speaker does not intend to elicit information. Even when his/her assertion in disguise is directly addressed to a political opponent, they are commonly used to criticise the addressee's behaviour. Using tools from pragmatics, morphosyntax and phonology (with relevant PRAAT analysis) we show how assertions in disguise are codified in the system.

Paraskevi Christidou (→Fyndanis)

Valentina Christodoulou & Elena Ioannidou:

Voicing and Silencing within class: the case of legitimacy, power and access to discourse in a multilingual/multi-ethnic class of a private school in Cyprus

The current paper reports on the results of a small scale ethnographic study of a

Year 9 class in a multilingual urban school. The study investigates issues of negotiation, accessibility and (legitimacy of) rights in the classroom's dominant discourse (Fairclough, 2001). In detail, the study deals with the ways in which a class of Year 9 students of a Private English School in Cyprus negotiate their identity through language choices and interaction in class. We investigate the ways in which such choices or interactions influence their positioning within the group's whole and the school's social landscape (cf. Tusting, 2005), as well as their participation in class. The class under discussion is formed by students of Greek-Cypriot, Russian and English origin. The main method of data collection is participant observation combined with audio-recorded interaction during their English lessons, in addition to focus-group discussions/interviews. The Communities of Practice (CoP) framework (Wenger, 1998) has proven extremely useful in our approach of the classroom environment, while for the purposes of the data analysis we adopted a sociolinguistic, discourse analytic and ethnographic approach.

An initial analysis of the data revealed that language choices shape communicative life within the classroom during the English lesson. It was found that the use of different codes functioned as different forms of power and legitimacy; the use of Cypriot-Greek (CG) language reflected the power of solidarity and membership in the dominant community while the shared code between teacher and Cypriot-Greek students legitimated the school's 'forbidden code'. On the other hand, English reflected power in terms of academic achievement and access and power in classroom discourse (Asker and Martin Jones, 2013). Finally, resistance - as a form of participation (Wenger, 1998) - in the use of the English language during lessons, relies heavily on language difficulties as well as on students' desire to maintain social solidarity (Rampton, 2005; Morita, 2004), since non-native speakers of CG tend to be marginalised.

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Anastasia Christofidou, Athanasios Karasimos, Rebecca Vassiliadou:
From defining to semi-automated detecting (neological) multi-word compounds. A plan to enrich a database of neologisms

The continuum between phrasal constructions (lexical collocations, fixed expressions, idioms), multi-word compounds and morphological structures (one-word compounds) has been the focus of the scholarly interest over the past two decades. In many studies, multi-word compounds are considered as a type of phrase structures (for Greek see Booij 2008, Μπακάκου 2005), while in others a enhanced lexical autonomy is assigned to them by employing specific criteria (for Greek see Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1986, Ράλλη 2007, Χριστοφίδου 2012, for English Lieber 2005 among others).

According to Christofidou (2012), the already proposed morphological and syntactic criteria (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1986, Ράλλη 2007, Κολιοπούλου 2009), although crucial, are not completely sufficient for the distinction of multi-word constructions to lexical or syntactic ones. Additionally, she proposes semantic criteria (cf. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη, Ralli & Stavrou 1998) on the basis of a prototypical hierarchy from one-word compounds to phrases.

The objectives of our research are to find additional (contextual) criteria for the afore-mentioned distinction by *NeoDimia*, an electronic program for finding, sorting and analyzing neologisms and terms. For this purpose, we will present the plan of expanding the potential of the program to semi-automatic detection of multi-word constructions; in the current state of this program only the one-word neologisms can be detected.

Taking advantage of using the newspapers corpus (collected by the crawler of NeoDimia), we will investigate how the context and co-text of the proposed multi-word compounds can be configured and parametrized. Based on this configuration and parametrization we will try to define contextual and other criteria, in order to describe the boundaries between multi-word compounds and other verbal constructions, after taking into consideration previous similar researches (Maynard & Ananiadou 2001, Photopoulou etc. 2009 among others). Based on an adaptation of using bigrams and trigrams (cf. Johnson *et al.* 2006) and with the assistance of concordance tables, the ability to retrieve structures with high frequency of co-occurrence will be given to the program; this information will be accompanied by con-/co-text data for the best assessment of the structures as possible (neological) multi-word compounds (Greek-originated words or calques). The afore-mentioned semantic criteria will serve as filters to limit the candidate structures that arise from the program.

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Katerina Christopoulou, George Xydopoulos & Anastasios Tsangalidis: Grammatical gender and offensiveness in Modern Greek slang vocabulary

In cases of diminution and augmentation in Modern Greek general vocabulary (GV), the grammatical gender of the base is determined by the derivative suffix and not by the base (Ralli, 2002:535-6, Ralli, 2003:89-90), e.g. ο άνδραςMASC (man) > to andr-ákiNEUT-DIM (manDIM), to spítiNEUT (house) > i spit-arónaFEM-AUG (houseAUG). The same observation may be made in relation to the slang vocabulary (SV); arguably, in this case, the selection of a particular grammatical gender (i púst-r-aFEM (fag, pansyFEM) vs o pústisMASC (fag, pansyMASC)) or the change of gender with the use of diminutive or augmentative suffixes (i putánaFEM (whore) à to putanákiNEUT (whoreNEUT-DIM)), shows, among other things, the more positive or more negative attitude of the speaker towards the referent. When evaluative suffixes are used in SV, most lexical forms are of neuter grammatical gender (as observed in GV, see Daltas, 1985: 74), e.g. to putan-ákiNEUT-DIM (whoreNEUT-DIM), to pustr-óniNEUT-DIM (fag, pansyNEUT-DIM), to kol-arákiNEUT-DIM (assNEUT-DIM). Moreover, we often find forms of grammatical gender different to the natural gender, e.g. i putánaFEM (whore) > o pútan-osMASC-AUG (whoreMASC-AUG), o pústis-MASC (fag, pansy) > i pust-áraFEM-AUG (fag, pansyFEM-AUG).

In this paper we intend to explore the hypothesis that the SV user, when s/he wants to increase the degree of offensiveness in an utterance, s/he consciously changes the grammatical gender of the lexical form. So, the masculine noun is realized either in a feminine form (i pústra (fag, pansyFEM), i ylíftra (toadyFEM)) or with a diminutive or augmentative derived from a feminine base (to pustrFEM-óniNEUT-DIM (fag, pansyNEUT-DIM), to yliftrFEM-óniNEUT-DIM (toadyNEUT)). As a result, we obtain a continuum of offensiveness where one extreme includes diminutive words, whose grammatical and natural gender coincide, while the other extreme includes augmentative words with concomitant change in gender. In this connection a number of cases will be discussed, in which, predictably (as in Xydopoulos & Christopoulou 2011), the neuter usually displays a lower degree of offensiveness.

Therefore, in order to study the effect of grammatical gender change in the degree of offensiveness of SV elements:

- we identify those evaluative suffixes that change the grammatical gender of the base;
- we record the SV words in which there is a change of grammatical gender;
- finally, by measuring the degree of offensiveness, we study the linguistic attitude of native speakers (Makri - Tsilipakou, 2003, Jurafski, 1996) regarding the use of evaluative suffixes with a parallel change of gender in SV.

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D

Evangelia Daskalaki & Marios Mavrogiorgos: Locative predicates in Modern Greek

1. Introduction: Cross-linguistically, locative arguments can be introduced by adpositions or by applicative affixes, i.e. by valency increasing morphemes that attach on the verb (cf. McGinnis 2008; Polinsky 2013). One of the topics of debate concerns the transformational relation of these affixes to adpositions. According to Baker (1988), applicative affixes are the result of incorporation of an adposition into a verb. According to Marantz (1993), on the other hand, applicative affixes, rather than being transformationally related to adpositions, are morpho-syntactic heads directly merged in the functional projection of the verb. In this presentation, we check the predictions of the above analyses against a restricted set of Modern Greek monotransitive verbs, whose properties, we argue, resemble that of locative applied verbs. We show that their applicative affix – even though historically of prepositional origin – synchronically, cannot be taken to be the result of incorporation despite the presence of homophonous free standing Ps. Furthermore, we show that, at least for some speakers, the applicative affix in question has fused with the verbal root giving rise to novel intransitive or transitive predicates with non-transparent semantics and a non-oblique syntax (a process of lexicalization or fusion – see Brinton & Traugott 2005).

2. The Data: The verbal predicates in question (pointed out in passing in e.g. Holton, Mackridge, and Philippaki-Warbuton 1997; Anagnostopoulou 2003) are of Ancient Greek origin and they show an interesting cluster of properties. Morphologically, they consist of an intransitive verbal root and a locative prefix, which is morphologically and semantically similar to a prepositional variant, also of Ancient Greek origin. Some examples are given below:

Locative Prepositions Verbs

epi 'on' epilamvanome 'take over'; epikrato 'prevail'; epiveno 'ride on'

ek 'from' ekserchome 'come out'

iper 'on/in favor' iperischio 'prevail'; ipertero 'prevail'; iperiptame 'fly over'; iperaminome 'fight for'

ipo 'under' ipolipome 'be inferior'

kata 'towards' katischio 'prevail/win over'; kataferome 'attack verbally'

pro 'in front of/before' proedhrepo 'preside over'

Syntactically, they may select a single argument that realizes genitive case, encodes the theta role Location/Ground, and resists cliticization (Daskalaki & Mavrogiorgos 2013) and passivization (Anagnostopoulou 2003) (1a-b):

(1) a. (*Tu) iperischise i Eleni tu Kosta ston teliko.

(*Him.cl.gen) prevailed the Helen.nom the Kostas.gen in.the final 'Kostas preceded Helen at the marathon.'

b. *O Kostas iperischithike apo tin Eleni ston teliko.

The Kostas.nom was.prevailed from the Eleni.acc in.the final 'Kostas was prevailed over by Helen at the final.'

Note that despite the absence of cliticization and passivization, the genitive DP patterns with arguments rather than with adjuncts: (i) It is merged inside the VP – as is made evident by the "do-so" ellipsis test (2) – and (ii) it has its case and theta role determined by the locative predicate. Thus, whereas genitive DPs in Greek are in principle compatible with a wide range of theta roles (recipient, source, possessor, etc.) genitive DPs that complement locative predicates may only receive the theta role Ground/Location.

(2) *O Kostas eksilthe tu kentriku ktiriu

the Kostas.Nom came.out.3sg the main building.gen

ke to idhio ekane o Janis tu plainu ktiriu.

and the same did.3sg the Janis.Nom the side building.gen

*Kostas exited the main building, and Janis did the same the side building.'

3. The Analysis: Our analysis encompasses three main theoretical claims for the nature of the locative prefix. (A) We argue that it is a type of applicative affix.

This captures the observation that its presence correlates with the transitivity of the predicate. This prefix is derivational, purely functional, and it theta- and case-marks the Ground argument. The Theme argument is introduced by the root, che-

cking nominative case against T:

(3) [T [vp v [appP DPGround [appl' appl [RootP DPTheme [Root' Root]]]]]]].

This is possible as the DPGround carries theta related case and cliticization does not apply for independent reasons (no phi-features present in the extended verbal projection). Theta-related case on the DP Ground also explains why passivization is impossible (see McGinnis 2008).

(B) We argue that, despite its morphological/semantic affinity with free standing locative prepositions, it is not the result of P-incorporation.

Although preliminary investigation suggests that an incorporation analysis could be possible for Ancient Greek (see Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, and Sevdali 2014 for certain datives in Ancient Greek), a number of considerations render the P-incorporation analysis on the synchronic level unlikely. These include, among others, the lack of a grammatical input (4a), the fact that the case properties of the argument introduced by the prefix and the free standing P are not always identical (4b), and the fact that synchronically the free standing Ps are primarily used in fixed idioms (4c):

(4) a. *Ischii o Janis iper tu Kosta.

Has.power.3sg the John.nom over the Kosta.gen

b. Ipolipome tu Kosta/ ipo to edhafos.

Am.inferior the Kosta.gen/under the ground.acc

c. apo stithus /epi tu thematos /ipo malis

from chest.gen /on the topic.gen /under armpit.gen

(C) We argue that the applicative affix is in the process of lexicalization with the verbal root.

Evidence supporting this claim comes from novel uses, where the locative prefix has lost its ability to introduce a Ground genitive argument:

(5) [...] UFO [...] iperiptate pano apo to jipedho (google search)

UFO flies.over over of the stadium

'[...] A UFO flies over the stadium.'

We argue that in this case, the prefix has fused with the root, giving rise to a novel (intransitive) root. Fusion is supported by the lack of transparent semantics as well as by the fact that the novel verb takes a PP adjunct, whose P-head spells out a semantic relation close to the original one expressed by the prefix. Fusion is commonly found with derivational morphemes crosslinguistically, and it is independently attested in the diachrony of Greek as a process that has given rise to roots that are embedded within an intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive verbal structure, or within a nominal structure (see Ralli 2005 and References therein). Examples of novel transitive (with structural accusative) and intransitive uses of locative predicates we present suggest that this process has already been finalized for some speakers.

Stuart Davis (→Topintzi)

Sophia Deligiorgi:

Λεξικολογικές και σημασιολογικές παρατηρήσεις στο γλωσσικό ιδίωμα της Δρόπολης, βασισμένες στην έρευνα πεδίου, Μάιος 2014

Σκοπός αυτής της εργασίας είναι η παρουσίαση του γλωσσικού ιδιώματος της περιοχής της Δρόπολης, Αργυροκάστρου. Θα επιχειρήσουμε να κάνουμε μια λεξικολογική και σημασιολογική περιγραφή του ιδιώματος. Όπως αναφερθήκαμε και πιο πάνω η εργασία αυτή προκύπτει ως αποτέλεσμα της έρευνας πεδίου στην περιοχή της Δρόπολης μιας ομάδας φοιτητών του Τομέα ελληνικών, Τμήμα Σλαβικών και Βαλκανικών Γλωσσών, Πανεπιστημίου Τιράνων. Αν σταθούμε σε μια πρώτη φάση, αυτή του λεξιλογικού καταλόγου, θα παρατηρήσουμε τις σχέσεις του ιδιώματος με άλλες ετεροδιαλεκτικές πραγματικότητες. Σ' αυτό το σημείο θα εξετάσουμε τις σχέσεις των ομιλητών με άλλους ομόγλωσσους ή ετερόγλωσσους ομιλητές. Η παρουσίαση στο ιδίωμα αυτό αρχαίων λεξημάτων, λ.χ. (ρίθια, αίγα προσκέφαλο), σχέσεις του ιδιώματος με την κοινή Νεοελληνική, σχέσεις του ιδιώματος με την αλβανική ομιλούμενη, αυτή η συγκεκριμένη σχέση δεν είναι απλά σχέση δανεισμού αλλά και διγλωσσίας λ.χ. (γκρόπα, αρέντα). Παρουσιάζονται και πολλές διαφορές εντός της ίδιας εθνολογικής ζώνης. Έτσι λ.χ. το ρήμα (πρεβάτα) με άλλον τρόπο αποδίδεται στο χωριό Δεβητσιάνη και με άλλον τρόπο στο χωριό Τεριαχάτι (*ngjikse*), η λέξη (*σुकάμια*) Γοραντζή, αλλά (*μάντζες*) Τεριαχάτι. Συχνά τα λεξήματα του συγκεκριμένου ιδιώματος δεν παρουσιάζουν σημαντικές αλλαγές, συνεπώς δεν δυσκολεύουν την επικοινωνία με άλλους ομόγλωσσους ομιλητές. Τέτοιου είδους λεξήματα δεν θεωρούνται αυστηρώς ως ιδιωματικά. Στα πλαίσια του ιδιώματος θα εξετάσουμε και μερικές σημασιολογικές παρατηρήσεις όπως το φαινόμενο της πολυσημίας, συνωνυμίας, ομωνυμίας. Στην περίπτωση της πολυσημίας μπορούμε να αναφέρουμε την λέξη (*ρουτί*) 1. εσώρουχο, 2. διάφανο δέρμα που αλλάζουν τα φίδια την άνοιξη, η λέξη μπάμπω, 1. γριά, 2. σύζυγος γέρου, 3. στάχυ καλαμποκιού περίπου άδειο. Κλείνοντας θα θέλαμε να προσθέσουμε κάτι πολύ σημαντικό για την παρούσα εργασία, την κατάταξη του ιδιώματος στα πλαίσια της διαλεκτολογίας. Από γεωγραφικής άποψης το ιδίωμα της Δρόπολης μπορεί να χαρακτηριστεί ως βόρειο ιδίωμα. Λεξικολογικά παρατηρούμε τα χαρακτηριστικά ενός ηπειρωτικού ιδιώματος, αφού από την εξέταση που κάναμε πολλά λεξικολογικά στοιχεία είναι ίδια με αυτά της Ηπείρου.

Rea Delveroudi:

Modern Greek grammars written by or for foreigners around the time of the Greek revolution (1818-1829)

My contribution sheds light on a particular issue in the history of Modern Greek grammars: those written by or for foreigners and published in Europe (or America) in the years immediately before and after the Greek revolution. Whether original works or translations, these grammars were published in German, French, English or Italian; two of them, though written in Greek, were published in Paris and Boston, for readers of French and English respectively. Largely forgotten today, these works raise interesting questions concerning the history of linguistic ideas about the Greek language: the precise intentions of their authors; the kind of audience they targeted; the specific varieties of Greek presented in them; the formal differences between one another, if any; the terms designating Modern Greek and so on. On the basis of a comprehensive if not exhaustive list, two basic quantitative remarks are striking. Firstly, the number of MG grammars written during this period (approx. twenty) almost equals the total number of MG grammars ever to appear before. Secondly, a mere four grammars were written specifically for native Greeks over the same period.

In interpreting this evidence, the following factors must be taken into account: a) as regards the “densification” (i.e. publication rate) of MG grammars, the Philhellene movement and the increasing number of travelers to Greece appear to have played a decisive role. Compared to those previously written, it is evident that these works mark a change in paradigm, at least as far as their audiences and purposes are concerned. The place of missionaries, the group grammars were traditionally aimed at, was now taken by the Philhellenes; b) as regards the disproportionate number of grammars for foreigners compared to those for Greek readers, while the former were principally practice-oriented, the latter had to deal with aspects such as the congeniality between modern and ancient Greek. The reluctance of Greek scholars to compose a self-contained grammar of MG for a Greek audience can be seen as symptomatic of their ideological prejudices and prerequisites.

Camille Denizot & Sophie Vassilaki:

Expectation and presumption in Ancient and Modern Greek: Analogies between the subjunctive with modal particle of AG and the “bare” subjunctive of MG

The aim of this study is the comparison between two morphosyntactic patterns:

- a. the subjunctive with $\alpha\upsilon$ in Ancient Greek (AG);
- b. The “bare/simple” subjunctive, i.e. the subjunctive without $\nu\alpha$ in Modern Greek

(MG).

Although these patterns within their respective synchronic level exhibit radically different properties, especially in the area of Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM), they seem to share a number of semantic values insofar as they both convey a meaning that can be named “presumption” (French “*éventuel*”).

This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that both patterns appear and are used in a quite similar way in three types of subordinate clauses:

- a. Hypothetic clauses expressing expectation and bearing a prospective value (including generic-iterative contexts in AG);
- b. Temporal clauses without explicit temporal anchoring, which cannot be used when their propositional content is already fulfilled (*ἐπειδὴν ἔλθῃς* “when you come” / *μόλις φύγει* “as soon as he leaves”);
- c. Relative clauses: the so-called conditional relative clauses in AG (*ὅς ἂν, ὅστις ἂν*) and indefinite relative clauses in MG (*ὁ-*, such as *ὅποιος, ὅσοι, ὁ, τι* etc.).

In this study, we focus on the latter type of clauses, i.e. the conditional relative clauses (AG) and the indefinite relative clauses (MG). The analysis, which is corpus-based, is carried out as follows:

– Relative clauses are initially analysed from a synchronic point of view, in order to establish a detailed account of their properties in their respective linguistic environment.

– Similarities and dissimilarities are identified via an exhaustive contrastive analysis – Parallel characteristics are used in order to delineate the notion of “presumption”, a common property to the afore mentioned configurations of AG and MG.

Key issues emerge on the basis of this analysis, such as the construction of reference in indefinite contexts and the impact of specific syntactic structures (subordinate adjunct clauses) in the semantic outline of the two configurations of the subjunctive.

It is argued that the notion of “presumption” should be defined as a category corresponding to the core meaning of the two patterns. Consequently its definition should encompass ingredients beyond the scope of verbal categories.

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Petros Diatsentos:

Language Reform in the 19th Century and the Fate of the Purist Project

This paper attempts to examine the conditions that led the purist project to failure at the end of the 19th century. Unlike Hebrew, Katharevousa failed to take root and spread out in modern Greek society. Nevertheless, in 1830 no prediction could be made about the future of the variety chosen as language of the Greek state. At

that time, historical circumstances opened up a multitude of possibilities for the future of Modern Greek. Returning to Ancient Greek was not seen as illusory or aberrant. The failure of the purist project was neither due to the "artificial character" of Katharevousa nor to the facts adduced during the 20th century. In reality it was related to a particular conception of language, its history and its place in Greek society, and was closely associated with a set of practices concerning the reform of Modern Greek.

In the 19th century Greek became a vital indicator of identity, being considered an indivisible language, almost untouched by the passing of centuries and unique in the history of languages. Returning to the ancient form acquired a leading role in the realization of the Greek national project up until the early 1880s. Its functional role, that is to say the importance of language as a tool, remained minor. Within this context, the aim of the reform was to bring Ancient Greek back to life, or at least bring about a certain convergence with it, taking into account some aspects of the vernacular. Thus there was neither a synchronic language target nor a determination to prescribe. More explicitly, there were no normative pieces of work: no grammars, no monolingual dictionaries and no school manuals. A set of principles provided a framework within which several norms were developed. The absence of a real prescriptive practice and the lack of normative works can be accounted for by the will to take the language towards a more and more archaic form, while disseminating ancient literature and language in the Balkans became a priority. Within this mindset, the emergence of a norm and standardization are seen as the result of natural regulation, a kind of linguistic "laissez-faire", effective in the long term. On the other hand, there were no language regulatory authorities, nor the political will to create them. In sum, one may observe the lack of a language policy aimed at diffusing a specific standard to the largest number of speakers. Such practices as well as the view of language reform eventually sealed the fate of the purist project.

Helma Dik:

Ancient Greek ὅστις with specific referents

The Ancient Greek pronoun ὅστις is commonly called the indefinite relative, which captures its etymology of relative ὅς + indefinite τις. As early as Hermann (1833), we can see this etymology used as a compositional description of the meaning of ὅστις. This works quite well for autonomous relative clauses and for relative clauses with non-specific antecedents. Compare (1) and (2): in (1) ὅτεω introduces an autonomous relative clause, indirect object of ἐκδοῦναι; in (2) ἥτις introduces a restrictive relative clause.

(1) ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτεω βούλοιοτο ἕκαστος οὐκ ἐξῆν

‘To give one’s daughter to whomever each preferred was not possible.’

(2) ἀναβλέψει γυναικὸς οὐρῶ νιψάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἥτις παρὰ τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα μοῦνον πεφοίτηκε

‘He will see again if he washes his eyes in the urine of a (/any) woman who has only slept with her own husband.’

This description fails to give a satisfactory account of ὅστις in all its uses, however. Particularly problematic is the use of ὅστις in non-restrictive relative clauses with definite antecedents (apparently not in Faure (2010); briefly discussed in Probert (2015)). A large group of these exceptions has long been described as ‘causal’, where the use of ὅστις can give a causal reading, but ὅστις is also found in non-restrictive relative clauses where causal readings are out. Compare (3) and (4):

(3) ..ἄξιοι εἰμὲν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ, οἵτινες μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ

μουνομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ .. περιεγενόμεθα

‘[W]e deserve this honor and more besides, since we (lit. ‘who’) alone of the Greeks fought the Persian.. and survived.’

(4) (Among the kings of Egypt, there was one woman)

τῆ δὲ γυναικὶ οὖνομα ἦν, ἥτις ἐβασίλευσε, τὸ περ τῆ Βαβυλωνίῃ, Νίτωκρις

‘The woman’s name, who was queen, was the exact same as the Babylonian’s, namely Nitokris.’

In both (3) and (4) the relatives have specific referents, but a causal reading is impossible in (4). This paper will argue for a unified description of ὅστις with specific referents in terms of appeals to shared information between speaker/narrator and addressee, which can be on the basis of recent mention or of shared extra-textual knowledge. In conclusion, I will trace this non-causal use in some of its literary survivals down to Koine Greek. (381 words)

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Olga Dima (→Iakovou)

Maria Dimitrakopoulou:

The resumptive pronoun vs gap strategy in L1 and L2 English parasitic-gap constructions

The present study investigates the gap vs resumptive strategy in parasitic-gap constructions in L1 and L2 English.

Parasitic gap constructions are characterized of a composed A-bar chain, the first part of which contains a wh-operator (overt or null) and its trace (a true variable) while the second part contains a null operator and a co-indexed parasitic gap in an adjunct clause (see ex. (1) for English).

(1) Which books_i did Nick throw away_{ti} [PP [CP Opi without [IP PRO [VP reading pgi]]]]?

There have been various accounts of their derivation (Kiss 1985, Munn 1992, Nunes 2001, Ouhalla 2001, to name but a few). In a small-scale study into the acceptability of parasitic gap constructions Engdhal (1983) found that sentences with parasitic gaps were preferred by less than 50% of the informants, while a similar number preferred a pronoun in the place of the gap.

Greek, on the other hand, does not allow for a gap in the corresponding structures. Specifically, in the Greek equivalent of example (1), the clitic in the adjunct clause, which is in subjunctive mood, is obligatorily co-referential with the wh-phrase and the intermediate gap.

(2) Pja vivlia petakse o Nikos xoris na (ta) diavasi?

which books threw-away_{3S} the Nikos without na-SUBJ them-read_{3S}

Given that a) L1 PF-requirements (e.g., the obligatoriness of the pronoun in Greek) critically affect the recoverability of empty categories in L2 (Tsimpli and Dimitrakopoulou 2007), b) the animacy of pronouns has been found to interact with their acceptability in operator dependencies (Tsimpli and Dimitrakopoulou, *ibid*) and c) the referential character of the dependency when this is headed by d-linked wh-phrases (Pesetsky 1987), we expect high preference of pronouns by the Greek learners of English, positively correlated with the presence of a d-linked element and reinforced in the case of inanimate pronouns. In contrast, we expect optionality in the case of the native speakers of English (Engdhal 1983).

To this end a paced acceptability task and a sentence completion task were used with two groups of intermediate and advanced learners of English (35 and 39 in number, respectively) and a group of 24 native speakers of English. The results confirmed the hypothesis about the higher acceptability rate of pronouns by the two learner groups and a main effect of d-linking. Surprisingly, the same tendency was observed in the group of the native speakers of English. The results will be discussed in the light of Ouhalla’s (2001) proposal for the type of operator in parasitic gap constructions (a null pronominal), which makes these dependencies highly referential.

Maria Dimitrakopoulou (→Kokkinidou)

Kostis Dimos:

The case of Greek /s/-voicing and the phonetics-phonology interface

A common case of assimilation is /s/-voicing in Standard Modern Greek (SMG), i.e. the conversion of a voiceless [s] to a voiced /z/ when followed by a voiced consonant as a result of regressive voice assimilation. Most of the previous research indicates variability across speakers and across different types of consonants (Baltazani 2006). Overall, the realization of /s/-voicing is described as gradient rather than categorical (Arvaniti & Pelekanou 2002; Baltazani 2006). Previous studies have only focused on /s/-voicing across word boundaries. However, /s/-voicing also occurs within the boundaries of a word. In many cases, clusters containing a sibilant and a voiced consonant are formed by morphological processes.

This study investigates the /s/-voicing across word boundaries, morpheme boundaries, and stem internally in order to describe the application of /s/-voicing in SMG. Native speakers of SMG were recorded during a production experiment. The speakers read aloud a number of passages designed to contain different cases of /s/-voicing. The intensity, duration and center of gravity were measured in order to describe the tokens phonetically and compare the assimilated tokens with the sibilant phonemes /s/ and /z/ of SMG.

The results seem to confirm the previous literature in regard to the effect of the following consonant and speaker variability on the application of /s/-voicing. The center of gravity was the most distinctive characteristic between assimilated and non-assimilated tokens and differences in terms of duration and intensity were found between the non-assimilated and [s] tokens as well as between assimilated and [z] tokens.

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Konstantinos Dinas, Giorgos Georgiadis, Anna Vakali & Damianos Xanthopoulos
Γεωγραφικές γλωσσικές ποικιλίες στην εκπαίδευση: Ποντιακά δημοτικά τραγούδια στην Α' Λυκείου

Το περιεχόμενο στο μάθημα της διδασκαλίας της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας σε κάθε τάξη της υποχρεωτικής και λυκειακής εκπαίδευσης στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα είναι ευρύτατο, καθώς μπορεί να αξιοποιεί μια ποικιλία κειμένων με διάφορες γεωγραφικές και κοινωνικές ποικιλίες μιας γλώσσας σε άμεση σχέση και εξάρτηση με την πρότυπη ποικιλία και τη σύγχρονη πραγματικότητα. Ειδικότερα, οι μαθητές της Α' Λυκείου γλωσσικά βρίσκονται σε ένα επαρκές επικοινωνιακό επίπεδο, αφού έχουν κατακτήσει σύνθετες και απαιτητικές δομές τόσο της μητρικής τους γλώσσας όσο και ποικιλιών της.

Στην παρούσα εισήγηση παρουσιάζουμε μια διδακτική πρόταση για την αξιοποίηση των διαλεκτικών στοιχείων της Ποντιακής στη διδασκαλία της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας και των Κειμένων Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας της Α' Λυκείου. Σκοπός της εργασίας είναι να συσχετίσει μια περίπτωση αξιοποίησης διαλέκτου με τη διδασκαλία των νεοελληνικών κειμένων και στο πλαίσιο της διαθεματικής προσέγγισης των γνωστικών αντικειμένων να εξεταστεί το ίδιο υλικό τόσο από την άποψη των γλωσσικών επιλογών και δομών, όσο και από την πολιτιστική και κοινωνική προσέγγιση του περιεχομένου των κειμένων. Αρχικά γίνεται σύντομη αναφορά στο θεωρητικό πλαίσιο για τις γεωγραφικές διαλέκτους μέσα από τη θεματική ενότητα για τις γεωγραφικές γλωσσικές ποικιλίες στο μάθημα της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας· στη συνέχεια εξετάζονται κείμενα, και ειδικότερα δημοτικά ποντιακά τραγούδια που σχετίζονται θεματικά με την ενότητα "Τα Φύλα στη Λογοτεχνία", των Κειμένων Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας.

Η επιλογή της συγκεκριμένης διαλέκτου έγινε, επειδή πολλοί μαθητές ήταν εξοικειωμένοι, αφού η ποντιακή αποτελεί μέρος του γλωσσικού περιβάλλοντός τους. Η επιλογή του μαθήματος της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας έγινε, γιατί η μελέτη των γεωγραφικών γλωσσικών ποικιλιών αποτελεί μέρος του Προγράμματος Σπουδών της Α' Λυκείου. Στους στόχους του μεταξύ των άλλων προτείνεται να ενταχθούν η γλωσσική ποικιλότητα ως εγγενές χαρακτηριστικό όλων των γλωσσών και η κειμενική ποικιλότητα ως χαρακτηριστικό των γλωσσών, παράλληλα με την εκτίμηση της ισοτιμίας όλων των γλωσσών και τον σεβασμό της πολιτισμικής και γλωσσικής διαφορετικότητας. Το μάθημα των Κειμένων Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας επιλέχθηκε, για να αξιοποιηθεί σχετικό υλικό για μια τέτοια θεματική. Ειδικότερα, η ενότητα που σχετίζεται με "Τα Φύλα στη Λογοτεχνία" έδωσε την ευκαιρία για πολλαπλές δυνατότητες επιλογής κειμένων και μάλιστα από τη δημοτική παράδοση. Οι στόχοι του μαθήματος εξάλλου ορίζουν την καλλιέργεια μιας πλατιάς ποικιλίας αναγνωστικών και επικοινωνιακών δεξιοτήτων και την αναγνώριση ότι η λογοτεχνία είναι ένας κατεξοχήν διαπολιτισμικός τόπος, όπου

ο διάλογος ανάμεσα στους πολιτισμούς γίνεται πράξη και όπου η ετερότητα όχι μόνον αναγνωρίζεται αλλά ενσωματώνεται ως αναγκαίος όρος.

Thomas Doukas:

Rootlessness in early Greek

Previous literature on Root Infinitives (RI) showed that there is a non-finite stage in early Greek, equivalent to the RI stage observed in other languages (Varlokosta, Vainikka and Rohrbacher, 1996; 1998; Hyams, 2002, 2005; Varlokosta, 2002, 2005). The present study focuses on -i form +perfective, -past non-finite verbs (aniksi = open/3sgPerf*). We will refer to these forms as non-adultlike verbs (NAVs). Previous research (Varlokosta, Vainikka and Rohrbacher, 1996, 1998; Hyams, 2002, 2005; Varlokosta, 2002, 2005) has shown that children's speech develops in two stages. During early stages, their speech presents a high rate of NAVs used with a modal reference. During later stages the use of NAVs reduces overtime and eventually such forms disappear. The empirical question we will address here is: do children use NAVs in their speech and if yes is this adequate evidence for an early stage in the acquisition of NAVs in Greek?

Two new monolingual Greek speaking children's data of collective age between 1;07.15 and 2;11.11 form the empirical basis of this paper. The data consists of a total of 21 tape-recordings of 30 to 45 minutes of approximately one month's intervals. The analyses of the spontaneous speech collection present quantitative and qualitative data of the production of NAVs focusing on subject and agreement, modal particles, past tense and their semantic interpretation. The results suggest that there are only few instances of NAVs, which are mostly used with a modal meaning to express irrealis (vali tiiorasi = switch-on/3sgPerf* television). The use of such forms occurs for a very short period at around the age of 2.

We propose that these forms are adult modal constructions with a missing modal particle (Ona/tha kathisi i Eva = sit/3sgPerf* the Eve). This short early developmental stage in relation to the modal particles is a temporary phenomenon, explained due to the verbal paradigm ambiguity in Greek i.e. -i forms are ambiguous between the perfect participle (non-finite) used for the formation of perfect tenses and the 3sg of the dependent (3rd singular aorist subjunctive) with perfective aspect. The findings suggest that root infinitives are not present in early Greek and these few examples of NAVs are either performance errors or a temporary learning dilemma explained by the aforementioned morphological ambiguity. Data from other languages suggest that the same conclusion is evident in Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan and notably null subject languages (Sano & Hyams, 1994; Hoekstra & Hyams, 1998).

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Angeliki Douri, Evangelia Achladi, Evgenia Malikouti & Chrysanthi Paraschaki: Γλωσσικά λάθη τουρκόφωνων μαθητών της Ελληνικής ως ξένης/δεύτερης γλώσσας: Ανάλυση και διδακτικές προτάσεις

Η ανακοίνωση παρουσιάζει αποτελέσματα μιας έρευνας ανάλυσης λαθών στην παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου από τουρκόφωνους ενήλικες σπουδαστές της Ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας. Τα δεδομένα συλλέχθηκαν κατά την περίοδο 2011-2015 στο πλαίσιο του Προγράμματος Διδασκαλίας της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας στο Σισμανόγλειο Μέγαρο του Γενικού Προξενείου της Ελλάδας στην Κωνσταντινούπολη. Οι σπουδαστές - υπότροφοι του εν λόγω Προγράμματος έχουν στην πλειονότητά τους ως μητρική γλώσσα την Τουρκική. Στην ανάλυση λαθών δεν έχουν ληφθεί υπόψη χαρακτηριστικά όπως φύλο, ηλικία, μορφωτικό επίπεδο, κίνητρα, προηγούμενη γνώση της Ελληνικής, καταγωγή, γνώση άλλων ξένων γλωσσών.

Τα δεδομένα συλλέχθηκαν από τις διδάσκουσες καθ' όλη την περίοδο λειτουργίας του Προγράμματος, στο οποίο συμμετείχαν συνολικά πάνω από 500 σπουδαστές όλων των επιπέδων (Α1-Γ2 σύμφωνα με το ΚΕΠΑ). Πρόκειται για πολυάριθμα κείμενα γραπτού και προφορικού λόγου (γραπτά εξετάσεων, εργασίες σπουδαστών, ηχητικά παρουσιάσεων και λοιπών δραστηριοτήτων), τα οποία

κατά μεγάλο ποσοστό ψηφιοποιήθηκαν με αφορμή την συγκεκριμένη έρευνα. Ως αποτέλεσμα μακρόχρονης διδακτικής εμπειρίας, τα δεδομένα είναι πλαισιωμένα με πρακτική και θεωρητική επίγνωση των ιδιαιτεροτήτων και προκλήσεων που παρουσιάζει η διδασκαλία της Ελληνικής ως δεύτερης/ξένης σε τουρκόφωνους. Η ανάλυση ακολουθεί τέσσερις άξονες. Τα λάθη που καταγράφονται διακρίνονται καταρχήν σε φωνητικά/φωνολογικά, γραφηματικά, μορφολογικά, μορφοσυντακτικά, λεξιλογικά/σημασιολογικά και πραγματολογικά/υφολογικά. Ακολουθεί ανάλυση συχνών λαθών με αναφορά σε δομικά χαρακτηριστικά της τουρκικής γλώσσας που διαφέρουν από την Ελληνική, όπως π.χ. η έλλειψη γραμματικού γένους, η απουσία άρθρου, ο συγκολλητικός χαρακτήρας της γλώσσας και η φωνητική αρμονία. Τρίτον, προτείνονται τρόποι αντιμετώπισης των αναμενόμενων λαθών με συγκεκριμένες διδακτικές προτάσεις. Η ανακοίνωση επιχειρεί να αναδείξει την αποενοχοποιημένη αξιοποίηση του λάθους για την κατανόηση δυσκολιών που αντιμετωπίζουν οι τουρκόφωνοι μαθητές της Ελληνικής ως ξένης/δεύτερης και για την ανάπτυξη στρατηγικών μάθησης από τους διδάσκοντες αλλά και από τους σπουδαστές. Τέλος, παρουσιάζεται η δυνατότητα αξιοποίησης κοινών πολιτισμικών στοιχείων (π.χ. τυποποιημένων εκφράσεων, ιδιωτισμών, παροιμιών) στη γλωσσική διδασκαλία.

Alexandra Dudnikova:

Λειτουργικές ιδιαιτερότητες των παρατακτικών συνδέσμων σε κείμενα ελληνικών δημοτικών τραγουδιών

Το θέμα της ομιλίας σχετίζεται με την περιγραφή και την ερμηνεία διάφορων παρεκκλήσεων που υπάρχουν στη λειτουργία και τη χρήση των παρατακτικών συνδέσμων στη νεοελληνική λαϊκή γλώσσα σε σύγκριση με την κωδικοποιημένη λογοτεχνική μορφή της ΝΕ. Παρατίθενται μια πλήρης στατιστική χρήσεως συνδέσμων και η ερμηνεία των μη κανονικών περιπτώσεων χρήσης με καθαρώς συντακτικά και σημασιολογικά κριτήρια. Η μελέτη βασίζεται σε επιλεγμένα κείμενα ιστορικών, ακριτικών και κλέφτικων τραγουδιών (συνολικά 103 κείμενα από διάφορα μέρη της ελληνικής οικουμένης σε αντίστοιχες διαλέκτους με 1962 περιπτώσεις χρήσης των παρατακτικών συνδέσμων για περίπου 22000 λέξεις).

Οι ερευνητικές μας μέθοδοι αποτελούν την σταδιακή ανάλυση των παρατακτικών δομών του κειμένου, όσων συμπεριλαμβάνουν παρατακτικούς συνδέσμους, από τρεις πλευρές, δηλαδή τρία φάσματα λειτουργιών του κάθε συνδέσμου που διατίθεται. Τα φάσματα αυτά εξετάζονται στα πλαίσια του κάθε είδους σχέσεων, οι οποίες εκφράζονται με συνδέσμους: είναι το φάσμα των σημασιολογικών λειτουργιών (στο επίπεδο της σύνθετης πρότασης και άλλων παρόμοιων συνδέσεων), και τα φάσματα των συστηματικών και των υφολογικών λειτουργιών

υπεύθυνων για το σχηματισμό του κειμένου (στα επίπεδα σύνθεσης και υπόθεσης του κειμένου, αντίστοιχα) [Kruchinina, 1988]. Όμως λόγω μιας συγκεκριμένης ιδιαιτερότητας του υλικού μας, ήτοι της ρυθμικής οργάνωσης των κειμένων, προσθέτουμε το τέταρτο φάσμα λειτουργιών για τους συνδέσμους, που το ονομάζουμε φάσμα ρυθμικών λειτουργιών.

Η ελληνική γλωσσική παράδοση δε διαθέτει μελέτες που θα χρησιμοποιούσαν παρόμοια θεωρητική βάση, γι' αυτό ήμασταν υποχρεωμένοι να αντιστοιχήσουμε τους ελληνικούς παρατακτικούς συνδέσμους με παρόμοιους στη ρωσική γλώσσα, επιλέγοντας όσο δυνατόν πιο πλήρη λειτουργικά ανάλογά τους.

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Chrysoula Dourou & Penelope Kambaki-Vougioukli:

An interdisciplinary approach of the Greek language through the 'product-quotient' bipole, applying the 'rule and exception' model in modern Greek Grammar Handbooks"

The present study constitutes an interdisciplinary language approach (ΔΕΠΠΣ, 2001) through the application of the small mathematical models. More specifically, the 'product-quotient' bipole, which is generally considered to be particularly useful procedure in both research and teaching, can be also applied in language, especially in the 'rule and exception' process, as they are presented in the school handbooks (Καμπάκη- Βουγιουκλή, 2009). Building up a rule and its possible exceptions constitutes, mathematically speaking, a quotient process, or, in other words it is a partition of a set into two disjoint subsets. The present pilot study in which third and fourth year students from the Department of Greek, Democritus University of Thrace were also actively involved in the process of data collection and interpretation, aimed at comparing two Modern Greek Grammar handbooks: the Grammar Handbook for 5th and 6th Graders of Primary School, (Φιλιππάκη-Warburton, Γεωργιαφέντης, Κοτζόγλου, Λουκά, 2013) and Modern Greek language Grammar for the Secondary School (Χατζησαββίδης & Χατζησαββίδου, 2013). The aim of the comparison was to spot and identify potential peculiarities and differences between the two specific grammar handbooks. The students involved worked in groups, following the project procedure, with the supervisor coordinating them. They carefully selected rules from almost every chapter of the grammar books in order that a good variety of examples was secured recording all their sessions and argumentation. After having spotted the same rules and the same exceptions in both handbooks, they compared them and tried to interpret them. The research yielded some interesting results such as that

the Modern Greek language Grammar for the Secondary School incorporates both the communication frame (use of a variety of texts) and employing a good numbers of examples to achieve better understanding of the rules, while the grammar book of Primary School is more diversified. More specifically, the former presents everything in an analytical way and provides a detailed description of the rules, while the latter presents a rule in more elliptical way, avoiding exceptions. This is wisely done as exceptions cannot possibly be assimilated by this age group of learners as they have not mastered the rule yet. Furthermore, the Grammar Handbook for 5th and 6th Graders of Primary School breaks up a rule into smaller ones for better assimilation, while Modern Greek Language Grammar for the Secondary School brings all the elements of the rules together with their exceptions in a unified whole (set). Finally, graphs with all these differences from both handbooks were created for a visual representation of the results. The whole attempt is within the frame of the interdisciplinary optimization of the small mathematical models not only in grammar but also in language teaching and research in general.

E

Hans Eideneier:

πτωξ γραφικώς ο λαγώς ... Zum „Mischstil“ der frühneugriechischen Schriftkoine der Dichter

Der Mischstil ist neben einer Reihe von weiteren Charakteristika ein fester Bestandteil der sogenannten „Koine der Dichter“ der frühneugriechischen Literatur in der niederen Sprachstilstufe. Dazu gehören auch das Fehlen von lokalen oder regionalen Dialektelelementen, die Anonymität des Dichters, die Unfestigkeit der Texte mit der Möglichkeit der Variierung und eben jener Einsatz von Elementen einer höheren Sprachstilstufe. Hier ist ab dem 13. Jh. eine neue Schriftkoine entstanden, deren Sprachstil unterhalb der im „Schulbetrieb“ gelehrten high und middle register und oberhalb der mündlich tradierten Lieder und Erzählungen im regionalen Dialekt anzusiedeln ist. Diese „Koine der Dichter“ ist eine poetische Sondersprache, vergleichbar der Sondersprache Homers. Sie ist nicht an die Schrift gebunden und lebt auch dann in mündlicher Tradition weiter, wenn einzelne Werke in dieser Sondersprache aufgezeichnet und schriftlich tradiert werden. Als Beispiel für diesen Mischstil werden Verse aus der sog. Vierfüßlergeschichte (Διήγησις των Τετραπόδων ζώων) aus dem 14. Jh. herangezogen.

Mit Hilfe des Halbverses πτωξ γραφικώς ο λαγώς soll gezeigt werden, dass diese Elemente der gelehrten Schriftsprache bewusst auch in dieser Sonderspra-

che zum Einsatz kommen, dort aber erklärt werden müssen und erklärt werden. Γραφικώς steht dabei nicht etwa im Gegensatz zu προφορικώς, sondern gegenüber der Zunftsondersprache der frühneugriechischen Dichtung, die mit der üblichen Schulschriftsprache nicht in Konkurrenz tritt. Zur Herabsetzung des Hasen dient dem Streitpartner Hirsch auch der homerische Begriff πτωξ, der mit der Herleitung von πτήσω («φοβούμαι») als ein auch etymologisch abgesicherter und auch aus der Schriftsprache bekannter Angsthase beschimpft wird. Zugleich bezeugt dieser Ausflug in die Philologie nicht nur den hohen Bildungsstand des Autors, bzw. des Schreibers der Handschrift aus dem Jahr 1461, sondern auch die Freude, diese Kenntnis zum Einsatz zu bringen.

Dimitris Evripidou (→Tsiplakou)

F

Panagiotis Filos:

PP substitution for dative complements in post-classical Greek (with a comparative assessment of parallel phenomena in Latin)

The gradual loss of the dative case in post-classical (and early Medieval) Greek is a well-studied phenomenon as far as the most substantial part of the literary corpus is concerned (cf. Humbert 1930). More recent studies, whose analysis is often situated in a generative framework (e.g. Cooper & Georgala 2009), still rely heavily on literary and posterior data, e.g. evidence from the modern Greek dialects. The focus is normally on the adverbial aspects of dative substitution and/or on the well-known dichotomy ‘genitive vs. accusative (in lieu of dative)’, with particular reference to clitics (cf. e.g. Horrocks 2010: 284-85).

In this paper, I am going to (re-)examine the earliest data, with particular emphasis on the understudied corpus of non-literary texts from the Roman and Early Byzantine periods. The focus will be on the rather neglected topic of PP substitution for datives functioning as indirect objects to verbal forms, particularly verbs of saying and giving. Both linguistic proper (e.g. word order, focus, preposition complement word category, etc.) and other parameters (e.g. registers) will be taken into account. A cross-evaluation of relevant data from Greek literary texts will follow, while the paper will be completed by the comparative assessment of similar tendencies in post-classical Latin.

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Martina Filosa & Roberta Berardi:

Bilingual papyri containing fables: a linguistic study

Three witnesses on papyrus coming from Egypt contain fables written by Greek authors, along with a Latin translation. They are P. Ahm II 26, containing fables from Babrius, and P. Yale 104 and PSI VIII 848, both containing pieces of Aesop's fables. All of them have been assigned to a period between the third and the fourth centuries A.D. It is likely that they were written as school exercises: although Egypt was the only Roman province where Latin did not succeed to substituting the local language (which was mainly Greek, and Egyptian only for minor communities among the population), this is a period in which some important changes were happening within the central administration. In fact, with Diocletian, Latin became the official language of bureaucracy and this meant that the ways it was taught in the schools began to be different. Therefore, a substantial amount of bilingual literature flourished even in Egypt. These papyri clearly establish a local connection between Latin and Greek culture: we want to investigate the survival and the reception of the literary genre of fable in Egyptian schools between third and fourth century, where the main language was still Greek but Latin was about to become dominant. This study also aims to understand, through these texts, how teachers as well as learners in the early stages of their education dealt with the translating process from Greek to Latin, and to show how the grammatical structures of simple texts like fables were transferred into another language in this phase of the learning process. The papyrus containing Babrius' fables is especially useful as an illustration of how imprecise translations could be: carefully analysing inaccuracies and mistakes allows us to investigate the level of knowledge of both Greek and Latin in the social

contexts where these papyri were produced. Finally an attempt is made to see how different translations could change according to the period and the context from which they derive. To do that it is important to make consistent hypotheses about the origin and the date of all three papyri.

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Eleni Fleva, Georgia Fotiadou, Maria Katsiperi & Ianthi Tsimpli:

Pronominal resolution and aging: the role of cognitive control and language experience

Anaphora resolution (AR) is a phenomenon relevant to the interface between language and cognition [8]. As such, issues of cognitive control, processing resources and language experience – through print exposure – may be relevant [1], [7]. Furthermore, language attrition as a result of bilingualism or aging has not been attested to the same degree across pronouns in the same language [10], [12], [3]. For the purposes of this presentation we examined two overt anaphoric expressions in Greek, a typical null subject language: the overt pronoun 'aftos' (*he*) and 'o idios' (lit. *the same*) in subject position. [11] claim that both expressions are pronouns, differing in that 'o idios' is necessarily focused, whereas 'aftos' need not be. Moreover, 'idios' occurring in subject position co-refers with the subject of the preceding clause [11] while 'aftos' has a tendency to refer back to non-topic antecedents [10], [5]. While there have been experimental studies using self-paced reading and listening tasks on 'aftos', 'idios' has not been experimentally tested as yet. The present

study examines whether elderly Greek-monolinguals (65;6 yrs; N=32) differ from younger ones (22;49 yrs; N=32) with respect to online, eyetracking data and decision making on preferred referent attributes to ‘aftos’ and ‘idios’ embedded in a short story context. More specifically, participants heard stories (sentences (1)-(3); Fig.1), followed by a question probing pronoun’s interpretation. The visual display depicted the subject and the object of sentence (2), the object of sentence (3) and the scenery. The sentences including the pronoun were presented in two word-order patterns, the unmarked SVO and the marked OclVS word-order. We monitored participants’ eye-movements, referent attributes and response latencies. The data is evaluated against a battery of measures of cognitive control as well as measures of language experience. Cognitive control was assessed through tasks tapping on syntactic information processing (‘syntactic-interference task’ [6]), updating (‘two-back task’ [4]) and shifting (‘local-global task’, modeled after [9]), while language experience was measured by means of the ART / MRT tasks [2]). Preliminary analyses on the gaze data show that elderly participants differentiate between ‘aftos’ and ‘idios’ 500ms after pronoun onset. The differentiation involves more looks to the subject for ‘idios’ than for ‘aftos’. Within the same time window, young participants distinguish between the two word-order patterns rather than type of pronoun. In particular, more subject looks are found for OclVS sentences with either ‘idios’ or ‘aftos’ and less subject looks with SVO sentences. As far as pronominal resolution is concerned, both groups overall prefer subject referents although the young participants show a stronger subject preference for ‘idios’ but not for ‘aftos’. Younger participants are faster in response latencies overall, while elderly participants vary in their response times with respect to the most/least salient interpretation (i.e. object responses needed more time in the presence of ‘idios’). Finally, the cognitive measures, i.e. updating, attention and shifting, yielded significant positive correlations with language experience. We are currently analyzing the data with respect to the role of language experience and cognitive control on the gaze data and preferences for pronominal resolution.

Fig. 1 Example display and experimental items of the conditions Word Order (SVO vs. OclVS) and type of anaphor (aftos vs. idios)

- (1) Here is a hunter, a fisherman & a worker.
 - (2) The hunter_{NOM} meets the fisherman_{ACC} every afternoon in the forest by the river.
 - (2) The fisherman_{ACC} him_{Cl} meets the hunter_{NOM} every afternoon in the forest by the river.
 - (3) He found accidentally there, after a long time, the worker.
 - (3) The Same found accidentally there, after a long time, the worker.
- Question: Who bumped into the worker?

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Eirini Florou, (→Goutsos)

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Georgia Fotiadou (→Fleva)

Aggeliki Fotopoulou:

Από την «Έκφραση» στο «Πολύτροπο»: Εννοιολογικός σχεδιασμός λεξικών πόρων

Τον πρώτο και πειραματικό σχεδιασμό του εννοιολογικού λεξικού «Έκφραση» παρουσιάσαμε στο (Μαρκαντωνάτου και Φωτοπούλου, 2008). Στο πιλοτικό αυτό έργο χρησιμοποιήθηκαν τεχνικές οντολογιών (συναφές έργο το Ontowordnet) επειδή θεωρήσαμε ότι κατά την μεταφορά ενός λεξικού σε οντολογία προκύπτει η ανάγκη για μεγαλύτερη συνέπεια στην χρήση των εννοιών και των σχέσεων μεταξύ τους. Με άλλα λόγια η μεταφορά ενός λεξικού σε οντολογία οδηγεί στον εντοπισμό ποικιλίας σχέσεων και κυρίως στην δυνατότητα ασφαλούς χρήσης τους για λογικούς συμπερασμούς. Η δεύτερη αυτή δυνατότητα μπορεί να αποδειχθεί πολύ χρήσιμη για εφαρμογές ΕΦΓ.

Το λεξικό της «Έκφρασης» σχεδιάστηκε παίρνοντας επίσης σοβαρά υπόψη τις ανάγκες των χρηστών συγγραφέων (αναλυτική παρουσίαση στο (Markantonatou, S., Fotopoulou, A., Mini, M. and Alexopoulou, M. 2010) και έχει ως σχεδιαστική αρχή την ακόλουθη: από μία τυχαία λέξη ενός σημασιολογικού πεδίου δίνεται εύκολη και συστηματική πρόσβαση στις άλλες λέξεις του πεδίου μέσω σημασιολογικών και μορφολογικών σχέσεων». Αυτή η αρχή η οποία καθώς φαίνεται έχει ακολουθηθεί από τον Roget (Hullen, 2003) και από τον Θεολόγο Βονταντζόγλου (Βοσαντζόγλου, 1962) οδηγεί στην υιοθέτηση των σημασιολογικών πεδίων ως βασικών εννοιών ταξινόμησης.

Στην β. φάση του λεξικού (έργο ΚΡΗΠΙΣ «Πολύτροπο») καταρτίστηκε ένα πρώτο λημματολόγιο (20000 εγγραφών: κατάλογος υποψηφίων λημμάτων με βάση τη συχνότητα εμφάνισής τους στα ΣΚ- χειρωνακτική επεξεργασία, ομαδοποίηση των εγγραφών για τον καταρχήν προσδιορισμό των βασικών σημασιολογικών πεδίων τα οποία θα περιλαμβάνονται στο λεξικό, και εμπλουτισμός του καταλόγου των εγγραφών ανά σημασιολογικό πεδίο. Βασική μονάδα οργάνωσης του γλωσσικού υλικού στο υπό ανάπτυξη εννοιολογικό λεξικό είναι η εγγραφή και όχι το λήμμα όπως παραδοσιακά συμβαίνει στα λεξικά που προορίζονται για ανθρώπους – χρήστες. Κάθε εγγραφή ορίζεται μοναδικά με βάση συγκεκριμένα κριτήρια όπως η μοναδικότητα του συνδυασμού ορθογραφικής μορφής, μορφολογίας, σημασίας και (για τα ρηματικά κατηγορήματα) πλαισίου υποκατηγοριοποίησης). Το λεξικό περιλαμβάνει δύο είδη εγγραφών: τις μονολεκτικές και τις πολυλεκτικές: Το πώς κωδικοποιούνται πχ οι πολυλεκτικές (Fotopoulou & alii, 2014)

Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση θα κατατεθεί η διαδικασία επιλογής των εγγραφών, οι αρχές που ακολουθήθηκαν ώστε να εξασφαλίζεται η πληρότητα εντός του σημασιολογικού πεδίου καθώς και ένας πρώτος σχεδιασμός του εννοιολογικού ιστού του λεξικού.

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Aggeliki Fotopoulou (→Anastasiadis; Kyriacopoulou)

Vasiliki Foufi & Tita Kyriacopoulou:

Construction of electronic resources for the automatic recognition and teaching of Greek multiword compound nouns

MWEs are a great obstacle for natural language processing systems and learners of a natural language and therefore a big challenge for linguists and computer scientists. They cover a wide range of structures (compound nouns, fixed expressions, named entities and others) and are subject to various linguistic phenomena, such as semantic opacity, substantivation and abbreviations.

Our research focuses on the most frequent class, billect compounds consisting of an adjective and a noun, such as ψυχρός πόλεμος/cold war. Following G. Gross' theoretical framework (1996), we define as ‘compound noun’ a multiword noun whose at least one of the semantic, syntactic or distributional properties cannot be deduced by the properties of each of its constituents.

We will present the electronic dictionary of about 20,000 entries that we developed via the Multiflex program (A. Savary 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009). Multiflex is a graph-based formalism which is incorporated in the Unitex corpus processor (→Paumier

2004). Each compound sequence is segmented into tokens, in our case into the two constituents (the adjective and the nouns as single words). These inflected tokens are annotated by their lemmas, morphological and semantic features. We constructed around 450 graphs for the inflection of simple adjectives and nouns and around 40 graphs for the inflection of the compound nouns in the form of adjective + noun and their variants. A representative extract of the dictionary is cited below:

αστυνομικό(αστυνομικός.A1:ns) τμήμα(τμήμα.N364:ns),NC_AN+Conc+[Lieu]

αγροτική(αγροτικός.A1:fs) φυλακή(φυλακή.N200:fs),NC_AN+Conc+[Lieu]

αθλητικό(αθλητικός.A1:ns) κέντρο(κέντρο.N31:ns),NC_AN+Conc+[Lieu]

Semantic features are very useful for a more precise corpus analysis, but also for the acquisition of the compound nouns by learners of Greek as a second/foreign language. Furthermore, the concordances extracted from our corpus either by applying electronic dictionaries or by using regular expressions are of great importance both for the teacher and the learner of Modern Greek. An example of concordances containing multiword compound nouns followed by semantic features is cited below:

χαμηλών θερμοκρασιών, που έφτασαν τους 37 βαθμούς υπό το μηδέν, ανακοίνωσαν κυβερνητικές πηγές[Hum], που διευκρίνισαν ότι τα θύματα ήταν άστεγοι.{S} {S}Ανενόχλητα και κάτω από τη μύτη των σωφρονιστικών υπαλλήλων[Hum+[Prof]], διακινούσε κύκλωμα από κρατούμενες

προσανάκριση κ. Γρηγόρη Πεπόνη, μαζί με τον φίλο της κόρης της και πατέρα του ανήλικου παιδιού[Hum] της, τον Δημήτρη Πενιά.

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Xanthippi Foulidi (→Georgalidou)

Georgia Fragaki & Dionysis Goutsos:

Greek diglossia in the 20th century: A historical corpus linguistics approach

The discussion of Greek diglossia is characterized by an almost exclusive focus on linguistic attitudes towards demotic and katharevousa rather than an investigation of actual use. However, this kind of investigation is necessary since, as Daltas has underlined, “what is societally recognized as diglossia is not directly related to how actual people implement the relevant contrasts” (1993: 348). Similarly, the lack of evidence from use seriously impinges on the question of standardization of Modern Greek, as Iordanidou has repeatedly argued (e.g. 2002a, b). The development of a diachronic corpus of Greek would seem to be an obvious step towards a comprehensive study of Greek diglossia.

Recent language change has been extensively studied through the use of diachronic corpora, especially in English (Mair 2009, Aarts et al. 2013, Taavitsainen et al. 2015). The research project “Diachronic Corpus of Greek of the 20th century”, funded in the frame of the action ARISTEIA, aims at studying recent language change in Greek. The project involves the compilation and analysis of a 20 million corpus of 20th century Greek (Greek Corpus 20), including data from the 1900s to the 1980s, to be integrated with the existing 30 million word “Corpus of Greek Texts” (Goutsos 2010), which includes data from 1990 to 2010.

This paper reports on the findings from a preliminary study of a sub-corpus of “Greek Corpus 20”, including 1.7 million words from all decades. The text types investigated include newsreels, public speeches and films from spoken data (540,000

words), and theatrical plays, private letters and academic texts from written data (1,160,000 words). We compare, among else, the frequencies of grammatical items like *εις, διά, ἴνα, ποῖος* (H variety) and *σέ, ποιός, γιά* (L variety) and their variants across these six text types and along the nine decades. Our first results indicate that there is a uniform trend for H types to decrease and L types to increase as the 20th century progresses in both spoken and written texts. At the same time, H types show non-predictable peaks in the 1920s and 1950s for spoken data and in the 1940s and 1960s for written data, while they manifest a sharp decrease in the 1980s. Thus, register variation and other contextual parameters must be taken into consideration in accounting for data frequency patterns in 20th century Greek. In all, our findings support a variationist view of language change on the basis of the thoroughly attested role of frequency (Schneider 2004).

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Giorgos Fragkakis (→Giagkou)

Katerina Fragkopoulou:

On gradualness of morphological integration in Heptanesian

In this paper I examine the morphological integration of nominal Italian/Venetian loanwords in Heptanesian, a Modern Greek dialect. I assume that the morphological integration of nominal loanwords in this dialect is not a homogenous, fixed phenomenon and in a stable state. Following -inter alia- Bloomfield (1933), Haugen (1950), Filipović (1980, 1981), Van Marle (1993: 259), Anastasiadi-Symeonidi (1994), Romaine (2010: 30-31), I argue that the integration of loanwords is a gradual process with levels of morphological integration. More specifically, I postulate the following levels of integration: a) Primary integration with simple transfer of the loanwords to the recipient language. In primary integration, loanwords display gender assignment and assignment to a specific grammatical category. However, in this level loanwords do not demonstrate assignment to the inflectional system of Heptanesian. Moreover, in this level loanwords do not exhibit participation to the productive morphological processes (e.g. compounding) of the recipient-language. b) Partial integration with assimilation of the loanwords to the inflectional classes of Heptanesian. In partial integration, loanwords are assigned to a specific gender and grammatical category. Nevertheless, in this level there is a use of a derivational affix as an integrator of the loanwords to the recipient-language, but loanwords do not function as a base for derivation and compounds. c) Total integration with absorption of the loanwords in all the morphological processes of Heptanesian. In total integration, loanwords show inflectional adaptation and participate in derivation and compounding of Heptanesian. In confirmation of the above claim, I present data from the dialectical enclave of Heptanesa.

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Konstantinos Francis (→Marinis)

Katerina Frantzi & Evangelia Vlachou

Μελέτη της χρήσης των ποσοδεικτών λίγο-λιγάκι σε κείμενα πολιτικού λόγου

Η μικρή ποσότητα εκφράζεται με μια σειρά από μορφολογικά διαφορετικά στοιχεία στις γλώσσες του κόσμου (βλ. Βελούδης 1995, 1996, 2003, Giannakidou 2012, Holton et al. 1997, Mackridge 1985, Μωυσιάδης 2012 και Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου 2000 για την ελληνική). Στην ελληνική, ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζουν οι ποσοδείκτες μικρής ποσότητας λίγο και λιγάκι που, ενώ είναι μορφολογικά παρόμοιοι, δεν εμφανίζονται στα ίδια περιβάλλοντα:

1. Βάλε λίγο/λιγάκι ζάχαρη στον καφέ.
2. Κοιμήθηκα (#λίγο)/λιγάκι, σχεδόν δυο ώρες.
3. Κοιμήθηκα λίγο/(*λιγάκι) σε σύγκριση με εσένα.

Σε πρόσφατες μελέτες, οι Corblin & Vlachou (2011) για το ζεύγη *reu/un reu* και *λίγο/λιγάκι*, η Solt (2009) για το ζεύγος *few/a few* και η Vlachou (2011, submitted) για το ζεύγος *λίγο/λιγάκι* έχουν παρατηρήσει ότι η μικρή ποσότητα εκφράζεται με μορφολογικά παρόμοιες αλλά σημασιολογικά διαφορετικές εκφράσεις στις γλώσσες του κόσμου. Διαφέρουν σημασιολογικά στο ότι τα δεύτερα κατά σειρά στοιχεία εκφράζουν ανωτερότητα σε σχέση με μια υποκειμενικά επιλεγμένη νόρμα ενώ τα πρώτα κατωτερότητα.

Η εργασία αυτή ενισχύει αυτή την υπόθεση μέσα από την ποσοτική και ποιοτική μελέτη της χρήσης των λέξεων της ελληνικής *λίγο* και *λιγάκι* σε σώμα κειμένων πολιτικού λόγου. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, υιοθετώντας τα κριτήρια που αναδεικνύουν την αντίθεση μεταξύ ανωτερότητας και κατωτερότητας από τη βιβλιογραφία, η εργασία αυτή μελετά τη συνδυαστικότητα των ποσοδεικτών *λίγο/λιγάκι* με α) επιρρήματα που δηλώνουν κατωτερότητα (μόνο), β) επεξηγηματικούς ποσοδείκτες

(σχεδόν, μόλις, περίπου), γ) στοιχεία αρνητικής πολικότητας (κανένας, τίποτα).

Το γλωσσικό υλικό, σώμα κειμένων σύγχρονου πολιτικού λόγου, αποτελείται από κείμενα κοινοβουλευτικών και εξωκοινοβουλευτικών ομιλιών, άρθρα, δηλώσεις και συνεντεύξεις πολιτικών προσώπων της Ελλάδας. Η χρήση σωμάτων κειμένων πολιτικού λόγου για την μελέτη γλωσσολογικών φαινομένων έχει συνεχώς μεγαλύτερη απήχηση στους ερευνητές, όχι μόνο επειδή εγγυάται πληρότητα, ακρίβεια και εγκυρότητα στην ποσοτική ανάλυση κάνοντας παράλληλα δυνατή την επεξεργασία μεγάλου όγκου γλωσσικού υλικού, αλλά και επειδή τα περισσότερα είδη πολιτικού λόγου δημοσιοποιούνται και δημοσιεύονται ελεύθερα. Συνεπώς, ο πολιτικός λόγος αποτελεί εύκολα προσβάσιμο πρωτογενές υλικό σε σχέση με άλλα είδη κειμένων για τα οποία πρέπει πρώτα να επιλυθούν (χωρίς να είναι πάντα εφικτό) θέματα πνευματικών δικαιωμάτων (Ädel 2012). Στο πλαίσιο μελλοντικής εργασίας, η έρευνα σε αυτά τα κειμενικά είδη πολιτικού λόγου εξυπηρετεί τη συγκριτική μελέτη της χρήσης των ποσοδεικτών μικρής ποσότητας, λίγο και λιγάκι στα διάφορα κειμενικά είδη πολιτικού λόγου.

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Cassandra Freiberg:

Ancient Greek τυγχάνω + Participle: Aspect or Modality?

This talk presents the results of in-depth research on Ancient Greek *τυγχάνω* + participle, which is often inadequately translated as 'happen to + infinitive'. This elusive construction has been receiving special attention ever since the 19th century (e.g. Wheeler, 1891). However, a comprehensive study of its diachronic development from Archaic Greek down to the Graeco-Roman period is still missing.

As the recent discussion by Bentein, 2013: 101–103 shows, it is still not clear whether *τυγχάνω* 'achieve, hit' developed into a modal or aspectual modifier. In (1) below, for example, both a modal value of coincidence as well as an aspectual value of increased relevance with regard to a contextually specified reference point (Bentein,

2013) might be defended at first sight. In (2), however, the coincidence-reading is precluded as Kroisos' explicitly says that Atys' status as his only son is due to his (i.e. the king's) own reasoning and not to chance.

(1) ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγχανον ἐόντες (Hdt. 1.29.1)

'[...] Sardis was at the height of its wealth. There came to the city all the teachers from Hellas who then lived [...]' (transl. Godley)

(2) [Kroisos explains to his son why he worried about him so much:]

εἷς γάρ μοι μοῦνος τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς• τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον διεφθαρμένον τῆν ἀκοὴν οὐκ εἶναί μοι λογιζομαι (Hdt. 1.38.2)

'You are my only son: for that other, since his hearing is lost to him, I count no son of mine.' (transl. Godley)

The talk seeks to disentangle both notions and determine the function of τυγχάνω by providing a detailed analysis of the morpho-semantic characteristics of the construction, focusing on questions such as: What is the Aktionsart (or: lexical aspect) of τυγχάνω? Which lexical classes of verbs are combined with it? Which combinations of tense-aspect stems on τυγχάνω and the participle do we find? Are there semantic conflicts due to these combinations, and how can they be resolved? Answers will be given from the theoretical perspective of Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (CG) based on data from Homer (750 – 700 BC), Herodotus (? – 420 BC) and Polybios (c. 200 – c. 118 BC) which were gathered using the online Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG).

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Matthias Fritz

Graeca Armeniaca

Als in den Zwanzigerjahren des letzten Jahrhunderts nach dem Ende der Republik Pontos die „Repatriierung“ der Pontos-Griechen stattfand - mit Hilfe von Nikos Kazantzakis, gingen nicht alle Griechen in die Heimat ihrer Ahnen zurück. Manche blieben in der Heimat ihrer Familien. Die zum Islam übergetretenen Angehörigen der griechischen Sprachgemeinschaft etwa blieben in der sich neu bildenden Türkei. Aber auch einige Pontos-Griechen, die schon in früheren Jahrhunderten von Nordost-Anatolien (Trabzon, Kars) in die Kaukasus-Region migriert waren, blieben in dem jeweiligen Land, in dem sie inzwischen heimisch geworden waren.

Auch heute leben noch einige wenige Familien, die aus der ehemaligen Gemeinschaft der Pontos-Griechen stammen, in den nun seit etwa einem Vierteljahrhundert selbständigen Kaukasusrepubliken Georgien und Armenien. Die Siedlungsgebiete dieser kaukasischen Pontos-Griechen liegen vor allem im Süden Georgiens und im Norden Armeniens, also beiderseits der georgisch-armenischen Grenze. In Armenien ist es insbesondere der nördliche Regierungsbezirk (Marz) Lori, wo verhältnismäßig viele Pontos-Griechen leben. Ferner sind in der Hauptstadt Eriwan und in den beiden weiteren armenischen Großstädten Gjumri und Wanadzor Angehörige dieser griechischsprachigen Minderheit in größerer Zahl vertreten. Eine bemerkenswerte Anzahl von Pontos-Griechen kam im 19. Jahrhundert als Bergarbeiter in die zu dieser Zeit durch den Kupferabbau aufblühende Industriestadt Alawerdi, die im heutigen Marz Lori liegt, was die regionale Konzentration der griechischen Immigranten gefestigt hat. Für den ersten Botschafter Griechenlands in Armenien, Leonids Chrysanthopoulos, „(...) bedeutete dieser Posten des ersten Botschafters im neuen unabhängigen Armenien eine goldene Gelegenheit, eine Freundschaft zu erneuern, die so alt war wie die Geschichte („Aufbruch nach Armenien: Chronik eines Diplomaten“. Frankfurt a. M. 2012).

Linguistisch ist das armenische Pontos-Griechische aus mehreren Gründen ein interessantes Objekt. Zum einen dialektal, da das Pontos-Griechische als Varietät des Griechischen am längsten von den Aktionszentren des Kernlandes isoliert ist, zum anderen sprachgeschichtlich, da es als die Varietät des heutigen Griechisch gilt, die dem antiken Griechisch am nächsten steht, und schließlich soziolinguistisch unter diversen Aspekten: In welchen kommunikativen Kontexten gebrauchen die heutigen Griechen in Armenien das Griechische? Über welche Themen sprechen sie auf Griechisch? Wie hat sich der Gebrauch ihrer Varietät im Laufe der Generationen

gewandelt? In welchem Verhältnis haben sich ihr Griechisch und Armenisch gegenseitig beeinflusst? Zu diesen Punkten soll besonders am Beispiel eines isoliert situieren griechischen Dorfes in Armenien Stellung genommen werden.

Ioannis Fykias & Christina Katsikadeli:

'Subordination Patterns' in the History of Greek and German

This contribution is conceived of as a part of a more comprehensive study that deals with the diachronic development of formal syntactic traits and their interrelationship with the dichotomy between main and subordinate clauses in Indo-European (Herrmann 1895, Kiparsky 1995). The first parts of this study (Fykias & Katsikadeli 2013 and Fykias & Katsikadeli forthcoming) focused on the distribution and development of a set of devices signaling indirect speech that emerged in pre-classical and classical Greek, such as the development of a system of complementizers (such as *hoti* and *hos*), person shift, mood shift (such as the use of optativus obliquus in classical Greek in connection with past tense in the matrix clause) and tense shift (the predominant strategy in pre- and post-classical Greek in the context of past tense in the matrix clause) in the course of the major historical stages of Greek. We also examined the partial decline of some of the above mentioned traits as subsystems in post-classical Greek, as well as the emergence of a small number of constructions allowing the use of *kai* introducing subordinate constructions in Modern Greek.

In the present paper, we systematically compare some of the aforementioned phenomena with affine diachronic developments in the history of the German language, such as the development of *dass*-clauses, the emergence and decline of non-canonical subordinate clauses and patterns involving the use of *und* as a conjunction that introduces subordinate constructions at some phase in the history of German, as analyzed by Axel 2007, Axel-Tober 2012, and Ferraresi & Weiß 2011.

One of the major aims of our contrastive account is to interpret these converging patterns of diachronic development as evidence as to several types of cycles, which are at play, in the spirit of Van Gelderen 2011, who argues that the real sources of change are internal principles that bias the learner toward certain structures.

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Valantis Fyndanis, Paraskevi Christidou, Sokratis Papageorgiou & Spyridoula Varlokosta:

(Morpho)syntactic production in Greek-speaking agrammatic aphasia: A test of competing theories.

Impaired verb-related (morpho)syntactic production is the hallmark of agrammatic aphasia. Several hypotheses have been proposed to account for agrammatic production, which make different predictions. For example, the Tree Pruning Hypothesis (Friedmann & Grodzinsky, 1997) predicts that the syntactic tree is pruned at a specific node, usually Tense, with all nodes/categories above the pruning site being deleted and all nodes below being well preserved. The Tense Underspecification Hypothesis (Wenzlaff & Clahsen, 2004, 2005) posits that Tense is underspecified, but subject-verb Agreement and Mood are well preserved. According to the Tense and/or Agreement Underspecification Hypothesis (Burchert, Swoboda-Moll, & de Bleser, 2005) what is underspecified in agrammatic aphasia is either Tense or Agreement, or both of them, or none of them. The Interpretable Features' Impair-

ment Hypothesis (e.g. Fyndanis, Varlokosta, & Tsapkini, 2012) suggests that categories with uninterpretable features, such as subject-verb Agreement, are better preserved than categories with interpretable features, such as Tense, Negation, and Mood. Lastly, the Distributed Morphology Hypothesis (e.g., Wang, Yoshida, & Thompson, 2014) posits that categories involving inflectional alternations are impaired. To reliably test these accounts, one should test agrammatic individuals on a wide range of (morpho)syntactic phenomena. However, only few studies have done so.

Against the above background, we tested five Greek-speaking agrammatic individuals and five healthy control participants on five (morpho)syntactic phenomena. In particular, we administered two sentence completion tasks and a constituent ordering task to investigate participants' ability to produce Subjunctive Mood, Tense, subject-verb Agreement, Aspect, and sentential Negation.

The control group performed significantly better than the aphasic group on all categories. At the group level, Aspect was found to be the most impaired category for the agrammatic participants (45% correct), followed by Tense (63% correct) and Negation (65% correct). Subjunctive Mood and Agreement were well preserved (97% and 90% correct, respectively). At the individual level, all participants with aphasia exhibited selective deficits in (morpho)syntactic production.

The results will be discussed in relation to the above-mentioned theories of agrammatic aphasia. It will be shown that none of these theories can fully account for the patterns of performance of all the agrammatic participants. Their results, together with the production results of other agrammatic speakers reported in the literature, show that all possible patterns of (morpho)syntactic production can be observed in agrammatic aphasia. We will suggest that a number of factors interact in determining the way in which (morpho)syntactic impairments manifest themselves across patients and languages.

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G

Maria Gasouka (→Georgalidou)

Basilis Gatos, Vassilis Katsouros, Vassilis Papavassiliou & Fotini Simistira: Use of Language Resources in Recognition of Historical Greek Polytonic Scripts

This paper discusses the work that has been done in order to enhance the conversion of historical Greek documents written in Greek polytonic into searchable texts. Even though there is a large amount of such manuscripts and many of them have been digitized, the great majority of these document images still remains without full text search capabilities. The main reason is that the automatic transcription of Greek polytonic document images is a very challenging task mainly due to the large number of character classes which cannot be handled sufficiently by current technologies for optical character recognition. Specifically, the diacritics in Greek orthography notating Ancient Greek phonology (oxeia, bareia, perispomene, dasi pneuma, psilon pneuma, diaeresis and hypogegrammene) and their combinations can be associated with the 14 vowel characters (7 upper-case and 7 lower-case letters) according to several phonologic and orthographic rules, thus, resulting in many groups of different symbols for each vowel character that look alike.

To this end, we have adapted two methods of machine learning the first based on Hidden Markov Models [3, 4] and the latter on BLSTM Networks [1, 2] to the optical character recognition (OCR) problem and applied them on a collection of Greek polytonic texts from the Greek Parliament Proceedings (samples of speeches of four Greek politicians: Vlahou in 1977, Markezinis in 1953, Saripolos in 1864 and Venizelos in 1931) and the Greek Official Government Gazette (1957). Besides the capability of the proposed techniques, this paper discusses how the integration of language models (e.g. bi-grams, 3-grams on character or word levels, or lexicons of different sizes resulted from the process a sub-corpus of TLG texts (<http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>) influences the recognition results. In addition, we examine how the use of such language resources affects the performance of ABBYY FineReader and Tesseract [5], two well-known OCR engines. A detailed error analysis on character level (i.e. confusion matrix of misclassified characters) and word level (i.e. misrecognised

stop words or nonstop words) is also presented.

[1] V. Katsouros, V. Papavassiliou, F. Simistira, and B. Gatos. *HMMs for the Recognition of Greek Polytonic Degraded Texts*, in International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition, 2015

Maria Gavrilidou, (→Piperidis)

Zoe Gavrilidou:

Evaluation through intensification

Gradable predicates map their arguments onto abstract representations of measurement, or degrees, which are formalized as points or intervals partially ordered along some dimension. Adverbs, adjectives or even prefixes are sometimes used to scale a gradable predicate upwards from an assumed norm with regard to its extent or intensity by ‘boosting’ the property denoted by the predicate. These linguistic elements are called intensifying elements in Gavrilidou (2013). Many scholars have addressed the relationship between intensification and evaluation. Among them Martin & White (2005: 135) claimed that “a defining property of all attitudinal meanings is their gradability. It is a general property of values of affect, judgment and appreciation that they construe greater or lesser degrees of positivity or negativity.” For them engagement values scale for the degree of the speaker/writer’s intensity, or the degree of their investment in the utterance. The semantics of graduation, therefore, is central to any appraisal or evaluation system. The purpose of this paper is to discuss whether intensifiers fulfil the conceptual, linguistic and textual criteria for evaluative expressions set by Hunston and Thomson (2000). Furthermore, I will investigate the relationship between different types of intensifiers and types of expressions for appraisal in the light of the theory of appraisal of Martin (2000). I will show that intensifiers are safe indices of evaluative expressions while there is a systematic correlation between specific types of intensifiers and specific types of appraisal.

The paper will be organized as follows. In section 1, I will attempt an overview of the typology of intensifying elements presented in Gavrilidou (2013). Section 2 will investigate whether intensifying elements fulfil the conceptual, linguistic and textual criteria for evaluative expressions set by Hunston and Thomson (2000). Finally in Section 3, I will examine the distribution of different types of intensifying elements to different types of expressions of appraisal in order to trace possible correlations.

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Zoe Gavrilidou & Konstandinos Petrogiannis:

Profiling strategy use of learners of English as a second language attending Greek Schools

The last decade has seen a growing interest in studying language learning strategies in Greece. The works of Papaefthymiou-Lytra (2001), Kazamia (2003), Griva (2006), Gavrilidou & Papanis (2007; 2009), Gavrilidou & Psaltou-Joycey (2009), Psaltou-Joycey (2003; 2008; 2010), Psaltou-Joycey & Joycey (2001), Psaltou-Joycey & Kantaridou (2009a; 2009b), Vrettou (2011) and others investigate ways of identifying and measuring strategies used when learning a foreign/second language. Language learning strategies, as a part of more general concept of ‘learner autonomy’, play a very significant part in the development of independent foreign/second language learning that should offer schoolchildren the opportunity to develop competency and fluency both in the classroom and in real-life contexts (Macaro, 2001). Although the current curriculum for teaching English stresses the need for the development of language learning strategies by students learning a foreign language at school, there is surprisingly little systematic research into mapping the strategies that learners in public schools in Greece employ. The present study, which is the first large-scale (N=3356) study with sample of public Schools throughout Greece, reports on the descriptive statistics of the data collected within the frame of Thales project 379335 entitled “ADJUSTMENT OF S.I.L.L IN GREEK AND TURKISH AND STRATEGIC PROFILING OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL LEARNERS AND TEACHERS” by using the translated into Greek and validated for school-aged children Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL) version 7 (Oxford, 1990), the most widely used instrument for measuring the frequency of language learning strategies, which was implemented in order to identify and define language learning strategies used by students in primary and secondary Greek schools who learn English as a foreign language. The data were statistically analyzed and, as a result, the strategic profiles of learners of English attending public elementary and secondary schools were revealed. The findings of this study suggest a number of implications for classroom activities promoting language learning strategy use.

Marianthi Georgalidou, Maria Gasouka, Sofia Lampropoulou, Apostolos Kostas & Xanthippi Foulidi:

Sexist language and ideology in a corpus of Greek Public Documents

The present study consists of an analysis of sexist language phenomena in corpus of Greek public documents. It aims to highlight the gender power role relationships that are reflected as well as sustained in the broader Greek socio-ideological context through the use of sexist language. Language sexism is seen as the tendency to speak of people as cultural stereotypes of their gender and is mostly conveyed through treating words/ language choices that refer to women as marked. At the same time, unmarked words are those that primarily refer to men or generically to both men and women. In this way, women are either ignored, rendered invisible, defined narrowly or depreciated through language choices (Henley, 1987; Weatherall, 2002: 13).

Public documents consist of an important aspect of the public arena, as they encompass a wide range of administrative tasks/ functions and they refer to and/ or address different groups of citizens and stakeholders who share various social and/ or demographic features. We aim to explore, among others, the extent to which the public documents under analysis, are seen as representative of dominant ideological beliefs with regards to gender roles that are in social circulation in the Greek context.

Our sample consists of 949 public documents that are in current use in a) city councils, b) prefectures and c) ministries. Our sample was first selected randomly; then stratified according to document types and finally selected proportionately so that a representative amount of documents are analysed according to the size of the population of the said municipality/ prefecture/ ministry. Our analysis was conducted in two stages: a) qualitative discourse analysis of selected documents that explicitly refer to and/ or address group citizens with specific attributes and b) quantitative through the software ATLAS.ti.

Our findings document the foregrounding and/ or the exclusive use of the male gender - even when females are exclusively addressed or referred to in the documents - which, in turn, results in the lack of direct reference and visibility of females for the total of the social and professional identities included in our dataset. This observation reflects a confusion on the part of the authors with regards to a 'grammatical standard' that has been established in Modern Greek. To this end, we seek to underline the ideological role of language in that not only it reflects and perpetuates power role relationships between the two genders but, at the same time, helps sustain and enforce the power men have historically held in this particular domain of life, namely the public arena (Weatherall, 2002: 14, Spender, 1980) and produce, in turn, sexism as a social reality (Pavlidou, 2002).

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Angelos Georgaras (s Vassiliou)

Athanasios Georgopoulos (→Charatzidis)

Maria Giagkou, Giorgos Fraggakis & Haris Papageorgiou:

Feature extraction and analysis in Greek L2 texts in view of automatic labeling for proficiency levels

While most readability research has focused on L1 readers, a number of recent studies have investigated text characteristics tailored to the specific aspects of reading difficulty for second language (L2) learners and have developed automated readability estimation methods as an aid for the selection of reading and assessment material for L2 (e.g. Crossley et al. 2008, François & Fairon 2012, Heilman et al. 2007, Pilán, Volodina & Johansson 2014, Vajjala & Meurers 2012).

The current paper reports on an investigation of a set of linguistic features as correlates to the proficiency level of Greek L2 texts, and thus as predictors of the proficiency level in an automated classification approach.

The dataset employed in this investigation comprises about 700 texts drawn from Greek L2 textbooks edited by the Centre of Intercultural and Migration Studies (EDIAMME). These textbooks are labelled for proficiency level by the editor and aligned to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) levels and can thus be considered as gold standard. The texts were automatically annotated for morphological types, syntactic dependencies and phrase structure. A set of more than 250 linguistic features were automatically extracted from the annotated data using our language technology suite expanded for the purpose at hand. These are both 'raw' quantitative features and standardized transformations that fall grossly into four categories: a) lexical/semantic (e.g. lexical density and variation), b) syntactic (e.g. depth and height of syntactic trees, length of phrases, subordination and apposition), c) morphological (e.g. frequencies of different parts of speech), and d) discourse-based features (e.g. use of relative pronouns, degree of narrativity and

temporality).

Statistical analysis of the textual features revealed that the best performing predictors of proficiency level were the frequency of adjectives, the use of genitive case, the frequency of relative pronouns and sentence length. These features discriminate mostly EDIAMME levels 4 and 5 from lower levels. Syntactic trees features, i.e. width, height, average number of head nodes and leaves, proved to be highly discriminative not only between higher and lower levels but also between adjacent lower levels. In previous research on Greek L1 readability (Giagkou 2009, 2012), some of the above features were also put forward as indices of text difficulty. However, in the case of Greek L2 the use of the genitive case and of relative pronouns seems to be an important aspect of difficulty which was not identified in L1 texts.

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Lena Gialabouki:

Commenting on the news: assessments and their epistemics in presenter-journalist live studio discussions

Research into journalism as a form of institutional talk has so far focused on the investigation of the practices journalists employ in their interaction with other professionals, most commonly politicians and experts (e.g., Clayman & Heritage 2002). With only a few exceptions (e.g., Kroon Lundell 2010, Montgomery 2007), how journalists interact with other members of their own profession has received little attention in the literature. Focusing on television news, the present paper seeks to investigate one such form of intra-professional interaction: presenter-journalist live studio discussions of the news of the day.

More specifically, I focus on assessments as one resource participants in live studio discussions employ in order to comment on the news. Adopting a conversation analytic perspective (Goodwin & Goodwin 1992, Heritage 2013, Heritage & Raymond 2005, Levinson 2013, Pomerantz 1984, Schegloff 2007), my presentation seeks to address the following questions: 1) how are assessments intersubjectively produced and sequentially organized by participants in this form of institutional talk? 2) how do participants manage their rights to knowledge and information, and, thus, their rights to evaluate news events, in the course of producing assessments of them? 3) where in the overall structural organization of news presentation are assessment sequences positioned, and how do participants display their orientation to this positioning? My data consist of transcripts of 65 presenter-journalist live studio discussions, broadcast between 2011 and 2014 as part of the main news bulletins of two Greek television stations (MEGA and SKAI).

As the analysis reveals, assessment sequences in this form of institutional talk are always initiated by the presenter, who produces an assessment of an event or some state of affairs presented in the preceding film report. To this, the journalist responds with a second position assessment: he/she first agrees with the presenter, and then elaborates on the position stated by providing justification or evidence. At the same time, through the design of their assessments, participants display their orientation to their own as well as to their co-participant's epistemic rights and claims to knowledge, with presenters downgrading their own assessments, thus acknowledging the journalist's primary epistemic rights to assess events and states of affairs. Design features such as the use of pronouns in initial reference position also make evident participants' orientation to the positioning of their assessments and show that assessment sequences are constructed as the final stage in the overall structural organization of the presentation of news.

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Anastasia Giannakidou (→Chatzikonstantinou)

Chiara Gianollo & Nikolaos Lavidas:

Language contact and typological universals: Cognate noun constructions in the history of Greek

In Cognate Noun Constructions (CNCs), a root morpheme is repeated in a verbal predicate and in a nominal phrase syntactically dependent on it. CNCs are cross-linguistically widespread, regulated by seemingly universal constraints, mainly concerning (i) the kind of predicates with which they can occur, (ii) the form taken by the nominal phrase, and (iii) the semantic contribution they provide (among others,

Pereltsvaig 2002, Horrocks & Stavrou 2010, Authors 2013, forthcoming). CNCs can be distinguished into two types (for an overview, cf. Pereltsvaig 2002): argumental (the CN is a thematic argument or an event argument; cf. 1a) and adverbial (the CN is an adjunct). Adverbial CNCs are further distinguished into manner adverbial CNCs, which must appear with a modifier (cf. 1b), and focused adverbial CNCs, which are not required to have a modifier (cf. 1c).

- (1) a. taûta tà rhémata ereîs toîs huióis israēl
this:ACC.PL ART.ACC.PL word:ACC.PL say:ACT.FUT.IND.2SG ART.DAT.PL son.DAT.PL
israel.GEN
'These are the words that you are to speak to the Israelites.' (Ex.19:6)
- b. tèn dikaían krínin krínate
ART.ACC.SG right:ACC.SG judgment:ACC.SG judge:ACT.AOR.IMP.2PL
'Judge with right judgment.' (Jo.7:24)
- c. hórkoî gàr hórkisen iōsēph
oath:DAT.SG PTC make-swear:ACT.AOR.IND.3SG Joseph:NOM
'Joseph had made (the sons of Israel) solemnly swear.' (Ex.13:19)

In Indo-European languages, the most frequent types of CNCs are those occurring in argumental position with unergatives and those with the function of manner modifiers. We show that Greek, throughout its history, conforms to the cross-linguistically attested constraints on CNCs concerning both their compatibility with different predicates and the features of the nominal constituent (determiners, modifiers, and case). Much less widespread in Indo-European languages is the type represented by focused adverbial CNCs, which is instead a core/systemic characteristic of Semitic languages (Mittwoch 1998).

Interestingly, these focus-expressing CNCs are found in Biblical Koiné Greek, where they are marked with the dative case (cf. 1c). Traditional literature has considered them to be influenced by Biblical Hebrew (among others, Conybeare & Stock 1905). We argue that the frequency of focused adverbial CNCs in Biblical Koiné Greek is certainly influenced by language contact and the "biblical register"; similar tendencies also appear, for instance, in the Latin translations that we examined. Nonetheless, the structural possibility of licensing focused adverbial CNCs is a native feature, the distribution of which witnesses a significant increase in Biblical Koiné Greek, and which later follows the fate of the dative case in being substituted by other formal means.

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**Maria Giakoumelou & Dimitris Papazachariou:
On polar questions of the Corfiot dialect**

The aim of this paper is to describe the basic intonation pattern of polar questions in the Corfiot dialect. More specifically, we aim to examine a) the phonological structure of polar questions, which are the structural elements that compose their melody, b) the effect of focus in different places of the utterance (particularly at the beginning and at the end), and c) in what ways the melody of Corfiot polar questions differs from that of Standard Modern Greek (SMG). The data were collected by means of a guided questionnaire, and comprise polar questions which are embedded in mini-dialogues or in a very specific discourse context, so as to obtain both semi-spontaneous utterances and the desired structures. The 5 speakers of the Corfiot dialect who participated in the research were instructed to answer in the most natural way.

In SMG polar questions, the focused word carries a L* pitch accent, followed by a bitonal L+H- phrase accent and a L% boundary tone. The L+H- aligns with the last stressed syllable when the nuclear accent is not on the final word of the question, or with the last syllable of the focused word when it is utterance-final (see Arvaniti 2009). In Corfiot questions, the contour is only superficially different; a) when the focused word is at the beginning of the utterance, the contour of the question consists of a L* nuclear accent, followed by a high F0 plateau which extends up to the last syllable of the utterance, and ends to a L% boundary tone. The high plateau can be analyzed as a result of two occurrences of a H- phrase accent. In other words, the phrase accent is copied in two locations, immediately after the nuclear accent, and at the last syllable of the phrase, and the high plateau is derived from the linear interpolation between them (see Grice, Ladd & Arvaniti 2000); b) when the focused word is at the end of the utterance, the phrase accent aligns with the last syllable. We therefore suggest that the melody of Corfiot polar questions is not phonologically distinct from that of SMG, but shows differences in phonetic realization.

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Marianna Gkiouleka:

Morphological Borrowing and Contact: Evidence from Pontic

This paper investigates a case of contact between the genetically and typologically different Greek and Turkish in two Greek-based dialectal variants of the Pontic dialect (Papadopoulos 1953): the so-called Rumeic, spoken in the Of and Tonya areas of Pontus (Turkey), and its parent linguistic variant found in several dialectal enclaves of northern Greece, inhabited by refugees from Pontus, which we will simply call Pontic.

More particularly, the aim of this study is to explore the borrowing and presence in Pontic (Rumeic and Pontic in Greece) of the Turkish particle HA. It shows that HA has obtained a different character from its Turkish correspondent, both semantically and structurally. Consider the following Turkish data, where HA is mainly used as an exclamation marker (1a), very often to express wonder (1b):

(1)a. Ha göreyim seni! 'Let me see you!'

b. Amma güzel ha! 'What a beauty!'

In contrast, the Pontic HA mainly appears as a pronominal (2a) and adverbial (2b) prefix, which intensifies the meaning of the base:

(2)a. ha(y)utos 'exactly this' < ha + utos 'this'

hatosos 'exactly this much' < ha + tosos 'this much'

b. hakatu 'exactly right down' < ha + katu 'down'

haets 'exactly this way' < ha + ets 'this way'

Beside the pure functional character, the prefixal status in Pontic is also justified phonologically, since the combination HA+base constitutes one phonological word. Since prefixes are generally inexistant in the agglutinative Turkish, we propose that the borrowed HA has changed status in Pontic, in accordance with the morphological properties of the synthetic/fusional Greek. More particularly, shifting from an autonomous particle status to a bound prefixal one, HA can be considered to constitute a typical grammaticalization/morphologization case (Luraghi 2001), where bound elements are considered to be more grammaticalized/morphologized than autonomous ones.

However, like many typical grammaticalization cases, where a new status coexists with the original one, HA has not completely lost its original particle use, since it still appears in certain future constructions, either as a substitute of the future particle *tha* (3b) or together with it (3a):

(3)a. *ha tha leo se* [I will tell you] b. *ha leo se* [I will tell you]

HA FUT tell you HA tell you

While contributing to the documentation of Pontic and ultimately reinforcing its fragile existence, this paper sheds light to grammaticalization processes, which follow from contact between two structurally incompatible linguistic systems.

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Voula Giouli (→Fotopoulou)

Marina Golub:

Possessive Pronominal Arguments in Greek and Latin DPs

This paper represents an attempt to analyse some aspects of word order in Greek and Latin, more specifically, word order of possessive pronominal arguments in nominal phrase (i.e., Determiner Phrase, DP) in one bilingual text – Monumentum Ancyranum or *Res gestae divi Augusti* (RGDA). Position of pronominal arguments is first studied separately for both languages (Latin original and its Greek translation), and then compared. Our research has a twofold aim: to examine traditional and

contemporary descriptions of word order in DPs in both languages, and possible influence of Latin on the word order in Greek DP.

In terms of syntax, word order in Latin and Greek has long been described as more or less free; for Latin subject comes as the first clause element and verb as the last, after the object, and for Greek word order is even less syntactically determined – object should come before the verb which, unlike in Latin, can be, with equal frequency, found in any position within a clause. For position of adnominal arguments in both languages, syntax again has very little to offer – arguments can be found in prenominal and postnominal positions equally frequent – which is why today, scholars usually turn to pragmatics when trying to explain word order in these languages. In this paper, we will also take this pragmatic approach in describing position of possessive pronominal arguments.

Greek version of our text had been considered as literal (*verbum pro verbo*) translation of Latin original produced by an incompetent translator until the early 1920s and even though today most experts don't believe that to be correct, faithfulness in translation which reflects even in word order is to be expected. It is believed that the author of the translation was trying to make it sound more Latin than Greek because it is an official and politically important document and it is well known that those kind of documents were translated quite literally in the Eastern Roman provinces.

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Dionysis Goutsos (→ Fragaki), Georgia Fragaki, Eirini Florou, Vasiliki Kakousi & Paraskevi Savvidou:

Diachronic Corpus of Greek of the 20th century: Design and implementation

The paper presents the research project “Diachronic Corpus of Greek of the 20th century”, funded in the frame of the action ARISTEIA (Excellence). The project involves the compilation and analysis of a corpus of Greek of the 20th century (Greek Corpus 20). Greek, unlike other languages, has not extensively benefited so far by the huge advances in the wider research field of linguistic corpus development and exploitation. Extra-linguistic factors, such as the socio-historical background of Greece in the 20th century, as well as linguistic parameters such as the persisting diglossia and related sociolinguistic issues make the development of a diachronic corpus of recent Greek an essential and valuable endeavour.

The project is intended to fill this gap by developing a 20 million word corpus of Greek for the first nine decades of the 20th century, which will be integrated with the existing 30 million word Corpus of Greek Texts that includes texts from 1990 to 2010 (CGT, see Goutsos 2010). The main aims of the project are a) the examination of the issues involved in the compilation of a diachronic corpus, especially of Greek, relating to sociolinguistic issues, b) the exploration of data sources and data collection with the aim of compiling a 20 million word diachronic corpus and c) the analysis of the corpus with a view to drawing some preliminary conclusions on linguistic change across the decades of the 20th century.

The paper focuses on the design of the corpus (design principles, compilation and evaluation) and the phases of its implementation. In particular, we refer to the research background of diachronic corpus development, including illustrative examples from other languages (e.g. the “Helsinki Corpus of English Texts”, the “Brown”, “Frown”, LOB and FLOB corpora, COHA and COCA for English, DiaCoris for Italian etc.) and their basic research findings (e.g. Leech et al. 2009, Mair 2009, Davies 2012). We mainly focus on the composition of the corpus, detailing the text types and genres included and discussing issues of balance and representativeness. We especially examine the technical questions that arise from the development of the corpus, involving the availability and evaluation of resources, as well as its theoretical implications for historical pragmatics and sociolinguistics. Finally, we discuss the availability of Greek Corpus 20 through its webpage interface (www.greekcorpus20.phil.uoa.gr) and the potential fields of application for the analysis of Greek of the 20th century.

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Kleanthes K. Grohmann & Maria Kambanaros:

Bilectalism, Comparative Bilingualism, and the Gradience of Multilingualism: A View from Cyprus

A multitude of factors characterizes multilingual compared to monolingual language acquisition. Two of the most prominent viewpoints have recently been put in perspective and enriched by a third (Tsimpli 2014): age of onset of children’s exposure to their native languages, the role of the input they receive, and the timing in monolingual first language development of the phenomena examined in bi- and multilingual children’s performance. We suggest a fourth: language proximity, that is, the closeness or distance between the two or more grammars a multilingual child acquires.

The empirical part of this study comes from two types of data involving Greek and collected in Cyprus (and Greece): the acquisition and development of object clitics in two closely related varieties of Greek by bilectal, bilingual, and multilingual children and performance on executive control in monolingual, bilectal, and bi- or multilingual children. A third line of inquiry will be touched upon, namely the role of comparative bilingualism for children with developmental language impairment. The populations tested come from several groups of children: monolingual speakers of Standard Modern Greek from Greece, multilingual children from Cyprus who speak the local variety (Cypriot Greek), the official language (Standard Modern Greek), and Russian or English (and some children even an additional language), and what we call bilectal children, native acquirers of Cypriot Greek in the diglossic environment of Cyprus who also speak the official language but have not been exposed to any other languages; in addition, there are Hellenic Greek (two parents from Greece) and binational children (one parent Hellenic Greek, the other Greek Cypriot), residing in Cyprus.

On the basis of the measures mentioned, we want to establish a gradient of bilingualism which takes into account two very closely related varieties, in this case Cypriot Greek and the standard language. The experimental findings suggest that bilingual children do indeed pattern somewhere in between monolingual and multilingual children in terms of vocabulary and executive control, yet at the same time none of the three groups exhibit significant differences in their pragmatic abilities; the often raised “cognitive advantage” of bilingualism must thus be further distinguished and refined (cf. Bialyok et al. 2009 and a host of recent literature). The analysis of object clitic placement is more complex, however, crucially involving sociolinguistic aspects of language development such as schooling, place of residence, and gender.

Kleanthes K. Grohmann (→Karpava)

Stella Gryllia & Giorgos Spathas:

On the prosody of focus associating operators in Greek: the contribution of phrasing

The aim of this paper is to investigate to what extent prosodic phrasing contributes in determining the associate of Focus Associating Operators (FAOs) like *mono* ‘only’ in Greek. Previous research on the syntax of FAOs in Greek, has shown that an FAO must stand in the relation of sisterhood with the phrase it associates with. Previous research on the prosody of focus in Greek has mainly focused on prominence and intonational tunes, rather than phrasing. The same studies have investigated new information and contrastive focus, but never focus induced by FAOs. This research has argued that no specific prosodic correlate (e.g. a L+H* tone) can unambiguously be associated with an interpretational property of focus (e.g. the triggering of alternatives), whereas it can unambiguously signal the projective properties of focus (see, e.g. Georgakopoulos and Skopeteas 2010). This means that (i) prosodic marking of contrastive constituents in Greek is not obligatory, and that (ii) contrast to salient alternatives is not a necessary condition for the occurrence of the relevant prosodic effects. In order to unambiguously probe for the interpretive effects of prosodic marking in Greek, we investigate the prosodic realization of focus in a case where the determination of focus always has truth-conditional effects. i.e. the case of association with the exhaustive operator *mono* ‘only’, as in, e.g., (1) where different foci lead to distinct interpretations. We compare such cases with new information focus in Question-Answer pairs. We can thus determine (i) to what extent prosodic realization is identical across different focus-inducing environments and (ii) if and how prominence, tune and phrasing interact in determining focus in cases of FAOs.

- (1) a. o Menos ^lpɛnɛpsɛ [l'mono ti Me^lline]F sti si^lnedisi
 b. o ^lMenos [l'pɛnɛpsɛ l'mono ti Me^lline]F sti si^lnedisi
 c. o ^lMenos [l'pɛnɛpsɛ l'mono ti Me^lline sti si^lnedisi]F
 the Manos praised only the Melina at.the meeting
 ‘Manos only praised Melina at the meeting.’

We report the results of a production study that examined stimuli like the ones presented in (1). Target stimuli were preceded by trigger questions to ensure the desired interpretation. We included 22 items and recorded 4 native speakers of Greek. Since our study wishes to determine to what extent prosodic cues (and especially phrasing) are used to disambiguate otherwise identical strings, we compare our results with those of an independent study in which we investigate to what extent phrasing is used to disambiguate otherwise identical strings in a non-related domain, that of attachment ambiguities, as in, e.g., (2).

- (2) a. epo^lmekrine [to ^lvetrexo] [mɛ tin tsi^lbide] [e^lpo tin ku^lzine]
 b. epo^lmekrine [to ^lvetrexo mɛ tin tsi^lbide] [e^lpo tin ku^lzine]
 c. epo^lmekrine [to ^lvetrexo] [mɛ tin tsi^lbide e^lpo tin ku^lzine]
 remove the frog with the pincer from the kitchen
 ‘Remove the frog with the pincer from the kitchen.’

Cristina Guardiano, Giuseppe Longobardi, Andrea Ceolin & Dimitris Michelioudakis:
Greek dialects and Southern Italy: a syntactic phylogeny

In this paper we use modern parametric syntax to address two questions traditionally studied by dialectology and historical linguistics mainly through the analysis of lexical data:

- 1) can parametric syntax help reconstruct a plausible phylogeny for Greek and Romance varieties in Southern Italy?
- 2) can parametric syntax identify the amount of contact among such varieties?

Our central analytic tool is the Parametric Comparison Method (PCM), which computes parametric distances among sets of languages and prompts the automatic construction of phylogenies. PCM opens the possibility of combining hints from formal grammar, historical-comparative linguistics, quantitative sociolinguistics (di-

alectometry), and computer-assisted techniques to study vertical and horizontal transmission of languages.

Southern Italy is an ideal testing ground, for long-known historical and sociolinguistic reasons. In this area, we collected syntactic data from the nominal domain in four Greek varieties (the two Greek dialects of Southern Italy: Salentino Greek and Southern Calabria Greek; Cypriot and standard Modern Greek), seven Romance ones (three in Sicily: Ragusa, Mussomeli and the Gallo-Italic dialect of Aidone; two in Calabria: Reggio Calabria and Verbicaro; one in Salento, and, finally, standard Italian), and their ancestors (two varieties of Ancient Greek, and Latin); after computing parametric distances (using PCM), we built syntactic trees and networks, and performed various statistical experiments; subsequently, to pursue a comparison between the historical development of lexicon and syntax, we measured the results of comparative syntax against those produced by lexical data. Through these analyses, we were able to study the amount of correspondence between both phylogenies and the relative impact of borrowing on either of them.

As a result, it is possible to argue that syntactic information alone is a good predictor of the genealogical histories of Greek and Romance in Southern Italy in spite of some detectable but controllable amount of secondary convergence, affecting syntax as well as the vocabulary. On this line, we claim that it is plausible to identify selective subdomains of syntax more sensible to contact-induced parameter resetting or, vice-versa, more impermeable to the pressure of contact or, simply, diachronically more stable, but this must be relativized to the general parametric layout of the languages in contact.

This way, we conclude that PCM can not only be used for the purpose of long-range historical comparisons, but also successfully implemented as a device to describe and explain microvariation at a local and chronologically shallower level.

Cristina Guardiano & Melita Stavrou:

Adjective-Noun combinations in the Greek of Italy. Polydefiniteness revisited

1. This study investigates adjectival modification in the Greek dialects of Southern Italy (Grecia Salentina: GR; Bovesia: BO). We compare them with 4 Romance dialects of that area (Sicilian, Southern and Northern Calabrese, Salentino), along with Modern Greek (MG) and Italian (IT).

GR and BO display strong constraints on prenominal adjectives, like the neighboring Romance dialects and unlike MG, where all adjectives can be placed prenominal. In contrast, postnominal adjectives are part of a more complex picture: while in BO (textual tradition) postnominal adjectives are articulated in definite DPs (polydefiniteness), like in MG, in GR they are never articulated, like in Romance.

2. We assume that in both GR and BO restrictions on prenominal adjectives are due

to the movement of the noun to higher positions, like in the neighboring Romance varieties, but unlike in MG. The phenomena inspected reveal interesting facets of language contact: the observed pattern was introduced in Greek as an innovation under the pressure of contact with Romance (Romance languages display pervasive effects of noun movement).

Yet, while GR fully adopted the Romance pattern (with noun movement and no polydefiniteness), BO turned out to be more reluctant (at least in textual tradition) to abandon the original Greek system, and preserved postnominal articulated adjectives, presumably as a consequence of the geographic and social isolation of the area. The fact that this pattern is no more preserved in today's speakers points to a delayed contact effect, following from the "catastrophic" breaking of the isolation condition occurred over the past 40 years to the Greek-speaking communities in Bovesia.

3. Our data come from two types of sources: native speakers and written texts. Information collected from grammaticality judgments is consistent with that obtained from the literature, with only one exception: in BO, indeed, there is a discrepancy between the data collected from the literature (Caracausi&Rossi-Taibi 1959, Falcone 1973, Crupi 1980, Condemi 1995), where polydefiniteness in argument nominal structures is regular and systematic, and those coming from the speakers, where postnominal adjectives are almost never articulated, and polydefiniteness is assigned the label of an "archaism" by speakers. Clearly, texts seem to keep track of a pattern that has been removed from the actual speakers' grammar, which, as a consequence, has become similar to GR and Romance. In the light of these facts, we make some further assumptions about the function of polydefiniteness in standard Greek and in the Greek dialects of Italy.

Cristina Guardiano (→ Ceolin)

H

Klelia – Eleni Haimeli, (→ Mikropoulou)

Günther S. Henrich:

Διεύρυνση γεωγραφικών γνώσεων και μυθοπλασία στον Λίβιστρο: μετατόπιση ονομάτων βαλτικών χωρών προς την Ανατολή;

Διαβάζοντας το Λίβιστρος και Ροδάμνη εντυπωσιάστηκα ανάμεσα στα ασυνήθιστα κύρια ονόματα και χωρωνύμια ιδίως από τα δύο ονόματα Λιταβία (με το εθνικό Λιτάβιος) και (η) Λίβανδρος που βεβαίως θα μπορούσαν να είναι ολότελα φανταστικά· αν όμως δεν είναι φανταστικά, αλλά έχουν κάποιο στήριγμα στην πραγματικότητα, τότε στον χάρτη της μεσαιωνικής (και νεότερης) Ευρώπης και Εγγύς Ανατολής η μοναδική ετυμολογική βάση για το Λιταβία φαίνεται η σχέση με το Λιθουανία (όπως λέμε σήμερα), και μάλιστα υπό τον γερμανικό της τύπο, Litauen. Αυτό οδηγεί στη συνεξέταση του άλλου παράξενου χωρωνύμιο από το ίδιο κείμενο, το η Λίβανδρος: Τυχαία το όνομα μιας όμορης με τη Λιθουανία περιοχής αρχίζει επίσης από [li-], η Λιβονία των νεότερων χρόνων (ως το 1919 ρωσικό κυ- βερνείο που χωρίστηκε τότε με γνώμονα τον πληθυσμό της σ' ένα νότιο τμήμα που περιήλθε στη Λετονία κι ένα βόρειο που ενσωματώθηκε στην Εσθονία). Κι εδώ πάλι πιστεύω πως βοηθά μια *interpretatio teutonica*: Η γερμανική ονομασία της Λιβονίας είναι *Livland*· αν υποθεθεί ότι και η ονομασία αυτής της περιοχής έγινε γνωστή στους όψιμους Βυζαντινούς – όπως το πιστεύω για τον γερμανικό τύπο του Λιθουανία – από την Κεντρική Ευρώπη, τότε ο πιθανότερος αρχικός ελληνικός τύπος θα ήταν (η)*Λίβλανδος, ο οποίος με ανομοίωση των [l] - [l] > [l] - [r] μπορούσε να γίνει *Λίβρανδος. Εφόσον όμως ονόματα ελληνικά ή εξελληνισμένα σε -ρανδος σχεδόν δεν υφίστανται, οδηγείται κανείς στη σκέψη πως μετατέθηκε το [r] στη λήγουσα: Λίβανδρος.

Και τουλάχιστον δύο άλλα λεξιλογικά στοιχεία του μυθιστορήματος δείχνουν προς την κεντροανατολική Ευρώπη: 1) Το ουσ. σουκανία «μακριά φούστα της γυναικείας φορεσιάς χωρίς μανίκια» είναι σλαβικής προέλευσης (πολων. *suknia*, πρβλ. σερβοκροατ. *suknja*, παράγωγο από το κοινό σλαβ. *sukno* «ύφασμα»). 2) Το κύριο όνομα Βερδερίχος προέρχεται – ως γνωστό – από το μεσαιων. γερμ. *Frederich*. Προβληματικό είναι όμως το ηχηρό του αρκτικό σύμφωνο· γι' αυτό φαντάζομαι σλαβική μεσολάβηση, πρβλ. το τσέχικο *Bedřich*. 3) Ίσως και το κύριο Βέτανος να είναι σλαβικής αρχής, από το *Svetan*, παράγωγο του *svetj* «άγιος». (Αρκτικό προσυμφωνικό [s/z] είναι σχετικά ασταθές στα ελληνικά.) Δεν ξέρουμε δυστυχώς γιατί ο συγγραφέας πήρε τα δύο ονόματα βαλτικών χωρών και τις μετέθεσε κάπου στην Ανατολή – μήπως αυτή η γεωγραφική περιοχή του φάνηκε πιο κατάλληλη για την «παραμυθοειδή» υπόθεσή του; Ερχόμαστε στη «διεύρυνση του γεωγραφικού ορίζοντα»: Προφανώς οι περιοχές στα ανατολικά της Βαλτικής ήταν άγνωστες στους Βυζαντινούς ως τον 13ο αιώνα, οπότε άρχισαν με τον εκχριστιανισμό τους να μπαίνουν στα πλαίσια της πολιτισμένης Ευρώπης: Η Λιβονία ως τα 1237 προσχώρησε στον καθολικισμό, ενώ η Λιθουανία παρέμεινε

ακόμα ειδωλολατρική επί τουλάχιστον έναν αιώνα· από τα 1340 περίπου τόσο η Μόσχα όσο και η Ρώμη προσπάθησαν να την προσηλυτίσουν. Την απόφαση των προσπαθειών υπέρ του δυτικού χριστιανισμού την πήρε ο μέγας δούκας Jag(i)ello, όταν το 1386 βαφτίστηκε καθολικά, κάλεσε δυτικούς ιεραπόστολους στη χώρα του, παντρεύτηκε την κληρονόμο του πολωνικού θρόνου *Jadwiga* (*Hedwig*) και κηρύχτηκε βασιλιάς της ενωμένης Πολωνίας και Λιθουανίας. Το αργότερο τότε η Λιθουανία πρέπει να έγινε γνωστή και στο Βυζάντιο. Αν όλα τα προηγούμενα είναι βάσιμα, τότε θα κερδίζουμε και μια ένδειξη για την εποχή της συγγραφής του Λίβιστρο: Πιθανότερος είναι ο 14ος αιώνας. (Άλλωστε, αν είχε συγγραφεί στη Νίκαια των Λασκαριδών, δεν θα περιμέναμε κάποια αντιλατινική τάση του;)

Noriyo Hoozawa-Arkenau (→Karvounis)

**George Höhn, Giuseppina Silvestri & M. Olimpia Squillaci:
Greek and Romance unagreement in Calabria**

The phenomenon of unagreement involves a configuration with an apparently third person definite plural subject and non-third person marking on the verb, and has previously been described for null subject languages (NSLs) like Spanish and Standard Modern Greek (Hurtado 1985, Ackema & Neeleman 2013, Choi 2014, Höhn to appear), see (1).

- (1) Afou oi glossologoi lysoume to provlima, tha teleiwsei to sunedrio. SMG
after the linguists solve.1PL the problem FUT end.3SG the conference
“After we linguists have solved the problem, the conference will end.”

Other varieties of Greek such as Cypriot Greek and Calabrian Greek (Greko), also show unagreement, cf. e.g. (2). However, some NSLs like Standard Italian do not display unagreement, see (3).

- (2) Ta pedía pezume me ta xartía. Greko
the children play.1PL with the cards
“We children play cards.”
- (3) *I bambini giochiamo a carte. Standard Italian
the children play.1PL to cards

Choi (2014) and Höhn (to appear) connect the availability of unagreement to the presence of a definite article in adnominal pronoun constructions (APCs), cf. SMG

*emeis *(oi) glossologi* vs. St. Italian *noi *(i) linguisti* “we linguists”.

However, new data from two southern Italo-Romance varieties in southern Calabria and eastern Sicily (Bovese and Filippese respectively) show that these languages have unagreement like Greek, cf. (4), in spite of the fact that their APCs pattern with Standard Italian in lacking the definite article, e.g. *nui *(i) figghioli* “we children” (Bovese).

- (4) I figghioli iocamu e carti. Bovese
the children play.1PL the cards
“We children play cards.”

There is a strong case for analysing this as a result of intense and long-term language contact with the Greek variety spoken in the area (Greko). It is, however, not a full calque from Greek, since APCs exhibit the Standard Italian pattern, turning this into a hybrid structure resulting from Greek-Romance language contact.

Interestingly, the same pattern is also attested in northern Calabria. The varieties spoken there did not have the same kind of intense contact with Greek as the more southern (Romance) ones, raising the possibility that here unagreement arose through indirect contact via the aforementioned Romance dialects.

We discuss modifications required to account for the dialectal data while maintaining Höhn’s (to appear) distinction between pronominal determiner structures (Postal 1969) for languages without unagreement (St. Italian) and more complex structures with person features encoded higher than D in languages with unagreement (Greek).

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Maria Iakovou, Ioannis Kazazis, Viktoria Panagiotidou & Thomais Rousoulioti: Η διαβάθμιση των μορφοσυντακτικών φαινομένων στα νέα μοντέλα αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων για τη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης γλώσσας

Τα Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα (ΑΠ) τόσο ως προς τον σχεδιασμό όσο και ως προς την υλοποίησή τους αποτελούν πρωταρχικό παράγοντα για την ποιότητα της διδασκαλίας και της μάθησης. Ερωτήματα όπως πώς σχεδιάζεται ένα ΑΠ, πώς ορίζονται οι στόχοι του, με ποια κριτήρια επιλέγονται τα στοιχεία που το αποτελούν (Nation & Macalister, 2010) και πώς ένα ΑΠ είναι δυνατό να αξιοποιηθεί για τον σχεδιασμό ενός γλωσσικού μαθήματος στη δεύτερη γλώσσα (Γ2) απασχολούν τον διδάσκοντα, στην προσπάθειά του να ανταποκριθεί στους στόχους και τις ανάγκες των μαθητών του.

Στόχος της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης είναι να παρουσιάσει α) το πλαίσιο δημιουργίας μοντέλων ΑΠ για την Ελληνική ως Γ2 με βάση τα 6 επίπεδα ελληνομάθειας (Α1-Γ2) και β) τη δυνατότητα διαβάθμισης των προτεινόμενων, ανά επίπεδο ελληνομάθειας, μορφοσυντακτικών φαινομένων με παράλληλη αναφορά σε μια συγκεκριμένη θεματική περιοχή.

Η προαναφερθείσα έρευνα πραγματοποιείται από το Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΚΕΓ) σε συνεργασία με εξωτερικούς ερευνητές και επιχειρεί να καλύψει τις ανάγκες διδασκαλίας της ελληνικής ως Γ2 σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο δημιουργώντας ένα αποτελεσματικό και αξιόπιστο πλαίσιο διδασκαλίας. Ειδικότερα, στο πλαίσιο της πράξης ΕΣΠΑ 2007-2013, και με αφορμή σχετική ενότητα διδασκαλίας στο πρόγραμμα «Διαδρομές στην ελληνική γλώσσα», το ΚΕΓ σχεδιάζει μοντέλα ΑΠ τα οποία κινούνται πάνω στους εξής άξονες:

- Κοινό Ευρωπαϊκό Πλαίσιο Αναφοράς για τις Γλώσσες (μτφρ. στα ελλ: ΚΕΓ, 2008)
- ειδικά χαρακτηριστικά της γλώσσας-στόχου (Ελληνική ως Γ2: ως προς τους τρόπους υλοποίησής της σε γραμματική-λεξιλόγιο),
- ομάδες –στόχοι(παιδιά-ενήλικες)
- διδακτικές μεθοδολογίες και μοντέλα που ευνοούν τη θεματοκεντρική και δραστηριοκεντρική διδασκαλία ως μέσα για την παράλληλη ανάπτυξη μορφής και σημασίας στη Γ2.

Το συγκεκριμένο έργο του ΚΕΓ θα ολοκληρωθεί κατά το έτος 2015, και θα είναι διαθέσιμο σε έντυπη και ηλεκτρονική μορφή προκειμένου δάσκαλοι της ελληνικής γλώσσας ως Γ2 να έχουν στη διάθεσή τους ένα χρήσιμο εργαλείο αναφοράς στο οποίο θα μπορούν να βασίζονται για τον σχεδιασμό και την ανάπτυξη του δικού τους γλωσσικού υλικού στις τάξεις και τις ομάδες που διδάσκουν(Δενδρινού &

Καραβά, 2013).

Στη ανακοίνωση αυτή θα δοθεί έμφαση στη διαβάθμιση (από τα χαμηλότερα προς τα υψηλότερα επίπεδα ελληνομάθειας) των προτεινόμενων μορφοσυντακτικών φαινομένων, όπως αυτά αναπτύσσονται γύρω από τη θεματική περιοχή «Αναγνώριση ταυτότητας», σύμφωνα με τις θεωρητικές αρχές που διέπουν την κατανομή και διαδοχή του υλικού (grading and sequencing, Ellis 2003), τη γλωσσική και τη γνωστική του πολυπλοκότητα (task complexity, Robinson 2001).

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Maria Iakovou, Irianna Vasiliadi-Linardaki, Flora Vlachou, Olga Dima, Maria Kavvadia, Sophia-Nefeli Kitrou, Kristina Kostakou, Marina Koutsoubou, Tatiana Katsina, Froso Pappa & Stavrialena Perrea:

ΣΕΠΑΜΕ2: Μια καινούρια πηγή αναφοράς για την Ελληνική ως Γ2

Η ανάλυση της γλώσσας των μαθητών μιας Γ2 στη βάση μεγάλου όγκου από αυθεντικά δεδομένα γραπτού και προφορικού λόγου αποτελεί κομβικό σημείο στις προσπάθειες ερευνητών και διδασκόντων να κατανοήσουν και να διαμορφώσουν μια αποτελεσματικότερη θεώρηση για τη διαδικασία κατάκτησης της Δεύτερης Γλώσσας και τη διδακτική της στο περιβάλλον της τάξης. Αξιοποιώντας τις δυνατότητες που παρέχει η Γλωσσολογία Σωμάτων Κειμένων στη μελέτη των φυσικών γλωσσών (McEnery & Wilson 1996, Hunston 2002), τα ηλεκτρονικά σώματα μαθητικών κειμένων έχουν αναδειχθεί τα τελευταία χρόνια σε χρησιμότερα εργαλεία τόσο για τη μελέτη όσο και τη διδασκαλία των γλωσσών (Granger

2002, 2003, 2009, Römer 2006). Το Σώμα Εξελικτικών Παραγωγών Μαθητών της Ελληνικής ως Γ2 (ΣΕΠΑΜΕ2) έρχεται να προστεθεί σε μια σειρά προσπαθειών για τη συγκρότηση σωμάτων μαθητικών κειμένων της Ελληνικής ως Γ2 (Πρόγραμμα Μουσουλμανοπαίδων, ΚΕΓ, Πρόγραμμα «Πυθαγόρας», Πρόγραμμα «Διάπολις», Τζιμώκας 2010, Κοιλιάρη κ.ά. 2014) και παράλληλα να καλύψει ένα κενό που στη γενικότερη βιβλιογραφία αποδίδεται στην εγγενή δυσκολία της παρακολούθησης ενός μαθητικού πληθυσμού στη διάρκεια ενός παρατεταμένου χρονικού διαστήματος (diachronic learner corpus, Granger 2002: 11). Απώτερος στόχος είναι να καταγραφεί η εξελικτικότητα της γλωσσικής ανάπτυξης των ίδιων μαθητών στη διάρκεια του προκαθορισμένου χρόνου παρακολούθησής τους μαθημάτων Ελληνικής σε συγκεκριμένο εκπαιδευτικό φορέα, ενώ, παράλληλα, να συναχθούν χρήσιμα συμπεράσματα για την οριοθέτηση των επιπέδων γλωσσομάθειας και την αποτελεσματικότητα διαφορετικών διδακτικών παρεμβάσεων. Ειδικότερα, 100 μαθητές διαφορετικών επιπέδων ελληνομάθειας (Α1-Γ2, σύμφωνα με την κλίμακα του Κοινού Ευρωπαϊκού Πλαισίου Αναφοράς 2001) που φοιτούν στο Διδακταλείο της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας του ΕΚΠΑ κατά το ακαδημαϊκό έτος 2014-15 συνιστούν το αντικείμενο συστηματικής καταγραφής και μελέτης ως προς τις γλωσσικές τους παραγωγές, σύμφωνα με τις εξής παραμέτρους:

α) ατομικό προφίλ βάσει μεταβλητών όπως: φύλο, Γ1, χρόνος και ποσότητα έκθεσης στη Γ2 εντός και εκτός τάξης, κίνητρα εκμάθησης κ.λπ.

β) γραπτές παραγωγές, πλήρως ταξινομημένες ως προς τον χρόνο και τόπο παραγωγής τους, σύμφωνα με το πρόγραμμα μαθημάτων που ακολουθούν σε ατομική βάση οι διδάσκοντες (Δεξαμενή Α)

γ) γραπτές παραγωγές που προκύπτουν από δραστηριότητες ειδικά διαβαθμισμένες στα τρία επίπεδα (Α-Β-Γ) ως προς το γνωστικό τους φορτίο (Robinson 2001) και εκμαιεύονται στο πλαίσιο ειδικών τμημάτων γραφής (extra writing practice courses). Οι παραγωγές αυτές ψηφιοποιούνται και αποστέλλονται κάθε φορά στον αποδέκτη τους ηλεκτρονικά με άμεση εξατομικευμένη ανατροφοδότηση (Δεξαμενή Β)

δ) τελική γραπτή παραγωγή στο πλαίσιο της προκαθορισμένης εξέτασης πιστοποίησης του συγκεκριμένου εκπαιδευτικού φορέα (Δεξαμενή Γ)

ε) προφορικές παραγωγές, δύο φορές στη διάρκεια του χρόνου με δομημένες δραστηριότητες κοινής θεματολογίας με αυτές της Δεξαμενής Β και μία προφορική παραγωγή από την τελική εξέταση πιστοποίησης (Δεξαμενή Δ)

Στην ανακοίνωση δίνονται αναλυτικά οι βασικές αρχές σχεδιασμού, ανάπτυξης και επεξεργασίας του συγκεκριμένου ΗΣΜΚ και καταγράφονται προκαταρκτικά αποτελέσματα από τη διαγλωσσική εξέλιξη των μαθητών σε σχέση με συγκεκριμένες γλωσσικές τους επιλογές, από τη σύγκριση των γραπτών και προφορικών παραγωγών τους και από τη σύγκριση παραγωγών προερχόμενων από διαφορετικές δεξαμενές συλλογής δεδομένων.

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Panagiotis Ioannidis (→Kordouli)

Elena Ioannidou, Angela Ralli, Marios Andreou & Theoni Neokleous: Greek in “enclaved communities”: Cypriot Romeika in Cyprus and Cunda Cretan in Turkey

The paper is part of the research program GRECO (Retaining Greek in “Enclaved” COmmunities) which focuses on language and identity among two groups: a subgroup of Turkish Cypriots (“linobambakoi”) in Cyprus (Sayar, 1943; Constantinou, 2007, 2009), and Cretans now residing in Cunda Turkey (former Moschonisi). Both groups have Greek as their mother tongue; in particular, Cypriot Greek and Cretan Greek in their more basilectal forms.

The current paper explores the two groups’ Greek varieties and offers a multilevel analysis on the following:

- (a) First, it offers a systematic documentation and identifies the linguistic phenomena that characterize the varieties,
- (b) Second, it identifies the phenomena that can be attributed to language contact with Turkish, and,
- (c) Third, it presents the symbolic and communicative functions of the Greek language in these Turkish Cypriots’ and Cunda Cretans’ linguistic repertoire.

The principal method of investigation is the ethnographic interviews (Denzin, 2001), complemented by observations of the participants in their context. Participants were located through the sociolinguistic approach of social networks (Milroy, 1980, 2002) where social and family networks of (twenty-one) Turkish Cypriots and (eight) Cunda Cretans were created, by locating “key informants” and then expanding the network around friends and family.

Data analysis of 30 hours of corpus has been conducted on the basis of the three aforementioned levels and some of the key findings are:

- (1) As regards the linguistic description, the variety used by Turkish Cypriots exhibited basilectal phonological (e.g. allophony between [θ]/[ɣ] and [x], affricate gemination) and morphological phenomena (e.g. the morpheme e- in (+PAST) verbal forms, suffixes -isko and -nde). As regards the variety spoken by Cunda Cretans some of the key phenomena identified were intervocalic deletion of /ɣ/ and epenthesis of /ɣ/ in the verbalizer -ev(ɣ)o.
- (2) Given that both varieties have been in contact with Turkish and exhibit lexical borrowing, an important question is whether a number of phenomena (e.g. voicing of the initial syllable of a word beginning with a plosive, omission of prepositions) can be attributed to language interference.
- (3) Strong correlations as regards issues of identity and the active notion of the “Self” and “Other” on a communicative/functional and on a symbolic way. On the one hand, interview data revealed a strong symbolic value of the Greek language within the two communities. On the other hand, its use was restricted in specific

domains and the question posed is whether this is evidence for language shift or language death.

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Mark Janse:

CAPPADOCIAN KINSHIP

Cappadocian kinship systems are very interesting from a sociolinguistic and anthropological perspective because of the mixture of inherited Greek and borrowed Turkish kinship terms. Precisely because the number of Turkish kinship terms differs from one variety to another, it is necessary to talk about Cappadocian kinship systems in the plural rather than about THE Cappadocian kinship system in the singular. Although reference will be made to other Cappadocian varieties, this paper

will focus on the kinship systems of Mišotika and Aksenitika, the two Central Cappadocian dialects still spoken today in several communities in Greece. Particular attention will be given to the use of borrowed Turkish kinship terms, which sometimes seem to co-exist together with their inherited Greek counterparts, e.g. *mána* vs. *néne* 'mother', *aifó/aelfó* vs. *yardáš* 'brother' etc. In the final part of the paper some kinship terms with obscure or hitherto unknown etymology will be discussed, e.g. *káka* 'grandmother', *ižá* 'aunt', *lúva* 'uncle (father's brother)' etc.

Mark Janse, Brian D. Joseph

Language Choice as a Hobson's Choice: Ideologically Driven Language Engineering in Early and Later Demotic Modern Greek

"Early Demotic Modern Greek" is a label that can be used for the variety of Demotic that Albert Thumb explicitly describes in his *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular*, first published in a German version in 1895. Thumb's Modern Greek vernacular shows a number of forms that he treats simply as ordinary Demotic of his era, presented without any particular comment, e.g. *του πραγμάτου* 'of the thing', or *τα αλόγατα* 'the horses'. Interestingly, and importantly, these forms still occur today but they have a status that is different from their status just 120 years ago. That is, such forms currently are distinctly regional dialectisms and are no longer part of the "ordinary" Demotic as described, for instance, by Mackridge 1985. In their place, archaizing forms like *του πράματος* or once-competing Demotic forms like *τα άλογα* occur and have the status of everyday Demotic. What are responsible for this shift, and thus for the current status of these forms, are the forces of purism and the impact of advocates of archaizing language in the first half of the 20th century, with the apparent involvement of key shapers of public policy regarding language use and education in Greece. These observations speak to the issue of how powerful, but subtly so, the archaizing forces were, so that speakers of Demotic wanting to present themselves as urbane speakers of the language essentially had no choice in "choosing" among variants, thus a veritable Hobson's choice. The results are interesting from a sociolinguistic standpoint, given the social meaning – indicative of regional dialect and often characteristic of older speakers -- attached to the use of forms like *του πραγμάτου*, but also from a structural standpoint, given that a declensional type, the genitive in *-τος*, that was no longer part of the language has been reinstated, imposed by puristic ideology. Similar points can be made with verbal forms, for instance in the mediopassive voice paradigms.

**Mark Janse, Dimitris Papazachariou & Nicole Vassalou:
The Vowel System of Mišótika Cappadocian**

This paper discusses changes in the vowel system of contemporary Mišótika, the Cappadocian variety of Misti. We compare the current vowel system with the one described by Dawkins (1916) and propose a hypothesis to explain the differences between the two, taking into consideration mechanisms of language contact linguistic and change.

According to Dawkins (1916), the vowel system of Cappadocian consisted of eight vowels. In addition to the Greek vowels [a,e,i,o,u], it included the Turkish vowels [y, œ, ʊ]. These appeared mainly in Turkish loans, e.g. *kari* ‘woman’ > [ka'ru], *tütün* ‘tobacco’ > [ty'tyn] (Janse, 2009; 2015), whereas their presence in Greek words was rare, if not unattested, e.g. *σκυλιού* > [ʃcy'ly], *ήκουσεν* > ['yksen].

The current vowel system diverges significantly from the older one. In particular, [y, œ, ʊ] are rapidly disappearing, especially in the casual speech of younger adults. At the same time, a previously unattested vowel [æ] seems to have emerged in the speech of both elderly people and young adults. We argue that the changes in the vowel system result from language contact. In particular, the Turkish vowels [y, œ, ʊ] are in the process of elimination due to mechanisms of levelling, as Mišótika has been in contact with Modern Greek since the population exchange of the 1920s, and Turkish features were highly stigmatized for many decades.

The presence of the vowel [æ] is in need of explanation. It occurs in many words of Greek origin, e.g. *εδάπέ* ‘now’ > [dæ'ræ], *τα ημέτερα* ‘our’ > [tæ'mær]. It is well attested in Pontic (ǎ or ǧ in standard Pontic orthography) and occasionally in Pharsiot (Dawkins, 1916). We discuss the phonological status of [æ] in contemporary Mišótika and its possible origins, including its presence in Turkish loans, e.g. *tepe* ‘hill’ > [dæ'pæ], *sever* ‘time’ > [sæ'vær].

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Antigone Kalamida:

Greek psychological verbs of alternating syntactic structure

The classification of psychological verbs into three categories, the Object Experiencer, the Subject Experiencer and the ‘*piacere*’ verbs, proposed by Belletti and Rizzi (1988), has been widely used in the study of psych verbs crosslinguistically. Psych verbs which syntactically realize the argument of the Experiencer in the object position (annoy) are believed to have no external argument: some analyze these structures as anticausative (Belletti and Rizzi 1988), while others analyze them as causative (Grimshaw 1990, Anagnostopoulou 1996, 1999).

The purpose of the present study is twofold: first, to propose a new classification for Greek psychological verbs based on whether the same verb takes part in the alternation between the subject-experiencer syntactic structure and the object experiencer syntactic structure or not and second, to analyze the category of Greek psych verbs that take part in this alternation. My analysis will focus on three aspects: a) the issue of causativity, that is whether the verb in its object-experiencer structure is a prototypical transitive verb, b) the question of whether these particular verbs in Greek have an external argument or not and c) the issue of passivization in the verbs that bear the mediopassive voice morphology.

More specifically, I propose that psych verbs be classified into two main categories: a) those with alternating transitivity/syntactic structure (*tromazo* ‘frighten’-*tromazo* ‘be frightened’, *eknevrizo* ‘irritate’-*eknevrizome* ‘be irritated’), and b) those with stable transitivity/syntactic structure (*apolamvano* ‘enjoy’, *erotevome* ‘fall in love’, *agapo* ‘love’). Here, I focus on verbs that alternate their syntactic structure from object-experiencer to subject-experiencer. I claim that in the structure where the

Experiencer is in the object position psych verbs are causative and do have an external argument, whether this argument is +animate or –animate.

Moreover, I argue that in the structure where the Experiencer is in the subject position psych verbs do not form passive structures, but rather anticausative structures. As argued also in Alexiadou&lordâchioaia (2014), these verbs seem to take part in the causative- anticausative alternation in which only verbs with an external argument can participate, like the verb *spao* ‘break-be broken’ in Greek (Schäfer 2009). I claim that this is true both for psych verbs which do not alternate their morphology, being always in the active voice (*aidiazo* ‘disgust- be disgusted’), and for psych verbs which alternate their morphology from active to passive (*enohlo* ‘bother’-*enohlume* ‘be bothered’).

Finally, I claim that the above can be interpreted with the analysis of the “Action tier” that Jackendoff (1990) proposed, according to which the syntactic structure of psych verbs is guided by the conceptual functions contained in their event structure.

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Foteini Kalamida:

A lexicological study of the linguistics terminology in Greek

In the present study, I examine the adaptation of the English linguistics terminology into the Greek language. In order to do so, I discuss certain terms that are in common among a number of dictionaries/glossaries, such as the translated version (in Greek) of the fourth edition of *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* by Crystal ((ΛΓΦ) 2003/2008), the sixth edition of *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* by Crystal (in English) ((DLP) 2008), the translated version (in Greek) of the sixth

edition of *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* by Crystal ((ΛΓΦ) 2008/forthcoming), the *Contemporary Dictionary of Linguistic Terms and Topics* by Sakellariadis ((ΣΛΟΘΓ) 2004), the most recent *Glossary* by the Hellenic Society for Terminology ((ELETO) 2014) and the *Online Glossary of Linguistics Terminology* by Xydopoulos ((OGLT) 2007).

Then, I compare and contrast the translations of these terms in order to find cases of terms that differ in their translation in the Greek language, e.g. the term *specifier* is translated as *χαρακτηριστής* (ΛΓΦ, 2003/2008; OGLT; ΛΓΦ, 2008/forthcoming) and as *προσδιοριστικό* (ΣΛΟΘΓ, 2004). Furthermore, I discuss some new entries in the sixth edition of Crystal’s dictionary ((DLP) 2008) which were not included in the previous edition, therefore, they were not translated in Greek before, e.g. the term *beneficiary* can be translated as *ευεργετούμενος*. The main aim is to propose the optimal translation in Greek.

As regards the evaluation of the translation of the terms, I take into consideration the four criteria proposed by Mpampiniotis (1993; 1994) and especially, the four macrorules proposed by Xydopoulos (2002); namely, the steps that I follow are the following:

- I check the scientific term and its definition,
- I check the standardization degree of the term,
- I check the linguistic mechanisms of productivity,
- I try to avoid or eliminate, as much as possible, any ambiguities.

The main conclusion is that there is a need for a unified linguistics terminology in Greece since there are cases of English terms that can possibly cause problems, ambiguities and confusion to the users; this happens because, sometimes, the translations of the terms in Greek differ. Therefore, in order to achieve such a unified linguistics terminology, I believe that it is necessary to apply and strictly follow the above evaluation criteria with systematicity so as to translate the linguistics terminology correctly and accurately.

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Alexis Kalokerinos:

Life and death in unity. Parameters of language choice in 19th c. Greek

Theoretically speaking, revival of Ancient Greek was a possibility. But in contrast to (parts of) the Norwegian and Jewish communities, though unhappy with its native (modern) language, the Greek community in the 19th century failed to perceive that language as “foreign” to its imagined identity, or avoided doing so. An argument for the “unity of language” (ancient and modern) proved powerful enough to motivate “correction” and “enrichment” of a “barbarized” or “corrupted” spoken language, with regard to both (public) speaking and writing for a national community during and after the process of self-determination involved in acquiring political (state) existence. This was a particular argument towards a common course previously established in other European language communities.

My presentation will focus on both ends of the 19th century, before and after the emergence of the science of language. Discussion will mainly involve two pairs of contestants: Korais vs. Doukas, in early 19th c.; and Chatzidakis vs. Psycharis, in late 19th c. I will try to trace archaist Doukas’ endeavor to reverse the course of language change in order to revive, and thus naturalize, Ancient Greek, in opposition to vernacular-based “middleman” Korais’ strategies to “improve” existing natural language. Korais and Doukas share an Enlightenment background perception of “language”, inflated by both “Logic” (i.e. epistemology) and Rhetoric. They also share basic political aims. I will try to show that [some of] their arguments, once assessed in historical context, are sound by modern scientific-theoretical standards.

Chatzidakis and Psycharis shared a solid background in historical linguistics. For both, revival of Ancient Greek was out of the question. I will try to trace the former’s attempt to appropriate Korais’ authority and the latter’s attempt to rebut it. Vernacularist Psycharis proved more vociferous in arguing for the “unity of language”; eventually, this argument went a long way from its pre-modern transcendental-metaphysical version in Kodrikas to its natural-historical version in Psycharis.

Within the same time span, the notion of “law” assumes different shapes, from the Enlightenment-inherited notion of language legislation to an allegedly more rigorous scientific one. Evidently, the latter question remains relevant to the issue of language standardization. It is also related to perceptions of the nature of language, which involve the shaky twin dipole, also inherited from the Enlightenment, relating reason and nature against habit and use. The dipole is shaky since habit also partakes in nature, according to the dominant empiricist tradition. This raises questions about language choice as an act of *will* –ideally of *general will*– in a field of operation of the invisible hand. I hope also to have a word to say on these puzzles, which underpin discussions on language choice.

Maria Kaltsa & Ianthi Tsimpli:

Lexical Access in Greek-German Bilingual Children

Our study investigates lexical access in Greek by comparing online data from 80 Greek-German bilingual children living in Greece or Germany. Bilingual research (Gathercole & Thomas 2009; Scheele, Leseman & Mayo 2010) shows that bilingual vocabularies are smaller compared to those of their monolingual peers mostly due to language exposure differences with the quantity of input appearing to be associated with the development of bilingual lexical skills. Thus, we measured our participants’ amount of input, age of onset (simultaneous vs. successive), language dominance and degree of (bi-)literacy skills through extensive questionnaires. Lexical abilities were evaluated with a word-finding task in Greek (Vogindroukas et al. 2009) and German (Petermann 2010). These standardized vocabulary tests provided us with independent measures of our participants’ language proficiency which we subsequently compared to their performance on a visual lexical decision task. Our main research question is whether bilingual lexical processing is affected by external factors such as home language, language of education, majority language and degree of (bi-)literacy as well as internal factors such as age at time of testing and phonological working memory. We developed an online visual lexical decision task with 140 experimental items, all nouns, in Greek. The items were divided into three categories; real words (N: 60), pseudowords (N: 60) and phonotactically illegal non-words (N: 20). Frequency, word-length and gender endings were taken

into account. Two types of scoring were employed; accuracy scores for word/pseudo/nonwords as well as a composite accuracy score for which we subtracted the number of errors in the pseudoword category from total correct responses in the word category. We predict that the composite accuracy score will strongly indicate the true size of real word knowledge of each participant and would thus correlate strongly with the participant's performance in the expressive vocabulary test in Greek. Preliminary findings suggest that higher accuracy scores correlate with word finding scores in the oral vocabulary test. Furthermore, language of education and majority language appear to be stronger predictors of performance on the visual lexical decision task than home language, indicating that literacy measures are more relevant to this task.

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Maria Kambanaros (→Grohmann, Karpava)

Maria Kamilaki:

Λέξεις-ταμπού στη δημόσια σφαίρα και κοινωνιογλωσσικές ταυτότητες: Η περίπτωση της επώνυμης μουσικής δημιουργίας

Μία από τις βασικές λειτουργίες των λέξεων-ταμπού (taboo words), δηλαδή των ακατάλληλων λέξεων και φράσεων, που αποδίδουν συμπεριφορές οι οποίες θεωρούνται υπερφυσικά απαγορευμένες ή ανήθικες ή ανάρμοστες κατά έναν καταφανώς παράλογο τρόπο (Trudgill 2000: 18), είναι η ένταξη του ατόμου σε ένα κοινωνικό δίκτυο ή μία κοινότητα πρακτικής και η ενίσχυση των δεσμών εσω-ομαδικής αλληλεγγύης (Andersson & Trudgill 1990: 79), αποστέλλοντας ταυτόχρονα στη συμβολική εξορία τον εξω-ομαδικό «Άλλο». Όταν, μάλιστα, πρόκειται για τα διαμεσολαβημένα κειμενικά είδη της μαζικής κουλτούρας, η κανονικά μη αναμενόμενη

παρουσία του λεξιλογίου ταμπού στον δημόσιο χώρο, παραβιάζοντας τις καθιερωμένες συμβάσεις της γλωσσικής ευγένειας και της πολιτικής ορθότητας, λειτουργεί ως στρατηγική συνομιλοποίησης και αυθεντικοποίησης του ύφους (Στάμου 2010), αλλά και τοπικοποίησης των συγκεκριμένων ειδών (Androutsopoulos 2010), διευρύνοντας το ρεπερτόριο των γλωσσικών ποικιλιών, και δη των μη πρότυπων (non-standard), που αξιοποιούνται στα συγκεκριμένα είδη.

Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, στόχος της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης είναι η διερεύνηση της χρήσης των λέξεων-ταμπού στην ελληνική επώνυμη μουσική δημιουργία των τελευταίων 30 ετών (1980-2010), βάσει ενός corpus 520 ελληνόφωνων τραγουδιών από τη ροκ μουσική σκηνή, το χιπ-χοπ, αλλά και το έντεχνο ή το mainstream εμπορικό τραγούδι. Ειδικότερα, επιδιώκεται η συγκριτική ανάλυση των παραπάνω μουσικών ειδών, σε σχέση με παραμέτρους όπως οι κατηγορίες των λέξεων-ταμπού (βωμολοχίες, έμφυλοι ή φυλετικοί δυσφημισμοί, βλασφημίες και ανοσιολογίες, αργκοτισμοί κ.ά.) και ευφημισμών, που επιστρατεύουν οι μουσικοί δημιουργοί σε καθένα από αυτά, οι μηχανισμοί σχηματισμού τους, καθώς και οι κοινωνιοπραγματολογικές λειτουργίες που επιτελούν, προκειμένου, τελικά, να αναδειχθεί η συμβολή των «απαγορευμένων» όρων στην κατασκευή κοινωνιογλωσσικών ταυτοτήτων και την ενδεικτικότητα (ή μη) ιδεολογικών πολιτικών τοποθετήσεων προς τον κυρίαρχο λόγο.

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Maria Kamilaki (→Vrachionidou)

Eleni Kapogianni & Amalia Arvaniti:

Prosodic variation in ironic strategies: a cross-linguistic investigation

The question of whether there is a specific tone of voice that indicates ironic meaning has long been debated but still remains unresolved (Bryant & Fox Tree 2005, Bryant 2010). This paper aims to shed light on this debate by bringing two new perspectives into the investigation: (a) a typological approach to ironic strategies and (b) a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural comparison, which focuses on Modern Greek and British English. First, a typology of ironic strategies is proposed on the basis of the relationship between the literal and the intended meaning of the ironic utterance. This relationship can vary from a simple semantic relation of antonymy (e.g. “amazing!” to mean “awful!”) to a reasoning process that relies on juxtaposition, as in (1) below:

(1)

A: I am going to ace the exam tomorrow!

B: And I’m climbing to the top of Mount Everest tomorrow!

+> Your claim is as impossible as mine

This typology was used to examine a corpus consisting of both naturally occurring and scripted instances of irony in Greek and British English. Analysis of this corpus and of the context in which each instance occurred revealed that different ironic strategies require different degrees and types of contextual information in order to be successfully conveyed and recovered. Consequently, the analysis views the variations in the prosody of ironic utterances (particularly in terms of tempo, intonation and focus) as a product of the interaction between context and ironic strategy. For instance, a speaker may emphasize the ironic use of “amazing!” to mean “awful!” by using a relatively low pitch range and span which are incongruent with the meaning and typical use of “amazing!” Alternatively, pitch range may be raised and pitch span expanded so that “amazing!” sounds overly exaggerated. In all, the aim appears to be the incongruity between the selected prosodic strategies and pragmatic context. Comparison between Greek and British English reveals both similarities (like the mismatch between context and prosody discussed above) as well as differences (e.g. in the use of focus) in the means and purposes of prosodic marking of irony in each language.

Finally, the observed cross-linguistic differences between Greek and British English are discussed in relation to wider cultural factors, such as directness, politeness, and humour. The degree of (contextual or prosodic) markedness and explicitness of ironic strategies correlates with preferences in the choice of politeness strategies.

At the same time, there is an apparent similarity between patterns of use of ironic strategies and humorous devices in each language.

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Ioanna Kappa:

Instances of Vowel Insertion in the Greek Dialects

Vowel insertion is cross-linguistically one of the strategies employed for the repair of marked or language-specific unacceptable structures, for instance, via V-insertion are repaired: various coda types, e.g. in Irish, the complex coda /rm/ in /gorm/→[gorEm] ‘blue’ (Carnie, 1994:95), onset clusters, e.g. in Temiar #/CC/→#[CvC] or #/CCCC/→#[CvCvCC] (Itô, 1989:252), or boundaries at intonational phrases as in Galician (Hall, 2011:1578 and References therein).[The epenthetic vowel is displayed with lower case v].

The aim of the present study is to explore the vowel insertion, focusing only on cases of vowel anaptyxis, in a group of Greek dialects, namely of Dodecanese, Crete and Peloponnisos. Our data are drawn from Pantelidis (1929:19-21) for the dialects of Kalymnos, Kastelorizo, Kos, Rhodes, Simi; Pagalos (1955:183-5) for the Cretan dialect; Kontosopoulos (1981:47) for the dialect of Peloponnisos. The vowel insertion in the before mentioned dialects results in CV-optimal syllables and it is attested in the following cases:

(a) in Coda position creating a CV-syllable as in (1),

(b) it breaks-up clusters, specifically:

-initial (2a) or medial (2b) anti-sonority [sC(C)] clusters,

-clusters sharing the same place of articulation in (3),

-medial clusters that are not realized word-initially, e.g. /θm/, /xm/, /tm/ in (4),

-well-formed clusters in (5).

(c) Vowel insertion is also attested within words, when consonantal sequences arise through concatenation, namely, between proclitics ending in a consonant and verbs beginning with a consonant, i.e. within a prosodic word, in (6),(7).

1) [..VC.C...] → [..VCv.C...]

a) /vol.ta/ → [voli.ta] 'walk, stroll' Peloponnisos

b) /xer.sos/ → [çeri.sos] 'uncultivated' Peloponnisos, Crete, Kalimos, Kos

2) [SC(C)] → [Sv.C(C)]

a) /sfrayida/ → [sufraiða] 'stamp' Peloponnisos

b) /freskos/ → [fresi.kos] 'fresh' Peloponnisos

3) [CαPlaceCαPlace] → [CαPlace V. CαPlace]

a) /patmos/ > patnos > [patinos] 'Patmos' Kalimos, Kos, Simi

b) /sidrimi/ → [sidirimi] 'breakage' Peloponnisos

4) #[CC..] [.Cv.C...]

a) /staθmos/ → [staθimos] 'station' Peloponnisos

b) /atmos/ → [atimos] 'steam' Peloponnisos

c) /δraxmi/ → [δraxumi] 'drachma' Peloponnisos

5) [CC] → [Cv.C]

a) /xlimidro/ → [çilimidro] 'nicker' Crete, Karpathos, Kos, Rhodes

b) /kapnos/ → [kapinos] 'smoke' Peloponnisos

6) [i]-insertion (attested in Kastelorizo, Simi)

/ton vlepis/ [toniylepis] '(you) see him' Kastelorizo

7) [e]-insertion (attested in Crete, Kalimnos, Kos, Rhodes)

a) /min tros/ → [minetrojs] 'don't eat' Kos

b) /tus lei/ → [tuselej] '(s/he) tells them' Crete

As shown by the data above there is a dialectal preference for unmarked structures, namely CV-syllables, therefore syllables with coda as in (1) or in other respects well-formed clusters (4, 5), are repaired via vowel insertion, viz. anaptyxis. The homorganic clusters in (3) are also disfavored, due to the action of OCP (constraint against similar place of articulation) and V-insertion is the only possible repair. Vowel prothesis in pre-cluster position of a /s/+OBSTRUENT cluster is not allowed, i.e. *[vSC], only vowel anaptyxis [SvC] is permitted contradicting the findings in other languages with such clusters where prothesis occurs (Broselow, 2015:313). The at-

tested V-anaptyxis pattern in (2) shows that in the case of stray consonants (and all other clusters in general), the dialects demand the leftmost segment of the stem to have a corresponding segment at the left edge of word (ANCHOR-LEFT STEM, PWORD), at the expense of CONTIGUITY that is violated due to V-insertion, i.e. the ANCHOR-LEFT constraint blocks the action of CONTIGUITY (ANCHOR-LEFT >>CONTIGUITY). To sum up, V-insertion/anaptyxis repairs marked structures, focusing on clusters (mainly homorganic and antisonority ones) and codas within the prosodic word; the dialectal data also show that insertion is favored over deletion, resulting in preservation of underlying segmental material.

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Despina Karadimou & Konstantinos Simitopoulos:

Dealing with untranslatable Greek words in the frame of a YIA European program

Untranslatability is a property of a text or of any utterance in one language, for which no equivalent text or utterance can be found in another language (Wikipedia). J.C. Catford, a celebrated translation scholar of linguistics school, raised the issue of untranslatability in 1965. He argues that the linguistic untranslatability is due to the differences in the source language and the target language, whereas culture untranslatability is due to the absence in the target language of relevant situational features (Jingjing Cui, 2012:1). In April 2014, 32 young people from 6 European countries (Italy, Spain, Estonia, Poland, Bulgaria and Greece) gathered

in Edessa (Greece) to deal with untranslatability by participating in an one-week seminar entitled “Spread the Word, Feel the World” in the frame of the European Lifelong Learning Program (“Youth in Action”) organized by Youthnet Hellas, in collaboration with the Youth Movement of the host city. The program dealt with linguistic issues, adjusted however to the age and educational level of the participants. Apparent goal of this program was to aid workshops, discussions and activities to produce a deliverable, namely “The Little Handbook of Unique Words”, that contains 36 unique words (6 of each participating country). Through this process of searching unique/untranslatable words from each language the young participants had the opportunity to come closer, to improve communication between them, to familiarize themselves with unknown cultural elements and to contribute through language to the unification of Europe. The aim of this paper is to present not only the theoretical framework of the seminar, but also the contribution of the Greek team, namely the untranslatable words they chose to present to the other participating countries. Furthermore, it will show the efforts of other foreign participants to set up an appropriate word in English to translate the unique Greek words based on the principles of the formation of terms.

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Eleni Karantzola, Georgios Mikros & Anastassios Papaioannou: Lexico-grammatical alternation and stylometric profile of autograph texts in Early Modern Greek

It is well known and not surprising that there are considerable linguistic differences among manuscripts of more or less vernacular Greek texts in Byzantine and Early Modern times. Because of this very fact, the choice to work with autograph manuscripts, as it is the case with the doctoral thesis in progress of A. Papaioannou, is a critical one, concerning the witnessing of written sources for language registers used during 16th and 17th centuries.

This paper addresses the specific question of the margins/extent of an author’s language differentiation in his own autographs of the same text, in relation to the context of text’s production. Unfortunately, very limited evidence is available. The mostly referred case of Manouil Malaxos, whose a paraphrased version in vernacular (1562/1563) of his unpublished work “Nomokanov” has been recorded in at least eleven autographs, could be considered as a rather extreme case.

The corpus we will analyze, consists primarily of two autographs of an unpublished translation in “koine” of the Life of St Jean by Anthimos Skourtas from Zante, copier and translator of hagiographical works. Skourtas spent the biggest part of his monasterial life in Strofadon Monastery in Zante, where the first autograph of the work was written (ms 3, 1617, 215v-225r). A second autograph manuscript with the same text resides in National Library (ms 2328, 17th c., 213r-230v); it is assumed to be written in Kefallinia island, some years later, and compared with the first, it contains a large number of language differentiations in all linguistic levels (Karantzola & Papaioannou, in press).

Two more manuscript texts, from Strofadon Monastery, complete our corpus: (i) Skourta’s translation of the Life of St John, copied by a less literate monk (ms 10, 1r-36v), and (ii) a second unpublished translation made by Skourtas, of the Life of St Spyridon (ms 3, 163r- 211r).

We plan a detailed quantitative investigation of the above mentioned texts using a variety of stylometric textual features (Mikros, in press) in order to:

- Compare the stylometric profile of all the texts.
- Explore the impact of the various lexico-grammatical alternations in the distribution of important stylometric parameters in our corpus.
- Obtain accurate quantitative description based on inferential statistics of the changes observed in the texts.

The quantitative methods used in the analysis of our corpus can provide significant insights in a number of interesting research questions as how “deep” are the proposed lexico-grammatical changes observed in the examined texts in terms of stylistic integrity. Can we assume that the various linguistic differences are expected to differentiate the stylometric profile of the texts or they are just surface variation without any consequences in the document stylistic identity?

In addition, more general assumptions will be made concerning the production of translations in vernacular Greek in 17th century and their contribution to the history of the Greek language of the period.

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Eleni Karantzola & Konstantinos Sampanis:

oti na – oti pos – pos na: On the “pleonastic” usage of complement conjunctions in Early Modern Greek

A syntactic feature that characterizes Early Modern Greek is the “pleonastic” usage of the complement conjunction *óti* or *pos* with the modal (“subjunctive”) particle *na* (1-2), as well as the co-presence of the complementizers *oti pos* (3). These co-occurrences are ungrammatical in Modern Greek, while in vernacular Late Medieval and Early Modern Greek texts they are sufficiently attested.

In this paper we record a large number of instantiations of the {*óti / pos*} + *na / oti pou* structures in order to trace the conditions of their occurrence; the examples come from extended prose texts of 16th century as Kartanos’ *Palaia te kai nea Diathiki* or Morezinos’ *Klini Solomontos*, as well as from the Anthology of demotic prose texts of 16th century elaborated by Kakoulidi-Panou, Karantzola & Tiktopoulou (in press).

The *óti* + *na* constellation, for instance, is noticeably frequent in Kartanos’ text; although its appearance seems to be unsystematic, certain patterns of usage may be identified: it may introduce a final or result clause as in (4), or a complement clause with a predicate the subject of which has disjoint reference to the subject of the main clause (subject obviation) as in (5). On the other hand, *oti pou* structure is closely related to evidentiality.

Competitive syntactic structures in the same vernacular texts, without the pleonastic usage of complementizers, closer to Modern Greek, are also examined, bearing in mind that variation in the course of syntactic change is between options that are grammatically incompatible and, therefore, variation reflects grammar competition (Kroch 1994).

Finally, we compare the Greek data with similar phenomena in languages of the Balkansprachbund (cf. (6.a.) and (6.b.)), which can be informative for the case examined in this paper.

Examples:

(1)

ο Σολομών... επαρεκάλεσε τον Θεόν ότι να του δώσει σοφία
ο Solomón eparakálese ton theón óti na tu dhósi sofían
the-Solomon.NOM. beg.3SG.AOR. the god.ACC. that MOD.PRT. him give.3SG.PERF.
wisdom.ACC.F
“Solomon asked God to give him wisdom and prudence” (Kartanos, Testament 199 - 199v)

(2)

Ημείς αποφασίσαμεν πως να έχει η γυναίκα το εδικόν της...
Imis apofasisamen pos na echi i gyneka to edhikon tis...
we decide.1PL.AOR. that MOD.PRT have.3SG.PERF. the woman.NOM the own
“We decided the woman to have / that the woman should have her own... (Letter of the archbishop of Cyprus, 1578)

(3)

Διηγάται ο παλιός και σοφός ιστοριογράφος ο Ξενοφών ότι πως είχαν συνήθειαν οι Πέρσαι...
Dhiigháte o paleós ke sofós istorioghrafós o Xenophon oti pos
narrate.3SG.PRES.IND. the-ancient and wise-historiographer-the-Xenophon.NOM.
that.CONJ. that.CONJ. íchan siníthia oi Pése
had custom.ACC.SG.F. the-Persians.NOM.M.
“Xenophon reports that there was a custom among the Persians....” (Loukaris, Sermon, beginning of 17th c.)

(4)

να κάμει τρόπον ότι να τον ξεπλανέσει
na kámi trópon óti na ton xeplanési
MOD.PRT. make. 3SG.PRES. way.Acc.m. that MOD.PRT him deceive.3SG.PERF.
“[Delilah] should find her way in order to deceive him” (Kartanos, Testament 182v)

(5)

Διατί θέλετε ότι να απεθάνει;
dhiatí thélete óti na apetháni
for-what want.2PL.PRES. that MOD.PRT. die.3SG.PERF.
“Why do you want him to die?” (Kartanos, Testament 275v)

(6a)

Am vrut ca Mihai să olece mîine. (Romanian)
Aux.1SG.IND.PRES. managed.PRC. that Mihai MOD.PRT leave.3SG. tomorrow
“I wanted for Mihai to leave tomorrow.” (In Alboiu 2004: 63)

(6b)

Jani do që fëmijët të punojnë (Albanian)
John want.3SG.IND.PRES. that children-the.NOM.FEM MOD.PRT work.3Sg.
“John wants the children to work.” (In Terzi 1992: 17)

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Athanasios Karasimos (→Christofidou; Markopoulos)

Petros Karatsareas:

«Το Σάββατον εννα χαρτώσουμεν το κίτριν»: British Cypriot Greek as a heritage language

Since the early 20th century, the United Kingdom has been home to a sizeable Greek Cypriot community, whose population is presently estimated to fall between 200,000 and 300,000 individuals (Christodoulou-Pipis 1991; National Federation of Cypriots in the UK). The members of the Greek Cypriot parikia share a rich linguistic repertoire, which—in addition to English—features an array of forms of Cypriot Greek ranging from basilectal to acrolectal varieties along the continuum defined by Κατσογιάννου et al. (2006) and Tsiplakou et al. (2006). As is often the case with diasporas, however, the parikia does not form a homogenous speech community in that not all of its members have an equally good command of Cypriot Greek (or English, for that matter). Rather, different types of both monolingual and bilingual speakers can be found.

Here, I focus on one particular type of Cypriot Greek bilingual that has recently begun to draw significant attention in the literature: heritage speakers (see Benmamoun et al. 2013; Montrul 2008; Polinsky & Kagan 2007). Heritage speakers are British-born second-generation immigrants, i.e. the children of first-generation immigrants who were born in Cyprus. They grew up acquiring Cypriot Greek at home until they started school at which time they started acquiring English. Gradually, they became more fluent in the latter, limiting the use of the former to the interaction with family and friends from the same ethnic background. Research on other heritage languages has shown that this acquisitional trajectory is expected to affect the heritage speakers' competence in Cypriot Greek with inflectional morphology, both nominal and verbal, considered to be one of the most vulnerable grammatical domains in that connection.

My aim in this paper is to test the predictions of the heritage linguistics literature by examining the nominal morphology of heritage speakers of British Cypriot Greek. I

specifically look at gender, number and case agreement between nouns and such targets as articles, adjectives, pronouns, participles and numerals in the speech data collected by means of sociolinguistic interviews from 20 speakers who were born and still live in areas of north London with high concentrations of Greek Cypriots (Harringay, Wood Green, Palmers Green, Edmonton). The results indicate that, contrary to the expectations of the literature, the agreement system of Cypriot Greek heritage speakers shows no signs of erosion or even deviation from that of non-heritage Cypriot Greek. In the collected data, all agreement targets appear in the expected inflected form with respect to the specification of their controller for gender, number and case. Possible explanations for these findings are proposed including the early age of acquisition of nominal agreement in Greek (2;10, according to Stephany 1997), late exposure and shift to English as well as sustained use of the heritage language within the parikia in adult life.

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The two faces of Modern Greek determiner spreading

This paper discusses determiner spreading (DS) in two varieties of Modern Greek: Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Cappadocian Greek (CG). Determiner spreading involves the multiple morphosyntactic realisation of the definite article in adjectival modification constructions that are semantically monodefinitive. In SMG, DS is optional and has special syntactic and semantic properties *vis-à-vis* monadic definites (see *inter alios* Alexiadou & Wilder 1998; Kolliakou 2004; Campos & Stavrou 2004; Lekakou & Szendrői 2012; Alexiadou 2014). As shown in (1) and (2), DS in SMG licenses word order freedom unavailable to monadic definites. Furthermore, DS imposes a restrictive interpretation of the adjective: in (3), DS is infelicitous in virtue of all cobras being poisonous.

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (1) | a. to prasino to kuti
the green the box
'the green box' | b. to kuti to prasino
the box the green
the box the green |
| (2) | a. to prasino kuti
the green box
'the green box' | b. *to kuti prasino
the box green
'the green box' |
| (3) | Idhame tis dilitiriodhis
saw.1PL the poisonous
'We saw the poisonous cobras.' | (#tis) kobres
the cobras |

In CG, DS is obligatory: attributive adjectival modification generally triggers an additional determiner (4), while the word order is rigidly DADN (5). Moreover, in virtue of being obligatory, DS does not impose semantic restrictions on the adjective. As (6) indicates, a non-restrictive interpretation of the adjective is possible.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (4) | a. du omurfu du kuritj
the beautiful the girl
'the beautiful girl' | b. *du omurfu kuritj
the beautiful girl
'the beautiful girl' |
| | c. *omurfu du kuritj
beautiful the girl
'the beautiful girl' | |

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (5) | a. du omurfu du kuritj
the beautiful the girl
'the beautiful girl' | b. *du kuritj du omurfu
the girl the beautiful
'the beautiful girl' |
| (6) | Rantsam ula spitçu da domata scepasin=da
saw.1PL all house.GEN the.PL roof.PL covered.3SG=them
d' aspru du çon.
the white the snow
'We saw that the white snow had covered all the house roofs.' | |

Following Lekakou & Szendrői (2007, 2012), we treat DS in SMG as an instance of close apposition involving noun ellipsis. Close apposition is analyzed as a symmetric relation between DPs, among which predicate modification takes place. By contrast, DS in CG is strongly reminiscent of definiteness agreement in Semitic languages, where definiteness doubling is obligatory in attributive modification and yields no ordering freedom. We follow Alexiadou (2014) in analyzing this instance of DS as post-syntactic agreement in terms of definiteness. Despite the DP-internal morphosyntactic differences between SMG and CG, we argue that in both varieties semantic definiteness is located in a functional head above DP. The evidence for this comes from both synchronic data, relating to the interpretation of polydefinites in SMG and CG, as well as the diachrony of Greek polydefiniteness.

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Sviatlana Karpava:

Object Clitic Production by Bilingual Children in bi(dia)lectal setting of Cyprus

This study investigates linguistic development of bilingual children in Cyprus, specifically with respect to object clitic production. 23 Russian–CG simultaneous bilingual children took part in the study. All of them born in Cyprus, in a mixed-marriage family (Cypriot father and Russian mother); 11 boys and 12 girls, aged from 3;1 to 8;4. Developmental Verbal IQ Test (Stavarakaki and Tsimpli, 2000) together with the background questionnaire were used in order to get the information of children's language proficiency in Greek and their linguistic and socio-economic background. Greek oral production data, obtained via elicited story-telling (Tsimpli et al., 2005), was recorded, transcribed and analysed in terms of object clitic (non)target production/omission and relevant features such as gender, case, number and person. Overall, bilingual children produced 9,664 words. The analysis of the data showed that bilingual Russian–CG children produced 306/43.42% overt object clitics, 328/46.52% overt object DPs, 13/1.84% overt object pronouns, while the rate of the object clitic omission was low (58/8.22%). They could misanalyse the clitics as weak pronouns and omit them because of the influence of L1 transfer from Russian or tend to use nouns instead of object clitics to express old/given discourse information (McShane, 2005; Erteschik-Shir et al., 2013).

The analysis of the data showed that in root clauses bilingual children prefer to use pre-verbal (172/64.17%) rather than post-verbal object clitics (26/76.47%). They might be influenced by their mothers' linguistic input and negative attitude towards the CG variety. CG index (the number of CG words/total number of words in each child's speech sample) is significant for post-verbal clitic production.

It was found that bilingual Russian CG children omitted only 3rd person object clitics, mainly of neuter gender (35/60.34%). As for overt object clitics, they were of 1st (26/9.70%), 2nd (12/4.47%) and 3rd (230/85.83%) person, mainly of neuter (132/51.17%) and masculine (89/34.49%) gender. The main problem in agreement (between object clitic and its antecedent) was gender, they used neuter instead of masculine (13/32.50%) and feminine instead of neuter (20/50%), mainly due to L1 interference. This can be the evidence in support of the Interpretability Hypothesis (Tsimpli and Dimitrakopoulou, 2007).

The linguistic development of bilingual children is influenced by their mothers' linguistic profile and background. Specifically, according to one-way ANOVA, mothers' length of residence in Cyprus, age of onset to Greek, level of Greek proficiency are significant for object clitic omission and post-verbal object clitic production by their bilingual children.

Sviatlana Karpava, Maria Kambanaros & Kleanthes K. Grohmann:

Narrative Abilities: MAINing Russian–Greek Bilingual Children in Cyprus

Narratives can help identify linguistic, cognitive, semantic, and social abilities as well as communicative competence and cultural awareness of a child (Paradis et al., 2010). In fact, it has been argued that narrative skills are important for children's success at school, as evidenced by a close relationship between oral language skills and literacy (Snow, 2002). This study investigates the narrative production of bilingual children with typical development in both their languages: Russian and Cypriot Greek. A total of 23 simultaneous bilingual children across different age groups (from 3 to 11 years) have so far been tested with MAIN, the Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives (Gagarina et al., 2012), a tool developed in COST Action IS0804 'Language Impairment in a Multilingual Society: Linguistic Patterns and the Road to Assessment'. All participants were also tested on a large battery of tests: the Developmental Verbal IQ Test, adapted to Cypriot Greek from Stavarakaki & Tsimpli's (2000) Standard Modern Greek original (Theodorou, 2013), the Russian Proficiency Test for Multilingual Children (Gagarina et al., 2010), and several tasks assessing executive functions (digit span test, word span test, fluency test, Raven's matrices).

With regard to narrative abilities, the bilingual children performed similarly across their two languages. Their performance was higher on the retelling than on the telling condition. This is not a surprising finding, since retelling is considered to be easier than telling, though it is not just a repetition of a story but its reconstruction in detail and grammatical, lexical and content accuracy (Schneider et al., 2006). As expected, the bilingual children's narrative abilities also improve with age, although the number of participants in each age group are too low to allow a concrete generalization. However, a comparison of the participants' (telling and retelling) narrative performance with that of monolingual Cypriot Greek- and monolingual Russian-speaking children (Gagarina et al., 2012) shows that these outperform their bilingual peers mainly in story structure and internal state terms.

Bilingual children have been shown to lag behind their monolingual peers in terms of structural complexity as they are not able to produce complete and well-formed episodes and lack the understanding of narrative schemata, causality, perspective-taking, ability to plan, and meta-awareness (Westby, 2005). In our talk, we will also link the bilingual children's narrative performance with other variables we have collected data for such as the Greek DVIQ scores, Russian Proficiency Test scores, and schooling as well as chronological age.

Christos Karvounis:

Γλωσσικός εξαρχαισμός και η «ιδεολογική» νόρμα: Ζητήματα γλωσσικής διαχείρισης στη νέα ελληνική

Με δεδομένη τη μερική επικάλυψη της θεματικής «γλωσσικός εξαρχαισμός» με τις κατηγορίες α) γλωσσικό λάθος, β) πολυτυπία και γλωσσική νόρμα, γ) γλωσσική ποικιλότητα (κυρίως τις λεγόμενες «κοινωνικές» και «λειτουργικές» ποικιλίες), δ) γλωσσική ιδεολογία και γλωσσικό κύρος, θα επιχειρηθεί καταρχήν να διευκρινιστεί (και εμπειρικά) ο όρος «γλωσσικός εξαρχαισμός», δηλ. η γλωσσική διαχείριση παλαιότερων ή «αναπαλαιωμένων» γλωσσικών μονάδων, οι οποίες – πέραν των αναγκαστικών ή παγιωμένων χρήσεων – ήταν μέχρι πρότινος (στον τηλεοπτικό και δημοσιογραφικό λόγο, που αποτελεί και την κύρια ερευνητική αφετηρία) αδόκιμες, υπό εξαφάνιση, τις δικαιολογούσε η ηλικία του χρήστη, η υπαγωγή τους σε κάποιο εξειδικευμένο λεξιλόγιο ή, κυρίως, η λειτουργία τους, δηλ. η συνειδητή χρήση τους ως αρχαισμών για ποικίλους λόγους, π.χ. ειρωνεία, σάτιρα, «ηπιότερη έκφραση» κτλ. Κατά συνέπεια είναι θεμελιώδης η διάκριση μεταξύ (παγιωμένων) αρχαισμών και εξαρχαισμού, δηλ. της τάσης να απο-/ανακτήσουν συγκεκριμένες γλωσσικές μονάδες αρχαίζοντα χαρακτήρα (με ό,τι αυτό συνεπάγεται). Μια ενδεικτική παρουσίαση/κατηγοριοποίηση/ανάλυση αντιπροσωπευτικών παραδειγμάτων θα δώσει μια εικόνα τόσο για το ειδολογικό όσο και για το ποσοτικό περίγραμμα της θεματικής: λ.χ. 2000 σφαγμένων συμπατριωτών / θεωρήσθε και είσθε / τιμές για όλα τα βαλάνδια / μεσάνυχθα / τον ψήφισαν η οικογένεια της Ερατούς / σύσσωμος η βουλή παρεβίασε...απηγόρευσε / του ζητούν να εκριζώσει το αμπέλι / τα πανεπιστήμια θα παραμείνουν ανοικτά. Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζουν μεταξύ άλλων η διάχυσή τους στο «δημόσιο» (γραπτό και προφορικό) λόγο και, κυρίως, η κοινωνιογλωσσολογική τους λειτουργία/χρήση, δηλ. το ότι συχνά χρησιμοποιούνται σε περιβάλλον που υπερισχύει η χρήση «αμαρκάριστων» τύπων και δεν υπονοείται κάποια ειδική λειτουργία. Παρατηρείται λοιπόν το παράδοξο ότι ο χρήστης φαίνεται μεν να επιλέγει/δημιουργεί συγκεκριμένες γλωσσικές μονάδες (με κριτήριο την εξασφάλιση γλωσσικού κύρους;), από την άλλη, όμως, συχνά τις προβάλλει ως «αμαρκάριστους» τύπους.

Η ανακοίνωση δεν επιδιώκει τόσο να επισημάνει τις τάσεις εξαρχαισμού αυτές καθαυτές, αλλά κυρίως: α) να επισημάνει την έκταση/θέση που φαίνεται να αποκτούν στη γλωσσική κοινότητα, β) να τις συνδέσει με το πεδίο της γλωσσικής διαχείρισης (language management), το οποίο τα τελευταία χρόνια ξεχωρίζει ως υποκατηγορία της γλωσσικής πολιτικής και του γλωσσικού προγραμματισμού, γ) να θεματοποιήσει το ότι πολλά παραδείγματα φαίνεται να μην εμπίπτουν σε καμιά απ' τις δύο συνηθισμένες γλωσσικές νόρμες, τη θεσμοθετημένη ή τη χρηστική, αλλά στοιχειοθετούν μια ιδιαίτερη υποκατηγορία που θα μπορούσε να αποκληθεί «(γλωσσικό)ιδεολογική» νόρμα, δ) να θέσει το «(αντι)δεοντολογικό» ερώτη-

μα πώς μπορεί κανείς να διαχειριστεί τις περιπτώσεις αυτές, καθώς i) σε γενικές γραμμές δεν πρόκειται για «αυθόρμητες» (=«ενδοσυστημικές») παραλλαγές/αποκλίσεις, αλλά σε μεγάλο βαθμό για αποτέλεσμα (συνειδητής) γλωσσικής διαχείρισης, οπότε η απλή περιγραφή του φαινομένου φαίνεται να λειτουργεί μάλλον «απολιτικά» σε ένα ζήτημα γλωσσικής πολιτικής, ii) πάρα πολλά παραδείγματα μοιάζουν να αναθεωρούν/αποσταθεροποιούν την ισχύουσα γλωσσική νόρμα (ακόμα και εκείνη της «πολυτυπίας και της «ευρύχωρης» νεοελληνικής κοινής), iii) ο αξιακός τους χαρακτήρας φαίνεται να αποτελεί (ξανά) αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι της γλωσσικής μας παιδείας, με αποτέλεσμα οι νεαροί κυρίως χρήστες να μην μπορούν να διαφοροποιήσουν μεταξύ παγιωμένων αρχαισμών και εξαρχαισμού.

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Christos Karvounis, Noriyo Hoozawa-Arkenau:

Vergleichende Diglossie-Aspekte im Neugriechischen und Japanischen: Varianten-Interferenz im Aufhebungsprozess der Diglossie

Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrags ist es, Aspekte der Varianten-Interferenz/-Mischung im Kontext der Diglossie vergleichend zu untersuchen, und zwar am Beispiel des Sprachenpaares Neugriechisch-Japanisch. Es wird die Arbeitshypothese aufgestellt, dass die Varianten-Interferenz in den genannten Fällen wesentlicher Bestandteil des Aufhebungsprozesses der Diglossie war.

Nach Festlegung des Operationsterminus „Varianten-Interferenz“ und Vorstellung verschiedener Interferenz-Modelle soll der Fokus auf eine strukturelle Varianten-Interferenz bzw. auf sog. Ausgleichsvarianten (/varietäten) gelegt werden.

Die Arbeitshypothese bezüglich der Varianten-Interferenz – man vergleiche hierfür

auch den Terminus „funktionaler Synkretismus“ von Århammar (1975:143) – lässt sich durch weitere Merkmale ergänzen, u.a.: Wahrnehmung der systemischen Äquivalenz von L, systematische Verschriftlichung von L, Produktion eines literarischen Korpus in L, Verwendung von L im Bildungssystem, Kodifizierung, Etablierung von L. Mit der Varianten-Interferenz seien hier a) die Wahrnehmung der systemischen Äquivalenz von L und b) die Etablierung von L besonders hervorgehoben, weil sie den Außenrahmen des Aufhebungsprozesses der Diglossie konstituieren. Offensichtliche Differenzen zwischen Japanisch und Griechisch werden durch bemerkenswerte Gemeinsamkeiten ausgeglichen, die nicht zuletzt darin münden, dass in beiden Staaten / Sprachgemeinschaften die Diglossie binnen relativ kurzer Zeit aufgehoben ist bzw. die linguistischen Voraussetzungen hierfür geschaffen wurden. Im Fall des Japanischen ist wegen der historischen und politischen Lage des Landes der Prozess zwischen Wahrnehmung der potentiellen Äquivalenz und Etablierung von L trotz einer Stagnationsphase linear gewesen, sodass die strukturelle Varianten-Interferenz/-Mischung als wesentlicher Bestandteil des Aufhebungsprozesses zu sehen ist. Anhand ausge-wählter Beispiele sollen a) eine Vorstellung von den strukturellen Merkmalen dieser Interferenz gegeben und b) Besonderheiten des funktionalen Synkretismus, die typischerweise erst im Aufhebungsprozess der Diglossie auftraten, dargestellt werden.

Im Fall des Griechischen ist der Verlauf etwas komplexer gewesen, da das Postulat oder auch der „Zustand“ der linguistischen Äquivalenz von L mit jenem der sozial-funktionalen offensichtlich kollidierte. Anhand zweier Beispielpaare, eines aus der Aufklärungszeit und eines aus der Zeit um 1900, soll auf diese Kollision exemplarisch aufmerksamen gemacht werden. Während sich die (potentielle) linguistische Äquivalenz von L in der Schriftvariante des jeweils zweiten Beispielgliedes offenbart, wird in dem jeweils ersten, zeitgleichen Beispielglied eine strukturelle Interferenz als Ausgleich für die vermeintliche Defektivität von L „praktiziert“. Demnach lässt sich im Fall des Neugriechischen die aufgestellte Arbeitshypothese nur teilweise verifizieren. Die Varianten-Interferenz ist zwar als „Zeichen“ der funktionalen Konvergenz von H und L bzw. des Aufhebungsprozesses zu betrachten, aber die potentielle linguistische Äquivalenz der L-(Schrift)Variante stand der Sprachgemeinschaft bereits vor oder zumindest während dieser Interferenz zur Verfügung, was die rein linguistische „Berechtigung“ dieser Mischvariante(n) im Griechischen offensichtlich in Frage stellt.

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Demetra Katis, Kiki Nikiforidou:

Spatial prepositions of source and goal in early child-adult conversations: What they can tell us about acquisition, polysemy and historical change

We present data on the use of the two basic spatial prepositions of Greek, *se* (“in/at”) and *apo* (“from”), typically coding respectively the goal and source of motion events (see e.g. Bortone 2010, Skopeteas 1999, Terzi 2010, Zafeiriadou 2010). More particularly, we analyze child and child-directed speech in 60 hours of conversations at the early ages of 1;8 to 4;0 years. Corpora of spontaneous talk have been less exploited than experimental data in research on the acquisition of spatial language (yet, see Alexaki et al. 2010 on Greek and e.g. Tomasello 1987 on English). Results show *se* much more frequently than *apo* and, particularly in child speech, also earlier (in spite of the phonological difficulty of *se* + article compounds), thus reinforcing claims on the cognitive salience of final vs. initial state of motion (see e.g. Papafragou 2010). We further investigate the constructional context of *se* and *apo* individual uses in order to trace the details of the developmental path. For instance, both prepositions appear in their simplex form before combining with adverbs in complex prepositional phrases and they also collocate with particular types of verbs. *Se* typically undertakes an allative meaning often marking the goal of the motion verb *pijeno* “go” and somewhat less frequently a locative meaning with existential verbs (mostly *ime* “be”). *Apo*, on the other hand, undertakes an ablative meaning marking the source of motion (e.g. *epeses apo to krevati* “you fell off the bed”) and less frequently other functions (e.g. *perasame apo to skili* “we passed by the dog”). In child speech, however, it originally combines with deictic adverbs in what seem to function as monolexemic pointers to location (e.g. *apoki* “over there”) or is inappropriately missing in mostly ablative but also locative constructions (e.g. *vjikes*

(apo) to banio “you came out of the bathroom” and apo kato (apo) ti(n) ka(t)sarola “underneath the pot”). We expect the detailed tracing of constructional contexts to contribute not only to the description and theoretical explanation of acquisition, but to also offer insights, along with other types of evidence, as to how such prepositions are more generally used and change historically (also see e.g. Morgenstern & Sekali 2009, Rice 2003) including motivation for the fuzzy boundaries between their spatial and more abstract senses (evidenced in our data as in studies of semantic change, see e.g. Bortone 2010 on the history of Greek prepositions).

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Bemerkungen zu den Nominalkomposita des nachklassischen Griechisch

Der Beitrag bezieht sich auf die nachklassischen Nominalkomposita des Griechischen, insbesondere auf die spätantiken Koine-Daten der hellenistisch-römischen Provinzen in Ägypten und Syrien-Palästina. Wir gehen zunächst vom Grundsatz der Koineforschung aus, dass viele Innovationen schon im klassischen Griechisch präsent waren und viele Merkmale, die früher mittels einer semitischer oder ägyptischer Herkunft erklärt wurden, als innergriechische Phänomene herausgestellt haben, nämlich aufgrund ihres wiederholten Vorkommens oder ihrer Kontinuität im Mittel- und Neugriechischen. In vielen Fällen verraten bilinguale Regionalismen mehr über das Substrat und nicht über das Griechische und hätten demnach keinen langfristigen Effekt auf die nachfolgende Entwicklung der Sprache als Ganzes. In manchen Fällen handelt es sich um allgemeine Muster der sprachlichen Evolution, aber es gibt keinen Grund Regionalismen als ein direktes Resultat von Substratinterferenz anzusehen, auch wenn sie teilweise gewisse Entwicklungen lokal verstärkt hätten (vgl. Horrocks 2010:111).

Nichtsdestotrotz ermöglichen uns neuere Arbeiten tiefere Einsichten in das Gebiet der griechischen Komposita in einem komplexen Umfeld von Mehrsprachigkeit (vgl. u.a. Filos 2009, 2010 zum griechisch-lateinischen Sprachkontakt in den Papyri). Außerdem ist bei der Erforschung der nachklassischen Nominalkomposita Nachholbedarf festzustellen, vor allem wegen ihrer qualitativen Einordnung.

Die Daten, die hier präsentiert werden, beziehen sich vornehmlich auf folgende zwei Aspekte: a) auf die sogenannten „linksköpfigen“ (left-headed) Komposita, die in der nachklassischen Zeit spezielle neue Gruppen repräsentieren (vgl. auch Tribulato 2007) und b) auf die „Vermehrung“ bzw. „Stärkung“ der Klasse der (endozentrischen) Determinativkomposita mit nominalen Kompositionsgliedern. Parallel dazu werden ebenfalls die Möglichkeiten der „Nominalkomposition“ bzw. der Aufbau der Nominalphrase in den weiteren in Frage kommenden Sprachen/Dialekten untersucht, die mit der hellenistischen Koine längerfristig in Kontakt kamen (parallel zum Spät-/Vulgärlateinischen): das Spätägyptische (in der Form der koptischen Dialekte) und die hebräisch/aramäische Komponente. Dies erlaubt uns mögliche Mechanismen in einem bilingualen/mehrsprachigen Milieu zu erfassen bzw. die Grenzen der Entlehnung als Erklärung für bestimmte Phänomene aufzuzeigen. Ziel der Untersuchung ist nicht nur die diachrone Betrachtung im Sinne des Sprachwandels, sondern auch der typologische Vergleich mit anderen Zeitstufen bzw. Dialekten des Griechischen in ähnlichen Kontexten (vgl. z.B. Andreou 2014), die für die allgemeine Theorie der Nominalkomposition einen Beitrag zu leisten vermögen.

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Christina Katsikadeli (→Fykias)

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Το επίθημα -ούνα στη Νεοελληνική Κοινή και στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και ιδιώματα

Η πολύ συχνή συνεμφάνιση θηλ. ουσιαστικών σε -ούνα παράλληλα με ομόρριζα υποκοριστικά σε -ούνι τόσο στη Νεοελληνική Κοινή (NEK) όσο και σε πολλές νεοελληνικές (ν.ε.) διαλεκτικές ποικιλίες (βλ. 1), οδηγεί στη σχεδόν αποκλειστική ετυμολόγηση του -ούνα από υποκοριστικά σε -ούνι με μεγεθυντικό επίθημα -α:

(1) α. καλαθούνα – καλαθούνη (NEK)

β. αχραούνα 'είδος μεγάλου αχλαδιού' – αχραούνη (Τσακωνιά)

γ. καλισούνα 'πίτα – καλισούνη (Κρήτη, Κύθηρα)

Γι' αυτό άλλωστε δεν λημματογραφείται ξεχωριστό επίθημα -ούνα σε σύγχρονα λεξικά (βλ. ΛΝΕΓ 20124, ΧΛΝΓ 2014, ΛΚΝ 20077, αν και στα δύο τελευταία απαντά ως λήμμα το επίθημα -ούνι).

Αναλύοντας, ωστόσο ένα μεγάλο σώμα ανέκδοτου διαλεκτικού υλικού προερχόμενο από το Αρχείο του ΚΕΝΔΙ-ΙΛΝΕ, καθώς και από την αποδελτίωση πολλών εκδομένων διαλεκτικών λεξικών, διαπιστώθηκε ότι το -ούνα λειτουργεί και ως ανεξάρτητο επίθημα, καθώς α) σχηματίζει μεγάλο αριθμό θηλυκών – έμψυχων και άψυχων – με διάφορες σημασίες, χωρίς την παράλληλη μαρτυρία ουδ. σε -ούνι (βλ. και Χατζιδάκι 1905-1907: Β τόμ., 307-308, Φιλήντα 1907-1910: Β τόμ., 467-468) π.χ.:

(2) α. γυναικούνα 'μεγαλόσωμη γυναίκα' (Απουλία) (μεγεθυντικό)

β. προσφυγκούνα 'υβριστικός χαρακτηρισμός προσφυγοπούλας' (Εύβοια) (κακόσημο)

γ. ανυφαντούνα 'υφάντρια' (Κύθηρα) (απλή θηλυκοποίηση)

β) εναλλάσσεται με άλλα θηλ. επιθήματα μετά την ίδια ονοματική βάση, ακόμη και στο ίδιο ιδίωμα, π.χ.:

(3) α. γελλούδα 'θηλυκός δαίμονας' (Χίος) αλλά γιλλούνα 'μοχθηρή γυναίκα' (Κύθηρα, όπου και γιλλού 'θηλυκός δαίμονας, μοχθηρή γυναίκα')

β. ανυφαδού και ανυφαδούνα 'υφάντρια' (Κύθηρα)

γ. κλωσσούρα 'κλώσσα' (Επτάνησα) αλλά κλωσσούνα 'κλώσσα' (Κύθηρα)

Υπό αυτό το πρίσμα, θα μελετήσουμε το επίθημα -ούνα διαχρονικά, εστιάζοντας στην ετυμολογική προέλευση του επιθήματος και στην παρουσίαση της γεωγραφικής κατανομής του, αλλά και συγχρονικά, εξετάζοντας τις κατηγορίες θεμάτων με τις οποίες αυτό συνδυάζεται, καθώς και τη σχέση που αυτό έχει με άλλα επιθήματα, με τα οποία, όπως είδαμε στο (3), συχνά εναλλάσσεται. Τόσο η συγχρονική όσο και η διαχρονική μελέτη του θέματος θα προσφέρει νέα δεδομένα στη μορφολογία και στην ετυμολογία της ΝΕΚ και των ν.ε. διαλέκτων και ιδιωμάτων.

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Evgenia Kleidona:

Greek Reflexive Pronouns: Diachronic Issues of Morphology and Syntax

On the basis of the data retrieved from the works of four authors of the period 1st - 3rd c. AD, namely Arrian, Appian, Herodian and Cassius Dio, this paper offers a statistical analysis of the Greek reflexive pronouns focusing on two particular issues: the generalization of the *ἑαυτ-* form for all persons and the binding of the reflexive pronoun within or outside the clause it occurs.

The first part of the paper draws upon Woodard's (1990) research on Greek reflexives obtained from texts of the period 5th c. BC - 1st c. AD, and attempts to cross

check his findings in texts from subsequent centuries. Dismissing previous interpretations of the generalization of *ἑαυτ-* (Dyroff 1893; Brugmann 1900; Wackernagel 1928), Woodard (1990) proposes a combination of three factors that have facilitated the generalization: a) the occurrence of a marked first or second person form along with the *ἑαυτ-* form within the same clause or within two conjoined clauses, b) the occurrence of the copula as the governor of the reflexive, and c) the occurrence of the emphatic *αὐτός* as a modifier of the subject antecedent. Although the current research does not confirm the determinant role of each of these factors per se, it does however confirm Woodard's general conclusion: the unmarked *ἑαυτ-* for first and second person is preferred when person specification can be achieved through another constituent, rendering the use of the marked first and second person forms redundant.

The second part of the paper falls within the scope of a series of previous papers (Powell 1933, 1934; Dobrov 1988; Null 1988) and attempts to define the circumstances under which the reflexive is bound within or outside the clause it occurs. According to the findings of the current research, when the reflexive occurs in a finite clause, the vast majority is bound within the same clause regardless of whether the clause is a main or a subordinate one or whether the subordinate and the main clause share the same subject. On the contrary, when the reflexive occurs in an infinitive or participial clause, the majority of the reflexives is bound within the same clause if the infinitive or participial clause and the main clause share the same subject, whereas if the subjects of the two clauses are distinct, the majority of the reflexives is bound outside the clause.

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Ksenia Klimova:

The inner form of the word as a reflection of Balkan concepts (in Modern Greek and Balkan Slavic languages)

The Greek language and culture have always been in close contact with the language and culture of the Slavic population of the Balkans. In addition to many lexical borrowings, we can detect in the vocabulary of the folk culture of Modern Greece and Balkan Slavs, words that have similar inner form, but they sound quite differently in Greek and in Slavic languages. Their etymology goes back to certain properties, characteristics of the mythological character common to Greeks and Slavs. In accordance with the concept the Russian linguist Potebnya by the term “inner form” we mean the first closest etymological meaning of the word that reveals its symbolic nature. In Modern Greek and South Slavic languages can be found names of mythological characters having similar inner form of the word, similar etymology, and the main characteristics of these characters may also have many similarities. For example, Greek ίσκιος, ήσκιος, ίσκχιομα and Bulgarian сѣнк’а, сѣньа, сениште, сенчиште – ‘a demon of a construction, deriving from a shadow or appearing like a shadow’; Greek νησικιά, σκιά and Serbian тенџ, тенац, тѣнац, потеченџ, Bulgarian тенџ, тенчоморац, тенец,– ‘vampire, walking dead; Greek ανεμικά, ανεμικές, ανεμικό and Serbian ветрои, ветрошиње – ‘malicious demons attacking people and sending diseases’; Greek σαββατογεννημένος, σαββανιανός and Bulgarian съботник, саботник, събутник, съботниче, съботничав, съботарник, съботенче, Serbian суботник, суботан, суботњан, суботњак, соботњак – ‘a person born on Saturday, with supernatural abilities’; Greek Μεσημέρες, Μεσημεριάτες and Slavonic полудница – ‘a noonday/midday demon’.

In some cases, the similarity of characters, their functions, properties, appearance, genesis, space and time characteristics is so complete, that we can talk about a balkanism, on a Balkan mythological character: “Saturday-people” with the inner form {Saturday}; ‘vampire or walking dead’ with the inner form {shadow} and ‘demon-guardian of a construction deriving from a shadow’ with the inner form {shadow}. In other cases the etymology of the lexemes is similar, but there is only a partial match of the characteristics of the mythological characters. So, the “midday” demons, have the main determination by their name (the time of appearance – midday, noon), and some other characteristics may differ. In the third case, a similar inner form of the names of mythological characters is determined by common typological ideas about this or that phenomenon, such as a wind, which can be mythologized in any culture.

Αποτιμώντας την απο απόσταση επιμόρφωση: Η περίπτωση των Διαδρομών στη νέα ελληνική ως Γ2

Το σύστημα από απόσταση επιμόρφωσης «Διαδρομές στη διδασκαλία της νέας ελληνικής» του Κέντρου Ελληνικής Γλώσσας, υλοποιείται από το 2007, οπότε και βραβεύθηκε με το Ευρωπαϊκό Σήμα Γλωσσών ως καινοτόμο εκπαιδευτικό πρόγραμμα. Το ηλεκτρονικό περιβάλλον του προγράμματος βρίσκεται στην πλατφόρμα: <http://elearning.greek-language.gr/>. Από το 2007 μέχρι τώρα, το ένα πρόγραμμα έγινε σύστημα που αφορά τρία διακριτά προγράμματα που για λόγους αποτελεσματικής οργάνωσης διακρίνονται σε τρεις διαδρομές:

-Την κόκκινη διαδρομή, που αφορά την τηλεκατάρτιση των διδασκόντων την ελληνική γλώσσα ως ξένη, στο εξωτερικό, ως πρόγραμμα εξειδίκευσης και εμπάθυνσης σε ζητήματα διδασκαλίας. Η κόκκινη διαδρομή διαρκεί έντεκα μήνες και αποδίδει νομοθετικά προβλεπόμενη διδακτική επάρκεια σε όσους επιτυχώς ολοκληρώσουν την επιμόρφωση.

-Την μπλε διαδρομή για τη διδασκαλία σε αλλόγλωσσους στην Ελλάδα, που διαρκεί πέντε μήνες, αφορά διδάσκοντες στην Ελλάδα και συνιστά μια συνοπτική εκδοχή του πρώτου προγράμματος.

-Την πράσινη διαδρομή για την επιμόρφωση των φοιτητών νεοελληνικών τμημάτων και αποσπασμένους εκπαιδευτικούς που στοχοθετεί την υποστήριξη του συγκεκριμένου κοινού-στόχος και διαρκεί επτά μήνες.

Συνολικά από το 2012, οπότε και έγινε ο διαχωρισμός στα τρία σκέλη, έχουν συμμετάσχει 1460 άτομα, ένας σημαντικός αριθμός συμμετεχόντων που έχουν καταρτιστεί στη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως ξένης. Τα τελευταία χρόνια υπάρχει μεγάλο ερευνητικό ενδιαφέρον για τον βαθμό που μένουν ικανοποιημένοι οι συμμετέχοντες σε από απόσταση εκπαιδευτικά προγράμματα (ενδεικτικά βλ. Swan 2001, Shelley κ.α. 2008, Cole, κ.α. 2013). Στη μελέτη της Strachota (2003) για το συγκεκριμένο θέμα αναδύθηκε ως ο σημαντικότερος παράγοντας ικανοποίησης το περιεχόμενο/εκπαιδευτικό υλικό, με τους διδάσκοντες και την τεχνολογία να ακολουθούν στη δεύτερη και τρίτη θέση σημαντικής επίδρασης, ενώ ισχυρή επίδραση των παραπάνω παραγόντων βρήκε και ο Estelami (2012). Άλλοι παράγοντες που επίσης επιδρούν σημαντικά στη γνώμη των σπουδαστών για τα διαδικτυακά προγράμματα είναι η διάδραση με τους συμμαθητές (Bollinger 2004) και η σύνδεση του εκπαιδευτικού περιεχομένου με τις προσωπικές εμπειρίες των συμμετεχόντων Sahin (2007).

Οι παραπάνω έρευνες αφορούν προπτυχιακά ή μεταπτυχιακά μαθήματα τα οποία προσφέρονται από ανώτατα εκπαιδευτικά ιδρύματα. Η παρούσα μελέτη εστιάζεται στο προαναφερθέν από απόσταση επιμορφωτικό πρόγραμμα («Διαδρομές στη διδασκαλία της νέας ελληνικής ως ξένης/δεύτερης γλώσσας») και ερευνά τους

παράγοντες που επιδρούν στον βαθμό ικανοποίησης των επιμορφούμενων από το συγκεκριμένο πρόγραμμα. Συγκεκριμένα, στοχεύει να απαντήσει στα εξής ερευνητικά ερωτήματα:

- 1) Πόσο ικανοποιημένοι έμειναν οι επιμορφούμενοι με το πρόγραμμα;
 - 2) Ποιος είναι ο βαθμός συσχέτισης του ερωτήματος 1 με το προφίλ των επιμορφούμενων;
 - 3) Ποιοι από τους παράγοντες που από άλλες έρευνες έχουν αποδειχθεί ότι επιδρούν στον βαθμό ικανοποίησης από διαδικτυακά προγράμματα εκπαίδευσης (δηλαδή, το εκπαιδευτικό υλικό, η σύνδεση του μαθήματος με τις εμπειρίες των συμμετεχόντων, οι διδάσκοντες και η διάδραση με τους άλλους συμμετέχοντες) είναι σημαντικοί σε ένα επιμορφωτικό πρόγραμμα, όπως οι Διαδρομές;
- Για τη διερεύνηση των ερωτημάτων αυτών χρησιμοποιήθηκε ένα ηλεκτρονικό ερωτηματολόγιο αποτίμησης του προγράμματος, κατά τα έτη 2012-2015. Οι απαντήσεις (σε κλίμακα Linkert 1-5) αναλύθηκαν στατιστικά και συσχέτιστηκαν με μεταβλητές που προέκυψαν από το προφίλ των επιμορφούμενων (όπως επίπεδο και κλάδος σπουδών, διδακτική εμπειρία, ευχέρεια στη χρήση Η/Υ, απόδοση κατά την αξιολόγηση των μαθημάτων). Εκτός από τις ποσοτικές αναλύσεις, έγινε περαιτέρω ποιοτική ανάλυση των απαντήσεων σε ανοικτού τύπου ερωτήσεις του ερωτηματολογίου αποτίμησης και των αναρτήσεων στις ομάδες συζητήσεων των ενοτήτων του προγράμματος (forums), με σκοπό την απάντηση των ερευνητικών ερωτημάτων 2 και 3.

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Erasmia Koletti, Elpiniki Margariti & Georgios Zakis: The Dative Genitive in Modern Greek MWEs

The aim of this work is to provide a general description of the phenomenon of the dative genitive (DATGEN) from now on) in Multiword Expressions (MWE) of Modern Greek (MG). As a MWE we consider a string of tokens that has no compositional meaning. We analysed approximately 200 MWEs that require or allow a DATGEN and were drawn from a list of ~1120 MWEs (Samaridi 2014, <http://users.sch.gr/samaridi/attachments/article/3/Lexical%20Resources.pdf>).

MWEs may contain DATGENs and/or possessive genitives. The main difference between these two genitives is that the DATGEN, but not necessarily the possessive genitive, introduces an always animate participant to the event described by the verb; the new participant is understood to be directly related to the event described by the verb. The two genitives can co-exist when they refer to different entities: του έβγαλε τα νύχια της

where the possessive genitive “της” is bound by the subject of the verb and the GENDAT “του” introduces a new participant.

A MWE expression may contain:

A free genitive that may or may not alternate with a DATGEN:

Ήπιαν το αίμα του Πέτρου—του ήπιαν το αίμα
Έφαγαν την σκόνη του Διαμαντίδη—*του έφαγαν την σκόνη

A bound genitive pronoun, typically bound by the subject of a free subject MWE. These pronouns never alternate.

Βγάζω τα απωθημένα μου----*Μου βγάζω τα απωθημένα

We explain (2) as follows: DATGEN normally introduces a new participant to the discourse therefore the pronoun in (2) that is bound by the subject cannot alternate with a DATGEN.

As regards the facts in (1) we observed that free genitives denoting inalienable (ii) or close possession (Coene & d’Hulst, 2003) alternate with DATGEN while alienable possession genitives (iii) do not. Normally, DATGEN alternates with free animate se- or apo-PP constituents of the MWE (i) (Tzartanos, 1996).

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**Erasmia Koletti, Elpiniki Margariti, Stella Markantonatou, Panagiotis Minos, Niki Samaridi, Emilia Stripeli & Georgios Zakis:
Lexical Resource for free subject verb MWEs**

The Lexical Resource for free subject verb MWEs combines a wide range of linguistic information on Modern Greek verb Multiword Expressions (MWEs) and is addressed both to the human user and to NLP applications. A custom-made Java desktop application based on the NetBeans Rich-Client Platform (RCP) framework has been developed for the editing of the XML lexical resource. Each entry constitutes a detailed description of a MWE, namely a string with no compositional meaning.

Each MWE is a string consisting of a specified number of tokens all of which are encoded in the DB along with possible groupings (XP, CLAUSE, WWS (Word With Spaces)). A set of specialized diagnostics (word order permutations, free/fixed subject diagnostic and possible intervening XP) are applied to diagnose free-subjecthood and constituent structure of MWEs. . We define as a WWS a set of words in fixed order with limited or no declination freedom. WWS constitute important and reoccurring elements of MWEs; their boundaries and structures are defined with dedicated diagnostics.

The MWE meaning is provided in both English and Greek to assist intelligibility of the non-compositional meaning of the MWE. Relations among different MWEs such as synonymy, antonymy, causative-inchoative alternations and semantic pairs are also encoded.

The text corpora accommodated in the DB contain both grammatical and ungrammatical strings featuring MWEs and are directly linked to diagnostics providing data to support or challenge our claims. Grammatical strings are drawn from the Hellenic National Corpus <http://hnc.ilsp.gr/> and from Google while ungrammatical ones are evaluated by native speakers (introspection).

The resource content is made accessible to all English speaking users via phonetic transcription, PAROLE transliteration and English translation. Users interact with

the lexical resource through an auto-generated preview, summarizing all the information about the entry.

Screenshot of the “Preview” Tab.

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Marianna Kondyli:

Γραμματικές πρωτομεταφορές σε διαφοροποιημένα πλαίσια γραμματισμού στο νηπιαγωγείο

Ο μηχανισμός της γραμματικής μεταφοράς (grammatical metaphor) αποτελεί μια από τις κεντρικές και πιο γόνιμες έννοιες της ΣΛΓ. Ειδικότερα, ο ρόλος της ιδεοποιητικής (ideational) γραμματικής μεταφοράς θεωρείται καθοριστικός για τη συγκρότηση της αφαίρεσης και της μεταφορικότητας στη γλώσσα, που με τη σειρά τους σχετίζονται με τη χρήση ποικιλιών της γλώσσας ανακρίτων για την κατάκτηση της εκπαιδευτικής γνώσης και του σχολικού γραμματισμού. Ως “παρεκκλίνουσες” από την συμβατική χρήση της γλώσσας ποικιλίες, οι γραμματικές μεταφορές θεωρούνται αναγκαίες για την ανάπτυξη νοημάτων που συγκροτούν την αφαιρετική σχολική και επιστημονική γνώση.

Μία από τις περιοχές μελέτης της γραμματικής μεταφοράς είναι ο προσδιορισμός του συνεχούς της γλωσσικής ποικιλότητας από τη κυριολεκτική/συμβατική στη μεταφορική. Η οντογενετική και φυλογενετική προοπτική που εγκαινίασε ο Halliday (1975, 1980) δίνει δύο αλληλένδετα κριτήρια: Υποθέτει ότι οι πιο κυριολεκτικές χρήσεις έχουν προηγηθεί στην εξέλιξη της γλώσσας. Ταυτόχρονα, η κυριολεκτική χρήση είναι συμβατή με την παιδική, καθημερινή, προφορική γλώσσα διαβαθμιζόμενη προς την ενήλικη γλώσσα.

Επεκτείνοντας το έργο του Halliday για τη γλωσσική ανάπτυξη, η Painter (π.χ. Painter 1999a, 1999b, 2007), εξετάζει την ανάπτυξη της μεταφορικότητας στην παιδική ηλικία. Οι Torr & Simpson (2003) εξετάζουν την ανάδυση των ιδεοποιητικών και

διαπροσωπικών πρωτομεταφορών σε παιδιά ηλικίας από 1:8 έως 5:0 ετών, ενώ η Derewianka (2003) εξετάζει διαπροσωπικές και ιδεοποιητικές γραμματικές σε γραπτά παιδιού από την πρώτη σχολική ηλικία στην εφηβεία. Μολονότι στην παιδική γλώσσα δεν εμφανίζονται τυπικές γραμματικές μεταφορές, είναι ενδιαφέρον ότι διακρίνονται δομές διακατηγοριοποίησης (transcategorization), οι οποίες χαρακτηρίζονται ως πρωτομεταφορές- προάγγελοι της καθεαυτού ιδεοποιητικής μεταφοράς.

Αν και είναι εμφανής η τάση που συνδέει τη δυνατότητα εμφάνισης πρωτομεταφορικών χρήσεων με συγκεκριμένα διαλογικά πλαίσια (συνομιλίες ανάμεσα σε παιδιά και γονείς και μεγαλύτερα αδέρφια είτε στο γραπτό λόγο των παιδιών). Η μελέτη όμως της ανάπτυξης της πρωτομεταφοράς αφήνει στο περιθώριο μιας από τις βασικές διαπιστώσεις των σχετικών ερευνών αναφορικά με τις περιστάσεις που ενεργοποιούν την εμφάνισή τους, ειδικότερα τον προσχολικό γραμματισμό οικογενειών μεσαίων-ανώτερων στρωμάτων ή και τον κατεξοχήν σχολικό γραμματισμό.

Οι ενδείξεις από περιστάσεις πρώτου γραμματισμού σε ελληνικά νηπιαγωγεία, στα οποία παιδιά 4:6 έως 5:8 ετών μετέρχονται διαφορετικές σημειωτικές προκειμένου να ανταποκριθούν σε διδακτικές περιστάσεις που διαφοροποιούνται ως προς τον προσανατολισμό τους στο νόημα (π.χ., Giannisi & Kondyli 2013, Λογοθέτη 2014). Τα δεδομένα μας, που αντλούνται από διαλόγους εκπαιδευτικών-παιδιών σε νηπιαγωγεία, μας επιτρέπουν να ανιχνεύσουμε τις συνθήκες εμφάνισης πρωτομεταφορικών χρήσεων (ιδίως εγκιβωτισμός και τεχνικότητα) σε διαφορετικά διδακτικά πλαίσια ανάλογα με τις απαιτήσεις νοηματοδότησης και να συζητήσουμε πτυχές της πρωτομεταφοράς στην ελληνική γλώσσα.

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Katerina Konstantzou, Spyridoula Varlokosta & Maria Vlassopoulos: Compounding in Greek child language: Evidence from typical development and specific language impairment

Background: Research on typical development (TD) of compounding has revealed conflicting results; early (Clark et al., 1985 for English), vs. late development, namely between the age of 4 and 7 (Nicoladis, 1999 for French; Berman & Clark, 1989 for Hebrew) or even later (Konstantzou, 2006 and Tzakosta & Manola, 2012 for Greek). Relevant research on SLI is limited. Dalalakis (1999) and Fukuda & Fukuda (1999) suggest that children with SLI are not capable to build lexical representations that are necessary for constructing complex words. Van der Lely & Christian (2000) found that they are weak in morphophonological aspects of compounding, whereas Grella et al. (2005) and McGregor et al. (2010) report weakness in ordering compounds. Materials: 62 5-to-7-year-old children (A: 5;0-5;11, mean: 5;7; B: 6;0-6;11, mean: 6;5) and 31 adults were compared to 5 SLI children (4;11-6;8, mean: 6;2) and their controls, namely 5 age-matched (AM: 4;11-6;9, mean: 6;2) and 5 language-matched TD children (LM: 4;5-5;9, mean: 4;11). All participated in a picture-production task (Konstantzou, 2006), where they had to produce real and novel nominal compounds. Results: All TD children produced less target compounds compared to adults (all p values < .001). Similarly, the SLI group produced less compounds compared to

both controls (both p values < .05). A significant compound type effect was found; all children produced more real than novel compounds (all p values < .001). However, the SLI group was the only group that had severe problems producing novel compounds. An error analysis revealed a root-type error effect; the SLI group had significantly more root-type errors compared to both controls (p < 0.05). No significant error-type effect was reported between or within all groups regarding other error-types (word order, phonology, inflection).

Discussion: Our results verify previous studies in Greek indicating that TD children's compounding skills are not fully developed even at the age of 7. Moreover, our results confirm that SLI children face difficulties in forming compounds, especially novel ones, but do not confirm word-ordering as their major problem. Instead, their main characteristic is producing root-type errors. Actually, this is what differentiates them from their controls, since they show similar patterns concerning other error-types. This finding contradicts van der Lely & Christian's (2000) claim that SLI children have an impaired grammatical system. Overall, it seems plausible that their limitations with compounding lie in the development of links within the mental lexicon rather than in an impaired grammatical system.

Konstantina Kordouli, Christina Manouilidou, Stavroula Stavrakaki, Dimitra Mamouli & Panagiotis Ioannidis:

The production of Modern Greek compounds in PPA-a: evidence from errors in naming.

The study examines compound naming in the agrammatic variant of Primary Progressive Aphasia (PPA-a). Individuals with PPA-a and Stroke-induced agrammatic patients (StrAgr) have common performance in tasks targeting morphosyntax (Thompson et al., 2012). Thus, they are expected to demonstrate the same deficits as StrAgr individuals in naming compounds (Semenza & Mondini, 2010). Specifically, we expected retained knowledge of the compound's structure ("*compound effect*") and lexical access through decomposition. Moreover, we anticipated semantically transparent compounds to be named more easily than opaque ones, ("*transparency effect*"), and we expected fewer errors in the head-constituent, ("*headedness effect*"). **Procedure:** participants were given the definition (e.g., "*how do we call the house of a doll?*") and they had to utter the actual compound (e.g., "*ku'klospito*" - '*doll-house*'). **Participants:** 2 patients diagnosed with PPA-a on the basis of neuroimaging data and clinical testing (PPA-a1 at an early stage of the disease and PPA-a2 at a later stage) and two healthy elderly controls were tested thus far. We target a sample of 10 for each group. **Stimuli:** 45 subordinate (e.g., "*molivo-'θici*" - '*pencil case*'), 15 coordinate (e.g., "*alato-'pipero*" - '*salt and*

pepper') and 11 exocentric compounds (e.g., "*kokkino-'malis*" - '*redhead*'). **Results:** The percentage of errors was 9.72% for PPA-a1 and 45.07% for PPA-a2. Specifically, PPA-a1 made only substitution errors (e.g., "*krea'to-pita*" - '*meat-pie*' instead of "*ti'ro-pita*" - '*cheese-pie*'), supporting compound effect and an indication that compounds were parsed after being decomposed. In contrast, PPA-a2 mainly produced circumlocutions (e.g., "*cipos me laxani'ka*" - '*garden with vegetables*' instead of "*laxa'no-cipos*" - '*kitchen garden*') and single-word errors (e.g., "*violit'ziz*" - '*violinist*' instead of "*oryano-'pektis*" - '*instrumentalist*'), signaling absence of compound effect and a more holistic access. Finally, the majority of errors (67%) were in nominal subordinate compounds, whereas no effect of headedness and semantic transparency was found. **Discussion:** The results provide evidence that linguistic deficits in PPA-a are affected by the stage of the disease. At an initial stage, linguistic deficits resemble those of StrAgr patients with problems in the activation of the phonological form of the compound, whereas morphological rules remain intact (Semenza & Mondini, 2010). In later stages, there are problems in the activation of both phonological and morphological compound form. Finally, the fact that the majority of circumlocutions and single-word errors were in subordinate compounds is consistent with previous studies (Manouilidou et al., 2012), in which the subordinate relation between compound's constituents leads to a more holistic access.

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Xristina Kostakou (→Iakovou)

Apostolos Kostas (→Georgalidou)

George Kotzoglou:

Subextraction from Subjects in Greek: The Locus and the Nature of Extraction

This paper revisits, discusses and extends the syntactic evidence that has been put forth in the literature concerning the (im)possibility of possessor subextraction from subjects in Modern Greek. The issue of wh- subextraction from subjects has recently become of hotly debated issue in the syntactic literature, as the demise of

CED-based (Huang 1982) and government-based (Chomsky 1986) accounts of left branch extraction had left examples such as (1) virtually unaccounted for.

(1) *Who did [a picture of t] annoy Mary?

A number of minimalism-compliant accounts have been proposed, but no consensus has been reached as to whether the phenomenon amounts to (a) an asymmetry on extractions from an internal vs external argument position (Chomsky 2008), (b) a side-effect of the special (adjunct-like) status of left branches (Uriagereka 1999), (c) a representational constraint on chain uniformity (Takahashi 1994, Stepanov 2001), or (d) a product of the special ‘criterial’ nature of the EPPT-position (Rizzi 2006) (cf. Bianchi & Chesi 2014, among many others, for a comprehensive recent discussion) The few approaches to the manifestation (or lack) of possessor subextraction in Greek are equally divergent. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1999) treat the possibility of subextraction from subjects as an unaccusativity diagnostic, a conclusion that –if correct– would point towards an internal/external argument divide. Kotzoglou (2005, 2010) argues that possessor subextraction is possible even with unergative predicates (2) and capitalizes on the alleged base-generated position of the preverbal subject in Greek to derive the crosslinguistic asymmetry (1-2).

(2) *tinis nomizes oti [o pateras t]*

whoseGen say<2sg.Imperf.Past> that theNom father<Nom>
kerðise to laxio?

win(3Sg.Perf.Past> the<Acc> lottery
‘Whose father did you think won the lottery?’

Finally, Spyropoulos & Stamatogiannis (2011) attribute the permissibility of subextraction from preverbal subjects in Greek to the general anti-freezing nature of criterial positions in the language.

In this paper, we argue that Chomsky’s (2008) account of the phenomenon cannot be adequately applied to the Greek data. We argue that Greek exhibits genuine possessor subextraction from both unaccusative and unergative predicates. We offer configurational evidence that the extraction takes place from the preverbal position (and not from the base one before movement or after reconstruction). Finally, we discuss the grammaticality of subextraction from subjects in Greek as opposed to the ungrammaticality of subextraction from other left-peripheral material.

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Konstantina Eirini Koufou:

Ρηματικά Σύνθετα με Δεσμευμένο Θέμα ως δεύτερο συνθετικό: Δεδομένα από μαθητές δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης με την ελληνική ως L1 και L2

Η παρούσα εργασία διερευνά την αντιληπτικότητα μονολεκτικών ρηματικών σύνθετων λέξεων με δεύτερο συνθετικό δεσμευμένο θέμα (στο εξής ΣΒΔΘ) (Ralli 2013) από μαθητές δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης. Τα ΣΒΘΜ επιλέχθηκαν επειδή: πρώτον, τα ΣΒΔΘ της ελληνικής είναι παραγωγικά συγχρονικά (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1996) και διαχρονικά (Ραυτοπούλου 2005, Τσερέπης 1902), δεύτερον, συνδέονται με τα νεοκλασικά σύνθετα (neoclassical compounds) των ευρωπαϊκών γλωσσών (Baeskow 2004), τρίτον, δεν έχουν μελετηθεί στο επίπεδο της αντιληπτικότητάς τους. Επιπλέον, το Νέο Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών (2011) του γυμνασίου προβλέπει τη συστηματική διδασκαλία των ΣΒΔΘ για τα αρχαία και νέα ελληνικά (αε και νε, αντιστοίχως) προκειμένου να διευκολυνθούν οι διαδικασίες κατάρκτησης και εκμάθησής τους από φυσικούς και αλλόγλωσσους μαθητές.

Τα ΣΒΔΘ που επιλέξαμε έχουν τα εξής χαρακτηριστικά. Πραγματώνονται ως παροξύτονα ουσιαστικά (συμβολαιογράφος) και επίθετα (ψυχοφθόρος). Σχηματίζονται βάσει της δομής [θέμα δεσμευμένο θέμα]ΣΘ με σταθερή σειρά εμφάνισης των συστατικών. Τα θέματα του δεύτερου συνθετικού έχουν λόγια πρόελευση και σχηματίστηκαν μέσω των διαδικασιών της μετάπλασης (-μαχ- <μάχομαι) και της ετεροίωσης (-λογ- <λέγω) της ρηματικής βάσης. Μεταξύ των δυο θεμάτων εμφανίζεται ο δείκτης σύνθεσης /o/ (Crocco- Galeas, 2002). Είναι ενδοκεντρικά σύνθετα (Scalise & Fábregas 2010). Η κεφαλή τους αποτελεί ρηματικό παράγωγο και τίθεται στα δεξιά της σύνθετης δομής (Williams 1981).

Δείγμα για την έρευνά μας αποτέλεσαν 181 μαθητές. Από αυτούς οι 87 ήταν φυσικοί ομιλητές της νε, φοιτούσαν στη δεύτερα γυμνασίου και δεν είχαν διδαχθεί ρητά τα ΣΒΔΘ. Οι υπόλοιποι 94 μαθητές της τρίτης τάξης είχαν ολοκληρώσει την διδασκαλία της σύνθεσης λέξεων και διακρίνονταν σε 81 φυσικούς και

13 αλλόγλωσσους ομιλητές (μητρική=αλβανική). Οι μαθητές κλήθηκαν να συμπληρώσουν δύο ερωτηματολόγια σχηματισμού 28 υπαρκτών (ε1) και 28 μη-υπαρκτών (ε2) μονολεκτικών ΣΒΔΘ. Στόχος μας ήταν να εξετάσουμε το βαθμό επίδρασης της διδασκαλίας της σύνθεσης στην αντίληψη των ΣΒΔΘ από μαθητές σχετικά με α) το προτιμητέο δομικό σχήμα των ΣΒΔΘ, β) την θέση του τόνου, γ) την παρουσία/μορφή του συνδετικού φωνήεντος, δ) την παρουσία/θέση της κεφαλής, ε) τη σημασιολογική/μορφολογική διαφάνεια υπαρκτών και μη-υπαρκτών ΣΒΔΘ, στ) την τυπολογική συγγένεια της νε με την αε και ζ) την επίδραση της αλβανικής ως μητρικής γλώσσας των αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών. Τα ερευνητικά μας πορίσματα επιβεβαιώνουν την κλιμακούμενη ενεργοποίηση μηχανισμών απομνημόνευσης κατά το σχηματισμό υπαρκτών ΣΒΔΘ με σημασιολογική διαφάνεια και υψηλή συχνότητα εμφάνισης (Tzakosta 2009). Επίσης, υπάρχει πλήθος αντιγραμματικών μη-υπαρκτών ΣΒΘΜ παρά την εξοικείωση των μαθητών της τρίτης τάξης με τη σύνθεση. Τα δεδομένα θα χρησιμοποιηθούν προκειμένου να διατυπώσουμε προτάσεις διδασκαλίας της σύνθεσης κατά την εκμάθηση της ελληνικής ως μητρικής και ως ξένης γλώσσας μέσω ηλεκτρονικών σωματών κειμένων.

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Υπουργική Απόφαση Γ2/21072α (ΦΕΚ 303/τ. Β' /13-3-2003). Διαθεματικό Ενιαίο Πλαίσιο Προγραμμάτων Σπουδών (Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ.) και Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα Σπουδών (Α.Π.Σ.) Δημοτικού – Γυμνασίου: α) Γενικό Μέρος β) Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. και Α.Π.Σ. Ελληνικής Γλώσσας, Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας, Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας και Γραμματείας, Εικαστικών, Σπουδών Θεάτρου, Θρησκευτικών, Ιστορίας, Κοινωνικής και Πολιτικής Αγωγής, Μαθηματικών, Μελέτης Περιβάλλοντος.

Marina Koutsoubou (→Iakovou)

Eirini Kriki (→Liosis)

**Elizaveta Kuzmenko (→ Arkhangelskiy) & Timofey Arkhangelskiy:
Automatic morphological disambiguation in the Corpus of Modern Greek**

The problem of morphological ambiguity is widely addressed in the modern NLP. Mostly ambiguity is resolved with the use of large manually-annotated corpora and machine learning. However, such methods are not always available, as good training data is not accessible for all languages. In this paper we present a method of disambiguation without gold standard corpora using several statistical models, namely, Brill algorithm (Brill 1995) and unambiguous n-grams from the automatically annotated corpus. All the methods were tested on the Corpus of Modern Greek. The version of the corpus the proposed method was tested on consists of 26 million tokens. All texts are morphologically annotated with the help of a morphological analyzer called UniParser (Arkhangelskiy 2012). Every word was assigned all possible analyses; for example, the word occurrence μέσα could be assigned the following analyses:

- μέσα, ADV, "inside";
μέσο, NOUN, n, pl, acc, "medium";
μέσο, NOUN, n, pl, nom, "medium";
μέσος, ADJ, pos, n, pl, acc, "middle";

μέσος, ADJ,pos,n,pl,nom, “middle”.

The baseline parameters of ambiguity in our corpus were the following:

Number of tokens: 26922276

Percentage of ambiguous words: 43%

Ambiguity rate: 1.64

We used the statistics for unambiguous morphological analyses in our corpus. First of all, we tried to increase the number of such analyses with the help of user-guided disambiguation. The user was presented with a number of bigrams and trigrams of morphological analyses in which one of the words was ambiguous and the others were not. The user could resolve the ambiguity manually relying on the unambiguous context, after which their decision was applied to all the words which had the same combination of analyses and the same context. The next method used was gathering statistics about unambiguous bigrams in the corpus, and then transforming the bigrams in which only one word was ambiguous, into the corresponding most frequent unambiguous bigram (similar to HMM -- Kupiec 1992).

Lower precision, but higher recall was achieved with the use of the Brill algorithm (Brill 1995), which enumerates all possible transformations of ambiguous morphological analyses and applies the most effective ones, counting their impact on the level of ambiguity in the corpus.

We applied these methods to our data in different combinations in order to choose the best one. As a result, our corpus acquired the following parameters of ambiguity:

- ambiguity rate: 1.35
- the percentage of ambiguous words in the corpus: 23%
- precision of the final application: 82.41%
- recall of the final application: 50.6%

Our method of morphological disambiguation demonstrates that it is possible to eliminate some of the ambiguous analyses in the corpus with the use of raw data. Our future work is to refine this method, so that better recall and precision can be achieved.

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Veranna Kyprioti:

Narrative, identity and age: the case of the bilingual in Greek and Turkish Muslim community of Rhodes, Greece

The aim of this presentation is to discuss narrative contributions to conversations and life story interviews with different generation members of the bilingual in Greek and Turkish Muslim community of Rhodes. It is based on research conducted in an ethnographic framework and aims at a) discussing the construction of minority identity through verbal and non-verbal action presented in the narratives and b) describing the linguistic construction of identity within different generation groups. Analysis deals with the structure of narratives, their position within conversational sequences and the linguistic choices made by the participants in connection with the generation group they belong to. More specifically, the narratives examined are scrutinized for the linguistic construction and positioning of self and other through referring terms and reported and direct-reported speech, as well as through direct and indirect evaluation strategies (Archakis & Tsakona 2010, Georgalidou 2004, 2012). It will be shown that different generation group members (a. 60+, b. 40-60 and c. 20-40) construct and negotiate dynamic identities through the juxtaposition of reference terms, the verbal and/ or non verbal action of the participants presented in the narrated incidents, and the conversational negotiation of narrative contributions within life-story interviews.

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Tita Kyriacopoulou:

Extraction of entity names and complex text segments in Modern Greek

Our research deals with the development of computational linguistic resources (electronic dictionaries and grammars) for the automatic extraction, identification and annotation of entity names (πρωθυπουργός Αλέξης Τσίπρας/prime minister Alexis Tsipras, εταιρία Αττικό Μετρό/Attiko Metro Company) and other complex text segments like fixed expressions (κάνω τα στραβά μάτια/turn a blind eye), verbal forms (έχω κάνει/have done) and compound nouns (αιολικό πάρκο/aeolic parc). The countless number, the constant creation of new compound structures and their special features like frozenness and substantivation make them a great obstacle and at the same time a challenge for NLP applications (machine translation, information retrieval, terminology extraction, etc.).

First, we will define the concept of complex text segments and entity names. Then, we will present their special characteristics and different methods for their identification and extraction. For instance, it's possible to identify multi-word units (MWUs), which are not lemmatized in dictionaries, via local grammars (the so-called dictionary graphs) and then create text dictionaries. For example, the local grammar for dates in Modern Greek (Fig. 1) builds a set of Modern Greek normalized dictionary entries able to identify date-entities.

The graph, which recalls a sub-graph where the months are normalized (Fig. 2. mois_norm), produces new dictionary entries having Date as grammatical category and including a set of attributes to indicate the presence or absence of a portion of the date (+nj : day name, +j : day number, +m : month name, or +a : year number). For example, the date Τετάρτη 5 Ιουλίου 1961 'Wednesday 5th July 1961' is represented in the dictionary as Τετάρτη 5 Ιουλίου 1961,1961-07-5.Date+nj+j+m+a (Fig. 3).

The identification of complex sequences of text segments using dictionary graphs which combine the power and versatility of the local grammars and the expressivity of the electronic dictionaries seems to be an effective method to promote the adaptability, reusability and modularity of linguistic resources. Local grammars can also contribute in the identification of triggers. The different methods used for the enrichment of dictionaries are developed via the Unitex platform which creates normalized entries and constructs "expert" grammars easily reusable.

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Tita Kyriacopoulou (→: Anastasiadis; Foufi)

Doris Kyriazis & Eleni Papadamou:

Μορφές διαβαθμιστικής αναδίπλωσης στην ελληνική και στις άλλες βαλκανικές γλώσσες

Η διαβαθμιστική αναδίπλωση που χρησιμοποιείται για τη δήλωση του απόλυτου υπερθετικού εμφανίζεται στην ελληνική με τρεις μορφές: 1) ως επιτακτική επανάληψη πλήρων μορφών επιθέτων, 2) ως μερική επανάληψη τμήματος των επιθέτων και 3) ως συμπάρataξη επιθέτου και της υποκοριστικής μορφής του. Παρόμοιες μορφές διαβαθμιστικής αναδίπλωσης εμφανίζονται στις περισσότερες βαλκανικές γλώσσες, αλλά δεν έχουν μελετηθεί συστηματικά.

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή θα ασχοληθούμε με τις δύο τελευταίες μορφές καθώς εμφανίζουν τον μεγαλύτερο βαθμό μορφολογοποίησης. Κατά την ανάλυση των δομών της δεύτερης κατηγορίας στηρίζομαστε, όπως και οι Βαγιαζικ και Janse

(2013), στην παρατήρηση του Τζιτζιλί ότι υπάρχουν δύο μοντέλα σχηματισμού τους• ένα ελληνικό στο οποίο παρατηρείται επανάληψη της αρκτικής συλλαβής και του αρκτικού συμφώνου της επόμενης συλλαβής, π.χ. χειρότερο – χειρχειρότερο, και ένα τουρκικό στο οποίο παρατηρείται επανάληψη της αρκτικής συλλαβής και ενός συμφώνου, π.χ. τουρκ. beyaz ‘άσπρος’ - bembeyaz ‘κάτασπρος’, καππαδ. καλός – κάπκαλος.

Κατά την ανάλυση των δομών της τρίτης κατηγορίας, η οποία έχει περισσότερο βαλκανικό χαρακτήρα, καθώς εκτός από την ελληνική απαντά και στην βουλγαρική, π.χ. нов–новеничък (нов ‘νέος’) και στη ρουμανική, π.χ. nou – nouț (nou ‘νέος’), εξετάζονται οι σημασιολογικοί και φωνητικοί περιορισμοί κατά την επιλογή των επιθέτων που συμμετέχουν στον σχηματισμό τους.

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L

Penny Labropoulou (→Piperidis)

Sofia Lampropoulou (→Georgalidou)

Nikolaos Lavidas (→Gianollo)

Anna Lazarova:

Modern Greek pragmatic particles as intensifiers

This study intends to investigate the effect of a set of Modern Greek pragmatic particles to different speech acts. It aims to explore their intensifying function from the relatively simpler case of the hortative particles άντε (άντε/άι), για and ντε, mostly used with imperatives, to the more complicated one of the derivatives of the adjective μωρός: μωρέ, μωρή, ωρέ, βρε and one of the most salient features of the Greek colloquial speech ρε. Traditionally the latter are classified as interjections or vocative particles; they are also labeled “emphatic”, “expressive” or “emotional” according to their context-dependent multiple meanings or functions. They are perceived as markers of informal style, as signals of intimacy, as impoliteness markers since they express certain attitudes and emotions on the part to the speaker, although this emotive meaning is highly flexible and its exact value cannot be determined when the particles are viewed in isolation. Their intensifying function – to strengthen or to weaken a feature of the utterance – derives precisely from their emotive meaning. That is why prominence will be given to the interplay of expressivity and intensification. Special attention will be paid to the co-occurrence of two particles with a seemingly similar function in the same utterance, e.g. Για πες ντε!, Άντε ρε! or άι μωρή... The analysis of the semantics and the functions of the particles is based on examples collected from spontaneous speech, Internet, the Corpus of Spoken Greek, fiction and informant comment. An attempt will be made to broaden the scope of the research through a comparison of the functions of the same particles in Modern Greek and Bulgarian. Finally, according to Wierzbicka’s view of particles as “modes of social interaction”, it is speculated that the choice of this type of intensifiers is related to some Balkan culture-specific communicative strategies.

Christopher Lees (→Androutsopoulos)

Marika Lekakou & Josep Quer:

Against a modal analysis of na

The syntactic status of na has been a matter of considerable controversy. On the one hand, na can only be separated from the verb by negation and clitics. This is expected on analyses that take it to be an inflectional element encoding mood (Veloudis & Philippaki-Warburton 1983; Philippaki-Warburton 1994, 1998; Tsimpli 1990; Terzi 1992; Rivero 1994). On the other hand, na is incompatible with oti,

which can be captured if *na* is a complementizer (see Agouraki 1991; Tsoulas 1993). Adopting a split CP framework, Roussou (2000) proposes a combination of the two approaches: *na* is a low modal complementizer which moves to a higher C position, where *oti* is generated. In this paper we argue that there is nothing modal about *na*, and we propose to amend Roussou's structure on this basis. In the spirit of Agouraki (op.cit), *na* is uniformly a complementizer. Whenever modal readings arise, their source is the (possibly covert) operator present in the environment selecting the *na*-clause. It follows that there are no true matrix occurrences of *na*: *na*-clauses are always selected.

Our starting point are cases which straightforwardly challenge modal analyses of *na*. Aspectual verbs such as *sinexizo* 'continue' select for *na*-clauses. In these cases it makes little sense to characterize *na* as modal. Other contexts where *na*-clauses obligatorily appear include modals (*boro* 'may/can', *prepi* 'must', etc) and volitionals (*thelo*). In these cases, the selecting predicates unambiguously encode modality in their lexical semantics. It is thus unnecessary (if not undesirable) to duplicate modality in the meaning of *na*.

Apparent matrix occurrences of *na*-clauses are always modal. We argue that here too *na* is not the source of the modality. Rather, a covert modal selects for the *na*-clause, similarly to what overt modals do. This is compatible with recent treatments of imperatives (e.g. Han 2000, Schwager 2006) as involving a silent modal operator. The different modal flavors relate to properties of the operator, which may be overtly expressed. As expected, the interpretation of the *na*-clause is not sensitive to the overt/covert nature of the operator:

- (1) (Μακάρι/Εύχομαι) να έρθει/να ερχόταν!
- (2) (Πρέπει) να έρθει.
- (3) (Λες) να ήρθε;

The only environment where *na* appears to encode modality are intensional relatives, introduced e.g. by *pu*. Here too, we argue, the modality is not encoded by *na*, but is derived compositionally from the combination of an intensional predicate ('look for') and an indefinite.

Marika Lekakou (→ Karatsareas)

Angelos Lengeris & Evia Kainada: Perception of vowels across Greek dialects

While many studies have shown that the acoustic characteristics of vowels in a language may differ across dialects (e.g. Clopper et al. 2005), research on the perception of vowels is very limited and focuses on how listeners classify regional dialects (e.g. Clopper & Pisoni, 2004). With respect to Greek, previous work has examined vowel perception in the standard (SMG) variety, showing that vowels are well separated from one another (Botinis et al., 1997; Haws & Fourakis, 1995).

This study examined the perceptual spaces of SMG and two regional dialects, namely Cretan Greek (a Southern dialect) and Kozani Greek (a Northern dialect). Ten native speakers (5 female, 5 male) from Athens, Crete and Kozani were tested (30 participants in total, mean age = 62 years, range = 51 - 73 years). Participants followed a method-of-adjustment procedure whereby they chose best exemplar locations (prototypes) for the five Greek vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ in a 5-dimensional space that included F1 and F2 formant movement (i.e. onset and offset of the F1 and F2 formant frequencies) as well as duration. The stimuli consisted of synthesized vowels in a naturally produced /pVta/ context (stressed on the first syllable) embedded in a carrier sentence Πες ___ ξανά 'say ___ again' spoken by a native speaker of their dialect. The synthesized stimulus set contained 109,374 vowels for each dialect covering the entire vowel space. The method-of-adjustment (Iverson & Evans, 2003; Evans & Iverson, 2004, 2007) allowed participants to find their best exemplar locations of Greek vowels from the large available stimulus set after just 175 trials (35 trials for each vowel) in less than an hour.

The results confirmed that Greek vowels are well separated in the perceptual space. At the same time, cross-dialectal differences were revealed in terms of (i) the precise positioning of vowels in the perceptual space, (ii) the distances between vowels, and (iii) the total space area covered by each dialect. The SMG system was the most symmetrical and expanded system compared to the non-standard systems of Crete and Kozani, a finding which is consistent with acoustic studies in other languages (e.g. Clopper et al., 2005) and in Greek (Trudgill, 2009). For example, the best exemplar locations for /e/ and /o/ were closer to /a/ than to /i/ and /u/ in Crete compared to SMG and Kozani Greek. In addition, the best exemplar locations for /e/ were closer to /a/ than to /i/ for speakers from Kozani who also showed some degree of diphthongisation for the stressed mid vowels /e/ and /o/.

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Irianna Vasiliadi-Linardaki (→Iakovou)

Nikos Liosis:

Systems in disruption: Propontis Tsakonian

The Tsakonian dialect of the Propontis (PrT) is considered to be a separate subdialect of Tsakonian. According to Costakis (1951:155), it was spoken from the 18th to the 20th century by Tsakonian migrants and their descendants in two villages near Gönen in north-west Asia Minor. They lived among speakers of the Thracio-Bithynian dialect of Greek (Tzitzilis, to appear), as well as speakers of Turkish, and were in close contact with these groups. They later shifted to SMG when, following the exchange of populations of 1924, they were scattered throughout various areas of Greece. Therefore, PrT presents an opportunity to study the linguistic consequences of intense contact and phenomena of language and dialect contraction in environments of unbalanced immigrant bilingualism and bidialectism, especially since it can be compared with Peloponnesian Tsakonian, which developed in situ under entirely different conditions (fairly large and stable population, relative isolation, etc.). Based on the available material in PrT, we test the hypothesis that immediately preceding the irreversible loss and reduction of essentials and the final breakdown of the contracting system, we find a dramatic increase in variability, where the available variants either coexist freely, or “are fitted” into the system

using various mechanisms (i.e. leveling, simplification, hybridization, reallocation). Such emerging varieties have been described in the literature as “interdialects” (Trudgill 1986); however, in the case of PrT, the contact-induced changes are also due to influence from Turkish, a language that is genetically and typologically very different from Greek. The strong influence of the Thracio-Bithynian dialect and of Turkish is not confined to the lexicon (function words, members of closed classes, derivational affixes), but extends to the structure of the dialect, involving changes of a typological nature: new phonemes (e.g. the presence of a low front vowel æ) and prosodic characteristics (e.g. violation of the three-syllable law), addition of morphophonological rules (voice neutralization of obstruents in final position), borrowing of inflectional categories and patterns (e.g. generalization of imparisyllabicity, replacement of verbal periphrases with synthetic forms), changes in word order and in the syntactic behaviour of clitics, possible changes in agreement patterns (e.g. tendency for neutritization of the article system) etc.

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Nikos Liosis & Eirini Kriki:

AVCs & clitic placement in Tsakonian

Tsakonian differs from the other Modern Greek dialects in, amongst other things, the formation of the verbal paradigm; the present and the imperfect (and in the Propontis Tsakonian sub-dialect, an aorist which is derived from an older periphrastic perfect) are constructed using the auxiliary 'είμαι' and the participle of the main verb. It is well known that subject and object agreement affixes can derive crosslinguistically from the grammaticalization of auxiliary verbs and weak pronouns, an intermediate stage of which is their conversion into clitics. Given that both these sources of clitics are present in Tsakonian, we make use of morphosyntactic and phonological criteria to test the following hypotheses: a) the auxiliary has at least the status of a clitic (CIAux) with dialect-internal differences between Peloponnesian and Asia Minor Tsakonian, b) CIAux is subject to the same syntactic and phonological restrictions that apply to clitic pronouns (CIPr), c) CIAux and CIPrs form clitic clusters which are syntactically adjoined to the VP. Analysis of the data reveals: 1) cases of split cliticization: a) movement of CIAux to preverbal position while CIPr remains in postverbal position, when there is a negative particle to the left of CIAux in the same CP, b) a special case of clitic doubling, where two coreferential CIPrs appear, one of them (the proform) in preverbal position, the other (the full form, that replaces the antecedent) in postverbal position. We maintain that these types of structures should be considered mixed / hybrid forms that represent a transitional stage in the movement of the (enclitic) postverbal clitics of the dialect to preverbal position, as a result of dialect-internal change and/or change induced by contact with SMG and neighbouring dialects, 2) cases of prosodic inversion between the clitic cluster and the participle in matrix polar questions, when not preceded by an interrogative particle. The abovementioned phenomena show that Tsakonian possesses an atypical system of clitics, which is due in part to the fact that it has different origins from the other Modern Greek dialects. This has consequences for the proposed typologies of the Greek clitics (Condoravdi & Kiparsky 2001, Revithiadou & Spyropoulos 2006, Tzitzilis to appear) and their theoretical generalizations, the most characteristic of which is the realization that no clitic typology based on diachronic and dialect data can be considered complete without reference to the Greek auxiliary verb constructions (AVCs) with 'είμαι', 'έχω' and 'θέλω'.

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Ageliki Logotheti (→Anastasi)

Terje Lohndal:

The emergence of two written languages and its consequences

Norway is rather unique in the world in having two written standards, *bokmål* and *nynorsk*, that are mutually intelligible and in many ways similar or even identical to each other. All pupils have to learn and master both standards, and government employees have to reply to letters in whichever standard they are addressed.

Concerning the difference between bokmål and nynorsk, they share the lexicon, but their functional items are sometimes different. To give a few examples, in bokmål the plural indefinite of the masculine noun *bil* 'car' is *bil-er* whereas in nynorsk it is *bil-ar*. The indefinite plural of the feminine noun *hylle* 'shelf' is *hyll-er* in both bokmål and nynorsk. The present tense form of the verb *kaste* 'to throw' is *kast-er* in bokmål and *kast-ar* in nynorsk, while *like* 'to like' has the present tense form *lik-er* in both varieties. These differences may seem small to an outsider, but they have been the subject of vigorous debate and political struggle over more than 100 years.

In this talk, I will review the language situation in Norway and how the country en-

ded up with two written standards. This will provide a sociocultural description of the history of the country, to which the language situation is intimately connected. I will especially focus on the creation of the nynorsk variety, which was the work of the philologist and writer Ivar Aasen (1813-1896). He created nynorsk based on an extensive fieldwork of a significant number of the Norwegian dialects, whereas bokmål was a modified version of the Danish language that was already the official written language in Norway after centuries of Danish rule.

Since the nynorsk norm was standardized and ratified by law, there has been an extensive struggle between the proponents of each of the languages. For a long time, the government also tried to unify the two languages, a process that only ended officially in 2002. I will review some of these struggles, especially demonstrating how minute inflectional differences end up creating remarkable political controversy.

Giuseppe Longobardi (→Guardiano)

Sandra Lucas:

Byzantine Greek evidence for the predictability of some grammatical constructions

Within the framework of Construction Grammar linguists debate whether predictable units of language, i.e. units, the meaning of which can be predicted by means of combining other well-known patterns, may be included in the grammatical inventory of a language, or whether these units should be excluded from the grammar on the grounds of their predictability (see e.g. Fillmore et al. 1988 or Fried 2013 for the latter viewpoint and Goldberg 2006 or Bybee 2013 for the former).

The purpose of this paper is to provide evidence from diachronic Greek for the viewpoint that some predictable units are entrenched in language in a way that makes them functionally and structurally equal to nonpredictable units, and therefore these units should be considered grammatical constructions on par with the nonpredictable constructions.

As evidence for this viewpoint I use the example of two Byzantine future periphrases, θέλω ('I want') + infinitive (INF) and μέλλω ('I am about to') + INF, which differ with regard to predictability. The examples with θέλω + INF are taken from the 14th C 'Chronicle of Morea'; the examples with μέλλω + INF are taken primarily from papyri from 4th to 7th C. AD.

Examples:

τὰ πλευτικὰ πολὺ θέλουν κουστίσει DA ships a-lot FUT cost-INF
the ships will cost a lot
(Chronicle of Morea (H), 601)

ὅταν δὲ μέλλετε πέμψαι τὴν θυγατέρα μου
when and is-about-to-2PL send-AOR.INF DA daughter my
and when You are going to send my daughter
(private letter, AD VI-VII)

The most obvious interpretation of θέλω + INF is volition, not future. In contrast, speakers who know the meaning of μέλλω and of the ensuing INF, as well as the semantic outcome of the syntactic combination VERB + INF, can easily decode the meaning of the periphrasis as future. Despite this difference, the two periphrases develop common syntactic patterns:

1. Retention of the INF (θέλω/μέλλω + INF) when the INF was being replaced by finite phrases in the context of many lexical verbs.
2. Embedding in subjunctive clauses (να + θέλω/μέλλω + INF) (Markopoulos 2009: 123-24).
3. Development of an impersonal phrase with deontic meaning (θέλει/μέλλει + να + FINITE NON-PAST).

These similarities show that despite the difference in predictability, θέλω + INF and μέλλω + INF occupy parallel roles as grammatical constructions in Byzantine Greek, i.e. as units among the grammatical stock to be drawn from.

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Christina Lykou:

Discourses and representations of the European crisis in the Greek press

Aiming to contribute to a wider discussion concerning the nature of the current crisis, this study adopts the view that in periods of crisis in Europe, competing discourses are negotiated and promoted through language, media language in particular, with an impact on the value basis of Europe (Stråth and Wodak 2009). In this context, the study explores how the recent political and economic crisis in Europe is construed in the Greek media discourse. It examines different discourses and representations of the crisis in relation to Greece and its position in the EU and it suggests that different representations construed in different phases of the crisis are associated with the broader socio-political and economic European and global changes. These differences relate to the nature of the crisis and the different conceptualizations of the term by different social actors (for instance, defining the crisis as local or systemic, as economic or political), the causes and effects of the crisis, as well as the social actors responsible for the crisis. Analysis draws on a corpus consisting of texts from the Greek daily and Sunday press of different types of texts, including editorials, reports and opinion articles on the crisis in the context of the EU. The study conducts a qualitative and quantitative analysis of data drawing on an integrating approach which combines Critical Discourse Analysis and corpus linguistics tools (Baker et al, 2008; Mautner, 2008, 2009). The qualitative analysis draws on CDA analytical framework (Fairclough, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2009) and on systemic functional linguistics paradigm (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, 2004) for the close lexicogrammatical analysis, while the quantitative analysis focuses on concordances and frequencies of the identified representations. The findings are discussed in relation to other studies concerning representations of the current crisis in the international press and in relation to previous representations of Europe in the Greek press (e.g. Lykou 2001, 2004).

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Katerina Lykou (→Tantos)

M

Peter Mackridge:

Some literary representations of spoken Greek before nationalism (1750-1804)

Focusing on a selection of Greek literary texts from the late eighteenth century, I will argue that such texts provide the most effective evidence for the spoken language of their time and place. Whereas certain types of non-literary texts, such as newspapers, legal documents and commercial correspondence, are confined to a single register and make repeated use of stock formulas, comedies in dramatic form provide prima facie evidence of different linguistic registers. In comedies words and grammar are displayed in action and reaction; utterances are performed in a social context, in everyday verbal and non-verbal interactions among specific types of people (albeit the speakers are fictional). These speakers have different social statuses: masters interact with masters, servants with servants, masters with servants, parents with sons and daughters, husbands with wives, and lovers with each



other. The plays contain instances of all or most categories of speech acts, including greetings and leave-takings, categorical and tentative statements, indignant affirmations and denials, questions, commands, requests, advice, promises, apologies, congratulations, exclamations, and attempts to persuade or to frighten – each one placed within a specific context of social interaction in real time, and most of them eliciting a plausible linguistic (and/or sometimes a non-linguistic) response.

In the second part of my lecture I will discuss a range of lexical and grammatical phenomena that occur in these texts. I will also mention various sociolinguistic phenomena, in particular the kinds of utterances that were thought to be appropriate and inappropriate in certain social situations, including degrees of formality and levels of politeness, and the linguistic means of achieving them. Finally, I will make some general observations on the state of the Greek language immediately before the rise of nationalism, focusing in particular on the increased number and the enhanced status of Turkish features in the language of the most prestigious and politically powerful group among the Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire, namely the Phanariots.

Peter Mackridge:

Was the Greek language controversy a historical necessity?

What were the historical causes behind the outbreak of the Greek language controversy in the late 18th and early 19th centuries?

There was already a very long inherited tradition of diglossia/polyglossia. In addition, the spoken language was divided into dialects, as it had been before the rise of the Hellenistic Koine, with the difference that in Classical Greece some dialects were used as the written languages of autonomous city-states, whereas in modern times there was no geographical centre of specifically Greek power, except the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople, which used a rather archaic variety of Greek. There was a widespread perception that there was no common spoken variety of Greek that could unite all of the Patriarch's Christian flock – even though such a common spoken language may in fact have existed. Besides, many Balkan and Anatolian Orthodox Christians were native speakers of other languages, including Albanian, Romanian, Aromanian, Turkish and various Slavonic language.

The spectacular rise of a group of Orthodox Christians (the Phanariots) to political and cultural prominence in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century resulted in a massive new influx of Turkish loanwords and turns of phrase into spoken and written Greek. This is because the high Phanariot dignitaries and their bands of officials worked as intermediaries between the Ottoman government and those of foreign nations, and they therefore had to be functionally bilingual in Greek and

Turkish (ideally in both (a) colloquial Turkish and (b) the official Ottoman language of the empire) as well as certain European languages. At the same time Greek intellectuals were gradually rediscovering that Hellenic antiquity was the genuine ancient past of their “nation”. Some of those who, around 1800, dreamed of a Greek state independent from the Ottoman Empire were alarmed by the increasing Turkification of the Greek language spoken and written in the Phanariot culture area. This led to the belief that, when it came to choosing a variety of the Greek language that would adequately express the essential identity of the independent Greek nation, either Ancient Greek should be used as the written language of Greek education and culture, or else the “barbarized” modern language needed to be “corrected”, i.e. significantly archaized according to ancient Greek norms. Eventually the archaists lost out to the compromisers, i.e. those who campaigned for the “correction” of Modern Greek. The great tactical error of the compromisers was an insistence not only that the vocabulary be purged of loanwords but also that the morphology of the modern language should be archaized. While many loanwords were successfully replaced by native equivalents (whether ancient or newly coined), grammatical structures (with some exceptions) proved to be more resistant to change.

Katerina Magdou:

Resumptive Pronouns can be more acceptable than gaps: Experimental evidence from Modern Greek

In this talk I will present my empirical work on resumptive pronouns in Modern Greek. I show that resumptive pronouns (RPs) in object and subject extractions pattern differently across different syntactic environments. In particular, in certain cases, the RPs become more acceptable than the equivalent gaps. This offers new insights into their correct analysis.

The occurrence patterns of resumptive pronouns are not fully understood. A first step would be to identify what contexts and factors license them. In Modern Greek, their occurrence has seemed to contrast with the standard examples from English, since they seem fully acceptable in object position. This contrast may offer us some insights into the factors which favour their existence. While some empirical studies have been carried out (e.g. Alexopoulou & Keller (2007), Hofmeister & Norcliffe (2013)) the underlying question is not fully resolved since Alexopoulou & Keller (2007) offer a grammatical account, whereas Hofmeister & Norcliffe's paper (2013) provide a processing explanation. The aim of this paper is to extend the empirical coverage in order to permit us to get closer to a full understanding.

I extend previous work on the topic by additionally testing subject and object ex-

tractions in *wh*-questions and relative clauses, both from island and non-islands. The results show a fascinating interaction of grammatical function, structure type, island configurations and cliticization. The results generally confirm the views represented in the literature (Alexopoulou 1999) but also go beyond these.

The most significant finding is that in certain structures, embedded object relative clauses - (1), the conditions with resumptive pronouns are judged fully acceptable and clearly better than those with gaps.

(1) Αυτό είναι το άρθρο που ο καθηγητής παίνεψε τον φοιτητή που [το] έγραψε.

This is the article that the professor.nom praised the student.acc that it wrote.

This finding is an extension to the results of Alexopoulou & Keller (2007) and Hofmeister & Norcliffe (2013), who concluded on the basis of their own findings that resumptives were never judged better than the equivalent gaps. This paper thus offers a new contribution to the debate about the existence of resumptive pronouns. Outlook: our next step is to replicate this experiment on English data. First results suggest that we will find a similar result.

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Christina Manouilidou (→Chatzikonstantinou; Kordouli)

Maria-Margarita Makri:

Identity Comparatives in Greek: The case of *opos*

Comparative constructions in Greek have attracted the interest of many researchers (Cheila-Markopoulou 1986, Merchant 2009, Kapetangianni & Taylor 2009), though identity comparatives like (1) have not been discussed so far.

(1) Thelo ena stilo opos to dhiko su.
want.1SG a pen as the POSS.n. your.2SG
"I want a pen like yours."

The aim of this paper is twofold: Firstly it shows that identity comparatives in Greek are structurally identical to clausal degree comparatives, i.e. comparisons of the degree to which individuals rank on the natural scale associated with a gradable expression: they involve *wh*-movement (CNPC (2), *wh*-islands, adjunct islands(3)), while their pivot can be assigned nominative case, they can have more than one pivot (subcomparatives) (4) and they license *n*-words even if the matrix clause is not negative (5).

(2) *Milai opos pisteve (*ton ishirismo tu Vasili) oti milai enas psevdos.
speak.V.Prs.Imp.3SG as believe.V.Pst.Imp.3SG the.D.m.Acc.SG claim.N.m.Acc.SG
the.D.m.Gen.SG Bill.N.m.Gen.SG that.C speak.V.Prs.Imp.3SG the.D.m.Nom.SG stut-
terer.N.m.Nom.SG
"He speaks as he believed (*Bill's claim) that a stutterer speaks."

(3) *Milai opos me eknevrizi kathos milai enas politikos
speaks.3SG as me.OCL irritate.V.Prs.1SG while speak.V.Prs.Imp.3SG a.D.m.Nom.SG
politician.N.m.Nom.SG
"*He talks in such an irritating way as while a politician is talking"

(4) I Ghermani trone patates opos i Elines (psomi).
The Germans eat potatoes as the Greeks bread.
"Germans eat potatoes as Greeks (eat bread)."

(5) Se ksero opos kanis (dhe se kseri)
you.CL know.1SG as nobody NEG you.CL know.3SG
"I know you like nobody."

Secondly, it shows that degree comparatives are actually a special type of identity comparatives. With a cancellability test, *opos*-free relatives are shown to be ambiguous between a degree and a kind reading, namely between scalar and identity comparatives, if they modify a scalar predicate.

(6) O Nikos ine psilos opos o mpampas tu.
the.D.Nom.SG Nikos.N.Nom.SG is.V.Prs.3SG tall.Adj.m.Nom.SG as the.D.Nom.SG
father.N.m.Nom.SG his.Prn.Poss.Gen.SG
"Nikos is tall as his father." (They are both tall, but they do not necessarily have the

same height.)

“Nikos is as tall as his father.” (They have exactly the same height. They are not necessarily tall.)

This double interpretation of opos-clauses and their different entailments follow straightforwardly by an analysis whereby opos is a degree adverb base generated in the degree phrase and the opos-clause is merged ‘late’ in the comparative construction, as Bhatt and Pancheva (2004) proposed for scalar comparatives.

These results indicate that the similarities between equality and identity comparatives can only be explained if equality is seen as identity between two positions on a scale and scalar comparatives as a special case of identity comparatives.

Maria-Margarita Makri, George Tsoulas: The part of OXI that we didn’t understand

This paper focuses on a coordinating, non-negative use of particle oxi no. Consider the following:

(1) Context: *My brother and I are organising a party. Even though we were not planning to invite many people, my brother has started inviting people that were not initially in our guest-list, like Mary, John and Michael:*

- a. oxi ti Maria, oxi to gianni, oxi to mixali, telika olous tous kalese
- b. oxi na kalesi ti Maria, oxi na kalesei to mixali, oxi na kalesi to gianni, telika olous tous kalese

This construction has a number of interesting properties. First, it carries no negative meaning with respect to the overtly present material. The semantic challenge, therefore, consists in constructing the available (presumably contextually supplied) construct which is being negated. We show that there is no viable such constituent and therefore that search is best abandoned as the only candidates turn out to be extremely complex. The alternative that we offer exploits the inherent negative meaning of oxi but analyses as an expression of a negative attitude towards the act of admission of the relevant propositions to the common ground. In other words it resembles common ground management devices, like pragmatic uses of focus, (aspects of whose syntax it also exploits) and contributes the information that the resulting common ground is in fact inconsistent and needs to be re-evaluated (downdated). In other words oxi in these uses is a negative (additive) scalar particle whose syntax is similar to that of intensifying coordinators (e.g kai etc). Second, Case connectivity effects appear to suggest that their derivation might involve a de-

gree of ellipsis. This raises, however, the issue of the relation of these constructions to the superficially similar but very different (2):

(2) Oxi, to Gianni, Oxi, ti Maria, Oxi ti Soula, Oxi, ton Kosta.....E me pion tha padreftis telos pandon?

Oxi in (2) is echoic and receives focal stress. Yes the derivations of the two constructions seem similar which brings up, again, the issue of Information Structural differences between these cases which forms the core of the analysis.

Vasiliki Makri: Gender assignment to Romance loanwords in Italiot: a case study of contact morphology

This paper deals with gender assignment to nominal loanwords in Italiot, a contact-induced dialectal system spoken in South Italy, which has been affected by the semi-analytic local Romance dialects and Standard Italian. It is shown that nominal loans in Italiot are assigned the masculine, feminine and neuter gender, in alignment to Greek, but in opposition to the two-valued donor language, which distinguishes into masculine and feminine.

From a theoretical perspective, Ralli (2002) maintains that gender in Greek is semantically and morphologically conditioned and actively involved in the formation of nouns. We argue that the inherent morphological properties of the recipient language, semantics and certain phonological similarities between the two languages in contact act as a facilitator for borrowing (Ralli 2012) and gender assignment to loans in Italiot.

The data summarized in the Appendix show that:

- (a) loanword integration in Greek and its dialects is constrained by the language’s intralinguistic actuality for borrowed words are modified/hellenicized to fit the Greek word pattern which combines a stem and an inflectional ending (1-5) (Ralli 2012);
- (b) the unmarked gender value of Greek, namely neuter, regulates gender assignment to [-human] loanwords (1,2);
- (b) suffix productivity of the recipient language overthrows the prevalence of neuter gender in [-human] nouns, since the most productive Greek inflectional marker –os, characterizing masculine nouns is attested in loanwords in –o (3), which have lost their final -s, resulting from the preference of Italiot systems for open (CV) syllables;
- (c) a certain phonological compatibility of the two systems based on the homophony of the endings –α and –ο (4,5) allows for gender assignment (Clyne 2003), since

gender can be inferred from the form of the words (Aronoff 1998). Generally, this paper aims to demonstrate that the integration of loans in a recipient system, bearing an overtly marked gender, may offer insights into grammatical gender assignment and enhance our understanding of the relationship of contact-induced morphological structures and the strategies adopted by the speaker.

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Appendix

Italiot Italian/Salentino

- (1) tziako.NEU 'jacket' giacca.FEM
- (2) kapetali.NEU 'pillow' capitale.MASC
- (3) fundo.MASC 'fond' fundu. MASC
- (4) akula.FEM 'eagle' acula.FEM
- (5) kapusanto.NEU 'cemetery' camposanto. MASC

Evgenia Malikouti:

Usage Labels of Turkish loanwords in three Modern Greek Dictionaries

The present paper aims to comparatively examine the usage labels assigned to Turkish loanwords in three major general-purpose monolingual dictionaries of Modern Greek, namely the 'Dictionary of Modern Greek language' by Prof. G. Babiniotis (1998), the 'Dictionary of Common Modern Greek' by the Manolis Triandafyllidis Foundation (1998) of the University of Thessaloniki, and the newly published 'Utilitarian Dictionary of Modern Greek' by the Academy of Athens (2014).

Labels are defined as special symbols or abbreviated terms used in dictionaries to mark a lexical item or phrase as deviating in a certain respect from the main bulk of items described, as having a definition restricted to a particular usage or language variety (Burkhanov, 2003; Hartmann & James, 1998, p. 80; Svendsen 2009, p. 315; Verkuyl, Janssen, & Janssen, 2003). Labeling distinctions refer to some or all of the following: temporality, formality, regionality, mediality, emotionality, technicality, textuality etc. (Atkins & Rundell, 2008, p. 183; Hartmann & James, 1998, p. 150).

Despite vicissitudes in terms of numbers, meanings and stylistic values, lexical borrowings from Turkish constitute a significant component of the Modern Greek language. It has been argued that Turkisms have been unevenly but gradually relegated to "lower" styles of speech. In his classic article on the status of Turkisms in the Balkan languages, Kazazis (1972) argues that despite vigorous puristic movements against Turkish loanwords following the establishment of Balkan nation-states, "the avoidance and replacement in higher styles of a number of Turkisms [...] did not necessarily push them out of the language, but merely down stylistically".

Previous studies comparing the labeling practices followed in Modern Greek dictionaries (Anastassiadis-Symeonidis, 2009; G. Trapalis, 2005; G. Trapalis, 2009; G. Trapalis & Katsouda, 2009) pointed to their differences in scope and consistency (Efthymiou, Gavriilidou, & Papadopoulou, 2014, p. 31; Hartmann & James, 1998, p. 150). Based on the choice of labels for the identified loanwords of Turkish origin, a quantitative as well as qualitative approach to the usage labels of the respective lemmas in the abovementioned dictionaries will provide insights to the classification of Turkisms into different levels of "markedness" or divergence from the norm: From fully naturalized, stylistically neutral words with no native alternatives, through loanwords with pejorative, ironical or comical overtones, intentionally used for specific stylistic effects, to historical, obsolete or archaic "administrative Turkisms" pertaining to artifacts and institutions of the Ottoman period.

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Evgenia Malikouti (→ Douri)

**Persephone Mamoukari, Penelope Kambakis-Vougiouklis:
Frequency and evaluation of strategy use in SILL questionnaire through an innovative electronic application**

In the present study we investigate the use of learning strategies in correlation with the confidence of the subjects as to whether and to what extent such strategies enhance their language learning. Twenty four students from the three grades in a State Secondary school, in Komotini, Thrace, were recruited through convenience sampling. There were eight learners out of each grade, four of low and four of high level in English, two male, two female, twelve males, twelve females.

The innovative element introduced in this study concerns the use of an application developed on request for this particular study by Nikolaidou (2013), using Visual Basic 2010 with Microsoft Access, which is based on a simple user interface. The subjects indicated not only the level of frequency of strategy use but also their confidence in those strategies' effectiveness, using the bar introduced by Kambakis Vougiouklis Vougioukli (2008) instead of the Likert scale, on their computers. The time of filling in was minimized by the use of the bar, as participants did not really have to refine differences such as generally not true of me and somewhat true of me, saving time in this way to devote to a novel parameter

The questionnaire used was the translated and validated SILL questionnaire (Gavriilidou 2012). Each of the 50 questions of the original SILL was followed by another question asking for the subject's evaluation of the effectiveness of each strategy, or whether subjects felt more confident with their language learning when and if they use each strategy. That brings the total of the questions to be answered to 100 overall; however, the use of the new electronic tool eliminated both time and effort for the participants, who appeared to get easily familiarized with the use of the electronic tool. Among the advantages of the tool used is that it provides automatic processing of the data thus saving the researchers time and effort.

The data analysis revealed deviations between the advanced and the elementary students, with the latter claiming less strategy use yet great confidence in their usefulness, whereas the advanced students appeared more conscious of the strategies they used as well as more confident regarding the strategies' contribution to the learning procedure. However, despite the improvement in time achieved through the innovative electronic device, the 100-item questionnaire (50 questions for frequency + 50 for confidence) was particularly tiring for the less sophisticated students, and this is one of the drawbacks of present research.

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about Foreign Language Learning and Teaching. In Angeliki Psaltou-Joyce & Marina Mattheoudakis (eds.), *Advances in Research on Language Learning and Teaching: Selected Papers*. Thessaloniki: The Greek Applied Linguistics Association, 387-401. **Dimitra Mamouli (→Kordouli)**

Georgia Maniati, Stella Markantonatou, Katerina Tzortzi:

Evaluation of the conceptual lexicon of ILSP (CL-ILSP) with regard to major lexicographic examples

Conceptually organised lexicons, such as the “Roget’s Thesaurus of English Words” and the Greek “Onomasticon” by Th.Vostantzoglou, have played a central role in the international lexicographic activity. The spread of the Internet, together with the subsequent need for the development of information retrieval tools, provided a massive boost for lexicographical projects such as WordNet and FrameNet, which were developed independently and at the moment constitute key examples of lexicographical practice.

Recently significant alphabetically organised lexical resources of Modern Greek have been developed but no conceptually organised ones. Lexical resources are evaluated against two characteristics (i) language coverage, (ii) organisation of the lexical material. ILSP / “Athena” RC develops a conceptually organised computational lexicon of Modern Greek and has given emphasis on its organization as it addresses both humans and search engines.

The present study aims to evaluate the organisation of the conceptual lexicon of ILSP in comparison to three major lexicographic examples, “Onomasticon”, WordNet and FrameNet. This assessment is based on the semantic fields of Health, Art and Trade which have already been coded and correspond to about 3000 words. The assessment criteria concern the consistency of the semantic fields (if obviously related meanings belong to the same semantic field and thus are retrieved directly, eg Health and Disease), the accessibility of words (how complicated is the route from one word to another within the field) and the clarity of relationships between words (which are the “tracks” leading from one word to another).

An example illustrating the differences between CL-ILSP and “Onomasticon” can be drawn from the semantic field of Trade. In “Onomasticon”, most of the lexical material that would be semantically related to trade is categorized under the general node Values. However, concepts that are not fully compatible with the event of Trade are also placed under the same node (eg Socialism, Lending, Lease). Additionally, “Onomasticon” seems to adopt a flatter structure; concepts that can obviously be grouped (eg Money, Coins) are siblings with concepts that are more distant to them (eg Buy / Sell). On the contrary, our approach reduces and clearly defines the distance between related classes, with the addition of a number of adequate “mother” nodes. The concept of multiple inheritance, that is used in the CL-ILSP,

overcomes the restriction of “Onomasticon” whereby the same word may be related to multiple parents only when expressing different meanings.

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Elpiniki Margariti (→Koletti)

Georgios Markopoulos, Athanasios Karasimos:

Πολυεπίπεδη επισημείωση του Σώματος Κειμένων Αφασικού Λόγου (ΣΚΑΛ)

Στη συγκεκριμένη μελέτη παρουσιάζεται η πρώτη συστηματική κωδικοποίηση και προτυποποίηση ενός επισημειωμένου σε πολλά επίπεδα αναπαράστασης σώματος κειμένων του αφασικού λόγου στην Ελληνική. Δεδομένης της ανάγκης για επισημειωμένα σώματα κειμένων με σκοπό τη βαθύτερη ανάλυση του αφασικού λόγου στα διάφορα επίπεδα της κλινικής γλωσσολογικής ανάλυσης, δημιουργήθηκε ένα πρότυπο σχήμα πολυεπίπεδης επισημείωσης. Επιπλέον, η ανάγκη αυτή προέκυψε και από την απουσία ενός καθιερωμένου σχήματος για τον σχολιασμό επιπέδων ανάλυσης του αφασικού λόγου μέσω υπολογιστικού εργαλείου της σωματοκειμενικής γλωσσολογίας (βλ. σχετικά MacWhinney et al, 2011, 2012; Goutsos et al, forthcoming; Westerhout & Monachesi, 2006).

Το υπολογιστικό εργαλείο που χρησιμοποιήθηκε είναι το ELAN (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive, Nijmegen, The Netherlands), το οποίο επιτρέπει τη δημιουργία μιας διαστρωματικής και πλήρως ιεραρχημένης επισημείωσης συμπεριλαμβανομένης της δυνατότητας χρήσης ελεγχόμενων λεξιλογίων (Sloetjes & Wittenburg, 2008).

Αναλυτικότερα, το προτεινόμενο σχήμα περιλαμβάνει τις ακόλουθες κατηγορίες επισημείωσης:

- (1) Μεταγραφή Ερευνητή, (2α) Μεταγραφή Ασθενούς και (2β) Επεξεργασμένη Μεταγραφή Ασθενούς – με την διαγραφή επαναλήψεων, ακατάληπτων λέξεων και εσφαλμένων ενάρξεων, (3) Γεγονότα – όπως επιμηκύνσεις φωνηέντων και συμφώνων, σιωπή, παύση, γεμίματα, κτλ., (4) Απόπειρες αυτοδιόρθωσης, (5) Εκφωνήματα, (5α) Προτάσεις, (5β) Γραμματικότητα πρότασης, (5γ) Ολοκλήρωση πρότασης

και (5δ) Είδος πρότασης, (6) Λέξεις (αριθμός), (6α) Όρια λέξεων, (6β) Γραμματική κατηγορία, (6γ) Φωνολογικά λάθη, (6δ) Μορφοσυντακτικά λάθη, (6ε) Λεξικά-σημασιολογικά λάθη, (6στ) Στόχος λάθους και (6ζ) Λάθη παράφρασης, (7) Αφηγηματική Δομή με (7α) Αφηγηματικά στοιχεία, (7β) Κύρια Συμβάντα και (7γ) Στόχος Κυρίων Συμβάντων, καθώς και (8) Αξιολόγηση με έξι επίπεδα τύπου αξιολόγησης (αναλυτικότερα βλ. Βαρλοκώστα et al, 2013; Κακαβούλια et al, 2014).

Στόχο της παρούσας έρευνας αποτελεί, πέραν της δημιουργίας ενός προτύπου για την επισημείωση του ΣΚΑΛ, η καθιέρωση του συγκεκριμένου σχήματος ως οδηγού επισημείωσης παρομοίων σωμάτων κειμένων. Παράλληλα, προσφέρεται ως ένα σημαντικό υπολογιστικό εργαλείο για την εύκολη εξαγωγή δεδομένων από τον αφασικό λόγο σε φωνολογικό, μορφοσυντακτικό, σημασιολογικό και αφηγηματικό επίπεδο.

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Theodoros Marinis:

On-line comprehension and production in Turkish-Greek bilingual children compared to monolingual typical developing children and children with SLI: verbal vs. nominal domain

This talk will present a series of studies investigating sentence processing of Greek in three groups of children, sequential bilingual (L2) children with Turkish as the first language and Greek as a second language, monolingual (L1) typically developing (TD) children, and L1 children with Specific Language Impairment (SLI). The three groups were matched on age, but the L1 TD children had higher grammatical abilities than the L2 children and children SLI who did not differ from each other in terms of grammar. The children took part in on-line production and comprehension tasks investigating phenomena within the nominal (articles, clitics, gender) and verbal domain (subject-verb agreement). The results demonstrate that L2 children are capable of using morpho-syntactic cues for predictive processing although they make significant errors in their production (Chondrogianni et al., 2012; 2014; 2015; Vasić, et al. 2012). The children with SLI had better production than the L2 children, but differed from the other two groups in the way they process clitics in real-time (Chondrogianni et al., 2014). Differences between on-line comprehension and production will be discussed in relation to models of production and comprehension.

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Theodoros Marinis & Konstantinos Francis:
Syntax-pragmatics interface in Greek-speaking high functioning children with Autism Spectrum Disorder

Research on the language of individuals with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) has focused primarily on pragmatics and prosody with considerably less attention to morpho-syntax and its interfaces with pragmatics and prosody. However, in recent years, several studies have identified subtle deficits in the syntactic domain in high functioning children with ASD in a range of languages (tense in English: Roberts et al. 2004; aspect in Mandarin: Zhou et al. 2014; clitics in Greek: Terzi, et al. 2014). The present study investigates the acquisition of the syntax-pragmatics/prosody interface in Greek-speaking children with ASD by including a range of structures with clitics and full DPs to address whether their deficits can be better understood as deficits of syntax proper or deficits due to difficulties in the interface of syntax with pragmatics and/or prosody.

20 high-functioning Greek-speaking children with ASD, aged 5;5-8;8 (M=6;11), and 20 typically developing (TD) vocabulary matched controls participated in comprehension and production tasks targeting simple clitics, clitic left dislocation (CLLD) and full DPs. Simple clitics were included to replicate Terzi et al (2014); CLLD was included to test whether syntactic complexity impacts children's performance; full DPs were included to test whether children with ASD are able to make use of discourse/pragmatics and intonation cues to produce full DPs instead of clitics.

The children with ASD were less accurate than the TD children in the comprehension and production of clitics, replicating Terzi et al. (2014). Most production errors involved using DPs, reflecting difficulties to identify prominence in the discourse. The results from CLLD showed no difference between the two groups, demonstrating that increase in syntactic complexity does not affect children with ASD disproportionately more than controls. Results on the production of DPs showed similar performance in the two groups when the use of DPs depended only on discourse/pragmatics. However, when children had to process intonation cues and use a DP, the children with ASD were less accurate than the controls and used clitics instead of DPs. Thus, children with ASD do not differ from TD children when demands are increased within syntax, or when given information is offered by the experimenter. However, they are less successful in deciding when to use a clitic, failing the Prominence Condition (Heim 1982), and they have difficulties to process (and/or interpret) prosodic cues of focused DPs in ways that have repercussions for syntax.

Stella Markantonatou, Archontoula Menti:
Verb – Noun Collocations: The case of verb λέ(γ)ω

Verbal collocations, as well as other kinds of multiword expressions, have intensely attracted the interest of researchers aiming at their automated extraction and computational representation. This paper deals with the particular argument structure of Modern Greek verbs such as λέω (to say), κάνω (to do), παίρνω (to take), δίνω (to give) etc, elements that function as light or support verbs when they receive specific nouns as complements, thereby creating complex predicates (e.g. λέω ψέματα / αλήθεια (“to tell lies” = “to lie” / “to tell the truth”), κάνω πρόταση / ερώτηση (“to make a proposition” / “to ask a question”), παίρνω απόφαση / ευθύνη (“to take a decision” = “to decide” / “to assume the responsibility”), δίνω υπόσχεση / συμβουλή (“to promise” / “to give advice”). These compositional constructions, whose meaning is identical to that of full verbs, contain semantically bleached verbal elements carrying syntactic information (time, aspect, voice, person). The accompanying noun is the main semantic contributor in the construction; it both functions as a noun predicate and has its own argument structure. Several syntactic theories have focused on the issue of how to deal with these verbs, and numerous analyses have been proposed in order to represent their complex argument structure.

Our research focuses on cases of argument extension and specifically deals with the constructions of the verb λέω, which display a variety of predicate-argument relationships. These structures are semantically completed by means of prepositional or non-prepositional complements with varying syntactic behaviour. More specifically, it has been observed that the prepositional phrase headed by the preposition για that accompanies such a verbal construction and introduces the topic (e.g. παίρνω την ευθύνη για κάτι “to assume the responsibility for something”, λέω αλήθεια για κάποιον / κάτι “to tell the truth about somebody / something”, λέω ψέματα για κάποιον / κάτι “to lie about somebody / something”), does not constitute an argument of the whole structure. On the contrary, the prepositional phrase is likely to act either as an argument of the noun exclusively, or as an argument of the verb, or as an argument of both (verb and noun). These differences in the distribution of the prepositional complement are due both to the degree of the semantic bleaching on the verb and to the noun included in the construction.

The purpose of our study is the encoding of these constructions within the LFG framework. Such an encoding demands different kinds of representation in order to deal with different forms of complex argument structures syntactically corresponding to monoclausal structures.

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Stella Markantonatou (→ Koletti, Maniati)

Claude Martineau (→Kyriacopoulou)

Nikos Mathioudakis:

Υφολογική ανάλυση της Ασκητικής του Καζαντζάκη

Η παρούσα εργασία ασχολείται με τη συστηματική ανάλυση της Ασκητικής του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη διά μέσου της θεωρίας των σωμάτων κειμένων (corpora). Με τα σώματα κειμένων δύναται να προκύψουν πληροφορίες για τη γλώσσα από εκτεταμένα γλωσσικά δεδομένα που διακρίνονται ως εμπειρικά, αυθεντικά, συστηματικά και κειμενικά (Γούτσος, 2012).

Η έρευνα βασίζεται στην επεξεργασία δύο υποσωμάτων κειμένων (sub-corpora) που θα περιλαμβάνουν: (α) το κείμενο της Ασκητικής όπως είναι στο μοναδικό σωζόμενο χειρόγραφο (MNK, AYT 298 & Καζαντζάκης, 1927) του κρητικού συγγραφέα, το οποίο θεωρείται ως η πρώτη μορφή του έργου και (β) το κείμενο της Ασκητικής (Καζαντζάκης, 1964 κ.ε.) όπως κυκλοφορεί μέχρι και σήμερα από τις Εκδόσεις Καζαντζάκη. Η συγκριτική μελέτη ανάμεσα στα δύο σώματα μπορεί να φανερώσει σημαντικές διαφορές ύφους –σε λεξιλογικό, σημασιολογικό αλλά και γενικότερα πραγματολογικό επίπεδο– ανάμεσα στις δύο εκδόσεις του έργου, αφού ο συγγραφέας έκανε διορθώσεις και επεμβάσεις στο πρωτόγραφο του πριν την τελική του δημοσίευση, όπως ο ίδιος ομολογεί σε επιστολές του

(Πρεβελάκης, 1984, Καζαντζάκη, 1998). Επίσης, η συγκριτική ανάλυση των δύο μορφών του έργου μπορεί να αναδείξει στοιχεία της ιδιαίτερης συγγραφικής ταυτότητας του Καζαντζάκη, οριοθετώντας την ποιητική γραμματική της γλώσσας του (Μαθιουδάκης, 2012abc).

Στόχος είναι να διερευνηθούν αφενός τα άγνωστα στοιχεία των δεδομένων μέσα από την ανάλυση των γλωσσικών σχημάτων (linguistic patterns) και αφετέρου να στηριχθεί η ερμηνεία του κειμένου σε αντικειμενικά κριτήρια (Fisher-Starcke, 2009). Ειδικότερα, αντικείμενο της έρευνας αποτελούν: (α) η συγκριτική μελέτη των διαφορετικών εκδόσεων του έργου μέχρι σήμερα, β) η λεξιλογική ανάλυση του έργου προκειμένου να αναδειχθούν εξέχοντα λεξικά στοιχεία με βάση τη συχνότητα εμφάνισης και (γ) η ερμηνευτική ανάλυση προκειμένου να αναδειχθούν οι ευρύτερες σημασιολογικές προεκτάσεις του έργου. Οι τρεις συνιστώσες της παρούσας έρευνας βασίζονται σε μαθηματικοποιημένα υφολογικά και υφομετρικά χαρακτηριστικά (πρβ. Μικρός, 2003 & Πολίτου-Μαρμαρινού et al, 2011).

Η προσέγγιση της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας μέσα από τέτοιου είδους υφολογικές αναλύσεις ως μια σύγχρονη μέθοδος μελέτης του ύφους και των παραμέτρων του έχει ευρύτερες προεκτάσεις για την ερμηνεία των έργων και διαμορφώνει ένα νέο πεδίο ανάλυσης στο οποίο συναντώνται η γλωσσολογία με τη λογοτεχνική θεωρία και κριτική.

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Marina Mattheoudakis, Thomas Zapounidis:

Πρόγραμμα ΔΙΑΦΩΝΗΝ: Στάσεις και αντιλήψεις μαθητών και σπουδαστών για τον ρόλο των διαλέκτων στην εκπαίδευση

Στόχος της παρουσίασης είναι η διερεύνηση των στάσεων και αντιλήψεων μαθητών Β'βάθμιας και σπουδαστών Γ'βάθμιας εκπαίδευσης αναφορικά με τις ελληνικές διαλέκτους. Η παρούσα έρευνα αποτελεί το πρώτο στάδιο μιας καινοτόμας δράσης που υλοποιείται στο πλαίσιο του ερευνητικού προγράμματος VOCALECT (ΔΙΑΦΩΝΗΝ) χρηματοδοτούμενου από την Πράξη «Θαλής». Το πρόγραμμα στοχεύει στην καταγραφή και γλωσσολογική ανάλυση του φωνηεντικού συστήματος διαφόρων ελληνικών διαλεκτικών περιοχών και αποσκοπεί στην ενημέρωση της εκπαιδευτικής κοινότητας σχετικά με τον πλούτο των ελληνικών διαλέκτων. Η διερεύνηση και καταγραφή των στάσεων και αντιλήψεων μαθητών και σπουδαστών αναμένεται να μας βοηθήσει στη συλλογή πληροφοριών οι οποίες θα χρησιμοποιηθούν για τον σχεδιασμό κατάλληλου και στοχευμένου εκπαιδευτικού υλικού για τις συγκεκριμένες ηλικιακές ομάδες. Για τους σκοπούς της παρούσας εργασίας, σχεδιάστηκε και διανεμήθηκε ερωτηματολόγιο με στόχο (α) να ανιχνεύσει και να καταγράψει τον βαθμό επίγνωσης των μαθητών/τριών και σπουδαστών/τριών σχετικά με τις διαλεκτικές ποικιλίες της ελληνικής γλώσσας, (β) να διερευνήσει τις στάσεις και πεποιθήσεις τους απέναντι στις ποικιλίες αυτές και (γ) να καταγράψει τις απόψεις τους σχετικά με τον ρόλο των διαλέκτων

στην κοινωνία και στην εκπαίδευση. Το ερωτηματολόγιο διανεμήθηκε σε 250 μαθητές/τριες από α' γυμνασίου έως και Γ' Λυκείου και σε 150 σπουδαστές/τριες από διάφορες πανεπιστημιακές σχολές και έτη σπουδών. Τα αποτελέσματα του ερωτηματολογίου δείχνουν ότι οι συμμετέχοντες/ουσες εκφράζουν γενικά θετικές στάσεις απέναντι στη χρήση διαλεκτικών ποικιλιών. Οι στάσεις όμως αυτές φαίνεται να αλλάζουν όταν οι σχετικές ερωτήσεις αναφέρονται σε συγκεκριμένα κοινωνικά περικείμενα (π.χ. ΜΜΕ, εκπαίδευση, κλπ). Στην περίπτωση αυτή, οι συμμετέχοντες/ουσες τείνουν να υιοθετήσουν πιο παραδοσιακές στάσεις υποστηρίζοντας την αποκλειστική χρήση της Κοινής Νέας Ελληνικής. Σημαντικές συσχετίσεις ανιχνεύτηκαν μεταξύ της άποψης αυτής και του μορφωτικού επιπέδου των γονέων. Τα ευρήματα της έρευνας υπογραμμίζουν την ανάγκη εκπαιδευτικής παρέμβασης με στόχο την καταπολέμηση του υπάρχοντος κοινωνικού στίγματος ενάντια στη χρήση διαλεκτικών ποικιλιών αλλά και της άποψης ότι οι διάλεκτοι αποτελούν υποδεέστερες ή φτωχότερες εκδοχές της γλωσσικής νόρμας. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη την ταχύτατη εξαφάνιση διαλέκτων σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο (βλ. Harrison, 2007), και ό,τι αυτή συνεπάγεται (εξαφάνιση ιδεών, ιστορίας, τέχνης και πολιτισμού), η εκπαίδευση μπορεί και οφείλει να ενδυναμώσει με ρητές και υπόρρητες μεθόδους τη γλωσσική επίγνωση των μαθητών/τριών και να διαμορφώσει στάσεις και απόψεις σχετικά με την αποδοχή και το σεβασμό της διαφορετικότητας στη χρήση της γλώσσας, μαθητών/τριών και εκπαιδευτικών.

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Marios Mavrogiorgos:

Decomposing EPP effects in Greek enclisis

Many languages exhibit a ban on the simultaneous marking of the specifier and the head of a single syntactic phrase (the 'doubly-filled Comp filter' - see Chomsky & Lasnik 1977). Empirically, this filter has been postulated for various phenomena within various domains (e.g. 'that-trace' effects within CP - see Pesetsky 1998; Koopman 2000), while theoretically, PF or syntactic analyses, or a combination thereof have been proposed. Various aspects of this filter still remain unclear, especially wrt. its syntactic vs. phonological nature, but also wrt. its component parts (i.e. the properties of the spec, which are related to the EPP, and the properties of the head, which are related to head movement).

This talk addresses some of these issues by looking into (clausal) clitic positioning in Standard Modern Greek (a finiteness sensitive language - see Mavrogiorgos 2010)

in comparison to Cypriot Greek (a Tobler-Mussafia language – see Agouraki 2001; Revithiadou 2006; Terzi 1999). The overall claim is that in both languages enclisis is a complex phenomenon that can be broken down into simple, well-defined and interrelated syntactic and PF parts, which directly relate to the EPP and head (movement) components of the traditional filter. It is argued that the dichotomy between sensitivity to TP vs. CP properties across the two languages constitutes an epiphenomenon, in that enclisis involves a uniform syntax (including, cliticization to phi-related v*/T heads) and a uniform morphological requirement on the edge of the C phase-head. This requirement bans affixal content at the edge, triggering the effects described by the filter. In particular, syntactic features within the phase-head establish an AGREE relationship with a lower matching constituent, which explains why only certain syntactic constituents that are (externally/internally) merged in the spec position of the C-head or in the C-head itself can satisfy the morphological requirement. If no such (non-affixal) constituent is available, or if AGREE does not hold, the lexical verb itself satisfies the edge requirement by being spelled out at the phase edge (spell-out is contingent on syntactic AGREE, but it additionally involves a PF-lexicalization part – see Zwart 2001, Landau 2007). Any differences between the two languages are shown to be localized either in the lexicon (i.e. the features of the C-head(s) involved, and the various types of phrases independently available in each language), or in prosodic requirements (e.g. a ban on utterance initial weak elements, see Pancheva 2005).

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Marios Mavrogiorgos (→ Daskalaki)

Yaron McNabb (→Alexandropoulou)

Archontoula Menti (→Markantonatou)

Jason Merchant & Natalia Pavlou:

A surprising allomorphic span in Cypriot Greek

Theories of allomorphy and portmanteauism seek to understand constraints on what amount of structure can correspond to a single morpheme; recent proposals (Svenonius 2012, Merchant 2015, among others) have sought to restrict such exponents to expressing a single span, a contiguous set of nodes in a single extended projection. This paper focuses on a previously undocumented set of facts involving the Cypriot Greek periphrastic future, which we argue involves an allomorphic span that spans two distinct extended projections: V and a selected C.

Cypriot Greek expresses the future using a construction that combines the 3rd person copula with a clause headed by the complementizer na:

(1) En na pao. 'I will go.'

be.NONPAST.3 C go.PERF.NONPAST.1SG

Periphrastic futures have been documented in Classical Greek (Joseph and Pappas 2002), similarly characterized by na-clauses and a biclausal structure (Roberts and Roussou 1999). En na is not a frozen form: the copula can be inflected for the past tense (2a) and na-clauses can be coordinated under en (2b).

(2) a. Ego itan na pao ekso. 'I was going to go out.'

I be.PAST.3 C go.PERF.NONPAST.1sg outside

b. En na pao che na kathariso. 'I will go and clean.'

be.NONPAST.3 C go.PERF.NONPAST.1SG and C clean.PERF.NONPAST.1SG

Sentential negation is expressed with the homophonous but separate en, which may co-occur with the copula en:

(3) Ta mora en en arosta. 'The children are not sick.'

the children NEG be.NONPAST.3 sick

Surprisingly, the periphrastic future en na does not combine with the sentential

negation en:

(4) *En en na pao. ('I will not go.')

NEG be.NONPAST.3 C go.PERF.NONPAST.1SG

Instead, we find the particle tha (pace Terzi 1999 who makes the claim that Cypriot lacks tha):

(5) En tha pao. 'I will not go.'

NEG ? go.PERF.NONPAST.1SG

We show that this surprising distribution of forms can be accounted for with a uniform syntax by positing the following morpheme realization rules (Vocabulary Items), of the kind countenanced in realizational theories such as Distributed Morphology. The sole unusual property is the posting of a single morpheme—tha—which realizes the span VBE C (otherwise en na) after negation.

(6) a. VBE → en

b. C → na

c. VBE C → tha/ NEG__

A somewhat simplified representation, in (7), indicates spanning realizations with wavy lines. We present the formal details and definitions for such a system, and relate it to previous work on spanning. We propose that relaxing the definition of well-formed spans by eliminating the requirement for membership in an extended projection makes the right predictions in this and other cases, while still providing a constrained system that blocks a large range of potential, but unattested, portmanteaus that more traditional lexical realizational theories cannot rule out in any similarly principled way.

(7) See full Word/pdf version of the abstract for the tree representation.

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Polina Mesinioti, Katerina Poulou & Christoforos Souganidis:

Μορφοσυντακτικά λάθη μαθητών Τάξεων Υποδοχής που διδάσκονται την Ελληνική ως δεύτερη/ξένη γλώσσα

Το πεδίο της εκμάθησης και της διδασκαλίας της Ελληνικής ως δεύτερης/ξένης γλώσσας καθώς επίσης και τα προβλήματα που αντιμετωπίζουν οι αλλόγλωσσοι μαθητές που φοιτούν σε ελληνικά σχολεία, παρουσιάζουν ενδιαφέρον στη σύγχρονη βιβλιογραφία (Ματθαίουδάκη, Κίτσου & Τζιμώκας 2010, Μανρίδου 2003, Παπαδοπούλου 2005, Ρεβυθιάδου & Σπυρόπουλος 2012). Στόχο της παρούσας έρευνας αποτελεί η ταυτόχρονη εξέταση μορφοσυντακτικών φαινομένων που η κατάκτησή τους παρουσιάζει προβλήματα από τους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές της Ελληνικής και συγκεκριμένα, η εξέταση της συμφωνίας (εσωτερική και εξωτερική), του άρθρου (οριστικό, αόριστο, μηδενικό), των κλιτικών και της ρηματικής όψης (συνοπτική, μη συνοπτική). Για να επιτευχθεί αυτό, χορηγήθηκε η δραστηριότητα της προφορικής ανάκλησης προτάσεων σε διακόσιους μαθητές που φοιτούσαν κατά το σχολικό έτος 2012-2013 σε Τάξεις Υποδοχής και οι οποίοι κατατάσσονται κατά την πλειοψηφία τους σε επίπεδο ελληνομάθειας Α2 και πάνω. Σχετικά με τις μητρικές γλώσσες των μαθητών, πάνω από τους μισούς δηλώνουν ως μητρική τους την αλβανική γλώσσα, κι ακολουθούν η βουλγαρική και η ρουμανική μεταξύ άλλων. Η δοκιμασία ανάκλησης προτάσεων αποτελείται από 62 γραμματικές και 62 μη γραμματικές προτάσεις που οι μαθητές καλούνταν να επαναλάβουν ή/και να διορθώσουν. Η δοκιμασία χορηγήθηκε σε δύο φάσεις, αρχή και τέλος του σχολικού έτους, προκειμένου να ελεγχθεί εάν οι μαθητές παρουσίασαν σημαντική βελτίωση.

Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας μας παρέχουν πληροφορίες σε τρία επίπεδα: Αρχικά, συγκρίνοντας τα αποτελέσματα των δύο φάσεων, αναδεικνύεται η σημασία των στοχευμένων διδακτικών παρεμβάσεων, καθώς στα περισσότερα φαινόμενα παρατηρήθηκαν βελτιωμένες επιδόσεις στη δεύτερη φάση. Επίσης, αξιολογείται η υπόρρητη γνώση των μαθητών, αφού φαίνεται η αδυναμία τους να διορθώσουν αυτοματοποιημένα τις αντιγραμματικές προτάσεις, σε αντίθεση με τους φυσικούς ομιλητές (Erlam 2006). Τέλος, εντοπίζονται οι δομές της ελληνικής που κατακτώνται με μεγαλύτερη ευκολία (π.χ. οριστικό άρθρο), καθώς επίσης και οι δομές της ελληνικής στις οποίες παρουσιάζονται εντονότερα προβλήματα (π.χ. ρηματική όψη). Πολλά από τα αποτελέσματα της παρούσας έρευνας, όπως είναι τα πολύ υψηλά ποσοστά επιτυχίας στη συμφωνία ονόματος-επιθέτου, φαίνεται να επιβεβαιώνονται από την υπάρχουσα βιβλιογραφία και να συμπνέουν με άλλες μελέτες (Παπαδοπούλου, Zmijanjac & Αγαθοπούλου 2010). Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον όμως παρουσιάζουν αποτελέσματα που δεν ερμηνεύονται πλήρως με βάση προηγούμενες έρευνες, όπως είναι τα προβλήματα που παρουσιάζονται στο συνοπτικό τύπο της ρηματικής όψης, καθώς οι μαθητές εμφανίζουν μεγαλύτερο

ποσοστό ορθότητας του μη συνοπτικού τύπου, έναντι του συνοπτικού στις να- συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις, ενώ έχει παρατηρηθεί υπεργενίκευση του συνοπτικού τύπου (Νατσόπουλος & Παναγοπούλου 1985, κ.ά.).

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Athanassios Michalis:

Διδασκαλία των κειμενικών ειδών στην ελληνική εκπαίδευση: προβλήματα και προοπτικές

Βάσει των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων σπουδών του 2003 και του 2011 για τη διδασκαλία της νεοελληνικής γλώσσας τόσο στην πρωτοβάθμια όσο και στη

δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση, βασικό πυλώνα της γλωσσικής εκπαίδευσης των μαθητών αποτελούν τα κειμενικά είδη. Ειδικότερα, προβλέπεται αφενός η συμμετοχή των μαθητών σε ποικίλες δραστηριότητες παραγωγής και πρόσληψης συγκεκριμένων κειμενικών ειδών και κειμενικών τύπων και αφετέρου η διδασκαλία της γραμματικής των κειμενικών ειδών. Ωστόσο, η διδασκαλία των κειμενικών ειδών στη νεοελληνική εκπαίδευση, παρόλο που συνιστά βήμα ανανέωσης της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας και ευθυγραμμίζεται με τη διεθνή πρακτική, παρουσιάζει ουσιαστικά προβλήματα.

Η παρούσα εισήγηση έχει τους ακόλουθους στόχους:

i. Σύντομη παρουσίαση των προβλημάτων της διδασκαλίας των κειμενικών ειδών στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση, τα οποία εντοπίστηκαν μέσω ανάλυσης του περιεχομένου των σχολικών εγχειριδίων της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης (σύγχυση μεταξύ κειμενικού είδους και κειμενικού τύπου, αναφορά στις λεκτικές πράξεις και στα αξιώματα του Grice σε επίπεδο θεωρίας χωρίς στοιχειώδη σύνδεση με τα κειμενικά είδη, ελλιπής παρουσίαση των υφολογικών επιπέδων στην ελληνική γλώσσα χωρίς κανένα συσχετισμό με τα είδη λόγου).

ii. Ανάδειξη της ελλιπούς γνώσης των φιλολόγων, που καλούνται να διδάξουν τα κειμενικά είδη, σε ουσιαστικά ζητήματα δομής και γλωσσικών συμβάσεων των ειδών λόγου, όπως και σε βασικά θέματα της γραμματικής τους. Συγκεκριμένα, παρουσιάζονται τα αποτελέσματα ποσοτικής έρευνας με χρήση ερωτηματολογίου σε φιλόλογους γυμνασίων και λυκείων των Αθηνών και της Ρόδου.

iii. Βάσει των προβλημάτων που υφίστανται στη διδασκαλία των κειμενικών ειδών πραγματοποιείται στην τρίτη φάση της εισήγησης πρόταση διδασκαλίας τους στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση τόσο σε επίπεδο δομής και γλωσσικών συμβάσεων όσο και σε επίπεδο γραμματικής. Το προτεινόμενο διδακτικό πρότυπο βασίζεται στο θεωρητικό μοντέλο του Martin το οποίο αναφέρεται στη συσχέτιση μεταξύ κειμενικού είδους και του κοινωνικού συγκειμένου (modelling social context: genre and register). Στο μοντέλο του Martin συνδέονται τα κειμενικά είδη με τις λειτουργίες (αναπαραστατική, διαπροσωπική, κειμενική) της συστημικής λειτουργικής γραμματικής του Halliday, με τις γλωσσικές συμβάσεις και με τους μηχανισμούς κειμενικότητας που σχετίζονται με τις λειτουργίες αυτές (Martin 2001). Στο προτεινόμενο στην εισήγηση διδακτικό πρότυπο, το θεωρητικό μοντέλο του Martin τροποποιείται, ώστε η προτεινόμενη τυπολογία των κειμενικών ειδών και οι υποκατηγοριοποιήσεις των ειδών λόγου να συνδεθούν τόσο με τις λεκτικές πράξεις και με την υφολογική ποικιλία όσο και με τα αξιώματα του Grice και με τη θεωρία της συνάφειας. Η τροποποίηση του μοντέλου του Martin επιχειρήθηκε αφενός βάσει νέων θεωρητικών προσεγγίσεων και προτάσεων ταξινόμησης των κειμενικών ειδών (Swales 2004, Leech 2006) και αφετέρου βάσει διερεύνησης και ανάλυσης μεγάλου αριθμού αυθεντικών κειμένων που χρησιμοποιούνται στην καθημερινή επικοινωνία.

Stamatia Michalopoulou:

Third Language Acquisition. The Pro-Drop-Parameter in the Interlanguage of Greek students of German

The purpose of this presentation is to investigate the acquisition of German as a third language (L3) of adults with Greek as mother tongue (L1), whose first foreign language is English (L2).

The dominant topic of discussion of the theoretical and experimental approaches on the L3 Acquisition (L3A) determines the source of linguistic transfer of syntactic structures and functional categories in the interlanguage of non-native speakers (NNS) in the L3A. Since the NNS already know two languages, the source of linguistic transfer cannot be determined unless the studied syntactic phenomenon and parameter are differently valued at L1 and L2 and L3 is similar to or different with one of the two.

In this case we investigated the Pro-Drop-Parameter, a parameter in which Greek and English are differently valued. Greek is a Null Subject Language and English is Non-Null Subject Language. This, among other properties on the surface structure of language, means that in Greek a pronoun does not necessarily have to be realized in subject position thus overt grammatical subjects may be omitted (eg both *ego pezo* and \emptyset *pezo* are correct), while in English the pronominal subject must always be explicitly implemented in order to constitute a grammatically correct sentence (eg *I play* but not * \emptyset *play*). German is classified by many researchers as a Non-Null Subject Language because in most cases German does not allow the omission of the overt grammatical subject (eg *ich spiele* but not * \emptyset *spiele*). In fact, also in German there are some instances, where omission of the overt grammatical subject is permitted, therefore current theoretical approaches classify German among Expletive Null Subject Languages. The cases where the overt grammatical subject can be omitted also in the German language are identified in the Passive Voice of specific verb classes.

Therefore, it is obvious that the Pro-Drop-Parameter in German is realized in some cases, as in English and in others as in Greek. For this reason, this parameter was chosen to be studied.

In order to investigate the interlanguage of NNS an experimental study, consisting of two tasks, a Grammaticality Judgement Task and a Preference Task, was conducted. These tasks have measured the judgments and preferences respectively of three groups of participants. Two groups consisted of NNS with different level proficiency in German, but the same in English and the third group consisted of native speakers of German and served as control group.

The results of both experimental tasks show that none of the languages the NNS already known seem to play a more significant role than the other in shaping their

interlanguage in both proficiency levels in German. Both languages seem to be equally important and available in order to provide an appropriate linguistic representation of the target - language at any given time.

According to this data it seems that the model, which best describes the interlanguage of the NNS is that of Flynn, Foley & Vinnitskaya (2004), namely, the Cumulative-Enhancement Model for Language Acquisition. According to this model it can be either only “positive language transfer” or no linguistic transfer at all of the languages already acquired by the NNS in their target L3.

Dimitris Michelioudakis:

Informativeness sensitive particles: *ντε* and *δα* in Modern Greek

This paper explores the (overlapping) distribution of the discourse particles *ντε* and *δα* in Modern Greek. I will argue that they are both informativeness sensitive elements, with most of their differences following from the orientation of each to a discourse participant. Adopting Fox & Menendez-Benito's (2006) definition of informativeness in (1), it follows that *ντε* and *δα* are preferentially used to mark sentences intended to convey *non*-informative propositions, i.e. propositions that are either (intended to be/presented as being) as informative as some other proposition in (what the speaker considers to be) the interlocutors' common ground (2) or, in the case of *ντε* but not *δα*, marginally more informative (3a-b). The interpretive effects associated with them in traditional descriptions ('hortative' force, 'confirmation', 'appeasing') follow directly from the speaker's intention to downplay the informativeness of the utterance.

- (1) A proposition *p* is more informative than a proposition *q* given a context set *c* iff $(p \cap c) \supset (q \cap c)$ [Context set: set of worlds in which all the propositions in the common ground are true (represents the shared beliefs of the participants in the conversation)]
(Fox & Menendez-Benito 2006:1)
- (2) a. Δεν ήρθε *ντε/δα* και το τέλος του κόσμου.
b. Θα χαρούμε πολύ αν μείνετε. Ξέρετε *ντε/δα* πόσο σας αγαπάμε.
- (3) a. – Δεν είχε δει τη φωτογραφία σου; (shared assumption: on a dating site, you are supposed to send your picture)
– Μια ΦΩΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ *δα/ντε* είχε δει, πού να σχηματίσει εντύπωση;

b. – Δεν είχε δει (καμιά) φωτογραφία σου;

– Είχε δει. Αλλά είχε δει μια ΦΩΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ ντε/*δα. (αλλά here is supposed to introduce something previously unknown, the shared assumption being that you post (an unspecified number of) pictures of yourself).

A further difference between the two particles concerns the kind of speech act each of them is compatible with. Both of them are equally acceptable in declaratives, but ντε is clearly more natural than δα in imperatives (4), at least in Standard (non-dialectal) Greek, while neither of them is felicitous in questions, unless they are indirect requests (5). Following Portner (2004, 2007), I take imperatives to contribute to a ‘To-Do List’, rather than to the common ground, so the felicity of ντε depends on the extent to which the content of the imperative is already part of the To-Do List or at least inferred to be such that it should be part of the addressee’s To-Do List, given the participants’ shared knowledge:

(4) Φύγε ντε/??δα, τι περιμένεις;

(5) a. Θα έρθεις ντε (/ *δα);

b. Αντέδρασε ντε (/ *δα); (as you should have)

This contrast can be attributed to the speaker- vs. hearer- orientation of δα and ντε, respectively. The /-e/ of ντε may in fact be a morpheme encoding addressee-orientation as in other ‘high’ discourse particles ending in /-e/ (e, re etc. see Tsoulas & Alexiadou (2005), Tsoulas (this workshop)). If the particles under discussion are in Eval^o, i.e. the CP-head which Speas & Tenny (2003) associate with the ‘evaluat[ion], process[ing] or comment[ing] on the truth of a proposition’, then they have_o to match the features of the SEAT OF KNOWLEDGE (SoK) argument in Spec- Eval, the coindexation of which with one of the discourse participants is in turn governed by locality restrictions posed by the structure of the Speech Act Phrase (SAP). The structure of imperative and interrogative SAPs is such that SoK is necessarily bound by the Hearer argument.

Dimitris Michelioudakis (→ Chatzikiakidis; Guardiano)

Chryssa Mikropoulou & Eleni Klelia Haimeli:

Διαφοροποίηση των συντακτικών ρόλων υποκειμένου και αντικειμένου στη ΝΕ με φωνητικά κριτήρια: περίπτωση πειράματος

Στην ελληνική γλώσσα, οι κανόνες σύνταξης επιτρέπουν την ελεύθερη σειρά των όρων μίας πρότασης της μορφής Y-P-A, παράγοντας σε όλους τους δυνατούς συνδυασμούς γραμματικές δομές. Η δυνατότητα αυτή οφείλεται, κυρίως, στη μορφολογική διαφορά των ονοματικών φράσεων κατά την κλίση των ουσιαστικών, καθώς αυτά διαφοροποιούνται μορφολογικά όταν τίθενται στην ονομαστική, αιτιατική και γενική πτώση (βλ. Holton, Mackridge & Φιλιππάκη-Warburton). Όμως, κατά την κλίση των ονομάτων ουδετέρου γένους, η ονομαστική και η αιτιατική πτώση συμπίπτουν πλήρως μορφολογικά.

Στην παρούσα πειραματική εργασία εξετάστηκε κατά πόσο διακρίνεται με φωνητικά κριτήρια ο συντακτικός ρόλος των υποκειμένων και αντικειμένων σε απλές προτασιακές δομές τύπου Y-P-A, και σε όλους τους δυνατούς συνδυασμούς που δίνει αυτός ο τύπος, στις περιπτώσεις που δεν υπάρχει μορφολογική διαφοροποίηση ανάμεσα στις πτώσεις ονομαστική και αιτιατική. Ερευνήθηκαν τα μέσα που χρησιμοποιεί ο φυσικός ομιλητής της ελληνικής γλώσσας κατά την παραγωγή των προτάσεων για να κάνει τον συντακτικό διαχωρισμό των όρων (επιτονισμός, παύσεις) και το κατά πόσο αντιλαμβάνεται τις τυχόν φωνητικές διαφοροποιήσεις όταν πρόκειται για δομές τύπου A-P-Y, P-Y-A ή P-A-Y και δεν διαθέτει μορφολογικά ή άλλα περικειμενικά κριτήρια.

Για την εξέταση του ερωτήματος, σχεδιάστηκε και εκτελέστηκε ένα πείραμα με δύο σκέλη που βασίστηκε σε μια σειρά εκφωνημάτων. Το πείραμα αποτελούνταν από ένα σκέλος παραγωγής και ένα σκέλος αντίληψης και ολοκληρώθηκε με τη συμμετοχή δεκαπέντε ατόμων, ανδρών και γυναικών, ηλικίας 25-50 ετών, που έχουν την ελληνική ως μητρική γλώσσα και ζουν στην Αθήνα. Οι βασικές δομές που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν για την εκτέλεση του πειράματος είναι: «Το κορίτσι χτύπησε το αγόρι» [to ko'ritsi 'xtipise to a'gori] και «Το αγόρι χτύπησε το κορίτσι» [to a'gori 'xtipise to ko'ritsi], καθώς και οι έξι γραμματικές παραλλαγές που προκύπτουν από την εναλλαγή των όρων (Y-P-A, A-P-Y, P-Y-A, P-A-Y, Y-A-P, A-Y-P).

Αρχικά, ζητήθηκε από τους συμμετέχοντες, περιγράφοντας μία εικόνα όπου ένα κορίτσι χτυπούσε ένα αγόρι, να εκφωνήσουν τις έξι δομές, όπως αναφέρθηκαν παραπάνω, και στη συνέχεια να εκφωνήσουν έξι αντίστοιχες δομές αναφερόμενοι σε μία άλλη εικόνα όπου ένα αγόρι χτυπούσε ένα κορίτσι. Τέλος, τους ζητήθηκε να σημειώσουν ποιες προτάσεις θα χρησιμοποιούσαν οι ίδιοι για την περιγραφή των εικόνων. Στο σκέλος της αντίληψης, οι συμμετέχοντες άκουσαν τις ηχογραφησείς κάποιου άλλου ατόμου και σημείωσαν αν κατά τη γνώμη τους οι όροι «κορίτσι» και «αγόρι» είχαν θέση δράστη ή θύματος. Για την ηχογράφηση και τη φωνητική επεξεργασία των δεδομένων χρησιμοποιήθηκε το λογισμικό Praat, με τη βοήθεια

του οποίου εξετάστηκαν οι διαφοροποιήσεις στον επιτονισμό και οι παύσεις. Στο τελευταίο στάδιο της επεξεργασίας των ευρημάτων ελέγχθηκαν οι συμμετέχοντες αντιλήφθηκαν σωστά τις προτάσεις που σημείωσαν ότι θα χρησιμοποιούσαν οι ίδιοι.

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Chryssa Mikropoulou, Eleni Klelia Haimeli:

Κριτική ανάλυση λόγου σε δημοσιογραφικά κείμενα πολιτικής επικαιρότητας

Σύμφωνα με την Κριτική Ανάλυση Λόγου (ΚΑΛ) το κείμενο αντικατοπτρίζει την κοινωνικό-πολιτική πραγματικότητα μέσα στην οποία δημιουργείται. Η γλώσσα είναι εργαλείο άσκησης εξουσίας, ελέγχου και κοινωνικής διαμόρφωσης της πραγματικότητας. Η ΚΑΛ έχει εστιάσει, κυρίως, στον γραπτό δημοσιογραφικό λόγο, ο οποίος μελετάται ως ισχυρό πεδίο προβολής ιδεολογικών ρόλων και αντιπαράθεσεων (Fairclough 1995). Σύμφωνα με τον Van Dijk (1993) τα κείμενα αναπαράγουν σχέσεις εξουσίας και πολιτικού, κοινωνικού και πολιτισμικού ηγεμονισμού. Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο εξετάζονται οι ρόλοι συγκεκριμένων γλωσσικών τύπων όπως η χρήση αντωνυμικών και επιθετικών προσδιορισμών, οι λεξιλογικοί τύποι, οι συντακτικοί τύποι, η δήλωση αιτιολογικών σχέσεων και η τροπικότητα (Γεωργακοπούλου & Γούτσος 1999).

Στην παρούσα εργασία εξετάζονται πολιτικά άρθρα των κυριακάτικων εφημερίδων πανελλαδικής κυκλοφορίας που δημοσιεύτηκαν τον μήνα Δεκέμβριο 2014. Το θέμα της πολιτικής αρθρογραφίας στη συγκεκριμένη χρονική περίοδο το κύριο ζήτημα που απασχολεί την επικαιρότητα είναι αυτό της εκλογής Προέδρου της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας και το ενδεχόμενο πρόωρων εκλογών. Οι εφημερίδες προβάλλουν υπέρρητα μια πολιτική ιδεολογία με στόχο να κατευθύνουν το αναγνωστικό κοινό. Τα κείμενα αντλούνται από τις ηλεκτρονικές εκδόσεις των κυριακάτικων εφημερίδων και αναλύονται με τη βοήθεια του προγράμματος MonoConc, ως προς την συχνότητα εμφάνισης των λέξεων και τη δημιουργία συμφραστικών πινάκων.

Σε δεύτερη φάση, διερευνώνται οι λεξικογραμματικές επιλογές και ο τρόπος με τον οποίο αντικατοπτρίζεται η ιδεολογία του αρθρογράφου μέσα από αυτές. Μέσα από το πρίσμα της Κριτικής Ανάλυσης Λόγου μελετώνται α) οι διαφανείς ή αδιαφανείς

δομικές σχέσεις κυριαρχίας, διάκρισης, εξουσίας και ελέγχου μέσα από τη γλώσσα και β) η στρατευμένη ή μη στρατευμένη σκοπιά ως προς τη γλωσσική δεοντολογία. Η χρήση των αντωνυμικών και των επιθετικών προσδιορισμών, η συνδυαστική σύνταξη και η ονοματοποίηση φαίνονται να συμβάλλουν στην εντατικοποίηση της προβολής της ιδεολογίας. Τα αποτελέσματα της μελέτης των άρθρων φανερώνουν ότι οι λεξικογραμματικές επιλογές παίζουν πολύ σημαντικό ρόλο στην αποτύπωση των πολιτικών και κοινωνικών ιδεολογιών και στη διαμόρφωση πολιτικών τάσεων μέσα στην κοινωνία.

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Georgios Mikros (→Karantzola)

Milena Milenova:

The production of new and similar fricatives by Bulgarian learners of Modern Greek

This instrumental study investigates the acquisition of fricatives by adult Bulgarian learners of Modern Greek. It explores the phonetic learning of the similar sibilants /s/ and /z/ and the new interdental /θ/ and /ð/ in the framework of the Speech Learning Model (Flege 1995, 2002). The SLM posits that the learnability of L2 sounds correlates inversely with their similarity to L1 sounds.

The target interdental /θ/ and /ð/ are not present in the phonemic inventory of Standard Bulgarian. In order to produce them adequately the learner has to establish new phonetic categories and to learn to implement novel articulatory gestures.

The target sibilants exist in both L1 and L2 inventories. Spectral data show that Modern Greek /s/ and /z/ are between English /s/ and /ʃ/ and /z/ and /ʒ/, respectively (Panagopoulos 1991). Standard Bulgarian has all four phonemes /s, ʃ, z, ʒ/. The correct production of the target sibilants requires modification of the existing L1 categories and their corresponding articulatory gestures.

Seven native Bulgarian female learners of Modern Greek were recorded two times:

prior to pronunciation instruction (T1) and after 15 pronunciation training sessions (T2). In addition, 5 native Modern Greek female speakers served as a control group. The data elicitation protocols comprised real words embedded in carrier sentences. The test words contained the target sounds in initial and medial position, as well as in stressed and unstressed syllables with all five Greek vowels. Six repetitions were recorded and five of them analysed.

All target fricatives were analysed acoustically by measuring the COG values. The target interdental fricatives were also analysed impressionistically.

Both T1 and T2 learners' productions were compared to the productions of the control group to examine the approximation of the target norms. The COG values produced at T1 and T2 were compared to investigate phonetic learning. Independent and paired samples T-tests were used for the comparison of the results and calculation of statistical significance.

Phonetic learning occurred for both /θ/ and /ð/ following a similar pattern: decrease in substitutions of the target sounds and increase in fricative realisations. Moreover, significant improvement in the COG values was observed, approximating the respective values of the control group in the case of /θ/. Phonetic learning of the target sibilants was registered as well: significant change in the COG values was observed without approximation of the target norms.

The results of the experimental study are in line with the predictions of the SLM.

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Panagiotis Minos (→Koletti)

Maria Mitsiaki (→Anastasiadis-Symeonidis)

Ioannis Mitzias (→Papadopoulou)

Ulrich Moennig:

Ο Κρασοπατέρας του Μανουήλ Μαλαξού: ποιητική διασκευή ή γλωσσική επικαιριοποίηση;

Από τα χειρόγραφα που παραδίδουν τον Κρασοπατέρα τρία χρονολογούνται τον 16ο αιώνα, ένα των αρχών και δυο των τελών του. Το ένα είναι ο θεολογικός κώδικας 244 της Βιέννης, γνωστός για τα πολλά υστεροβυζαντινά και μεταβυζαντινά κείμενα που παραδίδει. Τα άλλα βρίσκονται στη Μονή Ιβήρων και στην Οξφόρδη, αντίστοιχα. Τα χειρόγραφα της Μονής Ιβήρων και της Οξφόρδης αποτελούν, προφανώς, αντίγραφα του ίδιου κειμένου. Νεότερα στοιχεία συνηγορούν στην υπόθεση ότι το κείμενο αυτό αποτελούσε μια διασκευή παλαιότερου προτύπου από το χέρι του κωδικογράφου, συγγραφέα και –προφανώς– διασκευαστή Μανουήλ Μαλαξού. Σύμφωνα με κάποιες άλλες πληροφορίες ο Μαλαξός μεσολάβησε στην πόληση προς τον αυστριακό διπλωμάτη κάποιων κωδίκων, που βρίσκονται σήμερα στην Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Βιέννης –μεταξύ αυτών και ο θεολογικός κώδικας 244. Επιβάλλεται λοιπόν η υποψία –η οποία αποτελεί αφετηρία και υπόθεση εργασίας της ανακοίνωσής μου– ότι ο Μαλαξός ήξερε τον Κρασοπατέρα από τον κώδικα της Βιέννης και ότι το πρότυπο προς διασκευή που χρησιμοποίησε ο Μαλαξός είναι ακριβώς αυτό που διαθέτουμε κι εμείς σήμερα ακόμη. Αντικείμενο της ανακοίνωσής μου θα είναι μια σύγκριση των δυο διασκευών –αυτής της Βιέννης που ενδέχεται να χρονολογείται το 14ο αιώνα κι αυτής του Μαλαξού. Θα θέσω, πιο ειδικά, το ερώτημα αν μπορούμε να διακρίνουμε τη λογική της διασκευαστικής διαδικασίας: ήθελε ο Μαλαξός να δώσει στο σύντομο αυτό κείμενο τη δική του ποιητική «νότα» (τη δική του ή της εποχής του), ή μήπως δεν ανταποκρινόταν πλέον η γλώσσα του κειμένου στον κώδικα της Βιέννης στη γλωσσική πραγματικότητα στο δεύτερο μισό του 16ου αιώνα, μ' αποτέλεσμα να υπήρχε ανάγκη σχετικής επικαιριοποίησης;

Theodoros Moisiadis:

Η ετυμολογία στα γενικά ερμηνευτικά λεξικά τής Νέας Ελληνικής

Ενώ οι ιστορίες λέξεων προσείλκυαν ανέκαθεν το ενδιαφέρον του αναγνωστικού κοινού, τα γενικά ερμηνευτικά λεξικά, έχοντας άλλη πρωταρχική στόχευση, παρουσιάζουν τις διαχρονικές ετυμολογικές πληροφορίες με συνοπτικό τρόπο και αντανάκλωντας διαφορετικές κατά περίπτωση επιλογές. Οι αποφάσεις των λεξικογράφων σχετικά με τον χειρισμό τής ετυμολογίας απηχούν επιπλέον θεωρητικές αναζητήσεις και αρχές, που κυμαίνονται από την άποψη ότι η ετυμολογία είναι το λιγότερο χρήσιμο συστατικό ενός γενικού λεξικού (Landau 2001: 127) ως την πεποίθηση ότι οποιαδήποτε παρουσίαση του λεξιλογίου χωρίς αναδρομή στο παρελθόν είναι ατελής (Rey & Rey-Debove 2000: XII).

Τα τέσσερα κύρια γενικά λεξικά τής Νέας Ελληνικής που έχουν συνταχθεί με επιστημονικές προδιαγραφές (ΝΕΛ, ΛΝΕΓ, ΛΚΝ, ΧΛΝΓ) περιέχουν όλα ετυμολογικές πληροφορίες, των οποίων η κωδικοποίηση απορρέει από διαφορετικές λεξικογραφικές αποφάσεις. Σε αυτή τη μελέτη αναλύεται ο χειρισμός των ετυμολογικών στοιχείων από τα παραπάνω λεξικά και εξετάζεται το θεωρητικό υπόβαθρο που υπόκειται στις επί μέρους επιλογές ως προς τους ακόλουθους τομείς:

1) Ετυμολογική κάλυψη του λημματολογίου.

Ποια λήμματα ετυμολογούνται – Πώς αντιμετωπίζονται τα υπολήμματα, τα κυριωνύμια και τα λημματογραφημένα προσφύματα.

2) Χρονολόγηση των λημμάτων.

Τοποθέτηση των λημμάτων στον χρόνο και προσδιορισμός τής πρώτης εμφάνισής τους.

3) Βάθος και εύρος τής ετυμολογικής αλυσίδας.

Πόσο αναλυτική είναι η μορφολογική ανάλυση – Μέχρι πού ορίζεται η ετυμολογική αφετηρία (το έτυμον) – Αναλυτική ή σχηματική/σκιάδης ετυμολόγηση.

4) Χειρισμός τής σημασιολογικής μεταβολής.

Είδος και ποσότητα πληροφοριών για τις αλλαγές σημασίας – Επισήμανση της αρχικής σημασίας, τυχόν ενδιάμεσων σταδίων, καθώς και των σύγχρονων σημασιών – Προσδιορισμός σημασιών με διαφορετική προέλευση (π.χ. ξένη επίδραση ή λόγια επανεισαγωγή).

5) Αντιμετώπιση των λεξικών δανείων.

Πώς προσδιορίζονται τα δάνεια και κυρίως τα είδη τους (π.χ. μεταφραστικά δάνεια, αντιδάνεια, ελληνογενείς ξένοι όροι κ.ά.).

Με βάση κατάλληλα παραδείγματα και σύγκριση λημμάτων ελέγχονται οι αποφάσεις των τεσσάρων κύριων νεοελληνικών λεξικών ως προς τα πέντε αυτά κριτήρια, όπως και η κωδικοποίηση των παραπάνω στοιχείων στον περιορισμένο χώρο που διαθέτουν τα γενικά λεξικά για την ετυμολογία.

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N

Vicky Nanousi (→Terzi)

Theoni Neokleous:

Towards a new typology of clitic languages: evidence from Cypriot Greek and Standard Modern Greek

The past two decades have seen a proliferation of scholarly work on cliticisation from a theoretical as well as from an acquisition perspective. A cross-linguistic typology that has been extensively discussed in the literature is the discrepancy between clitic languages that exhibit high rates of clitic omission at the onset of L1A (such as Catalan, European Portuguese, and Italian), and clitic languages that exhibit target-like clitic production from the earliest stages of L1A (such as Cypriot Greek (CG), Spanish, Standard Modern Greek (SMG), Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian and Romanian). Tsakali and Wexler (2004), Tsakali (2006, 2014) and Wexler et al. (2004) have argued in favor of a cross-linguistic typology with respect to clitic realization/omission in early language.

Recent studies have revealed that clitic languages differ in another crucial respect: the (mis)placement of clitic pronouns in early language. In most European clitic languages including Catalan, Italian, Romanian, Spanish, SMG and Serbo-Croatian clitic placement is target-like from the onset of L1A, with the interesting exceptions of CG

(Neokleous 2013, 2014; Petinou & Terzi, 2002) and European Portuguese (Flores & Barbosa, 2012; Lobo & Costa, 2012) in which clitic misplacement has been attested. This paper puts this observation in a cross-linguistic perspective and discusses a new typology of clitic languages with respect to clitic placement: some early languages exhibit clitic misplacement while some others don't. The discussion revolves around early CG and early SMG, two Greek varieties that share the same morphological paradigm of clitic pronouns but belong to two different categories in Mavrogiorgos' (2012) typology of clitic languages: the former is a Tobler-Mussafia language and the latter is a finiteness-sensitive language. Acquisition data is used (see Neokleous 2013, 2014; Petinou & Terzi, 2002 for CG, Marinis, 2000; Tsakali, 2006; Tsakali and Wexler, 2004; Tzakosta, 2003, 2004a, 2004b for SMG) to suggest that the observed discrepancy between early CG and early SMG is attributed to the Tobler-Mussafia properties of the language being acquired. Clitic placement in CG is analysed as a syntax-phonology interface phenomenon in the spirit of Revithiadou (2006), Bošković (2000) and Franks (1998), while clitic placement in SMG depends on the morphosyntactic properties (tense, mood and/or subject agreement) of the verbal host (Mavrogiorgos, 2009, 2010).

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Theoni Neokleous (→ Ioannidou)

Kiki Nikiforidou (→ Katis)

Katerina Nikolaidis, Mary Baltazani, Anastasia Chionidou: An articulatory study of vowel production in Greek dialects

Vowel production shows interesting phonetic and phonological variability across dialects. To date, limited research is available on Modern Greek dialects which have traditionally been described impressionistically (e.g. Newton 1972). Recent acoustic studies provide empirical data on dialectal variability but are typically limited to a single dialect or a limited number of speakers (e.g. Trudgill 2009; Baltazani & Efthymiou 2008, Papazachariou 2006). This study aims to add to previous literature by examining data from several Greek dialects (Crete, the Peloponnese, Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia and Standard Modern Greek) and multiple speakers. It examines variation at the articulatory level using the technique of electropalatography (EPG). While tongue palate contact is generally limited for vowels, interesting variation can be measured in terms of the total amount of linguo-palatal contact and the location of contact along the front-back axis. Therefore, phonological processes such as vowel raising or phonetic variation due to stress and context can be examined and quantified. EPG has been used for the investigation of selected vowels in the literature offering important insights on lingual articulation and coarticulation (e.g. Gibbon, Lee & Yuen 2010). For the current study, the speech material consisted of CVCV real and nonsense words produced in carrier phrases or sentences (V=i, e, a, o, u/ and C varied depending on the type of material). Two speakers from each dialect were recorded. The analysis of the data showed variation in the total amount of linguo-palatal contact and in lingual placement across dialects, contexts, stress positions and speakers. The results are discussed in relation to variability at the acoustic level and to traditional impressionistic accounts of vowel variation across Greek dialects.

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Evanthia Nikolaidou & Vojkan Stojcic:

Η διδασκαλία της Νέας Ελληνικής εξ αποστάσεως: μύθος ή πραγματικότητα;

Το διαδίκτυο και η πληροφορική καταλαμβάνουν συνεχώς όλο και πιο σημαντική θέση σε πολλούς και διάφορους τομείς της ζωής. Ένας από τους τομείς αυτούς είναι και η εκπαίδευση, με αποτέλεσμα οι πληροφοριακές και επικοινωνιακές τεχνολογίες να αποτελούν πλέον αναπόσπαστο και σημαντικό δομικό κομμάτι πολλών αναπτυξιακών προγραμμάτων των εκπαιδευτικών ιδρυμάτων. Ειδικές διαδικτυακές πλατφόρμες (Virtual Learning Environment) που κάποτε ήταν απρόσιτες στο ευρύ κοινό και που εδώ και πολύ καιρό χρησιμοποιούνται στα πανεπιστημιακά ιδρύματα παγκοσμίως, με τη βοήθεια διάφορων λογισμικών συστημάτων, όπως Blackboard, Oracle iLearning και Moodle, προβλέπονται για την πραγματοποίηση όλων των εκπαιδευτικών δραστηριοτήτων. Οι διδάσκοντες πραγματώνουν την επικοινωνία με τους φοιτητές, διανέμουν και ετοιμάζουν ποικίλα είδη ασκήσεων, ενθαρρύνουν, προσφέρουν διδακτική υποστήριξη με προτεινόμενες λύσεις, σχεδιάζουν εξ αποστάσεως μαθήματα και με τον τρόπο αυτό η διδακτική διαδικασία γίνεται πιο δυναμική, δεν εξαρτάται από τον χρόνο και τον τόπο της διδακτικής πράξης και εξατομικεύεται, προκειμένου να προσφέρει το ιδανικό αποτέλεσμα. Οι ψηφιακές τεχνολογίες είναι αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι του τρόπου διδασκαλίας και των προγραμμάτων σπουδών όλων των σύγχρονων πανεπιστημιακών ιδρυμάτων παγκοσμίως και αποτελούν έναν από τους συνηθέστερους καθημερινούς τρόπους επικοινωνίας. Μεταξύ των άλλων, εξασφαλίζουν ή εν μέρει ή πλήρη διεξαγωγή των ακαδημαϊκών δραστηριοτήτων εκτός της έδρας του Πανεπιστημίου και χωρίς την άμεση επαφή με τον διδάσκοντα και παρόλο που αποτελούν αντικείμενο πολλών διαφωνιών και συζητήσεων, τέτοιου είδους διδασκαλία σαφέστατα συμβάλλει στην εξοικονόμηση χρόνου, χώρου και οικονομικών μέσων, ενώ την ίδια στιγμή ενδυναμώνει την ποιότητα της ατομικής διδασκαλίας.

Στις αρχές του 21ου αιώνα, όπου πλέον είναι εμφανή τα αποτελέσματα μιας ευρύτερης οικονομικής κρίσης, της οποίας ο αντίκτυπος είναι μεγαλύτερος στην εκπαίδευση, μια χρονική στιγμή όπου τα περισσότερα παραδοσιακά τμήματα Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών κινδυνεύουν να «σβήσουν», υπάρχει η ανάγκη να προταθούν και να εφαρμοστούν καινοτόμα εκπαιδευτικά προγράμματα. Στην παρούσα εισήγηση προτείνουμε μια πρόταση για τη διάδοση και στήριξη της ελληνικής γλώσσας σε μια χώρα της αλλοδαπής, όπου εδώ και είκοσι χρόνια λειτουργεί το Τμήμα Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών Βελιγραδίου. Ένα από τα εποπτικά μέσα του Τμήματος αποτελεί και η διαδικτυακή ηλεκτρονική πλατφόρμα Moodle μέσα στην οποία αναρτήσαμε λογισμικό υλικό που ανταποκρίνεται στις διδακτικές ανάγκες του επιπέδου Α2 του Κοινού Ευρωπαϊκού Πλαισίου Αναφοράς για τις ξένες γλώσσες. Θα αναφερθούμε στις δυνατότητες που προσφέρει αυτή η διαδικτυακή πλατφόρμα, θα παρουσιάσουμε τον τρόπο χρήσης της, ενώ θα

προβληθεί και ένα μέρος του λογισμικού υλικού για την εκμάθηση της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης ή ξένης γλώσσας.

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Kalomira Nikolou, Nitsa Paracheraki & Maria Xefteri:

Το φαινόμενο της σύνθεσης λέξεων στην κυκλαδο-κρητική διαλεκτική ομάδα

Η ταξινόμηση των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων σε διαλεκτικές ομάδες βασίζεται κατά κύριο λόγο σε φωνολογικά κριτήρια (Newton 1972; Κοντοσόπουλος [1994] 2000; Trudgill 2003). Σε αυτήν την εργασία, θα επικεντρωθούμε σε δύο ποικιλίες της κυκλαδο-κρητικής γλωσσικής ομάδας οι οποίες πέρα από τα κοινά φωνολογικά χαρακτηριστικά, όπως η ουρανικοποίηση και η προστριβοποίηση των υπερωικών συμφώνων μπροστά από πρόσθια φωνήεντα (Οικονομίδης 1952; Trudgill 2003),

παρουσιάζουν αναλογίες ως προς ένα μορφολογικό φαινόμενο, τη σύνθεση λέξεων. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση επιχειρείται η λεπτομερής περιγραφή και συστηματική παρουσίαση του φαινομένου της σύνθεσης στο ιδίωμα της Δυτικής Κρήτης και στο ιδίωμα τ' Απεράθου (Απειράνθος) της Νάξου. Οι υπό εξέταση διαλεκτικές ποικιλίες, οι οποίες προσεγγίζονται αντιπαραβολικά, παρουσιάζουν ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον, καθώς μοιράζονται κοινά γλωσσικά χαρακτηριστικά σε όλα τα επίπεδα γραμματικής ανάλυσης (Οικονομίδης 1952, μεταξύ άλλων). Η σύνθεση θεωρείται μια διαδικασία ιδιαίτερα παραγωγική στη νότια ομάδα των νεοελληνικών γλωσσικών ποικιλιών συγκριτικά με τις βόρειες ποικιλίες (Γιαννουλοπούλου 2006) και για το λόγο αυτό έχει προσελκύσει το ενδιαφέρον πολλών ερευνητών (Ανδρέου & Κολιοπούλου 2011; Ralli & Andreou 2012). Στο ίδιο πλαίσιο εντάσσεται και η παρούσα εργασία εξετάζοντας τη σύνθεση λέξεων σε δύο γλωσσικές ποικιλίες της νότιας διαλεκτικής ομάδας, ιδιαίτερα πλούσιες σε σύνθετους σχηματισμούς.

Για τους σκοπούς αυτής της έρευνας και ελλείψει εξειδικευμένων γλωσσολογικών μελετών, δημιουργήθηκε σώμα δεδομένων αποτελούμενο από μονολεκτικές σύνθετες λέξεις που απαντούν στο λεξιλόγιο των υπό εξέταση ιδιωμάτων. Ειδικότερα, το corpus συγκροτήθηκε με αποδεκτίωση γραπτών πηγών (διαλεκτικά λεξικά και γλωσσάρια, γραμματικές περιγραφές, λαογραφικά κείμενα) αλλά και ηχητικών αρχείων προφορικού λόγου που συλλέχθηκαν από επιτόπια έρευνα. Στη συνέχεια, τα διαλεκτικά σύνθετα κατηγοριοποιήθηκαν σύμφωνα με τις εξής παραμέτρους: (α) τη μορφολογική δομή, (β) την ύπαρξη ή μη κεφαλής, (γ) τη σημασιολογική σχέση μεταξύ των συνθετικών όρων και (δ) τη γραμματική κατηγορία στην οποία ανήκουν οι σύνθετες λέξεις και τα συνθετικά τους μέλη. Παράλληλα με τη μορφολογική δομή, παρουσιάζεται και η φωνολογική οργάνωση των συνθέτων σε προσωδιακά συστατικά με βάση τις τονικές τους ιδιότητες.

Η επεξεργασία και η αντιπαραβολική εξέταση των διαλεκτικών δεδομένων έφερε στο φως την ύπαρξη όμοιων σχημάτων σύνθεσης επιβεβαιώνοντας τη στενή γλωσσική σχέση μεταξύ των ποικιλιών που μιλιούνται στη Δυτική Κρήτη και την Απειράνθο Νάξου και, κατ'επέκταση, ενισχύοντας την άποψη περί κυκλαδοκρητικής γλωσσικής συγγένειας (βλ. Newton 1972, Κοντοσόπουλος [1994] 2000).

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O

Marianthi Oikonomakou & Emmanouil Sofos:

Using adjectives in writing activities: a field research in primary education

This research aims at investigating the use of adjective in writing having as a point of reference texts produced in the framework of L1 teaching in primary education. Our main target will be the contrastive analysis of a corpus of texts collected from three different grades of various primary schools in the Dodecanese region. More specifically, we will attempt to register the emerging differences concerning the frequency of adjective use as well as the its distribution according to age groups and based on semantico-syntactic criteria. What we have implemented is an operational (according to the current bibliography) sub-categorization of the adjectives in which we have recorded certain tendencies concerning student's choices of syntactic structures, lexical collocations and their orthographic awareness.

At the same time critical observations with reference to the adjective use in different situational contexts are made. Taking into consideration the didactic framework of the school textbooks activities, with focus mainly on the production of descriptive, narrative and argumentative texts, we examined the extent of adjective use in various genres in order to discern its contribution in developing communicative skills in the school environment. Via researching all the afore mentioned variables, what is clarified is the way with which the children tend to gradually comprehend the span of the adjective function as a means of personal expression and evaluation.

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Despoina Oikonomou:

Intonation and interpretation of *alos* 'other' in Modern Greek

Background

Building on previous work (Heim et. al. 1991, Lechner 2010, Thomas 2011, Barros 2011), I suggest that *alos* is an anaphoric element establishing a non-identity relation with its antecedent:

(1) $[[alos]] = \lambda x_c. \lambda P_{\langle et \rangle}. \lambda y. P(y) \wedge \neg x_c \neq y$ [adapted from Thomas 2011]

Presupposition: $P(x_c)$

Assuming the meaning in (1), (2) under the given context has the interpretation in (3):

Context: Nick and Ana are students in a cinematography school. Nick likes to take initiative; sometimes he doesn't even follow the assignments whereas sometimes he does even more. So Ana tells Mary "Yesterday, we had to watch Psycho..."

(2) ...O Nikos ide (**kapja**) **ali tenia**."

the Nick saw some other movie

'Nick saw some other movie.'

(3) ↗ There is a movie *y* and $y \neq \text{Psycho}$ and Nick saw *y*

The puzzle

The meaning in (3) fails to capture a strong inference derived by (2), namely that *Nick didn't watch Psycho*. Crucially, this inference depends on the intonation pattern of *alos*. **Focus-marked *alos*** gives rise to a negative or positive inference regarding the antecedent, which depends on whether *alos* is in a positive or negative declarative respectively. **Contrastive Topic** intonation on *alos* gives rise to an ignorance inference irrespectively from the environment it appears in.

Account

I argue that the derived inferences are best explained as a special case of a Contextual Implicature arising under Focus-marking (Rooth 1992, Fox & Katzir 2011). Following a Roothian approach to Focus Alternatives augmented by the constraint on F-marking AVOID-F (Schwarzschild 1999), I suggest the following rule for the derivation of Focus alternatives for *alos*:

(4) Substitute the entire DP containing *alos* with the antecedent that the pronoun is anaphoric to.

The implicature is derived by applying Exhaustification over the alternatives (Chierchia et. al. 2012). The difference between F-marked and CT-marked *alos* is explained by assuming that the Exhaust Operator is not compatible with CT-marking (Tommioka 2010). The analysis will be extended to explain the additive inference derived in broad focus yes-no questions and wh-questions containing *alos*.

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Despina Oikonomou:

C-Negation is not Constituent Negation but CP-Negation: Evidence from Modern Greek

Since Klima's (1964) work there is an established dichotomy between Constituent vs. Sentential Negation (Horn 1989, McCawley 1991). In Modern Greek (MG) this dichotomy is also instantiated morphologically by using a distinct Negative particle 'ohi' (1) as opposed to the sentential negation 'den' (Veloudis 1982, Giannakidou 1998):

(1) C-Negation

a. *ida ton Petro (ke/ala) ohi ton Pavlo.*
 saw.1Sg the Peter and/but not the Paul.
 'I saw [F Peter] (and/but) not [F Paul].'

b. *ida ohi ton Pavlo ala ton Petro.*
 saw.1Sg not the Paul but the Paul.
 'I saw not [F Paul] but [F Peter].'

I argue that C-negation (C-NEG) in (1a-b) is not Constituent but CP-negation base-generated at CP-level (McCawley 1991, Giannakidou & Stavrou 2009). Under this view 'ohi' in (1) is analysed as NEG associated with a Focus Phrase (FocP) involving TP-deletion (2), similarly to what has been argued for Fragment Answers and Sluicing (Merchant 2001):

(2) [NegP not [FocP Pauli [TP I saw ti]]]

Such an analysis finds support in:

i) Positional restrictions C-NEG: In (3) C-NEG must precede the PP and the preposition cannot be omitted. The proposed structure in (2) can account for the restriction in (3), as pied-piping of prepositions in MG is obligatory whereas it cannot be explained under a Constituent analysis of C-NEG. Notice that in English where pied-piping is optional the preposition can be omitted.

(3) *Milisa me ton Niko (ke/ala) *(me) ohi *(me) ton Petro.*
 talked.1Sg with the Nick (and/but) with not with the Peter
 'Mary met with Nick (but) not (with) Peter.'

ii) C-NEG scopes over modals: 'prepi' 'must' is analyzed as a wide scope modal (Iatridou & Zeijlstra 2013). However, in (4) C-NEG takes scope over 'prepi', suggesting that C-NEG c-commands it at LF.

(4) *Prepi na dis ohi to Hobbit ala to Psycho.*
 must subj see.2Sg not the Hobbit but the Psycho
 'You must see not Hobbit but Psycho.'

iii) Topicalised Phrases precedes C-NEG suggesting that C-NEG is base-generated at CP and a Topic Phrase appears above it whereas a Focused phrase moves below it (1). Moreover, 'ohi' appears in a variety of environments aside from (1) in which it can be analyzed as CP-Negation with TP-ellipsis involved.

In conclusion, I argue that what has been typically analysed as Constituent Negation is syntactically and semantically more accurately explained as CP-Negation.

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P

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Το δίπολο «Εμείς» και οι «Άλλοι» σε σχόλια αναγνωστών της Lifo σχετικά με τη Χρυσή Αυγή

Διαφέροντας από την συνήθη τακτική των ερευνητών της Κριτικής Ανάλυσης Λόγου, η ανακοίνωση αυτή αναλύει κριτικά τον λόγο ατόμων που αντιτίθενται στη ρατσιστική ιδεολογία, και όχι εκείνων που την ενστερνίζονται. Βασική υπόθεση είναι ότι η πολωτική τάση που χαρακτηρίζει τον αντιρατσιστικό λόγο – όπως και κάθε ιδεολογικό λόγο – δημιουργεί την προκατάληψη ότι «όποιος δεν ανήκει σε Εμάς ανήκει στους Άλλους», επιδεινώνοντας τελικά το φαινόμενο του ρατσισμού αντί να το καταστέλλει. Για να εξεταστεί η παραπάνω υπόθεση, εξετάζονται σχόλια αναγνωστών της διαδικτυακής εφημερίδας Lifo (με σαφή αντιρατσιστική κατεύθυνση) που αναφέρονται στην εθνικιστική (κατά τους ιδίους) ή ρατσιστική (κατά τη Lifo) οργάνωση «Χρυσή Αυγή».

Το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο της ανακοίνωσης στηρίζεται στη μαρξιστική και νεομαρξιστική προσέγγιση του ιδεολογίας και στη γλωσσολογική προσέγγιση των ερευνητών της Κριτικής Γλωσσολογίας και της Κριτικής Ανάλυσης Λόγου. Ειδικότερα, ακολουθείται η κοινωνιογνωσιακή προσέγγιση του van Dijk (1995, 1996, 1998, 2006), η οποία συνοψίζεται στο μοντέλο του «ιδεολογικού τετραγώνου» (van Dijk, 1998), που αποτελεί τη βάση της ανάλυσης. Εξετάζονται επιλεγμένα σχόλια αναγνωστών που αναρτήθηκαν κάτω από τρία άρθρα της Lifo σχετικά με την Χρυσή Αυγή και τα οποία χωρίζονται σε τρεις ενότητες. Στην πρώτη ενότητα διακρίνονται ρητές αρνητικές αξιολογήσεις των Χρυσασυγιτών, ενώ στη δεύτερη ενότητα περιλαμβάνονται σχόλια που αντιτίθενται στον αρνητικό σχολιασμό των Χρυσασυγιτών, καθώς και οι απαντήσεις που πήραν. Η τρίτη ενότητα, τέλος, περιλαμβάνει πολωτικά σχόλια, που δείχνουν να αναγνωρίζουν την ύπαρξη δύο αντίπαλων ομάδων. Τα σχόλια αυτά κατανέμονται σε δύο υποενότητες: αυτά που προέρχονται από μέλη και αυτά που προέρχονται από μη μέλη του «Εμείς» της Lifo. Στο τέλος της ανάλυσης των σχολίων δίνεται συγκεντρωτικά η ταυτότητα των δύο αντίπαλων ομάδων όπως την κατανοούν οι συγκεκριμένοι σχολιαστές.

Συνολικά, από τη μελέτη των σχολίων προκύπτουν τα ακόλουθα ευρήματα: Κατά πρώτον, διαπιστώνεται η ύπαρξη μιας βασικής αξιολογικής σύμβασης που συμπληρώνει το ιδεολογικό τετράγωνο του van Dijk (1998). Κατά δεύτερον,

διαπιστώνεται μια σύμβαση που αφορά τον βαθμό αποδεκτότητας μιας αντίρρησης από τα υπόλοιπα μέλη της ομάδας, και, τέλος, η ύπαρξη μιας πολωτικής τάσης που, προσθέτοντας επιπλέον χαρακτηριστικά – πέρα από την αντιρατσιστική ιδεολογία – στην μία ομάδα, διευρύνει αναπόφευκτα και την αντίπαλη ομάδα, εφόσον σε αυτήν προσάπτονται επιπλέον χαρακτηριστικά – πέρα από εκείνα της ρατσιστικής ιδεολογίας.

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Despina Papadopoulou, Eleni Agathopoulou & Ioannis Mitziias:

An investigation of factors associated with language proficiency in Greek reception classes

Child second language (L2) acquisition may be affected by internal factors, such as Age of Onset (AoO), and external factors, such as amount and type of L2 input, L2 use and L1/L2 literacy (Cornips & Hulk, 2006; Paradis, 2011). However, despite extensive research, first, the relationship between these factors and L2 acquisition remains largely unclear (Unsworth, 2014) and, second, these factors may cause differential effects on L2 development (Chondrogianni & Marinis, 2011).

The present study, which is based on part of the data from a large research and educational program (Education of foreign and repatriated pupils), explores how the above mentioned factors relate with L2 Greek development of immigrant and repatriated children enrolled in reception classes of mainstream schools in Greece (Mitakidou 2010, Tzeveleku et al. 2013). There were 452 participants, aged from 6 to 15 years, and they were all attending reception classes in public schools at the time of testing. They had various linguistic backgrounds; however, almost half of them (46%) spoke Albanian as L1, while Bulgarian, Romanian and Turkish were among the other common L1s. All participants were administered (a) a questionnaire which aimed at gathering detailed information regarding AoO, L1/L2 input, use and literacy, and (b) a set of placement tests (three tests depending on the par-

ticipants' age) for written production, reading comprehension, oral comprehension and grammar competence.

The statistical analysis of the results showed that AoO did not significantly affect the data. On the other hand, amount and type of L2 input, L2 use and L1/L2 literacy had a positive impact on the pupils' accuracy. Early L1 and L2 literacy enhanced language comprehension and production in pupils aged from 6;6 to 10 years. On the other hand, the use of Greek at home, with parents and particularly with siblings, and in social interactions, i.e. play, improved language performance in older pupils, aged from 9 to 15 years. Furthermore, early L1 and L2 literacy as well as L2 use at home and in social interactions did not affect language skills similarly; writing, grammar competence and reading were more affected than listening. This finding confirms previous research, which indicated that the pupils in reception classes face more problems with literacy rather than with the Greek grammatical system per se (Tzeveleku et al. 2013). Our discussion will focus on (a) the factors affecting child L2 acquisition and (b) educational implications.

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Despina Papadopoulou (→Charatzidis)

Eleni Papadopoulou:

Η συνδυαστικότητα υποκοριστικών επιθημάτων με β' συνθετικό το επίθημα -άκι στο διαλεκτικό λόγο.

Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση τοποθετείται στο πλαίσιο της παραγωγικής μορφολογίας, επιχειρώντας να διερευνήσει το φαινόμενο της συσσώρευσης υποκοριστικών επιθημάτων στο διαλεκτικό λόγο. Το υλικό της έρευνας προέρχεται κυρίως από το ΚΕΝΔΙ-ΙΛΝΕ της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών, το οποίο περιλαμβάνει καταγραφές από όλο τον διαλεκτόφωνο χώρο, καθώς και από επιμέρους διαλεκτικές μελέτες που καταγράφουν σχετικό υλικό.

Στην κοινή νεοελληνική, η συσσώρευση υποκοριστικών επιθημάτων έχει λάβει μια σχεδόν πάγια μορφή (-ουδάκι, -αλάκι, -ουλάκι κ.ά.) που προέκυψε από την απώλεια ή την εξασθένηση της υποκοριστικής σημασίας κάποιων υποκοριστικών επιθημάτων. Η απώλεια αυτή μετέτρεψε τα αρχικά υποκοριστικά σε λεξικοποιημένες βάσεις και δημιούργησε εν πολλοίς την ανάγκη της εκ νέου δήλωσης ή ενίσχυσης του υποκορισμού με την προσθήκη ενός δεύτερου υποκοριστικού επιθήματος, στην περίπτωση μας του -άκι. Έτσι, παρατηρείται ότι στις περισσότερες περιπτώσεις χρήσης των υποκοριστικών με σύνθετο επίθημα απουσιάζει δόκιμη ενδιάμεση μορφή, πχ. τοίχος > *τοιχάλι – τοιχαλάκι, λαιμός > *λαιμούδι – λαιμουδάκι κ.τ.ό.

Η μελέτη αυτή επιχειρεί να καταγράψει το φαινόμενο στον διαλεκτικό λόγο, όπου ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει το γεγονός ότι, σε σχέση με την ΚΝΕ, τα σύνθετα υποκοριστικά επιθήματα, όπως -ουδ-άκι, -αρ-άκι, -αλ-άκι, -ακ-άκι, -ιδ-άκι κ.ά., βρίσκονται συνήθως σε σχέση εναλλαγής με τα απλά υποκοριστικά επιθήματα, καθώς καταγράφεται η ύπαρξη ενδιάμεσων τύπων με υποκοριστική σημασία. Έτσι, πολύ συχνά η ίδια βάση απαντά και με απλό και με σύνθετο υποκοριστικό επίθημα, πχ. ελιά > ελίδι – ελιδάκι, λουρί > λουράκι – λουρακάκι, τρύπα > τρυπάλι – τρυπαλάκι, ποντικός > ποντικάλι – ποντικαλάκι κ.ά., διατηρώντας, όπως φαίνεται, παλαιότερα ήδη μεσαιωνικά, υποκοριστικά επιθήματα π.χ. -ούδιον, -άριον, -ίδιον κ.ά. Ας σημειωθεί ωστόσο ότι σε κάποιους ενδιάμεσους τύπους καταγράφεται απώλεια της υποκοριστικής σημασίας, γεγονός που εντάσσεται στην τάση της εξασθένησης της υποκοριστικής ισχύος των εν λόγω επιθημάτων.

Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει το γεγονός ότι στο διαλεκτικό υλικό καταγράφηκαν συνδυασμοί υποκοριστικών επιθημάτων που δεν απαντούν ή είναι ελάχιστα παραγωγικοί στην ΚΝΕ, όπως πχ. -ακ-άκι: σπιτακάκι, πιτακάκι, -ιδ-άκι: σπηλιδάκι, κοιλιδάκι κ.ά. Αξιοσημείωτοι επίσης είναι και τύποι όπου καταγράφεται συνδυασμός τριών υποκοριστικών επιθημάτων, όπως πχ. φουντ-αλ-ιδ-άκι, σκροφ-

αλ-ιδ-άκι, πευκ-αλ-ουρ-άκι κ.ά. Μία άλλη σημαντική επισήμανση σε σχέση με το υλικό που μελετήθηκε είναι ότι τα σύνθετα επιθήματα είναι ιδιαίτερα παραγωγικά δίνοντας πλήθος παραδειγμάτων.

Από την έρευνα προκύπτει ότι το φαινόμενο απαντά κυρίως στον νησιωτικό χώρο χωρίς να αποκλείονται κάποιες περιπτώσεις στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα. Στόχο της μελέτης αποτελεί και η αποτύπωση της γλωσσογεωγραφικής διάστασης του φαινομένου, ώστε να διαφανεί η κατανομή του στον διαλεκτικό χώρο και να συμβάλει με νέα στοιχεία στη γενικότερη έρευνα της πραγμάτωσης του υποκορισμού στις διαλέκτους και τα ιδιώματα.

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Rania Papadopoulou & George J. Xydopoulos:

The influence of English on Modern Greek: Evaluating some newly imported multiword expressions

In this work we examine some Multi Word Expressions (MWE) in everyday Modern Greek (MG), chiefly found in the language of young people (age 15-20), that seem to have entered the language from English fairly recently (alias "anglicisms"), e.g. *pare to xrono sou* < *take your time*; *sto telos tis meras* < *at the end of the day (idiom)*; *poulai san zesto psomi* < *it sells like hot buns (idiom)*. As a first approach to this issue:

- i. We collected a sample of such MultiWord Expressions through internet search from blogs and social networks (e.g. facebook, slang.gr), television, radio, newspapers and magazines and everyday communication.
- ii. We studied the formal characteristics of these expressions and compared them with their genuine equivalents in Modern Greek.
- iii. We investigated the awareness of MG speakers (age 15 – 50+ years old) about the existence of such expressions in their everyday communication and their attitude towards them, through a questionnaire survey.

The results of our survey appear to confirm our initial hypothesis that several expressions have recently been imported into MG through loan translation from English. These expressions are indeed new in the language as only young speakers (15-20 years old) confirm that they understand and use them in their everyday communication (oral, web etc.). In addition, these expressions appear to be unknown to older speakers (aged 40+ years old). On the basis of these observations we would like to claim that:

- English as a dominant language lends elements to Modern Greek beyond the lexical level (Anastasiadi-Symeonidi 1994) reaching phraseology, e.g. *tha se paro piso* < *I'll call you back* and even idiomaticity, e.g. *kleo pano apo to ximeno gala* < *cry over split milk*
- These MultiWord Expressions are word by word translations that in some cases violate MG grammatical structure, e.g. *ask somebody out* > *??zitao kapion ekso* vs. *zitao apo kapoion na vgoume*
- The tendency in importing such expressions from English into MG through calquing seems to vary due to parameters such as gender, social background, knowledge of English etc.

- Social networking through the web enhances the results of language contact (Thomason 2001, McMahon 2005, Matras 2009) between English and MG.
- This issue may be a strong indication in favor of englishization / anglicisation of languages like Greek, with limited number of speakers at European or perhaps world wide level (Barbour & Stevenson 1990, Wise 1997, Crystal 2003, Dor 2004, Furiassi *et al.* 2012).

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Evanthia Papaefthymiou (→Takouda)

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Anastassios Papaioannou (→Karantzola)

Meropi Papatheohari (→Tantos)

Vassilis Papavassiliou (→Gatos)

Dimitris Papazachariou (→Giakoumelou, Vassalou)

Froso Pappa (→Iakovou)

Theodossia-Soula Pavlidou:

Where is 'here'? On the indexicality of place formulations in Greek talk-in-interaction

Against the background of previous work (Pavlidou 2014), in which the use of place formulations in the construction of collective identities was examined, the present paper focuses on Greek εδῶ ('here') and its spatial, as contrasted to its temporal or metapragmatic, uses in everyday conversation. As Schegloff noted in his landmark paper (1972: 87), utterances like "'Things here are going well' do not elicit responses such as ... 'What do you mean 'here'?' – a fact indicating that a "right" place term was selected on that particular instance. This choice out of a set of "correct" formulations is, according to Schegloff, the result of location, membership and topic or activity analysis.

Traditionally, the meaning of 'here' is captured by relation to speaker's position at the moment of utterance. So, for example, Levinson (1983: 79) glosses the symbolic usage of here as "the pragmatically given unit of space that includes the location of the speaker at CT [coding time]", while its gestural usage is glossed as "the pragmatically given space, proximal to speaker's location at CT, that includes the point or location gesturally indicated". However, the situation is quite more complex in talk-in-interaction and can be better approached using Hanks' (1992) notion of indexical ground (a shared set of background understandings, etc.), against which a focal object is identified.

The aim of the present paper is to sort out what goes into the relevant (participants') analyses that lead to the choice of 'here' or, alternatively, what constitutes the indexical ground of this place term. Based on data from 40 conversations among friends and/or relatives and 140 telephone calls (a subset of the Corpus of Spoken Greek), the point of departure for the analysis is the co-occurrence of 'here' with self-reference – in other words a double grounding in the speaker's deictic center. It is shown that the indexical ground of 'here' is variably established depending on whether the self-reference involved is individual or collective. Moreover, it

is argued that the specific sense of 'here' is interactionally achieved in terms of the sequential context of 'here', its sequential position (initial vs. subsequent), the type of other place formulations and aspects of motion involved.

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Natalia Pavlou (→Merchant)

Miltos Pechlivanos:

Discontinuities and contingencies: Impromptu remarks of a non-linguist

Which stories have been told about the history of language choice in Greece? A metahistorical mapping of the stories told during the 19th and the 20th centuries could make us aware of their circulating emplotments and underlying language ideologies. Such an interdisciplinary project could be part of a „social history of language“ as Peter Burke has proposed, by contributing “to a discussion of the place of language in expressing or constructing a variety of social relationships - dominance and subordination, friendship and fraternity, tolerance and prejudice, the maintenance and the subversion of a social order, and so on”. Focusing on the teleologies that inform a Whig interpretation of Adamantios Korais’s language choice, this paper discusses a still resilient opinion that attributes to him the development of katharevousa, making him responsible for the emergence of diglossia in the post-revolutionary Greek state.

Stavrialena Perrea (→Iakovou)

Kakia Petinou & Spyros Armostis:

Mastering word-initial syllable onsets by Cypriot Greek toddlers with early language delay

Petinou & Okalidou (2006) reported that for children with early language delay, word-initial onsets pose a particular productive challenge that persists beyond a “developmental window” during which typically developing children overcome such phonological learning strategies/patterns. In particular, word-initial onsets appear to delete (e.g. /'milo/ → ['ilo], 'apple') the younger the children are. The current study provides further data regarding this robust phonological process observed in the speech of Cypriot Greek (CG) speaking toddlers with late onset of expressive vocabulary. Apart from word-initial onset deletion, the current study examined another phonological process reported in Petinou and Okalidou (2006), namely the regressive long distance full assimilation (harmony) of word-initial onsets to the consonant of the following syllable: e.g. /'milo/ → ['lilo]. Children were examined at four age stages: 24, 28, 32, and 36 months of age. The results of this longitudinal study revealed a decrease of word-initial onset deletion with age with a parallel increase of regressive assimilation. This finding is suggestive of a developmental pattern of the type “word-initial onset deletion → regressive assimilation → adult target realisation”; e.g., ['ilo] → ['lilo] → ['milo]. A proposed explanation of these findings is that GG-speaking children initially apply a VCV template for rendering disyllabic and multisyllabic words, thus deleting word-initial onsets (and unstressed syllables in some cases); later on, they allow onsets, usually by means of repeating the onset consonant of the following syllable; finally, they start producing word-initial target consonants as they expand their phonological skills. The paper will discuss plausible factors that may contribute to these language specific developmental patterns.

Konstandinos Petrogiannis (→Gavriilidou)

Stelios Piperidis, Penny Labropoulou & Maria Gavrilidou:

CLARIN EL: μια υποδομή τεκμηρίωσης, διαμοιρασμού και επεξεργασίας γλωσσικών δεδομένων

Η Ερευνητική Υποδομή CLARIN EL (Common Language Resources and Technology Infrastructure - Greece) είναι το ελληνικό σκέλος μιας πανευρωπαϊκής προσπάθειας (www.clarin.eu) με σκοπό τη δημιουργία, τεκμηρίωση, διάθεση και επεξεργασία μέσω υπηρεσιών γλωσσικής τεχνολογίας ελληνικών γλωσσικών πόρων και περιεχομένου.

Η υποδομή CLARIN EL (proxy.clarin.gr) ενσωματώνει γλωσσικούς πόρους κάθε μέσου (κείμενο, ήχο, εικόνα, βίντεο) και κάθε τύπου (πρωτότυπα και επεξεργασμένα κείμενα, μονόγλωσσα ή πολύγλωσσα, μεταγγραμμένο προφορικό λόγο, επισημειωμένες ηχογραφήσεις, λεξικά, θησαυρούς, κτλ.) καθώς και διαδικτυακά εργαλεία και υπηρεσίες γλωσσικής τεχνολογίας (λημματοποιητές, μορφο-συντακτικούς αναλυτές, εργαλεία εξαγωγής πληροφορίας, αναγνώρισης οντοτήτων, στοίχισης παράλληλων κειμένων κτλ.), οργανωμένα σε ένα δίκτυο αποθετηρίων διαθέσιμο σε ερευνητές όλων των επιστημών.

Η υποδομή προσφέρει στον ερευνητή τη δυνατότητα να επιλέξει το σύνολο δεδομένων το οποίο επιθυμεί, να χρησιμοποιήσει εργαλεία γλωσσικής επεξεργασίας ενός φορέα και στατιστικά εργαλεία ενός άλλου φορέα, την υπολογιστική ισχύ ενός τρίτου υπολογιστικού κέντρου και τελικά να αποθηκεύσει τη διαδικασία και τα αποτελέσματα της ανάλυσης στην υποδομή και να τα μοιραστεί με την υπόλοιπη ερευνητική κοινότητα. Επιστήμονες διαφόρων τομέων θα μπορούν, για παράδειγμα, να εξαγάγουν αυτόματα τους όρους ενός πόρου ή ενός συνόλου πόρων, να δημιουργήσουν πρόχειρα δίγλωσσα γλωσσάρια όρων από παράλληλα κείμενα ή να εντοπίσουν τα κύρια ονόματα (ανθρώπων, τόπων κτλ.), χρησιμοποιώντας τις κατάλληλες υπηρεσίες γλωσσικής τεχνολογίας.

Οι πόροι και οι υπηρεσίες που διατίθενται από την υποδομή είναι τεκμηριωμένοι με κοινό σχήμα μεταδεδομένων, ώστε να εξασφαλίζεται η συστηματικότητα στην αναζήτησή τους και η διαλειτουργικότητα πόρων και υπηρεσιών. Για τη διασφάλιση της διαλειτουργικότητας έχουν υιοθετηθεί διεθνή, κατά το δυνατόν ανοιχτά, πρότυπα τεκμηρίωσης πόρων.

Ο τρόπος διάθεσης πόρων και υπηρεσιών και η συντήρηση της τεκμηρίωσής τους είναι ευθύνη των παρόχων τους, στους οποίους παραμένουν ακέραια τα δικαιώματα πνευματικής ιδιοκτησίας. Γίνεται προσπάθεια οι πόροι και οι υπηρεσίες να διατίθενται με ανοιχτές άδειες χρήσης, ωστόσο, υπάρχουντες νομικοί περιορισμοί στον τρόπο διάθεσής τους γίνονται σεβαστοί.

Το κατανεμημένο δίκτυο που έχει υλοποιηθεί περιλαμβάνει ιδρυματικά αποθετήρια (αποθετήρια φορέων) και έναν κεντρικό συσσωρευτή, ο οποίος φιλοξενεί τον κεντρικό κατάλογο πόρων και υπηρεσιών και επικοινωνεί με τα

άλλα εθνικά δίκτυα της ευρωπαϊκής υποδομής.

Οι φορείς που συμμετέχουν προς το παρόν στην υποδομή είναι: Ε.Κ. «Αθηνά» (συντονιστής), ΕΚΕΦΕ «ΔΗΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ», Εθνικό Δίκτυο Έρευνας και Τεχνολογίας, Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο, Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου, Ιόνιο Πανεπιστήμιο και Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας. Το δίκτυο είναι ανοιχτό σε όλους τους ακαδημαϊκούς και ερευνητικούς φορείς που επιθυμούν να συμμετάσχουν.

Το παρόν άρθρο παρουσιάζει τους στόχους, τις βασικές αρχές και τα χαρακτηριστικά της υποδομής, καθώς και τα μέχρι τώρα επιτεύγματα και τις μελλοντικές ενέργειες.

Maria Pontiki & Haris Papageorgiou:

Opinion Mining and Target Extraction in Greek Review Texts

In this paper, we present a linguistically driven opinion mining method for the Greek language. Mining opinions from user-generated content on the Web (e.g. review sites) has attracted significant commercial and academic interest given the variety of its practical applications and the research challenges it involves. A fundamental problem in opinion mining is the extraction of opinion targets [1], namely identifying the objects/topics on which opinions are expressed. Opinion targets are important because without knowing what an opinion is about, the identified (positive/negative) sentiments within a sentence or a document are somewhat meaningless and of limited use. For example, restaurant customer reviews not only express the overall sentiment about a specific restaurant (e.g., “Nice place”), but also opinions related to the food (e.g. “The foie gras terrine with figs was delicious”) and the service (e.g. “The waiter was very rude”). A variety of opinion mining methods that involve the extraction of opinion targets have been proposed for the English [2] and other languages like Chinese [3]. The few opinion mining methods that have been developed for the Greek language [4], or applied to it in the context of multilingual approaches [5], focus only on the overall sentiment classification of short text messages not involving the extraction of the respective opinion targets. In the work of [6] candidate opinion targets (e.g. nouns) are used along with an available list of opinion words in order to extract new opinion words based on a double propagation method.

In the work presented in this paper, targets are treated as basic opinion components [7]; the goal is, given a review text about a particular target entity (e.g., a restaurant), to identify and automatically extract all the opinion targets along with the respective sentiment polarity label. For this purpose we have developed a rule-based opinion analyzer (i.e. a set of linguistic rules that model phrase-level opinion expressions) that relies on EvalLex [8], an Appraisal Theory [9] grounded Lexicon for Evaluative Language that was manually compiled for the Greek language. EvalLex contained evaluative indicators used to express opinions focusing on the attributes

of the target of the evaluation (e.g. “ικανοποιητικός” (= “satisfactory”). In order to achieve better recall we further expanded it with other types of sentiment vocabulary like affective words (e.g. “ικανοποιημένος” (= “satisfied”). A final, yet important, contribution of this work is the creation of Greek datasets that contain human authored annotations of sentiment polarity and opinion targets.

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Katerina Poulou (→Mesinioti)

Christina Poulogianni (→Vamvakari)

Prokopis Prokopidis, Emilia Stripeli & Haris Papageorgiou: MWEs and dependency parsing of Modern Greek

Modern Greek MWEs have been studied in several contexts including their mining from automatically annotated corpora. Moreover, parsing Greek sentences with MWEs using manually constructed grammars has also been examined. This work aims to investigate different types of interaction between statistical dependency parsing and multi word expressions.

Our first experiment concerns the extraction of MWEs from large news corpora automatically annotated at the token level with POS-tags, morphosyntactic information and lemmas using a robust suite of NLP tools for the Greek language. Apart from these token-based annotations, sentences are also represented as dependency trees using a statistical parser trained on a treebank, which, at the moment, does not contain MWE annotations. By focusing on dependency subtrees of 2 and 3 nodes length (which may not necessarily be contiguous), we examine different patterns, techniques and lexical association measures that result in a preliminary list of candidate MWEs which are then filtered semi-automatically. During filtering, we also label each MWE according to classification schemata available in the literature. The documents in the news corpora we use belong to broad thematic categories (national, international, financial etc. news), and thus the lists of MWEs obtained can be further studied according to these partitions. All lists generated during these experiments are provided as an open resource for further use by the community. In the second experiment, we investigate how we can identify and represent certain types of MWEs in the train and test sets of the dependency treebank. At this stage another processing module that we also make use is a named entity recognizer that allows us to also take into account multi- and single word names of persons, organizations, and locations. We present detailed results on how this process affects the accuracy of different parsing models and qualitatively discuss positive and negative effects of MWE and NE integration.

Prokopis Prokopidis (→Vassiliou)

Q

Josep Quer (→Lekakou)

Anka Rađenović:

Analysis of Aspect and Tense in Students' Translations

This paper offers an analysis of tense and aspect as temporal predicates with complex interpretable content represented as grammatical and abstract semantic features. The category of aspect was usually identified with the category of time in traditional approach to the verbal systems of specific languages, which led to disagreement among linguists, philosophers and psychologists about the time relations in language (Lyons 1977: 105). Although the grammatical terminology of individual languages treats the aspectual differences as temporal, aspect is still different from tense, because it recognizes the opposition perfective-imperfective and as such can be defined as “different way of perceiving the internal temporal structure of the verb” (Comrie 1976: 3).

Since it is proposed that tense and aspect are distinct grammatical categories, they both express a relation that can be characterized as (non)-coincidence. Tense expresses (non)-coincidence of the utterance time and the assertion time, while aspect expresses (non)-coincidence of the assertion time and the situation time. Tense and aspect are represented by a set of two features: grammatical features and the abstract feature. Thus, they have different grammatical content but the same abstract semantic content (Mezhevich, 2008). Aspect can be observed as grammatical phenomenon on one side, reflecting the opposition perfective-imperfective, or as lexical phenomenon on the other side, displaying its inherent characteristics (Xydopoulos 1996:117,118). This fine-grained distinction enables us to capture the similarities and differences between the two categories. The interaction between the two types of features together with the syntactic operation of feature agreement accounts for the temporal and aspectual interpretation of verbal morphology, and it also derives the interaction between Tense and Aspect in languages such as Serbian and Modern Greek.

Taking into consideration the role of contrastive analysis in the process of translating from one language to another, we will analyze the use of tense and aspect in students' translations from Serbian to Modern Greek and vice versa. Although there are a lot of similarities in the verbal systems of these two languages, there are still a lot of differences which can be observed in translations, where we can notice the wrong choice of aspect and tense caused by language interference.

By analyzing the students' choices in their translations, we will be able to find what causes them and try to find the ways to reduce such interferences. Some of the reasons for tense-aspect morphological selections have implications for research

methodology in future studies on the acquisition and use of tense-aspect morphology, while others invite reflection on teaching practices and on the role and utility of teaching and learning grammatical rules.

Angela Ralli (→ Ioannidou)

Antonio R. Revuelta Puigdollers:

The adverbs αντίθετα/αντιθέτως in Modern Greek

In this paper my purpose is to analyze the use of the adverbs αντίθετα and αντιθέτως in Modern Greek. According to the ΛΚΝ dictionary these adverbs appear at first position of their sentence (example 1) or after the conjunction αλλά ('but', example 2) and they express “the contrary of the previous negative sentence”. However these contexts do not exhaust all their possible meanings, since the adverbs can appear at other sentence positions (see examples 3-6) and the previous sentence can be positive (see 3, 5 and 6), as the following examples show:

- (1) - Δεν έχει μιλήσει με τον Παύλο Γιαννακόπουλο. - Αντιθέτως, μίλησε αρκετές φορές από την Αμερική με τους Φίλιππου-Γρανίτσα. (HNC 1544704)
- (2) Νομίζουν ότι κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο λύνουν προβλήματα, ενώ δεν τα λύνουν αλλά αντιθέτως τα πολλαπλασιάζουν και τα διογκώνουν. (HNC 2131500)
- (3) Το βάλς του Strauss δείχνει να αντιφάσκει με την παράσταση του Βασιλιά Λιρ, ενώ η εισαγωγή του Berlioz, αντιθέτως, να της αντιστοιχεί, μόνο εφόσον συγκρίνουμε αυτές τις μουσικές με εκείνη την παράσταση. (HNC 199442)
- (4) οι Έλληνες φαίνεται ότι [...] ότι, αντί να έχουμε αποδυνάμωση του παραγωγικού ιστού, αντιθέτως έχουμε βελτίωση. (HNC 2264426)
- (5) Τα παραδείγματά του ριζώνουν βαθιά στο έδαφος της κλασικότητας ή, αντιθέτως, ανοίγονται στους νέους ορίζοντες της πρωτοπορίας. (HNC 2036519)
- (6) ο [...] τραπεζικός όμιλος ING Barings αποφάσισε να υποβαθμίσει τη θέση της Ελλάδας στο χαρτοφυλάκιο ευρωπαϊκών αναδυόμενων αγορών και, αντιθέτως, να αναβαθμίσει τη θέση της Τουρκίας και του Ισραήλ. (HNC 279626)

I will try to prove that these adverbs work as focusing particles and operate on the information structure of clauses in the sense of König (1991), Lambrecht (1996) and Krifka (2012). The different meanings they exhibit are due to the different informational packages they are inserted in. In part these different configurations are apparent when they are combined with other focusing devices, as for example αλλά (2), ενώ (3), αντί (για) (4), ή (5) and και (6). Some of the issues discussed in the paper are the following: (i) the influence of focus and scope in the final meaning conveyed by the adverbs; (ii) their combination with other focus devices; (iii)

the position they occupy within a classification of foci (Dik et alii 1981); (iv) word order; (v) alternative expressions (see Kortmann 1997, Lang 1988, 2000, Revuelta forthcoming, 2015); (vi) the global use of the adverbs in topicalizing constructions. The paper will include comparisons with other languages (mainly, Spanish, German and English). The examples are taken from the Hellenic National Corpus.

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Thomais Rousoulioti (→Iakovou)

Anna Roussou:

The duality of mimos

1. This paper considers the properties of mimos as a complementizer and an interrogative marker, arguing for a unified analysis. The distribution of mimos, a morphologically complex element consisting of mi and the interrogative pos (how), partly overlaps with that of mi. As (1) shows, they are both used as interrogative markers in matrix clauses and introduce complement clauses after verbs of fearing (or interrogation), as in (2). However, mi in matrix contexts has a fixed position clause-initially, while mimos distributes like an adverb, as in (3).

(1) Mimos/min efije? "Could it be that he left?"

mimos/prt left.3s

(2) Fovame mimos/min efije "I fear he might have left"

fear.1s mimos/prt left.3s

(3) (mimos/min) idhes (mimos/*mi) ta klidhja mu (mimos/*mi)?

mimos/ prt saw.2s the keys mine

"Have you seen my keys, by any chance?"

2. On the basis of data similar to (1)-(3), it is argued that mimos and mi share a common feature, namely N, while they have distinct properties. Further differences include the compatibility of mimos with the modal markers tha and na, while this is excluded for mi, as shown in (4), and also the fact that mi, unlike mimos, can be a negative marker.

(4) mimos/*mi tha ton dhis? mimos/*mi na ton dhis?

Mimos/ prt prt him see mimos/prt prt him see.2s

"Any chance you'll see him?" "Should you perhaps see him?"

3. The claim put forward is that mimos (also mi) is a nominal element. This property allows it to distribute as an argument but also as an adverb. I will assume, following Manzini & Savoia (2011), that as a complementizer it merges with the selecting predicate, essentially outside the embedded clause, which functions as its complement. As an interrogative marker in a matrix context, it merges in different positions available to adverbs (thus with differentiating scope), i.e. in the left periphery (like mi), in relation to I/T or v/V. The fact that it can only occur in non-declaratives (matrix) further shows an additional property, that of a polarity item (see Chatzopoulou (2012) on mi), which is also compatible with its complementizer distribution. In short, it is shown that complementizer and interrogative marker mimos receive a unified account.

Anna Roussou:

Particles: sometimes nominal, sometimes verbal

1. The term ‘particle’ is used for elements that function in a particular way in the morpho-syntactic structure, do not belong to a given syntactic category or have a clear semantic interpretation. Following Zwicky (1985), I assume that particles can be formally identified with independently recognized morphosyntactic categories. On the basis of the Greek data, it is argued that formally, particles draw from the two main lexical categories, namely nouns and verbs, as well as their extended functional projections. Functionally, they contribute grammatical information, defining aspectual, tense, or modal properties (TAM) (for example, particles forming phrasal verbs, or subjunctive markers), or as adverbials, encoding pragmatic (discourse-related) properties (for example German *doch*, Greek *araje*, etc.).

2. First I provide an overview of the so-called modal particles in Greek, namely *na*, *tha* and *as*. I consider their distribution, as well as their differences and similarities. Their basic common property relevant to the discussion is that they combine with all forms of the finite verb. Following Roussou & Tsangalidis (2010), I assume that while *tha* and *as* have a verbal base (also supported diachronically), *na* has a nominal base. Adapting this view, *tha* and *as* form part of the extended projection of the verb, realizing a lower vs. a higher C head respectively. As such, they form a periphrastic construction with the main verb which carries all inflectional and argument properties. On the other hand, *na*, being nominal interacts with the argument structure of the predicate (see its role in control) and can also introduce a clause as an argument, hence is occurrence as a complementizer.

3. Second, in the light of the above analysis, I also consider the element *ande* (or *ainde*) which shares some readings with *as* (hortative) and has correlates in the other Balkan languages as well (see for example Hill 2005 for Rumanian, Tchizmarova 2005 for Bulgarian; they derive from the Turkish *hajde* ‘come’). Based on its distribution, it is argued that *ande* also has a verbal base, which shows limited inflection (imperative):

- (1) a. *Ande* *fije* / *ande* *na* *fighume*
prt leave-2sg prt prt leave-1pl
‘C’mon, go’, ‘C’mon, let’s go’
- b. *Ande-ste* / *andeste* *na* *fighume*
prt-2pl prt-2pl prt leave-1pl
‘C’mon’, ‘C’mon, let’s go’

c. *Ande* *pu* *dhen* *katalaveni*.

prt that not understand-3sg

‘C’mon, that he doesn’t understand (i.e. of course he does).’

The verbal form embedded under *ande* also has to be in the imperative (unless negated, in which case it reverts to the ‘indicative’ form). *Ande* can also have the 2nd plural form *andeste*. It may also embed a *na*-clause (which matches in force the imperative), or even a *pu*-clause. Phi-feature matching is obligatory only when it forms a ‘serial-verb’ construction with the verb, but not when it is followed by *na* or *pu*, which allow a different person and number inflection on the main verb. Different interpretations also arise depending on whether *na* or *pu* is present – since, in the latter case *ande* gives rise to an emphatic reading that reverses the truth value of the clause. *Ande* also has a rather fixed position, suggesting that it is also part of the extended projection of the verb. Unlike *as* though it does not form a periphrastic construction expressing grammatical properties, but has a discourse-related reading. In the latter respect it is closer to elements like *araje* or *taxa*, which are associated with interrogative force, and are argued to be adverbial, as their relatively free order seems to suggest.

S

Antonia Samara (→Tantos)

Niki Samaridi (→Koletti)

Konstantinos Sampanis (→Karantzola)

Eirini Sanoudaki:

Exploring patterns of dysfluency in multilingual development: a Greek and Lombard case study

Aim and motivation: This study examines the dysfluency profile of a child acquiring a unique combination of languages. Although there is a large body of research examining dysfluent speech behaviour and stuttering in young children, little is known

about the relationship of multilingualism to this behaviour, and more specifically, about the dysfluency patterns in each of the two languages. There is some indication that dysfluency may show differential patterns in each of the two languages of a bilingual (Jankelowitz and Bortz, 1996; Ratner and Benitez 1985); however relevant studies have focussed primarily on adult bilinguals and often offer insufficient information on the participants (Coalson, Peña, and Byrd, 2013). The above, in conjunction with methodological inconsistencies in cross-linguistic comparisons and in calculating dysfluencies (Van Borsel et al., 2001), call for new detailed studies of dysfluency in multilingual children.

Method: In this study, we examine dysfluency patterns in data acquired as part of a longitudinal study (weekly recordings) of language development in a Greek-Lombard-English and Welsh speaking child, focussing on data in the child's two home languages (Greek and Lombard, in a one parent - one language household). We analyse recordings of naturalistic data acquired during a period of dysfluency just before the child started attending speech and language therapy, around the child's fifth birthday. Recordings were transcribed and annotated for dysfluency type (including fillers such as *em* and *am*, word repetitions, part-word repetitions, and fixed phrases). Percentages of dysfluencies in the child's speech were calculated for each language.

Results and analysis: The dysfluency profiles of the two languages are presented and comparisons are performed. Fillers were prevalent in both languages, both in turn-initial and in turn-medial position, while repetitions and other dysfluency types were less common. Results of cross-language comparisons varied depending on measures adopted, i.e. whether dysfluencies are calculated by word or by syllable. In light of these findings, methodological issues are discussed: we argue that the type of dysfluency as well as properties of the languages in question determine which measure is more appropriate in cross-linguistic comparisons.

Conclusion: The present study offers the first – to our knowledge- dysfluency profile in Greek multilingual acquisition, while contributing to the debate on methodological issues in cross-language comparisons in multilingual stuttering.

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Paraskevi Savvidou (→Goutsos)

Stathis Selimis & Demetra Katis:

Reference to static space in Greek: A cross-linguistic and developmental perspective of poster descriptions

Talk about space has been shown to vary across languages, above all in regard to the expressions (concepts and forms) used but also their positioning within the sentence (see e.g. Carroll & Lambert 2003). We here analyze static spatial expressions in Greek adults' descriptions of a poster to a naïve interlocutor, an oral discourse favoring locatives (in contrast to the written discourse typically exploited in previous research such as Bortone 2010, Skopeteas 1999, Zafeiriadou 2010). We also approach these expressions from a cross-linguistic as well as a developmental perspective, given available data collected through an identical method from adults and children in Greek and other languages (see originally Watorek et al. 2002 and e.g. Hendriks & Watorek 2012, Hendriks et al. 2004, Ji 2007, Watorek 2004 for English, French, Italian, German, Polish and Chinese).

As expected, the adult descriptions partly differ from the child ones in Greek but also the adult ones in the above mentioned languages. Relative to children, Greek adults produce more tokens and types of locatives, more complex formally and semantically (e.g. coding more projective rather than topological concepts through complex rather than simple prepositional phrases), often combined with other elements including locatives (e.g. *kato dheksia tu ktiriu* "down to the rightside of the building"), finally more often preceding rather than following the located entity (e.g. *dhipla sto dhendro ena kioski* "next to the tree a kiosk" vs. *ena spitaki dhipla sto dhendro* "a little house next to the tree"). While this is in accord with developmental trends in the other languages studied so far, cross-linguistic differences are also discerned. Greek speakers prefer more neutral coding of location, mostly through the simple *se* prepositional phrase ("in/on/at"), thus making their language what Becker & Carroll (1997) call a place-prominence one like Spanish rather than a subspace-prominence one like English. Moreover, even expressions specifying the spatial relationship in terms of subspaces, mainly adverbs used alone or within complex prepositional phrases, suggest a somewhat different partitioning of the conceptual space across languages. For instance, Greek *pano* conflates the notions of contact/support (corresponding to English *on*) with various verticality ones (corresponding to English *above*, *over*, *upon*, *on top*) when used alone, but less frequently even when combined with the prepositions *se* and *apo* ("from") (see e.g. descriptions of the same person on a bike as being *pano sto podhilato* "on the bike" or as *apo pano* "over/on top of/upon/above").

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Marilena Serafim (→Anastasi)

Dimitra Serakioti:

Επίδραση της δομής των συνθέτων στην ερμηνεία: Εμπειρικά δεδομένα από χρωματικά σύνθετα της Νέας Ελληνικής

Στην παρούσα μελέτη εξετάζεται πειραματικά η επίδραση του μηχανισμού της σύνθεσης στη Νέα Ελληνική σε σύνθετα με τα βασικά χρώματα. Για τη διεξαγωγή της έρευνας χρησιμοποιήθηκε ως αφετηρία το πείραμα των Berlin & Kay (1969), σύμφωνα με τους οποίους κάθε γλώσσα περιέχει βασικές κατηγορίες χρωμάτων, καθώς και το χρωματικό φάσμα Munsell, ένα εξω-γλωσσικό συνεχές βάσει του οποίου μπορεί να προκύψει μετρήσιμη εκδοχή της σημασίας και στατιστική επεξεργασία των δεδομένων. Δύο βασικά πειράματα διεξάγονται, προκειμένου να μελετηθούν οι σημασιολογικές διεργασίες που επιτελούνται μέσω της σύνθεσης σε σύνθετα με τα βασικά χρώματα που περιέχουν δύο συστατικά και να διαπιστωθεί εάν για τα σύνθετα αυτά ισχύει ο νόμος της δεξιόστροφης κεφαλής (Right-hand Head Rule), όπως αυτός προτάθηκε από τον Williams (1981). Τα υποκείμενα της έρευνας είναι 60 φυσικοί ομιλητές της Ελληνικής, 30 άντρες και 30 γυναίκες, χωρίς πρόβλημα αχρωματοψίας ή δυσχρωματοψίας.

Με βάση τον νόμο της δεξιόστροφης κεφαλής, θα περιμέναμε πως οι ομιλητές θα είχαν τη διαίσθηση πως ένα σύνθετο χρώμα είναι πιο κοντά στην απόχρωση της κεφαλής, π.χ. το κιτρινοπράσινο είναι ένα είδος πράσινου και το πρασινοκίτρινο ένα είδος κίτρινου. Θα περιμέναμε, λοιπόν, το δεύτερο συστατικό να αποτελεί και την κεφαλή, προσδίδοντας στο σύνθετο τα μορφολογικά και σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά του. Στην περίπτωση αυτή, θα προβλεπόταν μια διαφορά μεταξύ κιτρινοπράσινου και πρασινοκίτρινου. Ωστόσο, τα σύνθετα με τα βασικά χρώματα στην Ελληνική θεωρούνται ως παρατακτικά (βλ. Ralli 2013: 168, Ξυδόπουλος 2008: 198, Ράλλη 2007: 98, Μπακάκου-Ορφανού 2005: 60, Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1996: 101). Η θεώρηση αυτή οδηγεί στην υπόθεση ότι, για παράδειγμα, το κιτρινοπράσινο και το πρασινοκίτρινο είναι το ίδιο χρώμα, χωρίς κανένα από τα συστατικά να αποτελεί τη βάση του άλλου. Κατά συνέπεια, η θεωρητική περιγραφή της μορφολογικής δομής των συνθέτων με βασικά χρώματα στηρίζεται στη διαίσθηση ότι δεν υπάρχει κάποια σημασιολογική ασυμμετρία μεταξύ του πρώτου και του δεύτερου συνθετικού.

Οι προβλέψεις των δύο παραπάνω προσεγγίσεων για την ερμηνεία δεν επιβεβαιώνονται από τα αποτελέσματα της παρούσας πειραματικής μελέτης. Αντίθετα, τα δεδομένα της έρευνας δείχνουν ότι η αντίληψη για τα σύνθετα αυτού του τύπου τείνει περισσότερο στο πρώτο συστατικό. Για παράδειγμα, η αντίληψη των ομιλητών για το κιτρινοπράσινο τείνει περισσότερο στο πρώτο συνθετικό (κίτρινο), σε αντίθεση με το πρασινοκίτρινο, το οποίο βρίσκεται πιο κοντά στο πράσινο, σε σχέση με το κιτρινοπράσινο. Το συγκεκριμένο φαινόμενο πιθανότατα να συνδέεται με την προοδευτική επεξεργασία του λόγου και την υπεροχή (sa-

lience) του πρώτου συστατικού, χωρίς αυτό βέβαια να σημαίνει ότι στα σύνθετα αυτά η κεφαλή βρίσκεται στα αριστερά. Η διαπίστωση αυτή μπορεί να οδηγήσει σε μια επανεξέταση του τρόπου θεώρησης και περιγραφής των συνθέτων της Νέας Ελληνικής και χρήζει περαιτέρω διερεύνησης.

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Christina Sevdali (→Asyllogistou)

Ivy Sichel:

Language Choice in the Revitalization of Hebrew

The common narrative for the revitalization of Hebrew depicts it as a transformation from an ancient written language, reserved for the realm of religion, into a modern spoken language used in all aspects of life. This narrative presupposes continuity and obscures substantial differences between Classical Hebrew and native Hebrew, as well as the story of the gradual acceptance of Native Hebrew as a legitimate language for the public sphere.

The talk will attempt a preliminary characterization of this Native Hebrew (there is no official grammar book to date) and will trace its emergence as a legitimate language (in the sense of Bourdieu) in the years following the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. At least until the late forties native Hebrew had been considered inadequate, a child language that with time and correction would come to resemble the 'proper' Hebrew designed by language planners in the spirit of the classical texts. It is only in the course of the fifties and sixties that the Hebrew of

native speakers began to gain acceptance as a legitimate language, appropriate for the public sphere.

Native Hebrew will be characterized as a heterogeneous language, where different forces and distinct dynamics shaped the new pronunciation, word formation, vocabulary, syntax, and speech style. Depending on the linguistic component, *language choice* may mean different things: language engineering from above; popular language design (by its speakers); spontaneous emergence. Language planning by educators occurred, for example, mainly in the areas of morphology and vocabulary, with the goal of preserving the spirit of the classical language. In the domain of accent, educators were conscious of East-West distinctions and aimed for a unified accent that would represent a balance between the actual accents of the Jews of the various diasporas and the imagined accent of the ancient speakers. In the case of accent, however, the common pronunciation that actually emerged was much more Europeanized than the educators' prescription. In the area of syntax, new syntactic structures emerged spontaneously, as the result of language contact, and under the influence of the native languages of the early speakers. The native speech style was designed by the first generations of native speakers. It is a distinctive style, and reflects attitudes towards the non-native and sometimes stilted Hebrew of the older generation of parents and educators, as well as a set of values which dominated the native (of European descent) culture of the time: honesty, assertiveness, suppression of social hierarchies, and a preference for actions over speech.

Evi Sifaki, George Tsoulas:

V2 in Non-V2 languages

It has been observed in the literature (Zubizarreta, 1998; Pinto, 1997, a.o.) that there are non-V2 languages such as Spanish, which in some environments, mysteriously, do not tolerate V1 orders:

- (1) *(todos los dias) compra Juan el diario
all the days buys Juan the newspaper
'Juan buys the newspaper every day' Zubizarreta (1998, pp. 100-101)

A similar situation also arises in Greek. Although [[XP] V. . .] structures have been briefly discussed in Alexiadou (2006) and Sifaki (2013), they remain largely unexplored. In this paper we take a new look at these structures and propose a syntactic analysis based on the idea that these XPs behave in a way similar to expletives, following an idea of Holmberg (2000).

In Greek X(P)-V structures, the X(P) can be a bare adverb (5-a) or a full XP (2-a)-(2-

b). Usually it is a temporal or locative modifier, as in (2) and (3):

(2) a. Speaker A: Boro na miliso me to Yiani?
Can SUBJ talk-1sg with the Yiani
'Can I talk to John?'

b. Speaker B: Afti ti stigmi, MILAI sto telefono
This the moment talk-3sg on-the phone
'He is on the phone at the moment'

(3) Sto Londino/edo, (DEN) THA VROUN douleia (oi fitites)
in London/here (not) will find-3pl work (the students)
'The students will (not) get a job in London/here'

(4) Speaker A: Ti ekane i Maria me tis exetaseis?
What did the Maria with the exams
'How did Mary do in her exams?'

(5) a. Speaker B: telika PERASE tis exetaseis i Maria kai efige
finally passed the exams the Maria and left
b. tis PERASE tis eksetaseis i Maria kai efige
them passed the exams the Maria and left
'In the end, Mary did pass her exams and left' Sifaki (2013, p.8)

We propose that in (5-a) the adverb *telika* is required to ensure verb focus assignment. The alternative would be to exchange the adverb with an object clitic (*tis*) as in (5-b). Such clitic structures are not the focus of this paper, but reinforce the generalisation that there is a requirement for an element to appear clause initially, and for the fact that there is some connection to the information-structural status of the verb.

As we show in detail, these XPs exhibit the following characteristics: (a) their discourse status is restricted to stage-topics, (b) they appear only in the absence of a preverbal subject (i.e. in subject inverted orders, as in (5-a) or null subject constructions, as in (2) and (3)) (c) facilitate focus assignment of the element that follows them if it is the verb.

As there is no evidence that these XPs have moved from another syntactic position, we assume that they merge in a position to the left of the verb. We claim that these XPs appear clause initially to satisfy the EPP requirement that is associated with C. We analyse Greek as a case where the EPP in T is not satisfied by anything simply because it is not there. This, in turn means that a fundamental characteristic of null

subject languages is that the EPP property is not transferred from C to T. We further claim that this is the origin of the discourse-related functions associated with the EPP. Thus, the formal EPP property of C is satisfied by the expletive-like element (of a range of types) while the C-T relation is established in terms of focus assignment to the verb that has raised to T.

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Maria Sifianou:

Η έννοια της ευγένειας στα Ελληνικά

Στο πλαίσιο της γενικότερης στροφής των ανθρωπιστικών επιστημών προς το μεταμοντερνισμό, παλιότερες, κλασικές θεωρίες για την ευγένεια (π.χ. Brown & Levinson 1978) δέχτηκαν έντονη κριτική (βλ. π.χ. Eelen 2001, Mills 2003, Watts 2003, Kádár & Haugh 2013). Η κριτική αυτή αφορά διάφορες πτυχές των θεωριών αυτών, μεταξύ των οποίων ακρογωνιαίος λίθος είναι η έλλειψη διαφοροποίησης μεταξύ θεωρητικών κατασκευών για την ευγένεια και του τρόπου με τον οποίο οι καθημερινοί άνθρωποι αντιλαμβάνονται και συζητούν την έννοια αυτή. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, οι Watts κ.ά. (1992) και ο Watts (1989, 2003), μεταξύ άλλων, προτείνουν τη διάκριση μεταξύ «πρώτης τάξης» (first order) και «δεύτερης τάξης» (second order) ευγένεια (ή E1 και E2, αντίστοιχα). Η δεύτερη αφορά θεωρητικές κατασκευές της έννοιας ενώ η πρώτη τις αντιλήψεις των καθημερινών ανθρώπων. Στη συνέχεια, υποστηρίζεται συστηματικά ότι η όποια θεωρητική κατασκευή θα πρέπει να λαμβάνει υπόψη της και τις αντιλήψεις των καθημερινών ανθρώπων, όπως πραγματώνονται στις καθημερινές τους διεπιδράσεις, εφόσον χωρίς αυτές δεν μπορεί να υπάρξει ολοκληρωμένη θεωρία (Watts 2005: xix). Αρχικά εντοπίζονται δύο πλευρές αυτών των αντιλήψεων: η δραστική (action-related) και η αντιληπτική (conceptual). Η πρώτη αφορά την ευγένεια όπως πραγματώνεται στις καθημερινές διεπιδράσεις μεταξύ των συνομηλών/τριών, ενώ η δεύτερη

αφορά γενικότερες απόψεις όπως εκφράζονται από μη γλωσσολόγους (Eelen 2001: 32).

Οι περισσότερες μελέτες έχουν ασχοληθεί σχεδόν αποκλειστικά με λεπτομερείς αναλύσεις συγκεκριμένων γλωσσικών διεπιδράσεων σε συγκεκριμένα περιβάλλοντα με στόχο να εντοπιστούν και να μελετηθούν οι απόψεις των συνομιλητών. Με τον τρόπο αυτό, υποστηρίζεται ότι αποφεύγονται και οι γενικεύσεις. Στην παρουσίασή μου δεν θα ασχοληθώ με την ανάλυση συγκεκριμένων γλωσσικών διεπιδράσεων αλλά με το πώς νέοι άνθρωποι αντιλαμβάνονται και ορίζουν την ευγένεια, δηλαδή με αυτό που ο Eelen (2001: 32) αρχικά ονομάζει αντιληπτική πλευρά και στη συνέχεια μεταπραγματολογική (Eelen 2001: 32) και η οποία θεωρείται βασική συνιστώσα για τη μελέτη θεμάτων ευγένειας. Οι όποιοι ενδοιασμοί ότι οι εκτιμήσεις των καθημερινών ανθρώπων για το τι σημαίνει ευγένεια ενδέχεται να είναι ανακριβείς και να βασίζονται σε στερεότυπα και προκαταλήψεις αμβλύνονται εφόσον τα δεδομένα που θα συγκεντρωθούν παραμένουν πολύτιμα καθώς αντανακλούν διαδεδομένες πεποιθήσεις και συμπεριφορές (Pinto 2011: 217). Τα δεδομένα μου προέρχονται από σχετικά ερωτηματολόγια και το twitter.

Giuseppina Silvestri (→Höhn)

Fotini Simistira (→Gatos)

Konstantinos Simitopoulos (→Karadimou)

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Στατιστική και αισθησιοκινητική ανάλυση του σημασιολογικού πλαισίου των ρημάτων κίνησης

Η άνθηση της τεχνητής νοημοσύνης (artificial intelligence) και οι απαιτήσεις της ρομποτικής για καλύτερη επικοινωνία του υπολογιστή με τον άνθρωπο (human computer interaction) επαναφέρουν την ανάγκη σύζευξης των αισθησιοκινητικών δεδομένων με τη συμβολική αναπαράσταση της γλώσσας, για την πληρέστερη κατανόηση των γλωσσικών συμβόλων.

Η αναγκαιότητα μελέτης των αισθησιοκινητικών χαρακτηριστικών στη διαμόρφωση του μηχανισμού της σημασιολογικής δομής υπαγορεύεται από διάφορους τομείς του επιστητού. Η ψυχολογία θεωρεί ότι τέτοιου είδους είναι τα

πρώτα δεδομένα που προσλαμβάνει και επεξεργάζεται ο άνθρωπος στη βρεφική, αλλιώς αισθησιοκινητική περίοδο (Piaget, 1952). Η νευρολογία επεκτείνει τον ανωτέρω ισχυρισμό με τη θεωρία των κατοπτρικών νευρώνων, η οποία πρεσβεύει ότι η κίνηση με τη μορφή αισθησιοκινητικών δεδομένων ενσωματώνεται στους κατοπτρικούς νευρώνες και εκεί αποκτούν μορφή οι έννοιες, που γίνονται αντιληπτές μέσω της γλώσσας (Rizzolatti & Fadiga, 1998). Οι γνωστικοί γλωσσολόγοι υποστηρίζουν ότι τα αισθησιοκινητικά δεδομένα διαμορφώνονται σε σχήματα εικόνων (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003), δηλαδή σε συμβολικές παραστάσεις των κινήσεων στον εγκέφαλο και γειώνουν τη γλώσσα στην κίνηση. Άρα, αυτού του είδους τα δεδομένα αναπαριστούν κατά το δυνατό αντικειμενικότερα τόσο τον εξωτερικό κόσμο όσο και τα σχήματα εικόνων, μια και η λεκτική περιγραφή των σχημάτων αποτελεί διαφορετικό συμβολικό σύστημα και αδυνατεί να προσφέρει πλήρη μεταγνωστική περιγραφή τους. Συνεπώς, δεν μπορούμε να αναλύουμε τα ρήματα κίνησης χωρίς να λαμβάνουμε υπόψη τα αισθησιοκινητικά δεδομένα, γιατί αποτελούν την άλλη όψη του ίδιου νομίσματος.

Από γλωσσολογικής πλευράς, στην παρούσα εργασία αναλύουμε στατιστικά σώματα κειμένων για την εξαγωγή σημασιολογικών πληροφοριών που αφορούν τα ρήματα κίνησης της Ελληνικής. Αναζητήθηκαν 2000 προτάσεις για κάθε ρήμα στον Εθνικό Θησαυρό Ελληνικής Γλώσσας. Στα αποτελέσματα, απομονώθηκαν μόνο οι κυριολεκτικές χρήσεις. Οι πρωτοτυπικές σημασίες που αντιστοιχούσαν στα αισθησιοκινητικά δεδομένα επισημειώθηκαν με δύο τρόπους: ως προς την ορισματική δομή (argument structure) τους και ως προς τη γραμματική δόμηση (construction grammar). Ο λόγος της επισημείωσης, ειδικά ως προς την ορισματική δομή, συνδέεται με το γενικότερο θεωρητικό πρόβλημα που αφορά τη συμπληρωματικότητα του ρήματος. Είναι γνωστό ότι διαφοροποιούνται οι απόψεις για το τι πρέπει να περιλαμβάνει η ορισματική δομή των ρημάτων γενικά ή κατ' άλλους το ρηματικό σθένος (valence). Οι Fillmore και Atkins (1998) προτιμούν να χρησιμοποιούν τον όρο συντακτικό σθένος και να ξεκαθαρίζουν ότι -στο πρότυπό του σημασιολογικού πλαισίου- εντάσσουν στον πυρήνα της ρηματικής φράσης όποιο συμπλήρωμα κρίνουν απαραίτητο για την ολοκληρωμένη εικόνα του πλαισίου που αφορά ένα συγκεκριμένο ρήμα, ανεξαρτήτως αν αυτός είναι συντακτικό αντικείμενο ή προσάρτημα. Με αυτό τον τρόπο δηλώνουν έμμεσα τον σκεπτικισμό τους για τη σπουδαιότητα του συμπληρώματος και θέτουν τις βάσεις για την παρούσα εργασία, η οποία με τη βοήθεια των κινητικών δεδομένων και των σωμάτων κειμένων επιχειρεί να βρει τη συχνότητα εμφάνισης συστατικών για κάθε ρήμα, καθορίζοντας έτσι την αναγκαιότητά τους στη διαμόρφωση του σημασιολογικού πλαισίου.

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Konstantinos Sipitanos

On desiderative constructions in Naousa dialect – a preliminary investigation

Goal: The aim of this paper is to present and discuss a covert desiderative construction in the dialect of Naousa (Northern Greece). This research is based on grammatical judgments collected from my hometown.

Background: A “feel like” construction is a construction that has the meaning of “want to V” or “feel like V” and can be divided into three different types: (a) periphrastic, containing an overt verb (1), (b) overt, marked with a feel-like morpheme (2) and (c) covert, combining oblique case marking, non-active morphology, or causative morphology (3) & (4) (Cathcart, 2010:1). These covert constructions are observed mainly in South Slavic languages (Marusic and Zaucer, 2006: Rivero 2004: Franks 1995), but also in Finnish (Pylkkanen, 1999) and Albanian (Kallulli, 2006).

Data: In Naousa dialect desideratives (type c) consist of non-active morphology on the verb bearing imperfective aspect and a dative argument, as in (3) and (4). When the verb is transitive a nominative object appears (4). The verb inflects for Present, Past and Future.

(1) I feel like drinking coffee

(2) Nuka-ta-ka pun – naya- rka (Quecha)
1s.acc.Top sleep. Desid.3pst
“I want to sleep”
(Cole and Hermon, 1981)

(3) mu koli’mbjete

dat-1sg swim-feel like Pr
“I feel like swimming”

(4) mu pin-ete enas kafes
“dat-1sg drink-non active-feel likePr a coffee
I feel like drinking coffee”

Central issues: Where does the desiderative meaning come from? What is the source of the modality? What is the syntactic structure and what is the role of other morphology such as nonactive morphology?

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Stavros Skopeteas:

Corrective focus and phonological form

A peculiarity of corrective foci is that they do not necessarily involve feature movement. In case of correction, any part of the linearization (not necessarily a constituent) can be focused by means of prosodic indicators (see Steube 2001 on German). Moreover, some instances of corrective focus appear in constructions that are not congruent with the context. Consider (1): the focus of B is realized in the part of the cleft sentence that is expected to carry the presupposed information. However, this construction is fully acceptable in case of corrective focus.

- (1) A: *Finally, I found the solution: it is John that sold the car.*
B: *No, it is John that sold [the bicycle].*

This presentation claims that such instances of corrective focus do not refer to an alternative proposition (in terms of Rooth 1985) but to an alternative utterance. Correction is expressed by local devices on the phonological form – without any syntactic operation. If this rationale holds true, then we expect that the deviations such as (1) will be only possible in languages/constructions that allow for have prosodic markers of focus that are local (=pitch accents) and free (=may appear at any place in the linearization).

This hypothesis was tested in a cross-linguistic acceptability study (factors: (a) canonical vs. focus constructions; (b) context: congruent vs. non-congruent; 32 speakers per language). We examine languages of two types: English, German and Greek are languages with a local & free marker of focus, while Chinese, Hungarian and French represent the languages that lack this flexibility in phonological form. The results of the study confirm the intuition that syntactic constructions can be used as corrections in non-appropriate contexts in languages that have the prosodic plasticity of the former type.

In particular for Greek the acceptability measures reveal an asymmetry between CLLD and Clitic Doubling. With the left-dislocated constituent in CLLD can be focused in case of correction, this possibility is excluded with Clitic Doubling. This finding is explained by the fact that Clitic Doubling excludes a realization with the intonational nucleus on the double, while CLLD allows for alternative prosodic options.

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Alexey Stambolov:

Συντακτικά και λεξιλογικά χαρακτηριστικά της θεματικής συλλογής του Γεροντικού (*Aporhthegmata patrum, collectio systematica*)

Υπό την ονομασία Γεροντικών ή αλλιώς Πατερικών ή τα Αποφθέγματα των Πατέρων (*Aporhthegmata patrum*) είναι γνωστές διάφορες συλλογές που περιέχουν μικρές ιστορίες και αποφθέγματα των επιφανέστερων μοναχών (γερόντων) που ζούσαν – κυρίως στην Αίγυπτο αλλά και στην Παλαιστίνη – από τις αρχές του 4ου έως τα μέσα του 5ου μ.Χ. αιώνα. Σήμερα σώζονται σε δύο βασικές παραλλαγές• την αλφαβητική και τη θεματική ή συστηματική. Στην πρώτη παρατίθενται σε αλφαβητική σειρά τα ονόματα των μοναχών με τα αποφθέγματά τους, ενώ στη δεύτερη το υλικό κατατάσσεται σε 21 κεφάλαια, που το καθένα αναφέρεται σε ένα κύριο θέμα της μοναχικής ζωής.

Παρά την ευρεία διάδοση του Γεροντικού σ' όλο τον χριστιανικό κόσμο, από τον ύστερη αρχαιότητα έως σήμερα, και την πλούσια βιβλιογραφία γύρω από τη ζωή των μεγάλων ασκητών και πατέρων της ερήμου, από ιστορικής, θεολογικής, κοινωνιολογικής κλπ. πλευράς, μέχρι τώρα η γλώσσα των Αποφθεγμάτων δεν έτυχε να είναι αντικείμενο ιδιαίτερης έρευνας.

Η παρούσα μελέτη παρουσιάζει συνοπτικά τα πορίσματα διδακτορικής διατριβής με το ίδιο θέμα που εκπονείται στο Πανεπιστήμιο Σόφιας «Άγιος Κλήμης της Αχρίδας». Στόχος της είναι μέσω φιλολογικής ανάλυσης του κειμένου να αποτελέσει μια συμβολή στη μελέτη της ιστορίας της Ελληνικής γλώσσας. Η έρευνα βασίζεται στην κριτική έκδοση της θεματικής συλλογής του Γεροντικού από τον Jean-Claude Guy, σε τρεις τόμους της σειράς *Sources Chretiennes* (387, 474 και 498).

Στο πρώτο μέρος της εξετάζονται τα συντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά της συλλογής που αντιπαραβάλλονται με τα γλωσσολογικά φαινόμενα της μετακλασικής (κοινής) Ελληνικής όπως περιγράφονται στα γνωστά έργα των Browning, Debrunner-Scherrer, Jannaris, Sophocles, Tonnet κ.ά. Μια σημαντική συνεισφορά της μελέτης είναι ότι, παρά την ευρέως διαδεδομένη άποψη ότι η γλώσσα του Γεροντικού είναι σχετικά απλή και αντιπροσωπευτική για την κατάσταση της τότε ομιλούμενης Ελληνικής, αποδείχτηκε πως ορισμένα αποφθέγματα παρουσιάζουν μια πιο εκλεπτυσμένη αρχαϊζουσα μορφή γλώσσας, η οποία εξετάζεται για πρώτη φορά.

Στο δεύτερο μέρος παρουσιάζονται τα λεξιλογικά χαρακτηριστικά του Γεροντικού. Η έρευνα βασίζεται στο ευρετήριο λέξεων, στο τέλος του τρίτου μέρους της κριτικής έκδοσης (*Sources Chretiennes*, τ. 498), και καλύπτει όλες τις λέξεις που απαντούν στο κείμενο (περίπου 4,100), εκτός από τις υπηρεσιακές. Οι λέξεις κατατάσσονται σε διάφορες κατηγορίες ανάλογα με τη χρονολογία, την ειδική προέλευση και την

ειδική χρήση τους. Εδώ παρουσιάζονται μόνο εκείνες που αποτελούν επιστημονικό ενδιαφέρον – τα άπαξ λεγόμενα και άλλες σπάνιες λέξεις, και λέξεις που χρησιμοποιούνται στο κείμενο με ειδική σημασία που δεν καταγράφεται στα γνωστά ελληνικά λεξικά.

Eleni Staraki:

Future A Degree Expression

There has been a long debate on how to derive the various readings of future that range from predictive (temporal) to modal (i.e. epistemic) (Jespersen 1924; Prior 1967; Bertinetto 1979; Haegeman 1983; Thomason 1984; Comrie 1985; Palmer 1987; 1986; Enç 1996; Copley 2002; Condoravdi 2002; Kaufmann 2005; Mari 2009; Giannakidou & Mari 2013a/b, 2014, contra to a modal analysis of future Kissine 2008, among many others).

In this paper I argue that the various readings of future are due to the varying size of the domain of the universal quantification, and that the degree of certainty (how close to the truth) of a proposition with a future morpheme (i.e. the 'will') depends on a measurable intersection. The formal analysis proposed in this paper combines modal (Kratzer 1977, 1981, 1991) with scale semantics (Fox & Hackl 2006; Kennedy 2007) to analyze future morphemes such as the 'will'

(FUT henceforth) which is a universal quantifier the universal quantification of which exhibits gradience. Future's modal force, modal base and ordering source express gradience and uncertainty and FUT's underlying logical structure represents degrees of quality and quantity of knowledge. This gradience on the universal quantificational domain I model in a dense scale of certainty (in the sense of Fox & Hackl 2006) which represents the various degrees of an individual's commitment to the truth inference. Based on Kennedy (2007) I introduce for expressions of future reference with will a scale of certainty that consists of a set of degrees D of certainty. A scale of certainty corresponds to the inquiry of "how far a proposition is from the truth?" That is, what is the degree of certainty relayed by FUT (future morpheme will) that p (proposition after FUT) is true? Thus, expressions of future reference, I propose, contain a measure function that is, function from beliefs and knowledge to degrees on the certainty scale. This measure function operates within the measurable intersection. Assessments, predictions, explanations, predictions (temporal), planning, validations, etc. (the list can go infinitely) are assigned a degree that indicates a certain degree of certainty of an individual. In other words, the scale represents the level of certainty of an individual about the statement he/she uses in order to reflect upon his knowledge and beliefs. The paper's novel contribution is based on the observation that the various readings are

due to the varying size of the domain of the universal quantification which is determined and regulated by the notion of certainty, gradience, and introspection of a rational individual. These dynamic properties of FUT are incorporated into a reformulated formal model which features a dense scale of degrees of certainty. The account proposed in this paper updates the classical Kratzerian modal semantics both by keeping its essential tools such as modal base, ordering source, modal force and by offering an in depth enrichment with new necessary concepts that were missing when analyzing future.

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Stavroula Stavrakaki (→Kordouli)

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Donca Steriade:

The Tribach Law in Ancient Greek

In a 1884 paper, Ferdinand de Saussure sketched the evidence for a rhythmic constraint operating in prehistoric Greek, which eliminated non-final sequences of three light syllables. Saussure called this *la loi du tribrache*, the Tribach Law (abbrev. TL; tribrach = three lights).

In this talk, I show that the evidence for TL can be considerably expanded, and that TL was still alive in 5th cent. Attic, long after Saussure thought it had died out. This result has some interesting consequences.

First, TL now becomes relevant to the determination of the weight of different consonant clusters in Ancient Greek. This has consequences for the analysis of meter, reduplication and for how we understand the computation of weight.

Second, TL as a synchronic constraint triggers a wide range of repairs: to eliminate sequences of three shorts, vowels are lengthened, or syncopated; in other cases,

morphological constraints are violated to avoid tribrachs and otherwise expected compound types are blocked. (Saussure was aware of this and seemed to be conceiving of this aspect of TL as a proto-OT phonologist.)

Further, TL is similar to a stress constraint, *Lapse, which penalizes sequences of stressless syllables. Its existence confirms the idea that durational prominence (what singles out heavy syllables) is subject to the same distributional constraints as stress prominence (i.e. loudness plus duration). This was expected, given that durational and accentual meter operate in similar ways, but the relevant evidence was sparse until now.

Finally, I show that TL is a rhythmic phenomenon that is easier to interpret in a foot-free theory of metrical prominence, than in a foot-based one.

Vojkan Stojic (→Nikolaïdou)

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T

Christina Takouda & Evanthia Papaefthymiou:

Συγκριτικές διδακτικές πρακτικές στη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως Γ2: από την κριτική παρατήρηση στην αναπλαισίωση

Η παρούσα εισήγηση προέκυψε ως αποτέλεσμα συνεργασίας δύο φορέων όπου διδάσκεται η ελληνική ως δεύτερη/ ξένη γλώσσα (στο εξής Γ2), του Σχολείου Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΣΝΕΓ) Α.Π.Θ. και της Ελληνικής Κοινότητας του Ιασίου. Τον Αύγουστο του 2014 ειδική συνεργάτης –διδάσκουσα την ελληνική γλώσσα στην Ελληνική Κοινότητα του Ιασίου, είχε την ευκαιρία να παρακολουθήσει ως εξωτερική παρατηρήτρια μαθήματα όλων των επιπέδων γλωσσομάθειας στο Θερινό Πρόγραμμα του ΣΝΕΓ, σε μια μορφή βιωματικής εκπαίδευσης στη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως Γ2. Ένα από αυτά ήταν το μάθημα «Ακαδημαϊκός λόγος στα Νέα Ελληνικά», ένα πιλοτικό πρόγραμμα ακαδημαϊκών γραμματισμών που απευθυνόταν στο προχωρημένο επίπεδο, στο πλαίσιο διδασκαλίας της γλώσσας για ειδικούς σκοπούς (Lea & Street, 1998• Hyland, 2009• Belcher et al., 2011).

Από τις σημειώσεις πεδίου της εξωτερικής παρατηρήτριας σε συνδυασμό με ποικιλία άλλων εθνογραφικών δεδομένων (αναλυτικό ημερολόγιο της διδάσκουσας-ερευνήτριας, ηχητική και οπτική καταγραφή των μαθημάτων,

προφορικές, γραπτές και πολυτροπικές γλωσσικές παραγωγές των φοιτητών) προέκυψαν συγκριτικές παρατηρήσεις για δύο ολοκληρωμένες διδασκαλίες του πιλοτικού προγράμματος σπουδών. Στις εν λόγω διδασκαλίες αναδύονταν και διαπλέκονταν διαφορετικοί γλωσσοδιδασκτικοί λόγοι (Ivanič, 2004) μέσα από τις διδακτικές πρακτικές που εφαρμόστηκαν. Από την ποιοτική ανάλυση των εθνογραφικών δεδομένων περιγράφονται συγκριτικά οι διδακτικές πρακτικές των δύο διδασκαλιών με έμφαση στην αξιοποίηση των ΤΠΕ (Koutsogiannis, 2011) και στον βαθμό επένδυσης των φοιτητών (Norton, 2013). Η συγκριτική περιγραφή γίνεται από δύο διαφορετικά πρόσωπα, ανεξάρτητα μεταξύ τους, τη διδάσκουσα-ερευνητήρια του πιλοτικού προγράμματος σπουδών και την εξωτερική παρατηρήτρια-επισκέπτρια.

Επιπλέον, διερευνάται η πορεία από την κριτική παρατήρηση των πιλοτικών διδασκαλιών στην εφαρμογή επιλεγμένων στοιχείων και πρακτικών στη διδακτική πράξη στο πλαίσιο ενός άλλου εκπαιδευτικού φορέα, από διαφορετική διδάσκουσα και σε διαφορετικές ταυτότητες φοιτητών. Η αναπλαισίωση (Bernstein, 1996) δεν είναι ουδέτερη διαδικασία, αλλά εξαρτάται από πολλούς συγκεκριμένους παράγοντες, ανάμεσα στους οποίους συγκαταλέγεται και η ταυτότητα της διδάσκουσας που υπήρξε κριτική παρατηρήτρια.

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Alexandros Tantos, Georgios Chatziioannidis, Katerina Lykou, Meropi Papatheohari, Antonia Samara & Konstantinos Vlachos:

The Greek Discourse Relations' Corpus: Studying the interaction between inter- and intra-sentential linguistic information

During the last decade research on automated linguistic information processing has focused on learning from annotated data with linguistically shallow annotation. However, the interest for more qualitatively annotated language resources has recently been revived (Pustejovsky & Stubbs 2012), since modern NLP systems are now in the position to deal with more complex linguistically motivated annotations and their effectiveness grows as they are trained on them.

The aim of the talk is to present a short scale project (funded by the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) of building and analyzing the first annotated corpus with discourse relations in Greek, the Greek Discourse Relations' Corpus (GDRC) whose implementation is based on a qualitatively-motivated annotation scheme for discourse relations. GDRC will consist of 1000 annotated Discourse Units (DUs) in its final version sampled from texts of the Corpus of the Center of Greek Language (<http://greek-language.gr>). The motivation for compiling such corpus lies on three directions: a) the construction of the first language resource with well-defined discourse annotation principles for Greek, b) the study of how discourse segmentation is principled and c) how the intra-sentential information (such as argument structure information and verbal aspect) interacts with and affects inference of discourse relations and discourse interpretation. Therefore, apart from discourse semantic annotation at the inter-sentential level, we include semantic annotation, such as the thematic roles of verbal arguments (based on verbnet's thematic roles' inventory, <http://verbs.colorado.edu/~mpalmer/projects/verbnet.html>), the verb type (transitives, intransitives and ditransitives) and the verbal aspect (perfective, imperfective). The set of discourse relations included in the inventory of the annotation scheme for GDRC is partially adopted from Segmented Discourse Representation Theory (SDRT) as defined by Asher and Lascarides (2003). Tentative results on the annotated 25% of the final version of GDRC already show interesting correlations between the verb type and the type of discourse relations between two DUs suggesting that there is indeed a close relationship between intra- and inter-sentential level of semantic and pragmatic description motivating the ideas of Asher and Lascarides (1995), Danlos (2001) and Tantos (2008) a.o. Moreover, the assembly of discourse segmentation principles has led us to fruitful insights as to how discourse topic should be conceived and as to how it is constructed dynamically as the discourse proceeds. Particularly, there are two separate ways of constructing discourse topics, one that presumes the existence of implicit DUs, namely DUs that are not utterly expressed, and a second one that does not.

Matina Tasioudi (→Georgia Andreou)

Arhonto Terzi & Vina Tsakali:

The contribution of Greek 'se' in the development of locatives

Background: In the long tradition of spatial development since Piaget & Inhelder (1956) it has been convincingly argued that both conceptual and linguistic factors interact in the development of spatial notions (Jonhston and Slobin 1979, Choi & Bowerman 1991, a.o.).

Topic: In the spirit of the aforementioned claims, the current study focuses on one particular, and highly frequent lexical item, 'se', which can express a number of spatial concepts (i.e., containment, support, location-not specified, direction) (1-4) in Greek, along with introducing indirect objects (5). The principal question related to the investigation of the acquisition of 'se' is to what extent homonymity (and/or semantic opacity), that has been treated as a measure of linguistic difficulty in acquisition (Jonhston & Slobin 1979), is indeed involved in the order of acquisition of the terms in (1)-(5).

(1) To vivlio ine sto sirtari [LOCATION-CONTAINMENT]

"The book is in the drawer".

(2) To vivlio ine sto trapezi [LOCATION-SUPPORT]

"The book is on the table".

(3) To vivlio vriskete sti vivliothiki [LOCATION-NOT SPECIFIED]

"The book is located at the library".

(4) Pigeno sto grafio [DIRECTIONAL-GOAL]

"I am going to the office".

(5) Edosa to vivlio sto Jiorgo [INDIRECT OBJECT]

"I gave the book to George"

This question, embedded in the larger query regarding the emergence of locative prepositions in Greek, provides evidence that certain interpretations of 'se' are more problematic than others, hence, homonymity per se cannot account for these difficulties (despite claims to the contrary).

Methodology: Using a picture-selection-task and an elicitation production task on 72 children (aged 4;0-6;5, divided into five age groups), we evaluate children's com-

prehension and production of 'se' in different conditions allied with the different interpretations that 'se' can receive.

Results: 'Se' is not uniformly acquired irrespectively of its meaning. Thus, there are hardly any errors with 'se' interpreted as containment (in), (1), while, strikingly enough, 'se' meaning on is acquired later (see Terzi et al. 2014). Moreover children show a strong tendency to interpret 'se' as 'in'. Regarding directional 'se' (4), children produce more errors than in 'on' environments (2), but significantly fewer errors compared to 'apo' (from). We consider the latter pattern reminiscent of the goal vs. source preference manifested in other domains of spatial language (Lakusta & Landau 2004).

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Arhonto Terzi & Vicky Nanousi:

Passive sentences of Greek-speaking agrammatics

Introduction: It is widely assumed that non-canonical sentences are severely impaired in agrammatism. Reversible passives are one type, and low performance on them has been attributed to agrammatics' inability to relate the moved DP/NP with its trace, enabling it to maintain its th-role this way (Grodzinsky 1990 et seq., Trace Deletion Hypothesis, TDH). This view recently extended to explain why in V-second/final languages, i.e., Dutch and German, passives are relatively unimpaired (th-role assignment occurs in the same direction as movement, Grodzinsky 2006). With the above in mind, we investigate the profile of Greek-speaking agrammatics in the relevant domain(s).

The current study: 5 male individuals with agrammatic aphasia and 10 controls (matched for age, education and gender) participated in the study. Aphasics were tested via BDAE (Goodglass et al. 2000; Greek version Papathanasiou et al. 2008)

and were diagnosed with agrammatism by an experienced language pathologists on the basis of spontaneous speech and a number of grammar tests. They produced simple sentences, omitting functional words, and often failed to produce past tense in an elicitation task (cf. Bastiaanse et al. 2011 et seq.).

All participants were first assessed on comprehension of short passives, (1), (along with reflexive verbs and pronoun Binding, with 6 sentences in each condition), and were found to perform at ceiling.

The same individuals were subsequently assessed on long passives (along with actives and relative sentences), (2)).

(1) I mama sproxnete.
mom is pushed

(2) O naftis fotografizete apo tin kyria.
the sailor is photographed by the lady

24 passive sentences were used in each condition, 12 with characters of the same gender and 12 with different. Both groups performed at ceiling on actives, and controls performed almost at ceiling on passives. Agrammatics had 12/120 (10%) errors in total (from 1 to 3 errors each). Results agree with Fyndanis' (2012) case study, but are unlike two of the participants in Fyndanis et al. (2013), who, however, also performed very low on actives.

Conclusions: We take the above findings to indicate that passive sentences are not impaired among Greek-speaking agrammatics. If right, the TDH extensions should be given some consideration, since Greek is not a V-second/final language. The close to chance performance of the agrammatics of our study on object relatives, 51/120 (42,5%) errors, suggests minimality effects instead (Rizzi 1990), further supported by the fact that errors were much higher with characters of the same gender.

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Charalambos Themistocleous (→Anastasi)

Christiana Themistocleous & Andry Sophocleous:

Dialect writing in online and offline texts: The case of the Greek-Cypriot dialect

The Greek-Cypriot dialect (GCD) is a non-standard variety of Greek spoken in Cyprus. It does not have a standard official orthography and it is mainly used for oral communication. Until recently, writing in GCD was relatively rare and it was limited to regional literature, scripts of television series (Tsiplakou & Ioannidou, 2012), cartoons (Themistocleous, 2010a) and advertisements (Pavlou, 1992). These texts are generally written using Greek characters. Recent research which explores the use of GCD in Computer-mediated Communication (CMC) demonstrates that nowadays Greek-Cypriot internet users widely use their dialect in their online interactions (Themistocleous, 2010b). Interestingly, many of them use Roman characters instead of the conventional Greek alphabet. Additional data which we collected from a group of teenage girls from Nicosia suggest that Romanised GCD has now spread from CMC to off-line, handwritten texts.

In this study we use texts written in the dialect, in either Greek or Roman characters, in order to elicit people's attitudes towards the ways that the GCD is represented in writing. The texts were collected from CMC and offline sources and include the following: cartoon (offline - Greek characters), SMS (CMC - Roman characters), poem (off-line - Greek characters), blog (CMC - Greek characters), email (CMC - Roman characters), handwritten note (offline - Roman characters).

An online questionnaire was designed using the Bristol Online Survey software, and was distributed to Greek-Cypriots for a period of 2 months. In total, 481 participants completed the questionnaire.

The findings indicate that the majority of the participants are using GCD to write and many view dialect writing as something positive, stating that it helps them to express their Greek-Cypriot identity. The participants show preference towards the use of Greek characters but many also show tolerance towards the use of Roman

characters in CMC. The majority of the participants seemed to be against the use of Romanised GCD beyond CMC and many expressed the need for the development of a standard writing system for the dialect. Also, age seemed to be a contributing factor influencing participants' attitudes.

Overall, this study highlights the power of the new technology as a tool that can promote dialects in writing but can also influence people's written practices.

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Paraskevi Thomou:

Aspects of language influencing metaphor realization in Modern Greek

Conceptual Metaphor theorists (Lakoff 1993, Grady 2007, Kövecses 2010) have argued for metaphor as a cognitive mechanism which involves the mapping of one conceptual domain (target domain) onto another (source domain). Conceptual metaphors provide top-down explanations for language data. In THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS conceptual metaphor, domain B (theories) is domain A (buildings) with linguistic expressions instantiating this mapping: your theory needs support, foundations of the theory. Lakoff (1993) argues that metaphorical mappings exist in the conceptual system independent of their linguistic expressions; metaphor is fundamentally conceptual, not linguistic, in nature.

A question arises however: since conceptual metaphors are realized in language, is the realization of metaphor in language affected by that language at any point? The interdependence of conceptual and linguistic factors in the use of metaphor and the role that language plays in figurative meaning construction is proposed by Moura (2006) for personification metaphors of artifacts, or by Evans (2013) for STATES ARE LOCATIONS conceptual metaphor and related prepositional phrases (in

love vs on loan). In addition, metaphorical meaning potentials of words (political storm, a storm of protest) are associated with specific patterns of usage recurrent in language corpora (Hanks 2004).

In this presentation I deal with findings on how metaphor is realized in Modern Greek language data. I propose that linguistic metaphors, the instantiations of conceptual metaphors, are subject to lexical restrictions. My research on language data shows that the semantics of the lexemes involved in the figurative language influence and restrict the realization of a conceptual metaphor. Verbal arguments, qualia values of nominals and secondary semantic features of the predicates are necessary components for a better metaphorical interpretation. Besides that, metaphor is influenced by the categorical status of the lexemes being involved, i.e. it is realized in a different way depending on the verbal or nominal nature of the metaphorical phrase. The analysis starts from lexical co-occurrences of figurative language to the conceptual system underlying that realization in a bottom-up process.

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Nina Topintzi & Stuart Davis

Features and asymmetries of edge geminates

The majority of geminate consonants are found intervocalically, spanning syllable boundaries (heterosyllabic). Less commonly, geminates appear at word-edges. Such edge geminates (EG) are structurally different, since they are typically tautosyllabic, within an onset (word-initial geminate) or coda (word-final geminate). In this paper we: (i) present a typology of the weight properties of EGs, (ii) make observations that may predict whether an EG patterns as heavy or light. Several languages are discussed, including some less well-known cases, such as Amharic

(Sande & Hedding 2014) and Shuri Japanese (Shimoji 2012).

Various criteria – including stress, word minimality, compensatory lengthening, phonotactics or phonetic evidence – have been typically utilized to identify the weight properties of geminates (cf. reviews in Davis 2011a or Kraehenmann 2011). Consider initial geminates first. Pattani Malay (Yupho 1989) and Cypriot Greek (Armosti 2011) initial geminates contribute to syllable weight, whereas Leti (Hume et al. 1997) and Baghdadi Arabic (Blanc 1964, Youssef 2013) ones do not. The Pattani Malay evidence comes from stress; primary stress falls on an initial syllable only if this syllable starts with a geminate (G). In Cypriot Greek, geminates exhibit more durational stability across different places of articulation compared to singletons, as predicted by the geminates' inherent moraicity (Ham 2001). In addition, for the processes of /n/-deletion and /i/-epenthesis, which according to Armosti (2011) are possibly weight-sensitive, geminates behave like C-clusters and not like singletons, hence /ɛn 'p:ɛftɔ/-->['ɛni'ph:ɛftɔ] 'I don't fall' and /ɛn 'psin:ɔ/-->['ɛni'psin:ɔ] 'I don't bake', but lack of insertion in /ɛn 'pɛz:ɔ/ 'I don't play' with a singleton. Instead, n-assimilation is applicable ['ɛ'mbɛz:ɔ]. In contrast, initial geminates in both Leti and Baghdadi Arabic are non-moraic since single GV words do not satisfy the bimoraic word minimum nor do such syllables attract stress, although stress is weight-sensitive in these languages. Similar evidence word-finally suggests that Hadrhrami (Bamkhrmah 2009) and Cairene Arabic final geminates are moraic, whereas Hungarian ones are not (Siptar & Törkenczy 2000).

Besides a preliminary typology of EGs, we seek to determine factors that might predict the weight behavior of EGs. In doing this, we consider the relationship between EGs and edge consonant clusters in the language under consideration. Our survey leads us to state the following two implicational universals.

(1) IMPLICATIONAL UNIVERSAL 1

If a language has an edge geminate but no consonant clusters on that edge, then the edge geminate patterns as moraic.

(2) IMPLICATIONAL UNIVERSAL 2

If a language has an edge geminate that patterns as nonmoraic and allows for consonant clusters on that edge, then that cluster must pattern as nonmoraic too.

These universals produce certain gaps in the typology of EGs. Our current database reveals no languages where nonmoraic EGs can co-occur with moraic edge clusters or no clusters whatsoever. We offer some preliminary thoughts as to why this occurs and suggest that the moraic analysis of geminates offers interesting insights (Hayes 1989, Davis 2003, 2011b, Topintzi 2008).

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Irina Tresorukova:

Διαμόρφωση επιρρηματικών προθετικών γραμματικών ιδιωτισμών στη νεοελληνική γλώσσα

Η φρασεολογία είναι ένας σχετικά νέος κλάδος της γλωσσολογίας. Για το λόγο αυτό υπάρχει μια σειρά από διαφορετικές θεωρίες για την κατάταξη των ΦΜ (φρασεολογικών μονάδων) και τη διαφορετική ορολογία για την ονομασία τους [Baranov, Dobronolsky 2008, 8].

Στη σειρά διάφορων ταξινομήσεων των ΦΕ υπάρχουν οι λεγόμενοι γραμματικοί ιδιωτισμοί (ΓΙ) [Baranov, Dobronolsky, 2008: 74 - 76]. Η ομάδα αυτή συνήθως δεν συμπεριλαμβάνεται στο σύνολο των ΦΜ, οι περισσότεροι μελετητές την αποφεύγουν και την κατατάσσουν στην κατηγορία «συντακτικές εκφράσεις» ή «προθετικές εκφράσεις», ενώ είναι μια ξεχωριστή ομάδα των ΦΜ που περιέχουν δύο και περισσότερες λέξεις και χαρακτηρίζονται από απαιτούμενη για την ΦΜ «παγίωση» της έννοιας από την άποψη σημασιολογίας, από την άποψη της γραμματικής έχουν σχέση με ασυνήθιστη χρήση γραμματικών κανόνων κ.α. [Baranov, Dobronolsky, 2013: 75]. Από την τυπική άποψη αυτή η ομάδα των ΦΜ θα εκφράζει διάφορα επίπεδα έννοιας, αφού έχει χάσει την πρώτη, κυριολεκτική σημασία, ενώ η υπάρχουσα έννοια θα συντελείται από άθροισμα εννοιών των δομικών συστατικών της.

Με βάση τα προαναφερόμενα στην ελληνική γλώσσα ξεχωρίζουμε τις ομάδες των προθετικών ΓΙ:

1. ιδιωτισμοί - σύνδεσμοι (ως συνέπεια, ως αποτέλεσμα)
2. ιδιωτισμοί - προθέσεις (σε σύγκριση με, στα πλαίσια, εκτός από, με βάση)
3. επιρρηματικές εκφράσεις (με το αζημίωτο, ούτε κατά διάνοια, εν γένει)

Στις σύγχρονες γραμματικές και βιβλία συντακτικού της ΝΕ αυτές οι εκφράσεις ως συνήθως κατηγοριοποιούνται είτε στις ομάδες συνδέσμων, είτε στις στερεότυπες εκφράσεις των ονοματικών μερών του λόγου με προθέσεις. Προτείνεται να εξεταστούν οι κατηγορίες αυτές και να αποδειχθεί ότι οι εκφράσεις τέτοιου τύπου ανήκουν στην κατηγορία των ΦΜ και, συγκεκριμένα, των ΓΙ.

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Liana Tronci:

At the lexicon-syntax interface. Ancient Greek constructions with *ἔχειν* and locative prepositional phrases

This paper focuses on Ancient Greek constructions as the ones in (1)-(4) and suggests an analysis at the lexicon-syntax interface:

(1) οὕτως ἐν ὀργῇ εἶχον οἱ πλείους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (Thucydides, Histories 2.8.5)

‘So general was the indignation felt against Athens’

(2) τίνας πρόσωπον δῆτ’ ἐν ἀγκάλαις ἔχεις; (Euripides, Bacchantes 1277)

‘Whose head do you hold in your hands?’

(3) Ἐκτωρ δ’ ἐν Σκαίῃσι πύλης ἔχε μώνυχας ἵππους (Iliad, 16.712)

‘But Hector at the Scaean gate was staying on his single-hoofed horses’

(4) [...] ἔπειτα δὲ πέφνε καὶ αὐτόν, / ἵππους δ’ αὐτὸς ἔχε κρατερώνυχας ἐν μεγάροισι (Odyssey 21.30)

‘but slew the man thereafter and he himself kept the stout-hoofed mares in his halls’

All these constructions have the same surface structure [N0 ἔχειν N1 ἐν N2]; however, in spite of their structural similarity, they appear to be different from one another as far as the semantic categorization of nouns and the semantic relationships among them are concerned (cf. Kühner & Gerth 1898 : §431). In (1), for instance, N2 is a psychological noun and is semantically related to N0, which is its experiencer, and N1, which is its theme. In (2), instead, N2 and N0 are related to each other by the semantic relationship of “meronymy”, whilst in (3) and (4) there holds a “possession” relationship between N0 and N1 (in the first instance) and N0 and N2 (in the second instance). If semantic differences originate from the interaction between syntactic values and lexical items, the seemingly similar structures of constructions (1)-(4) must be assumed to be different.

This study aims to give an account of these differences by investigating (a) the distribution of predicates and arguments at the various structural levels; (b) the relationship between syntactic functions and semantic roles on the one hand and lexical categories on the other, also with regard to other lexical-syntactic configurations (e.g. ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχειν in (1) and ὀργίζεσθαι); (c) the lexical-syntactic values of the verb ἔχειν as a full verb, a light verb or a syntactic operator (cf. Harris 1957, 1976).

The investigation is corpus-based and follows the Lexicon-Grammar approach, as proposed in particular by Gross (1975), (1981). Data have been collected from the Homeric poems, Aeschylus’, Sophocles’ and Euripides’ tragedies, Aristophanes’ comedies, Herodotus’, Thucydides’ and Xenophon’s historical works, Plato’s dialogues and Demosthenes’, Lysias’, Aeschines’ and Isocrates’ orations.

On the one hand, results are expected to contribute to the current debate on the analysis of complex structures and the interaction between lexical categories and syntactic functions; on the other hand, they wish to provide descriptions and analyses of Ancient Greek constructions, in order to stimulate contrastive studies and reflections on the diachrony of the Greek language.

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Vina Tsakali:

The development of Counterfactuals versus Conditionals

General Background: it has been suggested that children acquire simple conditionals (SCs) and counterfactuals (CFs) quite late (after the age of 7;0 and up to the age of 11;0), despite the fact that first productions of SCs appear at about the age of 2;6 (Reilly 1982,1986, Kuczaj and Daly 1979, Bowerman 1986, Crutchley 2004, 2013). The late emergence has been attributed to cognitive and/or pragmatic factors, although unspecified which ones (e.g. Bowerman 1986) and to low usage of these type of tokens in adult language (e.g. Crutchley 2013).

The topic: The current study examines the developmental properties of SCs and CFs within the analysis that only the latter's interpretation forms a conversational implicature (CI) (Anderson 1951, Palmer 1986, Iatridou 2000). Thus, while (1) delivers the meaning of a typical conditional 'if p, then q', (2) expresses the meaning of a negated conditional. Following Iatridou (2000), I consider the past tense morphology (along with the imperfective aspect) appearing obligatorily in CFs (2) (in many languages besides Modern Greek) to be 'fake' tense/aspect and the main grammatical element responsible for conveying the implicature of counterfactuality. Thus, while in (1) the tense morpheme receives an interpretation in the future of 'real' world, the tense morpheme in (2) introduces a particular relation (exclusion) between a topic time/world and the time/world of utterance. Under this approach, it is predicted that children will exhibit difficulties in decoding the operation of 'fake' tense morphemes in environments similar to (2) but not (1).

(1) An kanis ta mathimata su, tha fas pagoto

"If you do your homework, you will eat ice-cream"

(2) An ekanes ta mathimata su, tha etroges pagoto

"If you did your homework, you would eat ice-cream"

Methodology: an elicitation-picture-task, where children (aged 6;0-9;0-year-old, divided in six groups) were asked to produce SCs and CFs (of telics, Individual-level-statives and stage-level-statives) in past-imperfective morphology and pluperfect tense, being provided with the relevant context/story.

Results: Preliminary results show that children perform better in both the comprehension and production of SCs compared to CFs. Among the tree types of CFs, children show higher results with telics and stage-level-statives compared to individual-level-statives.

Conclusion: Development of SCs precedes significantly the development of CFs due to the fact that the latter depends upon the development of pragmatic factors in-

terrelated to conversational implicatures and not due to cognitive development of conditional reasoning.

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Vina Tsakali (→: Terzi)

Villy Tsakona:

«Δημοκρατία είναι 4 λύκοι και 1 πρόβατο να ψηφίζουν για φαγητό»: Αναλύοντας τα ανέκδοτα για τους/τις πολιτικούς στην οικονομική κρίση

Η έρευνα για τα πολιτικά ανέκδοτα -και το πολιτικό χιούμορ γενικότερα- επικεντρώνει συνήθως το ενδιαφέρον της στο περιεχόμενό τους, το οποίο συνδέεται και ερμηνεύεται με βάση τα κοινωνικοπολιτικά γεγονότα στα οποία τα χιουμοριστικά αυτά κείμενα αναφέρονται. Στο πλαίσιο της έρευνας του χιούμορ (humor research), η ανάλυση του περιεχόμενου των πολιτικών анеκδотων φέρνει στην επιφάνεια σημαντικές κοινωνιογλωσσικές τους λειτουργίες, όπως είναι η έκφραση της αγωνίας και της διαμαρτυρίας των ομιλητών/τριών, η ενίσχυση του ηθικού και της συλλογικής τους ταυτότητας, η αντίσταση κατά του πολιτικού

κατεστημένου (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Badarneh 2011, Moalla 2013). Ωστόσο, στην παρούσα μελέτη, πέρα από το περιεχόμενο των ανεκδότων, επεκτείνω το ερευνητικό ενδιαφέρον μου στα αυθόρμητα σχόλια που κάνουν οι ομιλητές/τριες σχετικά με τα ανέκδοτα αυτά, δηλαδή στις μεταπραγματολογικές τους τοποθετήσεις σχετικά με το τι είναι χιούμορ, πώς λειτουργεί και πώς αξιολογούνται οι διάφορες μορφές του (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Kramer 2011, Laineste 2011, Stewart 2013, Tsakona 2013). Τα σχόλια αυτά μπορούν να μας δώσουν μια εκ των έσω εικόνα για τους λόγους δημιουργίας και διάδοσης των πολιτικών ανεκδότων, καθώς και για τις κοινωνιογλωσσικές λειτουργίες τους, όπως γίνονται όλα αυτά αντιληπτά από τους/τις ομιλητές/τριες που διαβάζουν και διαδίδουν τα εν λόγω ανέκδοτα.

Τα πολιτικά ανέκδοτα που εξετάζονται εδώ προέρχονται από ένα εκτεταμένο σώμα ηλεκτρονικών δεδομένων σχετικά με την τρέχουσα οικονομική κρίση στην Ελλάδα, και συγκεκριμένα στοχοποιούν τους/τις πολιτικούς για τις πράξεις και τον ρόλο τους στην πολιτική ζωή της χώρας. Η ανάλυσή τους δείχνει ότι οι πολιτικοί αναπαρίστανται ως ανίκανοι/ες, άπληστοι/ες, διεφθαρμένοι/ες, παράνομοι/ες, αποτυχημένοι/ες και τελικά αναποτελεσματικοί/ές στη δουλειά τους. Μέσα από τα κείμενα αυτά οι πολιτικοί χαρακτηρίζονται ως κατώτεροι/ες των προσδοκιών που, ως εκ τούτου, «αξίζουν» χιουμοριστική κριτική και στοχοποίηση. Σπανιότερα κατακρίνονται οι επιπόλαιες εκλογικές επιλογές των ελλήνων/ίδων που οδηγούν τους/τις πολιτικούς στην ανάληψη αξιωμάτων. Παράλληλα, τα σχόλια των ομιλητών/τριών για τα ανέκδοτα αυτά δείχνουν ότι αυτά θεωρούνται «διασκεδαστικά», «έξυπνα», «σοφά» και «επίκαιρα», αλλά και «ακριβείς» αναπαραστάσεις μιας «(κωμικο)τραγικής» πραγματικότητας. Βασική λειτουργία των ανεκδότων για τους/τις πολιτικούς φαίνεται να είναι η ψυχολογική στήριξη των ομιλητών/τριών που βιώνουν δύσκολες καταστάσεις λόγω των μέτρων λιτότητας και της «αποτυχίας» των πολιτικών να διαχειριστούν την κατάσταση.

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Irini Tsamadou-Jacoberger & Sophie Vassilaki.

Demoticism, Manolis Triandafyllidis and today's language

Demoticism is described by Manolis Triandafyllidis (MT) as a literary, intellectual, educational and social movement. This broad description will be the starting point in our attempt to deal with this complex issue. By revisiting certain ideas and approaches that shaped the history of Demoticism, we will focus on the study of three basic questions directly associated with the language problem, and more specifically with diglossia in its synchronic and diachronic dimensions:

1. the pre-natal and particular phenomenon of a long term « artificial medieval diglossia » ;
2. the question of oral Modern Greek koinè, recognised as a mother tongue and providing the basis for written Modern Greek, and more specifically of the literary form of dimotiki, which was imposed as the one and only language for literature. This led to a process of standardisation (rules of use, development of language policies etc);
3. the autonomy of the modern language in its structural independence and grammar.

In addition, linguistic variation (in morphology, spelling, prosody, syntax, lexicon and discourse) and the integration of learned forms in the present-day Standard language (multiple « diachronic » vocabularies, lexical borrowings, etc.) will be discussed along similar lines.

In this respect, it is worth noting that MT considers variation to be an obstacle to standardisation, since the latter process aims at a homogeneous language. Nevertheless, besides being regarded as a consequence of diglossia and a highly contentious phenomenon, variation is now regarded as calling for a more theoretical approach.

In this presentation we will examine the possibility of a theory that includes various complex criteria to account for the handling of all kinds of learned forms and their integration into the Modern Greek language. Without reference to language history

and the language question, what is the synchronic meaning of a learned form? On what principle is Modern Greek vocabulary determined and organised nowadays? Should its sources be reorganised?

In this presentation, we attempt to compare the views of linguist and 'educator' MT with those of philologist and lexicographer E. Kriaras on the development of Standard Modern Greek and language trends.

Irini Tsamadou-Jacobberger & Maria Zerva:

Εκμάθηση ελληνικών στο Πανεπιστήμιο Στρασβούργου : παράγοντες επιλογής, κίνητρα και αναπαραστάσεις

Γιατί να μάθω ελληνικά ; Το ερώτημα αυτό απασχολεί τις έδρες νεοελληνικών σπουδών εκτός Ελλάδος, και μάλιστα σε μια περίοδο που αντιμετωπίζουν δυσκολίες επιβίωσης. Το τμήμα νεοελληνικών σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου Στρασβούργου, σε συνεργασία με το Εργαστήριο Μελέτης Διδασκαλίας και Διάδοσης της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας του Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλίας, ενδιαφέρθηκε να εντοπίσει τους παράγοντες που επηρεάζουν τις επιλογές των νέων ομιλητών/τριών σχετικά με τις γλώσσες που θα μάθουν σε ένα περιβάλλον οικονομικής κρίσης, στο πλαίσιο κοινού ερευνητικού προγράμματος. Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση στηρίζεται στα δεδομένα που συλλέχθηκαν στο πλαίσιο του εν λόγω προγράμματος μέσω ερωτηματολογίων, ημιδομημένων συνεντεύξεων και ομάδων εστίασης με φοιτητές του Πανεπιστημίου του Στρασβούργου.

Πιο συγκεκριμένα, θα εστιάσουμε στους παράγοντες που μπορούν να ωθήσουν, σύμφωνα με τα λεγόμενά τους, φοιτητές της Σχολής Ξένων Γλωσσών και Πολιτισμών να επιλέξουν τα ελληνικά ανάμεσα από 26 άλλες γλώσσες που προσφέρονται στην σχολή. Η ανακοίνωση θα κινηθεί στο θεωρητικό πλαίσιο των θεωριών των κινήτρων και της μελέτης των κοινωνικών αναπαραστάσεων σχετικά με τις γλώσσες. Αφού παρουσιάσουμε σύντομα ένα πειστικό μοντέλο για τα κίνητρα των Csizér & Dörnyei (2005), το οποίο επιλέξαμε ανάμεσα στην πλούσια αλλά εν πολλοίς αντιφατική βιβλιογραφία πάνω στο πεδίο αυτό, και αναδείξουμε πώς το προσαρμόσαμε στην δική μας έρευνα, θα συζητήσουμε τα κίνητρα που αναφέρονται σχετικά με τα ελληνικά. Ειδικότερα, θα προσπαθήσουμε να εντάξουμε τα κίνητρα που πιθανόν οδηγούν στην εκμάθηση ελληνικών στο προτεινόμενο μοντέλο για να μπορέσουμε να ιεραρχήσουμε τις επιμέρους κατηγορίες παραγόντων που αναφέρονται στο μοντέλο αυτό. Για την μελέτη του ειδικού βάρους των κατηγοριών αυτών θα χρησιμοποιηθούν επιπλέον συγκριτικά στοιχεία με γλώσσες ευρείας διάδοσης όπως τα αγγλικά, τα γερμανικά, τα ρωσικά κ.ά.

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Anastasios Tsangalidis:

Emerging evidential particles

The paper discusses the use of a number of constructions that have been claimed to encode evidentiality in Greek. Interestingly, these evidential uses are intimately connected with the category of particles, variously defined: for example, evidentiality has been identified as a component of meaning of the modal particle *na* (Veloudis 2001) and of the future / modal particle *tha* (Giannakidou & Mari 2012); moreover, it could be argued that the more lexical markers of evidential meanings, such as parenthetical *lei* (say-3sg) and mirative *parakalo* (beg-1sg) are best described as ‘particles’, in that their reduced forms can no longer support their full verb status (Setatos 1994, Tsangalidis 2012, 2013; relevant examples include cases such as *imaste lei stus 25 pio plusius ston kozmo* (‘We are, it is rumoured, among the 25 richest peoples in the world’) and *irθan 500 vraziliani dimosiografi parakalo* ‘500 Brazilian journalists came – unbelievably!’). Finally, a number of elements, such as those discussed in Ifantidou 2001, can also be regarded as particles – in the sense of markers affecting the use of the sentence as a whole.

Overall, the study of evidential systems across languages is similar to the study of the systems of Tense, Aspect and Mood; the similarity concerns not only the cognitive complexity of the relevant categories, but also the difficulty to distinguish between formal and functional criteria that can be used to define them. As a result, the decision whether a given marker expresses evidentiality or epistemic modality seems very similar to questions whether a Perfect form is a Tense or an Aspect or whether a Future is a temporal or modal expression.

Similarly, the question whether systematic formal expression constitutes an absolute criterion for the recognition of a TAM marker is equally relevant to the recognition of evidential markers. In this sense, the Greek facts are particularly interesting, since there is clearly no dedicated grammatical marker of evidentiality in the language (unlike many ‘exotic’ – but also many neighbouring, Balkan – languages); however, ironically, the recognition of categories defined in looser terms, as in the

particles tradition, allows for a more precise characterization of the relevant data.

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Anastasios Tsangalidis:

Neither an accident nor a gap: Perfective Present in Greek

The paper argues against the established, traditional view that there is no aspectual contrast in the present paradigm of the Greek verb; according to this view, the otherwise complete symmetry of the perfective/imperfective distinction attested in other tenses (as in *egrapsa/egrafa* and *tha grapso/tha grafo*) is missing in the case of the present, with *grafo* being described as the only available form. Starting with Triandafyllidis 1941 and reaching Clairis & Babinotis 2005, this lack of contrast has been described as a gap in the paradigm. In many cases, this gap has not been discussed at all – apparently as a possible accidental gap; alternatively, it has been explained away with reference to the semantics of the present, which arguably excludes aspectual contrasts or makes them redundant.

The number of arguments against the traditional approach can be summarized as follows:

(a) the argument from morphology: it will be argued that *grapso* is a legitimate member of the paradigm, realizing the morphemes [+perfective] and [-past], contrasting with *egrapsa* and *tha grapso* in terms of Tense and with *egrafa* and *tha grafo* in terms of Aspect. The paradigm is thus completely symmetrical, as suggested by the morphological facts.

(b) the arguments from typology: on one hand, aspectual distinctions in the present are indeed available in a number of languages; moreover, the combination of the features [+perfective] and [-past] is predictably problematic, and, as such, subject to a number of restrictions, also attested in various languages; interestingly, these latter include a number of Balkan languages, making a case for an areal feature.

(c) the argument from Optimality Theory semantics: incompatible combinations of competing features can have different outcomes in different languages, depending on the relative strength of the features involved; thus, an apparently identical feature combination in different languages may have different properties even in closely related languages (e.g. Classical vs Modern Greek or Bulgarian vs Russian), thus raising interesting questions in terms of grammaticalization theory.

Overall, it is argued that the analysis of *grapso* as the perfective counterpart of *grafo* in the present can account for all its morphological, syntactic and semantic properties; it can fit the general theory of Tense-Aspect-Mood systems; and it can provide a straightforward answer to the questions relating to the apparent gap in the Greek verb paradigm.

Anastasios Tsangalidis (→ Christopoulou)

Ianthi Tsimpli (→ Fleva; Kaltsa)

**Stavroula Tsiplakou Spyros Armostis & Dimitris Evripidou:
Do sociolinguistic variants co-vary and how? Evidence from the Cypriot Greek koine**

The Cypriot Greek koine, a system that is emerging concomitantly with the ongoing levelling of local subvarieties, has been characterized as a 'mixed system' in the relevant literature as (a) it displays innovative grammatical structures that indicate grammatical convergence to Standard Greek, the 'H' variety in Cyprus' diglossic so-

ciolinguistic setting (Melissaropoulou et al. 2013; Tsiplakou 2014), such structures often co-occurring with the Cypriot variants thereof, and (b) it displays patterns that could be placed on a continuum from dense code-mixing between Cypriot and Standard Greek to a 'fused lect' (Auer 1999). This invites an examination of the hypothesis that the koine is in fact 'incoherent', in the sense that the range of variants that speakers have at their disposal is used for different indexical purposes (cf. Eckert 2008; Tsiplakou & Ioannidou 2012 on dialect stylization and/as bricolage), and that therefore one ought not to expect consistency in the sense of correlation in rates of occurrence of particular variants. Recent research (e.g. Guy 2013) however suggests that, although internal variation and incongruities as regards the clustering of variants may be quite nuanced, there is coherence in rates of co-occurrence for at least some of the variants.

The paper tests this hypothesis through the examination of phonological and morphosyntactic variables with two alternant variants, one more 'Cypriot' and one more 'Standard-like', namely the palatoalveolar vs. palatal alternation ([ʃ] vs. [ç] and [tʃ] vs. [c] and the alternation between non-periphrastic and innovative periphrastic perfect tenses (Simple Past vs. Present/Past Perfect). The data come from sociolinguistic interviews with 51 participants, whose ages range from 26 to 90. Correlation analyses were performed among the five variables, which showed significant parity in the participants' phonological and morphological choices: overall, the more they used the non-prestige phonological forms, the more they used non-prestige morphological ones. However, the periphrastic tenses were more frequent in the speech of younger informants, and they showed higher correlation rates with the non-prestige phonological variants, which may be taken as an indication that the periphrastic tenses are more of a 'prestige' or 'extraneous' variant for older informants while they are a bona fide part of the younger informants' grammars.

While a more fine-grained analysis involving register, stylistic, gender or other differences may point to different indexicalities, especially as regards innovations such as the periphrastic tenses, at this stage it can be concluded that the Cypriot Greek koine is largely a 'coherent' variety.

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Angeliki Tsokoglou & Sila Klidi: Συζητώντας τις δομές σε -οντας

Οι δομές της Νέας Ελληνικής γλώσσας που σχηματίζουν οι μετοχές σε -οντας έχουν γίνει αντικείμενο μελέτης λόγω των ιδιαίτερων χαρακτηριστικών που παρουσιάζουν. Αφενός αποτελούν τις μόνες απαραιτητικές δομές της Νεοελληνικής γλώσσας και αφετέρου δέχονται αντιφατικές κρίσεις ως προς την γραμματικότητα / αποδεκτότητά τους. Τα ζητήματα που έχουν ερευνηθεί είναι κυρίως: α) η δομή τους, αναφορικά με τις λειτουργικές κατηγορίες τις οποίες περιλαμβάνει, β) η ερμηνεία τους, σε σχέση με τη σημασιολογική τους κατηγοριοποίηση, γ) η φύση του υποκειμένου τους PRO, pro ή ΟΦ και κατ'επέκταση η προέλευση της ονομαστικής πτώσης (βλ. Τζάρτανος (1946/1989) για μια περιγραφική προσέγγιση και Rivero (1994), Tsoulas (1996), Tsimplici (2000), Τσόκογλου & Κλειδή (2002), Σιταρίδου & Χάιδου (2002), Manolessou (2006), Moser (2006), Panagiotidis (2010), Kapetangianni (2010), Kotzoglou (2014) για σύγχρονες αναλύσεις στα ανωτέρω επιμέρους ζητήματα).

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή ελέγχουμε τη συσχέτιση των προαναφερθέντων θεμάτων, εξετάζοντας την πληρότητα των δομών ως προς τη ΦΣΔ με βάση τις ιδιότητες και τα χαρακτηριστικά της. Ως κριτήρια ελέγχου χρησιμοποιούμε τη χρονική σχέση μεταξύ κύριας πρότασης και «γερονδιακής» δομής, τον έλεγχο του υποκειμένου, τη μετακίνηση του ερωτηματικού, την εστίαση και τη θεματοποίηση καθώς και τη νομιμοποίηση των στοιχείων αρνητικής πολικότητας (ΣΑΠ) και καταλήγουμε στο συμπέρασμα ότι:

1) Οι υποθετικές, αιτιολογικές και χρονικές μετοχές, οι οποίες -εκτός από τη δήλωση του σύγχρονου- επιτρέπουν και τη δήλωση του προτερόχρονου, εμφανίζουν ανεξαρτησία του υποκειμένου τους και συνιστούν ΦΣΔ με παρουσία φ-χαρακτηριστικών στον ΣΔ της δομής, γεγονός που συνακόλουθα επιτρέπει: α) ΣΑΠ, β) μετακίνηση του ερωτηματικού, γ) εστίαση και δ) θεματοποίηση.

2) Οι τροπικές μετοχές, οι οποίες δηλώνουν αποκλειστικά το σύγχρονο, εμφανίζουν υποχρεωτική ταυτοπροσωπία, δεν συνιστούν ΦΣΔ και κατά συνέπεια α) τα ΣΑΠ, β) η μετακίνηση ερωτηματικού γ) η εστίαση και δ) η θεματοποίηση δημιουργούν αντιγραμματικές προτάσεις.

Με βάση τις παρατηρήσεις στη βιβλιογραφία, τα ανωτέρω συμπεράσματα και προηγούμενες μελέτες μας (2012, 2013) για τη φύση του υποκειμένου σε δομές ελέγχου της Ελληνικής οδηγούμαστε στην εξής γενίκευση: Στις περιπτώσεις που παρουσιάζεται αποκλειστικά συγχρονισμός δύο γεγονότων σε συνδεδεμένες δομές η ταυτοπροσωπία είναι υποχρεωτική (π.χ. Αρχίζω να γράφω. / Φεύγω τρέχοντας.). Το φαινόμενο ερμηνεύεται με την απουσία φ-χαρακτηριστικών από τον ΣΔ της συμπληρωματικής ή της -οντας δομής.

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Alexianna Tsotsou:

Η εικόνα της Γερμανίας στις ελληνικές εφημερίδες: μια έρευνα στο υπόδειγμα της κριτικής ανάλυσης λόγου με βάση σώμα κειμένων

Η παρούσα μελέτη εξετάζει την εικόνα (image) της Γερμανίας στο λόγο τεσσάρων ελληνικών εφημερίδων (Βήμα, Νέα, Καθημερινή, Ριζοσπάστης) στη χρονική περίοδο 2001-2013. Η έννοια της εικόνας έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί κυρίως από τη σκοπιά της κοινωνικής ψυχολογίας ως το σύνολο των απόψεων και συναισθημάτων απέναντι σε μια ομάδα (Lippmann 1922, Kleining 1969) σε μελέτες που εξετάζουν το περιεχόμενο των κειμένων των Μέσων Μαζικής Ενημέρωσης (Böhme-Durr 2000, Schramm 2007), ενώ γλωσσολογικά, ως η γλωσσική κατασκευή της παραπάνω νοητικής οντότητας, έχει μελετηθεί μόνο στις μελέτες του Vogel (2010a, b), ο οποίος ωστόσο την εξετάζει κατά κύριο λόγο ποσοτικά με βάση τα εργαλεία της γλωσσολογίας σωμάτων κειμένων. Η Κριτική Ανάλυση Λόγου δεν αναφέρεται στην έννοια της εικόνας και μελετάει την κατά κανόνα αρνητική αναπαράσταση κοινωνικών μειονοτήτων, οι οποίες βρίσκονται σε μειονεκτική θέση και υφίστανται διακρίσεις (Van Dijk 1991, Wodak & Van Dijk 2000), αλλά όχι ομάδων ή λαών που, ακόμα και αν θεωρούνται ότι δεν ανήκουν στην ομάδα του «εμείς», δεν βρίσκονται κοινωνικά και οικονομικά σε μειονεκτική θέση σε σχέση με αυτή.

Στόχος της παρούσας εργασίας είναι να οριοθετήσει μέσω τόσο ποσοτικής όσο και ποιοτικής ανάλυσης την έννοια της εικόνας, η οποία παρουσιάζεται διττά αφενός από την σκοπιά της κοινωνικής ψυχολογίας ως νοητική οντότητα και αφετέρου από τη σκοπιά της γλωσσολογίας, δηλαδή των γλωσσικών μέσων που χρησιμοποιούνται για την κατασκευή της. Παράλληλα, στοχεύει να συνεισφέρει και στη μεθοδολογική προσέγγιση του συνδυασμού ποσοτικής και ποιοτικής ανάλυσης που έχει αναπτυχθεί το τελευταίο διάστημα (Baker et al. 2008, Gabriellatos et al. 2011) διευρύνοντας τα κριτήρια καθορισμού του μικρότερου σώματος κειμένων για την ποιοτική ανάλυση και δίνοντας σημασία στη διαλεκτική σχέση ανάμεσα σε αυτή και την ποσοτική ανάλυση.

Μεθοδολογικά συνδυάζει την ποσοτική ανάλυση της γλωσσολογίας σωμάτων κειμένων (Stubbs 1996, Bubenhofer 2009) με την ποιοτική ανάλυση της Κριτικής Ανάλυσης Λόγου (Critical Discourse Analysis) (Wodak & Meyer 2001). Η μέθοδος αναπτύσσεται σε δύο σκέλη. Αρχικά εξετάζεται το πλήρες σώμα κειμένων με βάση τις αναλυτικές κατηγορίες των λέξεων-κλειδιά, των συνάψεων και της σημασιολογικής προσωδίας. Στη συνέχεια κατασκευάζεται ένα μικρότερο corpus (downsizing), το οποίο θα μελετηθεί με βάση τις αναλυτικές κατηγορίες της ιστορικής προσέγγισης της Κριτικής Ανάλυσης Λόγου (Discourse Historical Approach) (Reisigl & Wodak 2001).

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Georg Tsoulas:

High Particles, Inversion, and Discourse Semantics

Particles in the “higher” functional field relate to the discourse integration of the propositional content expressed by the core sentential constituent. These particles have considerable positional freedom, a situation that presents specific and important difficulties for their syntactic analysis. In this paper we establish certain generalisations regarding the possibilities of clausal inversion (slifting) with some such particles and second present a multidimensional semantics that aims to capture both their import in terms of discourse integration but also account for their expressive meaning which is again a very prominent aspect of their use. The core elements will be the particles *Re*, *E*, and *A*. We observe that with *Re* and *E* a degree of inversion is possible. Namely, while declarative slifting appears possible:

- (1) a. *Re/E* O Giannis irthe
- b. O Giannis irthe *Re/E*

Interrogative slifting is more restricted :

- (2) a. *Re/E* irthe O Giannis ?
- b. irthe O Giannis *Re/*E* ?
- c. *Re/E* ti efere o Giannis?
- d. Ti efere o Giannis *Re/*E*?

Interrogative slifting appears restricted in that sentences of the form (2-b) and (2-d) with *E* are not true interrogatives in that they both presuppose a particular answer and in that respect they are more like exclamatives. In parallel with the above we note the patterns with the particle *A* where slifting is altogether impossible:

- (3) a. A O Giannis efige.
- b. *O giannis efige A

In this paper I show how the specific syntax associated with the particles correlates with the functional left peripheral elements that relate to the encoding of discourse participants and evidentiality. We suggest (see also Michelioudakis, this workshop) that *E* and *A* are inflectional elements representing the addressee and perhaps speaker. The final part of the talk is devoted to the development of the semantics and more specifically the formalization of the expressive content of these particles.

Georg Tsoulas (→ Makri; Sifaki)

Marina Tzakosta:

Στάσεις καθηγητών και μαθητών της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης σχετικά με τη χρήση και τη διδασκαλία των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων στο σχολείο

Διάφορες μελέτες έχουν αναδείξει το θετικό ρόλο των γλωσσικών ποικιλιών και διαλέκτων στην ανάπτυξη του (κριτικού) γραμματισμού δεδομένης της ουσιαστικής συμβολής των πρώτων στην ανάπτυξη και καλλιέργεια της μεταγλωσσικής ενημερότητας των μαθητών (βλ. ενδεικτικά Adger et al. 2007, Ντίνας & Ζαρκογιάννη 2009, Τσιπλάκου & Χατζηγιάννου 2010). Σχετικά με τη χρήση και τη διδασκαλία των διαλέκτων στο σχολείο, το Διαθεματικό Ενιαίο Πλαίσιο Προγραμμάτων Σπουδών για την πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση και το Αναλυτικό Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών για το Δημοτικό και το Γυμνάσιο προάγουν την επικοινωνιακή χρήση της γλώσσας και το γραμματισμό και εμμέσως ενθαρρύνεται η χρήση και διδασκαλία των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων (Υπουργική Απόφαση Γ2/21072β ΦΕΚ 304/τ. Β'/13-3-2003, Υπουργική Απόφαση Γ2/21072α ΦΕΚ 303/τ. Β'/13-3-2003). Στο Νέο Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών (2011) γίνεται ρητή αναφορά στην ανάγκη χρήσης και διδασκαλίας των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων στην πρωτοβάθμια και δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση με απώτερο στόχο τη διατήρηση και διάδοση της γλωσσικής μας κληρονομιάς.

Στόχος της παρούσας μελέτης είναι να διερευνήσουμε τις στάσεις εκπαιδευτικών και μαθητών σχετικά με τη διδασκαλία των διαλέκτων στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση. Για το λόγο αυτό διανεμήθηκε στους φιλολόγους Γυμνασίων και Λυκείων του ν. Ρεθύμνου και σε μαθητές δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης οι οποίοι προέρχονται από διάφορες διαλεκτικές περιοχές της ελληνικής επικράτειας ένα ερωτηματολόγιο 20 ερωτήσεων. Το ερωτηματολόγιο ζητούσε απαντήσεις κλειστού και ανοικτού ώστε να έχουμε τόσο ποσοτικές όσο και ποιοτικές αναλύσεις των απαντήσεων. Παρά το γεγονός ότι στην πλειοψηφία τους οι συμμετέχοντες στην έρευνα (καθηγητές N=30, μαθητές N=75) δήλωναν διαλεκτόφωνοι/φυσικοί ομιλητές μιας διαλέκτου ο ίδιοι ήταν αρκετά σκεπτικοί σχετικά με το κατά πόσο θα μπορούσε να ενσωματωθεί η διδασκαλία των γλωσσικών ποικιλιών και διαλέκτων στα σχολεία. Είναι αξιοσημείωτο ότι κάποιοι συμμετέχοντες, τόσο καθηγητές όσο και μαθητές, θεωρούν ότι οι διάλεκτοι είτε είναι ‘κατώτερες’ από την ΚΝΕ ή συνιστούν ‘δεύτερες μορφές’ της ΚΝΕ και δεν μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν ως πρότυπο για την εκμάθηση του γραπτού λόγου. Υποστηρίζεται επίσης ότι η διδασκαλία των διαλέκτων συνδέεται άμεσα με την προσπάθεια διατήρησης της γλωσσικής παράδοσης. Στην παρουσίασή μας θα συζητήσουμε τρόπους ενσωμάτωσης των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων στη γλωσσική διδασκαλία, όπως τη

σύνθεση και συγγραφή ιστοριών στις διαλέκτους των μαθητών, την εξάσκηση σε ασκήσεις δημιουργικής γραφής, στην ανάδειξη της τυπολογικής σχέσης της ΚΝΕ και των διαλέκτων της.

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Marina Tzakosta (→ Van de Weijer)

Anastasia Tzilinis:

Begründendes Handeln im neugriechischen Wissenschaftlichen Artikel: Die Situierung des eigenen Beitrags im Forschungszusammenhang

Im Wissenschaftlichen Artikel als Medium der Erschließung und Etablierung neuen Wissens ist die Verortung im Forschungszusammenhang der Disziplin sowie das Aufzeigen einer Forschungslücke, einer Defizienz, unverzichtbarer Bestandteil. Dadurch soll die Relevanz der behandelten Wissens Elemente aufgezeigt und begründet werden. Wie dies genau geschieht, variiert einerseits kulturbedingt, andererseits in Abhängigkeit von den disziplinspezifischen Gepflogenheiten. In deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Artikeln finden diese begründenden Handlungen vorzugsweise in der Einleitung statt, für die sich das Begründen sogar als textkonstitutives Handlungsmuster erweist.

In diesem Beitrag, der einen Auszug aus einer größeren Untersuchung darstellt, soll anhand von Einleitungen griechischer Wissenschaftlicher Artikel unterschiedlicher Fachrichtungen unter funktional-pragmatischer Perspektive der Frage nachgegangen werden, wie griechische Autoren ihre Arbeit in den Forschungsstand verorten und mit welchen sprachlichen Handlungen sie ggf. eine Defizienz in der Forschung benennen. Dabei wird ersichtlich, dass im Griechischen anders als im Deutschen das System gemeinsamer Präsuppositionen eine wichtige Rolle sowohl bei der Produktion als auch bei der Rezeption Wissenschaftlicher Artikel spielt.

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Kyriakoula Tzortzotou, Argiris Archakis, Anna Iordanidou & George Xydopoulos: Διερευνώντας τις στάσεις για την ορθογραφία της Κοινής Νέας Ελληνικής: Σχέδιο ερωτηματολογίου

Η τυποποίηση της νεοελληνικής ορθογραφίας βασίζεται κυρίως στη Γραμματική Τριανταφυλλίδη (1941) και συνίσταται σε μια πρόταση απλοποιημένης ιστορικής ορθογραφίας. Ωστόσο, συζήτηση έχουν προκαλέσει οι ορθογραφικές επιλογές στο Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (Μπαμπινιώτης, 2002), όπου εφαρμόζεται μια πιο αυστηρή ετυμολογική προσέγγιση για τις ορθογραφίες των λημμάτων (Παπαναστασίου, 2008. Ιορδανίδου, 2014). Δεδομένης της ιστορικότητας του ορθογραφικού συστήματος, μπορούν να εφαρμοστούν δύο αντιτιθέμενα κριτήρια τυποποίησης της ορθογραφίας, τα οποία σε κάποιο βαθμό αντανακλώνται στις προτάσεις Τριανταφυλλίδη και Μπαμπινιώτη. Αυτό του εξορθολογισμού της γραφής και των απλούστερων ορθογραφίσεων και αυτό της αυστηρής διατήρησης του ετύμου της γραφής. Πίσω από αυτά τα δύο κριτήρια τυποποίησης διακρίνονται δύο διαφορετικοί ιδεολογικοί λόγοι (discourses). Δηλαδή, ο λόγος του εκδημοκρατισμού της γραφής και ο λόγος της αναγωγής, μέσω της ορθογραφίας, στο γλωσσικό και πολιτισμικό παρελθόν (βλ. σχετικά Καραντζόλα, 1997). Οι ιδεολογικοί αυτοί λόγοι διαμορφώνουν τις ορθογραφικές επιλογές των ατόμων και γενικότερα τις στάσεις των ατόμων για την ορθογραφία. Στόχος της έρευνάς μας είναι να διερευνήσουμε τις στάσεις των εκπαιδευτικών δημοτικού, των μαθητών δημοτικού και των γονέων τους ως προς την ορθογραφία τόσο ως σύστημα αναπαράστασης του προφορικού λόγου όσο και ως προς τις αρχές και τις συμβάσεις στις οποίες βασίζεται η τυποποίησή της. Με τον όρο στάση αναφερόμαστε στη «διάθεση ευνοϊκής ή μη αντίδρασης σε μία κατηγορία πραγμάτων» (Sarnoff, 1970: 279). Ειδικότερα, σκοπεύουμε να διερευνήσουμε τους ιδεολογικούς λόγους για την ορθογραφία και την τυποποίησή της που βρίσκονται σε κυκλοφορία στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση, καθώς και το ποιος είναι ο κυρίαρχος που διαμορφώνει τις στάσεις των εκπαιδευτικών, των μαθητών και των γονέων τους (βλ. σχετικά Fairclough, 1995). Παράλληλα, διερευνούμε

ζητήματα επίγνωσης ως προς τις πρακτικές που ακολουθούν τα άτομα για να ορθογραφήσουν, όπως η γνώση και εφαρμογή των ορθογραφικών κανόνων ή η φωτογραφική μνήμη.

Στη συγκεκριμένη ανακοίνωση, παρουσιάζουμε ένα ερωτηματολόγιο ανίχνευσης των ορθογραφικών στάσεων. Συγκεκριμένα, παρουσιάζουμε το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο, αλλά και τους ερευνητικούς λόγους που μας οδήγησαν στη σύσταση του συγκεκριμένου εργαλείου έρευνας σε συνάρτηση με τον ερευνητικό του στόχο. Το ερωτηματολόγιο αποτελείται από τέσσερις κατηγορίες ερωτήσεων και βασίζεται γενικότερα στην τριμερή διάκριση των στάσεων σε γνωστικά, συναισθηματικά ή αξιολογικά και προθετικά συστατικά (βλ. σχετικά Garrett, 2010). Συνεπώς, επιχειρούμε την ανίχνευση των ιδεολογικών στερεοτύπων τα οποία διαμορφώνουν την ορθογραφία (βλ. σχετικά Agha, 2000). Στην πρώτη κατηγορία συγκαταλέγονται ερωτήσεις για το κοινωνικό προφίλ των πληροφορητών, ενώ στη δεύτερη κατηγορία διερευνούμε τις αξιολογήσεις και τις πεποιθήσεις των πληροφορητών σε σχέση με την απόκλιση από την ορθογραφική νόρμα. Στην τρίτη κατηγορία διερευνούμε τις προτιμήσεις των πληροφορητών ως προς τις αρχές που τυποποιούν τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία. Τέλος, στην τέταρτη κατηγορία θέτουμε ερωτήματα επίγνωσης για τις πρακτικές που εφαρμόζουν τα άτομα κατά την προσπάθειά τους να γράψουν ορθογραφήμενα.

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Katerina Tzortzi (→Maniati)

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Antigoni Vamvakari & Christina Pouligianni:

The measurement of text readability of the textbooks of compulsory education- The case of History

The present study focuses on the measurement of text readability applied to the study of the textbooks of compulsory education in Greece. For this purpose the school subject of History has been chosen, a rather controversial field of expertise. History is a fascinating science. Nevertheless, the way in which it is presented repulses children and teenagers. However, this particular school course can provide a lengthy corpus which makes it appropriate for further statistical analysis.

Readability is a field of study that has attracted the interest of researchers from the beginning of the 20th century. It is defined as the ease of understanding or comprehension due to the style of writing (Klare, 1963). The writing style delineates the complexity of reading comprehension. This style is not always a conscious choice of the writer and refers to style characteristics such as the word or the sentence length.

Regarding the research methodology, we have firstly selected the History textbooks of compulsory education which have been converted from pdf files to files txt. They have been saved under a specific name and we have created an excel file which includes a large number of stylometric variables that could be associated with readability.

Then, a 10-grade evaluation scale has been created which characterizes the texts

from “very easy” to “very hard”. More specifically, we used two independent assessment variables. The first one represented an evaluation of the text difficulty based on the average of two teachers’ judgment and the second one was the evaluation of the appropriateness of the texts’ difficulty relative to the students’ age. In the next stage, we measured specific stylometric indicators which were used as predictors of texts’ difficulty of comprehension. The resulting data were analyzed using linear multiple regression. The analysis of the relative importance of the independent variables of the study showed that the most important predictors of text difficulty were the entropy and the average word length. Furthermore, the overall R2 of the fitted linear models reached 0.7, meaning that the predictor stylometric variables used in this study could explain at least 70% of the variance observed in the dependent variables.

Spyridoula Varlokosta:

(Morpho)syntactic impairments in agrammatic aphasia

Aphasia is an acquired language disorder usually caused by damage to an area (or some areas) of the left cerebral hemisphere; it is characterized by impairments in the production and comprehension of speech, by word-finding difficulties, by difficulties in reading and writing, etc. Aphasia research has focused on different linguistic levels, such as the production and comprehension of morphosyntactic structures, the lexicon, phonology, and various aspects of the ability to produce and comprehend narratives. Most studies assessing sentence-level phenomena have focused on Broca’s aphasia, also known as expressive or non-fluent aphasia. Broca’s aphasia is often associated with lesion in the anterior brain regions, including (but not limited to) the left posterior inferior frontal gyrus, known as Broca’s area. This aphasia type is typically characterized by loss of the ability to produce language (spoken or written), while receptive abilities (comprehension) are better preserved. Production deficits in speakers with Broca’s aphasia include difficulties in the initiation of speech, simplification of sentence formation, as well as omission or substitution of function words and grammatical morphemes, justifying the designation agrammatic. Cross-linguistic studies indicate that individuals with Broca’s aphasia have selective grammatical deficits, affecting some but not all grammatical morphemes and functional categories. Core syntactic operations (i.e. movement) seem to be also impaired in the production of agrammatic speakers, evidenced in sentences with non-canonical word order, such as object scrambling, object wh-questions, object relative clauses, and passives. These syntactic structures seem to give rise to a so-called ‘asyntactic comprehension’ pattern as well. In the talk, I will make an attempt to define some of the characteristics of agrammatic aphasia

in Greek by examining the production and comprehension of some core sentence-level phenomena (e.g., case, agreement, tense, aspect, object wh-questions, object relative clauses) in speakers with non-fluent aphasia. Furthermore, I will attempt to relate difficulties observed in the production and comprehension of sentence-level phenomena with patient-related variables pertaining to performance on working memory tasks, in light of recent research suggesting that deficits in working memory capacity contribute to the language processing difficulties observed in individuals with aphasia.

Spyridoula Varlokosta: (→Konstantzou; Fyndanis)

Nicole Vassalou, Dimitris Papazachariou & Mark Janse:

The Vowel System of Mišótika Cappadocian

This paper discusses changes in the vowel system of contemporary Mišótika, the Cappadocian variety of Misti. We compare the current vowel system with the one described by Dawkins (1916) and propose a hypothesis to explain the differences between the two, taking into consideration mechanisms of language contact linguistic and change.

According to Dawkins (1916), the vowel system of Cappadocian consisted of eight vowels. In addition to the Greek vowels [a,e,i,o,u], it included the Turkish vowels [y, œ, u]. These appeared mainly in Turkish loans, e.g. *karı* ‘woman’ > [ka’ru], *tütün* ‘tobacco’ > [ty’tyn] (Janse, 2009; 2015), whereas their presence in Greek words was rare, if not unattested, e.g. *σκυλιού* > [ʃy’ly], *ήκουσεν* > [’yksen].

The current vowel system diverges significantly from the older one. In particular, [y, œ, u] are rapidly disappearing, especially in the casual speech of younger adults. At the same time, a previously unattested vowel [æ] seems to have emerged in the speech of both elderly people and young adults. We argue that the changes in the vowel system result from language contact. In particular, the Turkish vowels [y, œ, u] are in the process of elimination due to mechanisms of levelling, as Mišótika has been in contact with Modern Greek since the population exchange of the 1920s, and Turkish features were highly stigmatized for many decades.

The presence of the vowel [æ] is in need of explanation. It occurs in many words of Greek origin, e.g. *εδάπέ* ‘now’ > [dæ’ræ], *τα ημέτερα* ‘our’ > [tæ’mæɾ]. It is well attested in Pontic (ǎ or ɑ in standard Pontic orthography) and occasionally in Pharsiot (Dawkins, 1916). We discuss the phonological status of [æ] in contemporary Mišótika and its possible origins, including its presence in Turkish loans, e.g. *tepe* ‘hill’ > [dæ’pæ], *sever* ‘time’ > [sæ’væɾ].

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Sophie Vassilaki (→Denizot, Tsamadou-Jacoberger)

Rebecca Vassiliadou (→Christofidou)

Marina Vassiliou, Angelos Georgaras, Prokopis Prokopidis & Haris Papageorgiou: Co-referring or not co-referring? Answer the question!

Coreference Resolution (CR), i.e. the detection of linguistic expressions referring to the same discourse entity, has been (and still is) one of the most intriguing tasks within Natural Language Processing over the past twenty years. An interesting problem per se, CR also functions as an important factor in information extraction, text summarisation, machine translation and question answering. To this end, various implementations have been proposed for dealing with this issue, both machine learning (Soon et al., 2001; Ng & Cardie, 2002; Durrett & Klein, 2013) and rule-based ones (Lappin & Leass, 1994; Lee et al., 2011; Connor & Heilman, 2013), with the first ones having taken the lead over the last decade mainly due to the availability of manually annotated corpora (Ng 2010).

The present article details a coreference resolution system developed for Greek, which implements a rule-based approach for creating clusters of coreferent linguistic expressions, attempting to accommodate both precision and recall. More specifically, with the aim of maximising recall, it initially extracts all linguistic expressions from a text, i.e. nominal and pronominal elements as well as null subjects, and creates corresponding clusters (i.e. coreference chains). Subsequently, a series of precision-oriented criteria, which primarily rely on morphological and syntactic features, are applied in a stepwise mode, checking the consistency of already formed clusters and governing the creation of new ones. The algorithm has been developed and tested in news texts (evaluation results are also reported upon), yet its foundation and implementation are genre-independent. To the best of our knowledge,

such a CR system handling Greek data is presented for the first time, while it achieves a promising performance ($F = 0.77$).

Furthermore, the current article reports on related resources, namely a coreference annotation scheme for the Greek language that also addresses bridging and near identity relations, and a Greek coreference-annotated corpus of ca. 80.000 tokens in size.

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Elisabeth Verhoeven:

Verb class effects on linearization in corpus data: a comparative view on Modern Greek

It has been observed for several languages with a basic S<O linearization that particular verb classes, among them most prominently experiencer-object (EO) verbs, frequently occur in (non-canonical) O>S order. Evidence comes from different data types including corpus as well as experimental data from production and acceptability (e.g. Haupt et al. 2008, Bader & Häussler 2010, Verhoeven 2015 for German; Lammers & De Hoop forth. for Dutch). For Modern Greek EO verbs, it has been argued

on the basis of intuition data that both S<O and O>S orders are equally acceptable and that clitic doubling is near to obligatory with the subclass of non-agentive EO verbs (Anagnostopoulou 1999). Thus, corresponding to other languages, we should expect to find frequent clitic left dislocation with Greek EO verbs in language production. In this, EO verbs should contrast with canonical transitive verbs, where clitic left dislocation should occur if discourse-triggered (by contrastive topicalization or hanging topics, see Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002, Anagnostopoulou 1997, Grohmann 2003).

In this paper, we are going to present corpus evidence on the linearization of EO verbs, comparing them to canonical transitive verbs. The corpus study has been carried out in parallel in four languages (Modern Greek, German, Chinese, Turkish) which varied systematically on several parameters among them the type of order flexibility ((clitic) left dislocation, scrambling). In this presentation we will focus on the Modern Greek results, and analyse them in comparison to the other languages. For Modern Greek, we used the Hellenic National Corpus (ILSP, written language, 47.000.000 words) investigating verbs from the two mentioned classes: EO verbs (e.g. enoxló ‘annoy’, enDiaféro ‘interest’), and canonical transitive verbs (e.g. Dialío ‘damage’, emboDízo ‘hinder’). Frequencies of O>S vs. S>O orders are counted for an annotated corpus based on 250 randomly extracted sentences per verb (10 verbs per group). Considering only main clauses with two lexical arguments (for reasons of controlling influence from other factors), our linearization results are based on a subcorpus of 701 sentences.

The corpus results show for Greek (and other languages with left dislocation, e.g., Chinese) that (a) the investigated verb classes do not significantly differ in O>S frequencies and (b) that for both classes O>S orders are very infrequent. In contrast, in German experiencer-first does trigger scrambling to a considerable degree. In our discussion of the results we will focus on the distinction between scrambling and (clitic) left dislocation as triggered by experiencer-first.

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Jeroen Vis:

The acquisition of Ancient Greek vocabulary

In many studies, the importance of vocabulary during foreign language acquisition is stressed. It is no surprise that there is a huge body of literature on various aspects of the acquisition of the vocabulary of modern languages (see de Groot 2010 for a recent overview). However, systematic research on the acquisition of Ancient Greek vocabulary is very limited (see also Vis 2013). This despite the fact that Ancient Greek is being taught at many schools in the (Western) world. In order to improve teaching Ancient Greek, better insight in the acquisition of the language and its vocabulary is needed.

In this paper, two aspects of the acquisition of Ancient Greek vocabulary by Dutch school children are investigated. The first topic is the definition of difficult words. Central question is whether and what parameters can make a vocabulary item difficult to learn. In this paper, experimental research will be presented which investigates to what extent phonetic form, grammatical category and abstractness of meaning interfere with vocabulary acquisition. The choice of these parameters is based on de Groot 2006, who claims that phonetically non native words with abstract meaning are more difficult to learn. In addition, in the current research a questionnaire was given to a representative group of teachers in order to include their experience as well. The results suggest that phonetic form indeed has a negative effect on vocabulary acquisition, while the influence of the other two parameters can be neglected.

The second topic is the role of the Greek alphabet. As known, the Greek alphabet is only used for the Greek language and (experienced) teachers have suggested that the alphabet consists a persisting problem for vocabulary acquisition. In this paper, experimental research will be presented in which learning tasks of Greek words written in the Greek alphabet and in transcription have been compared with each other. As an additional parameter, years of education was included. The results suggest that the alphabet may have a negative effect on vocabulary acquisition, but experience can cancel this effect relatively easy.

The results of the above outlined experiments will be translated into didactic suggestions.

Christos Vlachos:
Lifting (un)selected wh-interrogatives

This paper will concentrate on “wh-slifiting” (after Haddican et al. 2014, and ultimately Ross 1973), which is a phenomenon that has attracted little attention in the literature so far, but has far-reaching implications about the grammar of complement selection. The phenomenon in question can be exemplified in English as in (1):

(1) How long will the strike take do you believe?

The wh-interrogative clause introduced by how long (henceforth, wh-slifit) surfaces at the left of the interrogative clause do you believe, which is the main clause, and the question arises as to whether the wh-slifit originates as the complement of the main verb (here, believe) or not.

Typically, the verb believe does not select for wh-complements (*(do) you believe how long the strike will take (?)), while, as we may observe, both clauses feature “subject-aux(iiliary)” inversion (will the strike; do you), which means that both clauses encode root (or, root-like) properties, on the assumption that subject-aux inversion is restricted to root (wh-)interrogatives. Based on several empirical observations (including the above), and on the additional fact that the predicate of the main clause must carry evidential meaning (e.g., (1) would be ungrammatical with realise in the place of believe), Haddican et al. propose that an evidential head is flanked by the two clauses, taking the main clause as its specifier and the wh-slifit as its complement. The wh-slifit moves to a Focus Phrase, past the main clause, yielding the observed linear arrangement in (1). So, the two clauses are linked paratactically, and the wh-slifit does not originate as the complement of the main verb. Presenting empirical evidence from Greek ---a language in which wh-slifiting has never been examined--- this paper will argue that the wh-slifit is actually the complement of the main verb, contra Haddican et al., and more in line with Grimshaw (2011). (2) demonstrates:

(2) a. *[Poso tha kratisi i aperghia] rotai [an ipan]?

How-long will hold-3SG the strike-NOM asks-3SG if said-3PL

“How long will the strike take does s/he ask?”

b. [Pjos tha tu_k/j dhosi dhulja] pistevi o Janis_k?

who-NOM will him-CL give-3SG job-ACC believes-3SG the John-NOM

“Who will offer him job does John believe?”

The ungrammaticality of (2a) indicates that the wh-slifit, headed by poso (“how long”), is associated with a (movement/interpretational) “gap” that surfaces inside the whether-island introduced by an (“if”), otherwise the apparent island-effect would have been overridden, contrary to facts. In (2b), the possibility ---but not the obligatoriness, in view of the relevant coindexing--- of the coreference between the clitic tu (“him”), inside the wh-slifit, and o Janis (“John”), shows that the wh-slifit originates in a position c-commanded by o Janis (“John”), on the additional assumption that proper names cannot be bound (Chomsky 1981).

Within an approach that takes the wh-slifit to be the complement of the main verb, the question arises as to what “suspends” the lexical restrictions of believe in (1) (or, of pistevo (“believe”) in (2)). Against the standard “projectionist” model, which says that the grammatical specification of the verb stores syntactic and semantic information about its grammatical dependents (Chomsky 1965; Grimshaw 1979, 1981; Pesetsky 1982, 1991; Rothstein 1992), this paper will pursue a “neo-constructionist” line of theorizing (Adger 2013; Borer 2005, 2013; Ramchand 2008), which says that both the verb and its dependents are embedded inside syntactic hierarchies of fundamentally grammatical elements (“functional categories”), and that it is the interaction between the functional category structures that embed the verb and its dependent that is responsible for establishing the dependency. In this context, then, the more general questions about complement selection that the paper will address are (re)conceptualised as follows: (a) What is the syntax and semantics of the functional structures that embed the main verb and the wh-slifit? (b) How these structures interact so as to “override” or “reconfigure” the lexical restrictions of the main verb? (c) Is it necessary to appeal to lexical properties as well as functional ones? In passing, it is worth mentioning that, almost 40 years after Grimshaw’s (1979) seminal paper on complement selection, the question as to how a verb selects its complement, and how this selection is encoded in whatever grammatical capacity makes language use possible, is still not so well-understood. In fact the nature of the relationship between a verb and its grammatical dependents is one of the most ancient questions in linguistics, tracing back to Aristotelian notions of the subject-predicate relation. So, answering the above questions will shed light on the more general issues regarding the encoding of the relationship between a verb and its complement.

Konstantinos Vlachos (→Tantos)

Evangelia Vlachou:

Free choice items and semantic feature satisfaction: evidence from Greek and Turkish

Free choice items (FCIs) present restricted distributional properties in the languages of the world (Greek: *opjodhipote*, Turkish: *herhangi bir*). The present paper studies their distribution in affirmative episodic sentences (1-6). It is argued that FCIs are grammatical in all affirmative episodic sentences as long as the semantics of the context satisfies their semantic features. Evidence is given from Greek and Turkish. Important accounts (Legrand 1975, Giannakidou 2001, Jayez & Tovena 2005) on FCIs have argued that subtriggering is a necessary condition for the grammaticality of FCIs in affirmative episodic contexts. However, the data below show that subtriggering is neither necessary nor sufficient.

Vlachou (2012) argues that FCIs are associated with inherent descriptive contents that bring information on the alternatives considered. FCIs differ among each other in that they have different semantic features that signal that different sets of alternatives are considered (full set and subset FCIs). Full set FCIs have the semantic feature “widening”; subset FCIs have either the feature “ignorance” or the feature “absence of preference”.

Based on this account, the paper argues that FCIs are grammatical only in those affirmative episodic contexts that satisfy their semantic features (widening, ignorance, absence of preference).

1. *Efagha otidhipote.

2. *Herhangi bir grup konser ver-di. (Şener 2006)
any band-nom concert give-[ep./dir.ev.]-3rd sg

3. O Ed Wood (1922--1978) theorite o xiroteros skinothetis tu Amerikanikou
The Ed Wood (1922--1978) is considered the worst film director the American
kinimatografu olon ton epoxon. Ekane ta panda monos tu: paragogi, senario,
cinema all the seasons did-3SG the all alone his production scripts
skinothesia ke xrisimopiise ton opjodhipote ja ithopio.
staging and used-3SG FCI.which for actor
“Ed Wood (1922--1978) is considered to be the worst film director of the American
cinema ever. He did everything alone: production, scripts, staging. He also used just
any actor.” (Vlachou 2012)

4. San-a herhangi biri telefon et-ti. Kim ol duğ-u-nu
You-DAT anyone phone do-ep/dir.ev. who be-REL-3SG-ACC

bil- m-iyor-um.

know NEG IMPF 1SG

“Someone phoned you. I don’t know who.” (Haspelmath 1997)

5. Istanbul-a gid-en herhangi bir grup konser ver-miş. (Şener 2006)
Istanbul-dat go-rel. any band-nom concert give-[ep./ind.ev.]-3rd sg
(Speaker inferred/was reported): Any band that went to Istanbul gave a
concert.

6. *Istanbul-a gid-en herhangi bir grup konser ver-di. (Şener 2006)
Istanbul-dat go-rel any band-nom concert give-[ep./dir. ev.]-3rd sg

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Evangelia Vlachou (→ Frantzi)

Flora Vlachou (→ Iakovou)

Maria Vlassopoulos (→ Konstantzou)

Madeleine Voga:

What can we learn from Greek verbs on processing morphology? An overview of priming studies using Greek aorist

Over the last 40 years, multiple studies have addressed the issue of morphological processing during word recognition, trying to establish how morphologically complex words (inflections, derivations, compounds) are analysed and coded in long-term memory.

This presentation will focus on the contribution of the Greek verb in the discussion relative to morphological representation, locus and, subsequently, processing: even though Greek has entered relatively late in the discussion, Greek verbs and partic-

ularly the Greek aorist have offered some interesting pieces of evidence, starting from the priming study by Tsapkini, Jarema & Kehayia (2002) arguing in favour of the absence, in processing terms, of the grammatical distinction between regularity and irregularity.

We will focus on the following topics, aiming to stress that the Greek verbal morphology constitutes the place to be in order to directly address essential issues of the domain:

1) First, an important methodological aspect of studying morphological effects with chronometric measures: as Giraudo & Grainger (2001) and Pastizzo & Feldman (2002) have demonstrated for French and English respectively, it is necessary to include adequate orthographic controls in the experimental design of studies measuring morphological effects, especially in a protocol (masked priming) where orthographic factors do play a role (Forster, Mohan & Hector, 2003). However, the numerous constraints on the constitution of the materials for an experiment, render the use of orthographic controls rather unsystematic in the literature. Our study stresses the importance of this kind of control and puts forward evidence that the decompositional account of morphology, based on mandatory morpheme stripping cannot integrate.

2) Second, the way in which certain particularities of the Greek verbal system, such as the existence of different forms for 2nd group verbs, e.g., αγαπώ as well as αγαπάω, having a common aorist αγάπησα, permit us to directly test the different approaches of morphological processing (Voga, Giraudo & Anastassiadis-Symeonidis, 2012, using inflectional priming). The data clearly demonstrate that the ‘alternating’ form, e.g., πετάω, presenting different characteristics (Iordanidou, 1992) and being also more frequent in oral speech than the ‘basic’ one, e.g., πετώ, is also the most salient one, i.e., the more pre-activated unit. Consequently, the ‘alternating’ 2nd group present form (πετάω) benefits from the prior presentation of the prime, whereas the ‘basic’ one (πετώ) does not. Again, this result constitutes evidence in favour of whole-word processing (Aronoff, 1994) and against the mandatory parsing account.

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και υφολογικά προσδιορισμένη ποικιλία των ρημάτων σε –άω, –άς και –ώ, –είς] ; Pastizzo, M. J., & Feldman, L. B. (2002). Discrepancies between orthographic and unrelated baselines in masked priming undermine a decompositional account of morphological facilitation. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, & Cognition*, 28, 244-249.

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Werner E. Voigt:

“Σεληνάκι μου λαμπρό, φέγγε μου να περπατώ...” oder: warum es φεγγαράκι heißt

Im Projekt „Λεξινεκροταφείο“ zum Verlust agr. Wörter, die in älterer Dimotiki nicht mehr vorkommen, werden Nachteile wie Lautschwäche, Homonymie, Synonymkonkurrenz, Kulturwandel und Ersatzwörter untersucht.

Nehmen wir das Beispiel ‚Mond‘. Romanisch und germanisch bleibt es Jahrtausende konstant. Was geschah im Griechischen? Itazismus machte σελήνη σέλινον zunächst paronym, in Ableitungen und Komposita, die analysiert werden, auch homonym. Trotz Eindeutigkeit durch Kontext waren befremdliche Anklänge möglich. Neben βοτάνη βοτάνιον βότανον erschien σέλινον *σέληνον (αυξοσέληνον!) wie eine zu σελήνη σελήνιον gehörige Form. Σέλινον überlebte dank seiner Bedeutung im agr. Alltag (z.B. Grabkränze!).

Weshalb das Paar ἥλιος (ή)λιο- ἐλιά (έ)λ(α)ιο-, mit λιό- zu beiden Wörtern (wie λιόχαρος), trotz Lautschwächung weiterlebte, wird ebenfalls gefragt. Im Deutschen sind Folgen der Kollisionen Mon(d)/Mohn/(regional auch) Mann beobachtbar (Ersatz z.T. Licht!).

Agr. Toponyme (Σεληναίον = Σελινούντιον Ὅρος) zeigen bereits Verwirrung. DUCANGE hat unter alchimistischen Symbolen eine Mondsichel für das Element Silber und (kombiniert mit anderen Kürzeln) für σελινόσπερμα2!); noch heute wird „Sympathieverbindung“ angenommen.

GEORGES’ Handwörterbuch bietet ein kurioses lat. Ergebnis des Zusammenfalls: apiosus-a-um ‚mit Schwindel behaftet‘ für gleichgewichtsgestörte Pferde, die fallen können, aus Vegetius, *Mulomedicina* 1,25,2. Der Wandel apiosus < apium, ‚reich an Sellerie, sellerieartig‘, zu ‚schwindlig usw.‘ ist unverständlich, ein Zusammen-

hang zwischen Pflanze und Schwindel unbekannt3). WALDE-HOFMANN, Lat. Etym. Wörterb., erläutert: lunaticus,-a,-um ‚mond-, fallsüchtig‘ gab σεληνόβλητος richtig wieder. Vegetius wollte Griechisches und griechisch Geprägtes durch vornehmeres Latein ersetzen, hörte statt selen- selin- und machte aus dem Mondeinfluss einen des Selleries.

Wortfolgen wie της Έλένης, Κυρ(ι)ας Έλένης, wozu dial. Regenbogennamen4) nach der Hl. Helena, gehören, führten zu Kontaminationen mit Κυριά_Σελήνη, die sich auch in der Variante Κυρασελήνη widerspiegeln.

Das Christentum bekämpfte den Kult der weiblichen, mit Zauber assoziierten Mondgottheit (z.T.der Artemis oder Hekate gleichgesetzt) und machte aus ημέρα Σελήνης/Άρεως Δευτέρα/Τρίτη! Der „männliche“ Ήλιος, auch mit Christus (Sonne der Gerechtigkeit) gleichgesetzt, war besser integrierbar, ημέρα ήλιου wurde Κυριακή.

Σελήνη war etymologisch isoliert: σέλας σελαγίζω waren obsolet. DIETERICH5) sah bei φεγγάρι ein Bedürfnis nach Anschaulichkeit. Dieses wurde im Agr. von der φέγγω und Adjektive auf -φεγγής umfassenden Sippe des vitalen φέγγος (ημέρας, σελήνης, ήλιου...) erfüllt. Für Mond vereinzelt seit Xenophon, übernahm es elliptisch immer mehr nur diese Bedeutung. Sie hält sich noch in ngr. Randedialekten, doch gemeinng. bleibt es allgemein bei ‚Schein, Glanz‘. Für ‚Mond‘ obsiegte in der Gemeinsprache das schon bei Andreas von Kreta im VII. Jh. belegte Diminutiv φεγγάρι(ον). Heutiger Gebrauch von σελήνη ist gelehrten Ursprungs.

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Penelope Kambaki-Vougiouklis (→Dourou, Mamoukari)

Maria Vrachionidou:

Υποκοριστικά επιρρήματα σε νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και ιδιώματα

Αφορμή για τη συγγραφή του παρόντος άρθρου υπήρξε μια τριπλή διαπίστωση: Αφενός, παρόλο που η μορφολογική διαδικασία του υποκορισμού όπως πραγματώνεται είτε μέσω της παραγωγικής επιθηματοποίησης είτε μέσω της σύνθεσης έχει απασχολήσει αρκετές μελέτες, η μελέτη του φαινομένου του υποκορισμού στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και ιδιώματα εμφανίζεται ακόμα πλημμελής. Όπως παρατηρεί και η Μελισσαροπούλου (2006: 91-92): «η έρευνα όσον αφορά το διαλεκτικό υποκορισμό δεν έχει καλύψει ακόμα το σύνολο των διαλέκτων της ελληνικής.[...] Υπάρχει όμως ανάγκη για μια διεξοδικότερη μελέτη του φαινομένου στο σύνολο των ελληνικών διαλέκτων προκειμένου να διερευνηθούν οι κοινές στρατηγικές στην πραγμάτωση του υποκορισμού, αλλά και οι δια-διαλεκτικές διαφοροποιήσεις». Αφετέρου, στις περισσότερες από τις μελέτες για τον υποκορισμό, τα υποκοριστικά επιρρήματα είτε έχουν αγνοηθεί είτε δεν τους έχει δοθεί σημαντικός χώρος. Κατά τρίτο λόγο, το διαλεκτικό υλικό που διέτρεξα, απέδωσε αρκετά παραδείγματα υποκοριστικών επιρρημάτων που σχηματίζονται με παραγωγική επιθηματοποίηση και που δεν απαντούν στη νεοελληνική κοινή.

Σκοπός λοιπόν της ανακοίνωσης είναι η παρουσίαση αυτών των διαλεκτικών υποκοριστικών επιρρημάτων, η περιγραφή και η ταξινόμησή τους. Πηγή του υλικού είναι το Αρχείο του Κέντρου Ερεύνης των Νεοελληνικών Διαλέκτων και Ιδιωμάτων της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών. Καθώς το Αρχείο διαθέτει πλούσιο διαλεκτικό υλικό από όλο τον ελληνόφωνο χώρο αποτελεί καλή βάση για εποπτική μελέτη του υποκορισμού των επιρρημάτων διαλεκτικά. Συγκεκριμένα, λοιπόν: α) επιχειρείται η κατηγοριοποίησή τους με βάση την επιλογή παραγωγικού επιθήματος. π.χ. ως παραγωγικότερα εμφανίζονται τα επιθήματα –ούλια (εδαιτούλια, θαμπούλια = λίγο πριν φέξει, το πρωί, σιαπερούλια < ίσια + πέρ-α + -ούλια, κοντινούλια, παραμπροστούλια, στερνούλια = εντελώς τελευταία, συνταχούλια = πολύ πρωί, σιμούλια = πολύ κοντά κ.λπ.) και –ούτσικα (νυχτούτσικα, φεγγερούτσικα, κρυφούτσικα, παστρικούτσικα κ.λπ.) και λιγότερο τα –ίτσα (εδεκεί-χαμίτσα, λιγουλίτσα, παρακατίτσα κ.ά.) και –άκι (τωναδάκι β) ελέγχεται η γραμματική κατηγορία που αποτελεί τη βάση τους (φερ’ ειπείν, βάση μπορεί να αποτελεί το αντίστοιχο υποκοριστικό επίθετο, π.χ. υποκ. επίρρ. ορθούτσικα < υποκ. επίθ. ορθούτσικος ή το επίρρημα χωρίς υποκορισμό, π.χ. νωρούλια < επίρρ. νωρίς), γ) εξετάζεται η γεωγραφική τους κατανομή (π.χ. υποκοριστικά επιρρήματα με παραγωγικό επίθημα –ούλια εμφανίζονται συχνότερα στην Πελοπόννησο), δ) μελετάται η εκφραστική τους λειτουργία, καθώς, όπως διαπιστώνει και η Sifianou (1992:57): «Η πρωταρχική λειτουργία των υποκοριστικών είναι να εκφράσει την έννοια του μικρός’. Παρ’ αυτά, συχνά χρησιμοποιούνται για να εκφράσουν

οικειότητα τρυφερότητα, στοργή». δ) Τέλος, συγκρίνονται με τα υποκοριστικά επιρρήματα της νεοελληνικής κοινής, προκειμένου να εξεταστεί κατά πόσο επιβεβαιώνονται ή όχι και από αυτό το υλικό παλαιότερες διαπιστώσεις μελετητών, όπως η χαμηλή παραγωγικότητα υποκοριστικών ή ο μικρός αριθμός υποκοριστικών επιθημάτων στις διαλέκτους (βλ. Ράλλη & Μελισσαροπούλου 2006).

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Maria Vrachionidou, Maria Kamilaki & Georgia Katsouda:

Η εννοιολογική μεταφορά (conceptual metaphor) σε λεξιλόγιο ταμπού της ΝΕΚ και των διαλέκτων

Στο πλαίσιο της Γνωσιακής Γλωσσολογίας, κεντρική για την ανάλυση του μεταφορικού λόγου είναι η θεωρία της εννοιακής/εννοιολογικής μεταφοράς (conceptual metaphor) των Lakoff & Johnson (1980), η οποία εξετάζει τους τρόπους με τους οποίους ο ανθρώπινος νους συλλαμβάνει και σχηματίζει έννοιες (Παναρέτου 2011). Η εννοιολογική μεταφορά, ως βασική νοητική λειτουργία κατανόησης και ταξινόμησης του κόσμου, μελετάται διεπιστημονικά, καθώς δεν αποτελεί μόνο γλωσσικό φαινόμενο, αλλά και διαδικασία της σκέψης και τρόπο οργάνωσης και έκφρασης της εμπειρίας (πβ. Παπαρούση 2008).

Το λεξιλόγιο ταμπού, δηλ. το σύνολο των 'απαγορευμένων' ή 'άσεμνων' λέξεων, που καταπατούν τους στερεότυπους γλωσσικούς και κοινωνικούς κώδικες,

αποτελεί κατεξοχήν πρόσφορο πεδίο εξέτασης της εννοιολογικής μεταφοράς και των ορίων της, καθώς εκφράζει την ανάγκη του χρήστη για αναζήτηση της βαθύτερης σημασίας ενός εαυτού μύχιου, καταπιεσμένου ή και ασυνείδητου και παράλληλα συνιστά έναν ευρηματικό τρόπο οικοδόμησης της ταυτότητάς του μέσα από τη λεκτική οδό.

Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση εστιάζει κυρίως σε τέσσερις άξονες:

α) Στις περιπτώσεις πολυσημίας, όπου μόνο η μεταφορική σημασία (τομέας-στόχος) είναι λέξη-ταμπού. Π.χ. το θηλυκό μειωτικό γλάστρα 'γυναίκα που αρκείται σε έναν διακοσμητικό ρόλο' (μεταφορά) # 'πήλινο δοχείο, όπου φυτεύονται άνθη και φυτά' (κυριολεξία), σκρόφα 'θηλυκό γουρούνι' (κυριολεξία) # 'γυναίκα χειρίστης διαγωγής' (μεταφορά), ή η διαλεκτική λ. παράσυρος, από την Κρήτη, 'είδος σκούπας φτιαγμένης από θάμνο' (κυριολεξία) # 'ανάπηρος σωματικά ή διανοητικά' (μεταφορά).

β) Στη μεταφορική, μέσω ομοιότητας ή αναλογίας, ενεργοποίησης περισσότερων της μιας σημασιών της ίδιας λέξης-ταμπού (επομένως, τόσο ο τομέας-πηγή, όσο και ο τομέας-στόχος ανήκουν στο ταμπού λεξιλόγιο), π.χ. η λ. σκατό 'τα κόπρανα', μεταφορικά δηλώνει i. οτιδήποτε θεωρείται άθλιο, τυποτένιο, χωρίς αξία ii. χρησιμοποιείται ως αναφώνηση που εκφράζει αγανάκτηση, δυσσάρεσκεια ή οργισμένη άρνηση iii. χρησιμοποιείται μειωτικά για άπειρο νεαρό άτομο.

γ) Στις σημασιολογικές μεταπτώσεις (επεκτάσεις, επιδεινώσεις κ.λπ.) ορισμένων λέξεων-ταμπού, η οποία βασίζεται στην εννοιολογική μεταφορά, έτσι όπως φανερώνεται από τη διαχρονική μελέτη τους. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα η ιδιαίτερα παραγωγική σήμερα λ. γαμώ 'συνουσιάζομαι' (> αγάμητος, γαμησιάτικα, γαμιόλης, ξενογαμώ κ.λπ.) που στα αρχαία ελληνικά σήμαινε κυρίως 'νυμφεύομαι, παίρνω για γυναίκα', σημασία που διατηρήθηκε ωστόσο και σήμερα σε κάποιες ομόρριζες λέξεις, όπως γάμος, γαμήλιος, γαμοπίλαφο.

δ) Τη διαφορά της εννοιολογικής μεταφοράς από τη μετωνυμία μέσα από παραδείγματα λέξεων-ταμπού. Έτσι, μετωνυμία συνιστούν π.χ. χρήσεις όπως η λ. μουνι αντί 'κοπέλα', κασέρια αντί 'Τρικαλινοί', κ.ά., καθώς, όπως σχολιάζουν και οι Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 36f), η μετωνυμία επιτρέπει τη χρήση μιας οντότητας στη θέση μιας άλλης ενώ η μεταφορά έχει ως βασική λειτουργία την κατανόηση, τη σύλληψη ενός πράγματος με τους όρους άλλου.

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W

Jeroen van de Weijer & Marina Tzakosta:

What does it take to learn *Complex? Evidence from Greek data

Cluster production is a well-studied topic in phonological development (cf. Barlow 1997, 1999, 2001a, 2001b, 2005, Carlisle 1999, Gnanadesikan 2004, Goad and Rose 2004, Jongstra 2003, Kabak 2003, Kappa 1997, 2002, Kirk and Demuth 2005, Lléo and Prinz, 1996, Menn 1978, van der Pas 2004, Ohala 1998, Pater and Barlow 2005, Sanoudaki 2007, Smith 1973). In the process of language acquisition/ learning, a major cross-linguistic characteristic is the simplification of complex structures to unmarked ones. Cluster simplification is accomplished by means of several repair strategies, most frequent of which are cluster reduction (Barlow 1997), fusion and preservation of morphophonological heads (Goad and Rose 2004), epenthesis and positional faithfulness (Revithiadou and Tzakosta 2004a,b), and contiguity (van der Pas 2004). The discussion on consonant clusters is important for several reasons: on the one hand, clusters provide evidence regarding the order of acquisition of single

and co-emerging consonants; moreover, their order of acquisition gives important information regarding the order of syllabic acquisition in the mother language.

In modern linguistic analyses, simplification strategies are usually subject to the Optimality constraint *COMPLEX, which forbids the realization of complex structures. In standard Optimality Theory, all constraints are considered to be universal and innate and therefore do not have to be acquired (Tesar & Smolensky 2000). In this paper we challenge this idea of constraint innateness and consider an alternative account, viz. that *COMPLEX could be acquired on the basis of (the quality and quantity of) the data to which the language-acquiring child is exposed (cf. Joanisse 1999, 2000, among other connectionist accounts). Based on Greek L1 developmental data from 13 children, Greek L2 data collected from 20 children and adults learners of Greek, Greek SLI data from 5 children and statistical analyses of Greek written speech corpora we will show that constraints are not acquired, but can be learned on the basis of input frequency/ child directed speech effects (cf. van de Weijer 2012, 2014). Therefore, constraint universality is driven by intra- and inter-language frequency effects. Starting from the Greek data we will present a cross-linguistic typology of the nature and effects of *COMPLEX.

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X

Maria Xefteri (→Nikolou)

Mirela Xhaferraj:

Εκφράζομαι στα ελληνικά και σκέφτομαι στα αλβανικά. Πώς επηρεάζεται η ελληνική που ομιλείται στον αλβανικό χώρο από την αλβανική

Η ελληνική ομιλείται στον αλβανικό χώρο από τα μέλη της ελληνικής μειονότητας, για τους οποίους είναι μητρική τους γλώσσα και από τους παλιννοστούντες

αλβανούς, οι οποίοι μετά από μια μακρόχρονη διαβίωση στην Ελλάδα, έχουν επιστρέψει και ζουν στην Αλβανία. Στην περίπτωση αυτή, τους ομιλητές της ελληνικής θα μπορούσαμε να τους χωρίσουμε σε δύο κατηγορίες: αυτοί που έχουν μια ανεπαρκή κατάκτηση της ελληνικής και είναι κυρίως μεγαλύτερης ηλικίας και οι νεότεροι, οι οποίοι έχουν τελήσει ολόκληρη ή μέρος της εκπαίδευσής τους στην Ελλάδα, γνωρίζουν πολύ καλά την ελληνική και την ομιλούν σαν φυσικοί ομιλητές. Η επαφή του ελληνικού γλωσσικού ιδιώματος της ελληνικής μειονότητας στην Αλβανία με την αλβανική είχε ως αποτέλεσμα την επίδραση της τελευταίας κυρίως σε επίπεδο λεξικών και μορφοσυντακτικών δομών στον προφορικό, αλλά και στον γραπτό λόγο. Συναντάμε έτσι φράσεις στον προφορικό λόγο όπως «βάνω ρε» (παρατηρώ) από την αλβανική «vë re», «μη σκίζεις κεφάλι» (μην ανησυχείς) από την αλβανική «mos e çaj kokën», ή στο γραπτό λόγο δομές όπως «τα παραπάνω επιχειρήματα δε μπορεί να αρνηθούν», εννοώντας «δεν μπορεί να τα αρνηθεί κανείς».

Αρκετό ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει η περίπτωση των παλιννοστούντων αλβανών, κυρίως των νέων που έχουν πάρει μια ελληνική παιδεία και κατέχουν πολύ καλά την ελληνική. Η ένταξή τους όμως στο αλβανικό γλωσσικό περιβάλλον τροποποιεί κάπως τον τρόπο έκφρασής τους στα ελληνικά, χρησιμοποιώντας σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις δομικά σχήματα της αλβανικής όπως: «σκοτώνω τον εαυτό μου» (αυτοκτονώ) – αλβανικά: vras veten, «κάνε μου ένα κουδούνι» (κάνε μου μια αναπάντητη) – αλβανικά: më bëj një zile κ.α. Βεβαίως αρκετές επιδράσεις έχει δεχτεί και η αλβανική από την ελληνική με την επιστροφή των ελληνόφωνων αλβανών μεταναστών από την Ελλάδα.

Στην παρούσα εισήγηση θα επιχειρήσουμε την ερμηνεία και κατηγοριοποίηση των επιδράσεων της αλβανικής στην ελληνική που ομιλείται στον αλβανικό χώρο.

Theodoros Xioufis:

The pattern of the metaphor within metonymy in the figurative language of romantic love in Modern Greek

This paper forms part of a broader study which aims at examining the figurative language of romantic love in Modern Greek. It aims at examining the pattern of the metaphor within metonymy in the figurative language of romantic love in Modern Greek. This pattern appears frequently in the language of emotions –at least in Modern Greek (Theodoropoulou 2012)– and more specifically in the linguistic expressions that are instantiations of the metonymic principle THE PHYSIOLOGICAL OR BEHAVIORAL REACTION INSTEAD OF EMOTION. It is important for three reasons: first, it is a case of interaction of metaphor and metonymy, a general issue that is intensively debated in the present day literature (e.g. Barcelona 2000; Dirven &

Pörings 2002). Second, metaphor and metonymy take on different roles during this interaction: metonymy foregrounds a body part and metaphor highlights elements of the emotional experience (Theodoropoulou 2012, 2014). Third, this pattern reflects the interaction of emotion and cognition (op.cit.).

The data of this study are drawn from a corpus of spontaneous written speech, which was constructed out of the answers of 76 subjects in a questionnaire about romantic love. The results of the answers to the first question “What is romantic love according to you?” will be presented. The analysis will contribute to the debate concerning the role of metaphor in the language of emotions; i.e. metaphor either structures the emotion concept (Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 1998, 1990, 2000) or it serves the need of expressivity (Foolen 2012; Dirven 2002; Theodoropoulou 2012, 2014).

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George Xydopoulos (→Christopoulou; Rania Papadopoulou; Tzortzatou)

Y

Z

Georgios Zakis (→Koletti)

Thomas Zapounidis (→Mattheoudakis)

Konstantina Zefkili:

Quotations in Corporate Press Releases: A Linguistic, Cross-Cultural Investigation

Press releases are one of the most valuable tools that companies may use to communicate with and through the media with a view to projecting corporate identity, building corporate image and establishing corporate reputation. By virtue of facilitating an easy picking up by the press and influencing the news content, press releases constitute an important and interesting genre to linguistic scholars and corporate communication (CC) professionals alike.

Drawing on previous discourse-analytic work on the metapragmatic features of press releases, this research effort focuses on pseudo-quotations (or so-called constructed direct speech). Based on a corpus of 48 press releases (20 entries by a British company and 28 entries by a Greek one), pseudo-quotations were examined on the basis of: (a) their design (e.g. is it just the words of the company's own CEO that qualify for quotation or are third parties also involved?); (b) their location (i.e. in which paragraphs are they usually located?); and (c) their function in terms of the 'preformulated' nature of press releases.

Qualitative and quantitative analysis of the corpus reveals important differences in the way the two companies construct and use their pseudo-quotations. These differences mainly refer to: (1) the role of the person to whom the quotation is attributed; (2) the ways in which the quotation is constructed; (3) the location of the quotation in the text; (4) the frequency of quotations into the texts of each company; and (5) the impact of the quotations on the overall CC performance of each company.

The presentation will be divided into three parts. The introductory part will be devoted to the genre of press releases in order to understand its usage and importance for the companies and CC professionals. The second part will focus on (pseudo)-quotations and their role in corporate texts with the intention of contributing in the growing linguistic literature on quotation. In the final part, an interdisciplinary, cross-cultural and corpus-driven approach to quotations will be given in an attempt not only to present and explain our findings, but also to contextualize Linguistics, in general, and Pragmatics, in particular, to CC. Integrating, organizing, and synthesizing findings from the Linguistics and CC disciplines may prove to be a promising avenue for further research.

Maria Zerva (→Tsamadou-Jacobberger)

Mariarosaria Zinzi:

The syncretism of the genitive and the dative in Greek: evidences from private letters on papyri

While both the dative and the genitive are attested in Ancient Greek for all declensions, Modern Greek has lost the dative, whose functions have come to be expressed mostly by the genitive (and partly by the periphrasis preposition+accusative). The phenomenon is traditionally described as syncretism of the genitive and the dative.

The aim of this presentation is to trace back the reasons of such a change, focusing on a particular set of testimonies, namely private letters on papyri. Data have been collected by creating a corpus of circa 300 private letters on papyrus: testimonies were brought together and translated.

The dative is frequently replaced in private letters on papyrus by the genitive or the accusative, the latter with or without prepositions. The earliest attestations of the phenomenon date back to the second century b.c. The hypothesis presented here suggests that the syncretism between the genitive and the dative is a result of both sound change and functional overlap of the two cases.

As for the former factor of change, my suggestion is that the o-stem nouns acted as prototypical in Greek nominal flexion: as Mayser (1923), Mandilaras (1973) and Gignac (1976) highlight, ω and ou were often confused in papyri, which means that the genitive and the dative of the so-called second declension were no longer phonetically distinguished. Due to a confusion in the use of the two cases, which could be only syntactically distinguished, they syncretised in one form, namely that of genitive. Thereafter, since the o-declension was steady and productive in Greek,

system congruity prevailed, so that the genitive-dative syncretism applied to all declensions.

A further and complementary explanation of the genitive-dative syncretism could be their sharing of semantic roles. Since the dative merged with the genitive and it did not simply disappear, I have tentatively suggested that semantic extension caused the merging. More specifically, since the possessive meaning was common to both cases, it could have represented the first step in the syncretism of the two cases.

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Katerina Zombolou:

An ongoing process of losing and creating deponents in Modern Greek

In Modern Greek (MG), the active form (ACT) alternates with the non-active form (NACT) in order to mainly express reflexives/reciprocals, anticausatives and passives. Deponents, on the contrary, are argued to idiosyncratically exhibit NACT since they are not able to alternate with ACT, e.g. *kathome* 'sit', *kimame* 'sleep' (e.g. Embick 1998; Lavidas & Papangeli 2007; Manney 2000).

However, Zombolou and Alexiadou (2014) showed that deponents diachronically

lose and create ACT-counterparts associated with a different meaning from their corresponding NACT. We will support this view by providing evidence that deponents lose and create ACT-counterparts also synchronically. To this purpose, we studied the corpus of the MG-deponents (approx. 1348 verbs; Zombolou and Alexiadou 2013) and found that:

Six dictionaries of MG (cf. References) disagree on whether 209 verbs are deponents: some dictionaries report them as deponents, while some others report the very same verbs as non-deponents, i.e. they report an ACT-counterpart associated with a different meaning. This has twofold reasons: a. many of them used to have ACT-counterparts in Ancient or Medieval Greek. These verbs are still used by many native speakers while others consider them as archaisms, e.g. *gevo* 'give one to taste' / *gevome* 'taste'. b. Some other verbs used to have no ACT-counterpart at earlier stages but they received one in current Greek. This novel ACT-meaning is not reported in some dictionaries and/or is not used by some native speakers while it is by some others, e.g. *ksezalizo* 'make one recover from dizziness' / *ksezalizome* 'recover from dizziness'.

We also found that even if the dictionaries of MG agree on whether verbs have ACT-counterparts, 54 verbs are reported to be ready to 'deponentize', i.e. to lose their ACT-counterpart, e.g. *simpleko* 'bind, connect' / *simplekome* 'get involved in a fight'. Finally, twenty novel ACT-counterparts have currently appeared that are not registered by any dictionary; however, they are used by native speakers (sources: newspapers, TV-series and internet), e.g. *kselemiaz-act* 'stretch one's neck' / *kselemiazome-nact* 'get a stretched neck'.

These findings clearly show that deponents are not a closed idiosyncratic lexical class. On the contrary, deponents are able to alternate with ACT, expressing thereby one of the canonical functions of the NACT, i.e. reflexives/reciprocals, anticausatives and passives (cf. Zombolou and Alexiadou 2013). These ACT-counterparts of deponents can be lost or newly created, depending on semantic and pragmatic reasons i.e. meaning change or usage. To this end, deponents are not a case of morphological idiosyncrasy; rather, they are a case of historical development, losing and creating ACT-counterparts not only diachronically but also synchronically, following a predictable developmental path also for the future.

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Workshop Abstracts

Language Choice: Greek and Parallel Cases

Area: historical linguistics

Topics: Greek language question, archaism-vernacularism, katharevousa-demotiki, language choice, language nationalism, language planning, language revival, language standardization, comparative approach

Organized by: Alexis Kalokerinos (University of Crete), Elena Anagnostopoulou (University of Crete)

The general aim of the workshop is to revisit the Greek language question in a comparative perspective; to explore parallels, similarities and differences between the Greek case and related linguistic issues in other language communities (Jewish and Norwegian), from the Enlightenment up to the 20th century.

The Workshop will explore issues as (a) the archaist-vernacularist controversy, including the issue of language revival (and not excluding views of archaism as an option for modernity), and (b) the interplay of standard language (also as a target) and mother tongue, including situations of diglossia, focusing mostly on the katharevousa-demotiki debate.

Given the time span of the inquiry as well as its comparative perspective, both axes crosscut questions of linguistic nationalism before, during and after nation-state building.

From a methodological point of view, we aim to bring together scholars focusing on the structure of language and scholars focusing on language ideology, in order to reassess broader issues pertaining to language planning and standardization on the basis of both synchronic and diachronic linguistic evidence and historical evidence about politics and society relevant to language choice.

Modern Greek MWE 2015

Area: computational linguistics

Topics: *Multiword expressions*: computationally oriented analysis, theoretical analysis

Organized by: Valia Kordoni (Humboldt University Berlin), Stella Markantonatou (ILSP/"Athena" R.C.), Niki Samaridi (ILSP/"Athena" R.C.)

The term *MultiWord Expression (MWE)* has been used as a cover term for a large set of constructions known under labels such as *idioms* (give an arm and a leg, δίνω τόπο στην οργή), *fixed phrases* (in a nutshell, στο κάτω κάτω της γραφής), *noun compounds* (contact lenses, πράσινη ανάπτυξη), *verb MWEs* (turn on, βάζω μπρος). Alternatively, several of those constructions, but not all, could be classified under labels such as *collocations* and *light verb constructions*. It is a well known fact that MWEs are of a rather flexible and heterogeneous nature and do not avail themselves easily to definitions and taxonomies. Despite this, MWEs are of wide use and a challenge for the sciences of Language, including Theoretical Linguistics, Natural Language Processing, and Lexicography etc.

There is important international ongoing work on the theoretical study of MWEs, the development of resources and the technology that supports it and, of course, on processing issues. The annual MWE workshop (2001-today) in conjunction with major international computational linguistics conferences (ACL, EACL, NAACL, COLING, LREC), special issues on MWEs that have been published by leading journals and the ongoing [IC1207 COST Action PARSEME](#), an interdisciplinary scientific network devoted to the role of MWEs in parsing, offer a picture of the vitality of the MWE studies worldwide.

Modern Greek MWE 2015 aims to offer a concise reference framework that covers as adequately as possible past and ongoing research on MWEs of Modern Greek. Invited talks and presentations cover aspects of established research wrt resource development and the theoretical study of MWEs. As regards ongoing work, they present original research on major challenges involved in MWE treatment, both from the theoretical and the computational viewpoints. Topics include:

- Lexical, syntactic or semantic aspects of MWEs (morphosyntactic inflexibility and non-compositional semantics)
- Manually and automatically constructed resources including issues of adequate representation of MWEs in resources addressed to humans and to machines
- Integration of MWEs into NLP applications

Invited talks

Tim Baldwin (Dept of Computing and Information Systems, The University of Melbourne): *Multiword Expressions: From Theory to Practicum*
Anna Anastasiadi (University of Thessaloniki), **Aggeliki Fotopoulou** (ILSP/"Athena" RIC) and **Tita Kyriacopoulou** (University of Paris-Est, Descartes): *Οι πολυλεκτικές ακολουθίες της Νεοελληνικής: παρόν και μέλλον*

Endorsements

- The Special Interest Group on the Lexicon of the Association for Computational Linguistics (SIGLEX; <http://www.siglex.org/>); and SIGLEX's Multiword Expressions Section (SIGLEX-MWE; <http://multiword.sourceforge.net/PHITE.php?sitesig=MWE>)

- IC1207 COST action PARSEME (www.parseme.eu)

Modern Greek Particles

Areas: pragmatics, semantics, syntax

Topic: particles

Organized by: George Tsoulas (University of York), Winfried Lechner (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)

Rationale and general description: There is a long tradition of study of particles in Ancient Greek, culminating with Denniston's 1954 monumental study *The Greek Particles*. Surprisingly perhaps given that sort of pedigree, virtually nothing is known from a contemporary, formal point of view on the particles of Modern Greek. With the exception of Tsoulas and Alexiadou (2006), one finds very little, if any, work devoted primarily to the nature and function of particles in Modern Greek, besides the important, albeit differently focused, discussion on $\text{N}\alpha$ and $\text{O}\alpha$, as well as $\text{A}\zeta$ (see Roussou and Tsangalidis, 2010). Traditional grammars on the other hand remain content to merely present a list of elements as particles ($\text{M}\acute{\omicron}\rho\iota\alpha$) without much discussion on their nature, form or function (with some exceptions such as Tzartanos (1953)). At the same time the grammar of all types of particles has been a focal point of research in formal linguistics over the past decade or so. In Syntax, particles have been both the focus of intense investigation in their own right and also insofar as they represent valuable diagnostics of grammatical structure (e.g. the left periphery of the clause and the DP, the nature of historical change, etc... witness the work collected in special issues on particles in *The Linguistic Review* (2011) and *Studia Linguistica* (2014)). In semantics and pragmatics, the study of particles has been instrumental in our understanding of the dynamics of context, expressive dimension of meaning, definiteness, modality, focus, implicature and presupposition etc. as shown (among others) in works such as Kratzer (1999), McCready (2008) and the work collected in Blutner and Zeevat (2004). Set against this background, the aim of the proposed workshop is twofold. First, to begin to fill the descriptive and analytical gap in Greek syntax and semantics in what concerns particles and matters directly relating to them by offering a set of descriptive generalisations and specific analyses and drawing the wider conclusions regarding both Greek syntax and linguistic theory more generally. Second, to bring the burgeoning crosslinguistic research to bear on the analysis of Greek and, conversely, to bring Greek to bear on the comparative generalisations regarding particle syntax and semantics.

Lexical, Syntactic and Discourse processing in Greek

Areas: morphology, pragmatics, psycholinguistics, syntax

Topics: lexical processing, syntactic processing, discourse processing, monolingual acquisition, bilingual acquisition, language impairment

Organized by: Theodoros Marinis (University of Reading), Chris Bongartz (University of Cologne), Despoina Papadopoulou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Ianthi Maria Tsimpli (University of Reading)

Research investigating the language faculty has traditionally used questionnaire data, grammaticality and acceptability ratings. Language corpora along with off-line comprehension and production experiments have addressed how language develops in monolingual and bilingual children and adults and how it breaks down in adults with acquired language disorders and in children with developmental language disorders. Although these methods have provided invaluable findings about the speakers'/listeners' knowledge and performance of language, we do not have a comprehensive picture of the linguistic and non-linguistic processes involved when we produce or comprehend language in real-time and which of those processes break down in language impaired populations.

Over the last two decades, new psycholinguistic methods, such as reaction time, ERP and fMRI experiments, have opened a new dimension into the comprehension and production of language by allowing us to investigate not only the outcome of comprehension/production, but also the linguistic and non-linguistic processes that guide language comprehension and production. This research has demonstrated that language production and comprehension is mediated by a range of different types of information, such as lexical information, semantic plausibility, syntactic information, discourse information, statistical regularities, and frequency of lexical co-occurrence (Altmann & Steedman, 1988; Pearlmuter & MacDonald, 1995; Taraban & McClelland, 1988; Tanenhaus & Trueswell, 1995; Trueswell, 1996; Trueswell & Tanenhaus, 1994; Trueswell, Tanenhaus & Garnsey, 1994). Healthy adults are capable of coordinating these types of information to comprehend and produce language; it is less clear whether the same applies to children, language learners, and language impaired populations (e.g., Clahsen & Felser, 2006; Felser, Roberts, Marinis & Gross, 2003; Papadopoulou & Tsimpli, 2005; Trueswell, Sekerina, Hill & Logrip, 1999). Psycholinguistic research investigating language processing of Greek has grown incrementally within the last decade including studies on language processing in healthy adults (Papadopoulou & Clahsen, 2003; Manouilidou & Kehayia, 2004; Papadopoulou & Tsimpli, 2006) and children (Papadopoulou & Tsimpli, 2005, Papangeli & Marinis, 2009; Papadopoulou et al., in press), adult second language learners of Greek (Papadopoulou & Tsimpli, 2009), bilingual children with Greek

as one of their languages (Andreou et al., under review; Torregrossa et al., 2015), child second language learners of Greek (Chondrogianni et al., 2014), adults with aphasia (Peristeri & Tsimpli, 2011), and children with Specific Language Impairment (Chondrogianni et al., 2014).

The Morphosyntax of Modern Greek dialects

Areas: dialectology, morphology, syntax

Topics: microvariation, morphosyntax

Organized by: Marika Lekakou (University of Ioannina), Arhonto Terzi (Technological Educational Institute of Western Greece, Patras)

In recent years, interest in the (morpho)syntactic properties of dialectal (or, more generally, sub-standard) varieties has seen a remarkable increase. This is evidenced by, among other things, the large number of research projects across Europe (and beyond) which focus exclusively on the (morpho)syntax of dialects, delivering impressive results, such as geographical atlases, online databases, or theoretical analyses of particular phenomena.

The benefits of studying dialectal (micro-)variation are manifold: as Kayne (1996) has emphasized, the examination of closely-related varieties, just like a well-designed experiment, provides theoretical linguists with a precise and controlled method of studying grammatical variation. Moreover, there is a highly advantageous interplay between dialects and theory. On the one hand, the study of dialects enhances our empirical base – which enables us to test correlations that have been proposed in the literature and to discover new ones, which may have been obscured by the emphasis on standard varieties. On the other hand, the investigation of dialectal variation within a particular theoretical background requires the elicitation of new data which may have otherwise been ignored, leading to a more complete description of the phenomenon at hand.

For the Greek language area, the interest in dialects has been vivid, both from a more traditional dialectological perspective and, more recently, from theoretical viewpoints (Hatzidakis 1892; Dawkins 1916; Newton 1972; Christidis 1999, 2000; Trudgill 2003, Kontosopoulos 2006). However, progress on the level of syntax and its interfaces (with semantics, phonology and morphology) has been relatively slow and fragmentary (Ralli 2006, Roussou 2009, Tsiplakou et al. 2006, Gryllia & Lekakou 2006, Revithiadou & Spyropoulos 2012, Sitaridou 2014a, 2014b). Given the contribution that Standard Greek has made to syntactic theory (see the overview in Anagnostopoulou 2013), as well as the theoretical importance of syntactic micro-variation sketched above, this constitutes a gap that needs to be filled. To this end, we propose to organize a workshop dedicated to the morphosyntax of Modern Greek dialects, under the auspices of the upcoming 12th International Conference on Greek Linguistics. The workshop aims to bring together researchers working on various aspects of morphosyntactic variation in Modern Greek dialects, to raise awareness of the attested variation, to report it and to highlight its contribution to syntactic theory. The workshop will contain six 30-minute talks that investigate

a variety of morphosyntactic phenomena occurring in Modern Greek dialects. A final slot is reserved for a roundtable discussion, which will offer a summary of the empirical findings and the theoretical analyses discussed, as well as an overview of the theoretical implications and the empirical challenges that lie ahead.

The Grammar of Greek Focus

Areas: pragmatics, semantics, syntax

Topics: focus, prosody

Organized by: Giorgos Spathas (University of Stuttgart), Stella Gryllia (Leiden University)

Focus is an information-structural property of expressions which can affect their internal syntax (e.g. Rizzi 1997), their prosodic realization (e.g. Gussenhoven 1983), their truth-conditional meaning (e.g. Rooth 1985), as well as the conditions of their use in discourse (e.g. Roberts 1996). As such, it lies on the interface of different modules of grammar and, although it is possible to ask individual questions about the sub-modules (e.g. what is the phonological realization of focus?), any comprehensive study of focus requires the integration of all the domains mentioned above. In the last years, the study of focus has progressed exponentially due to the emergence of phonological (e.g. Autosegmental Metrical Model of Intonational Phonology, Optimality Theory) and formal semantic frameworks (e.g. Alternative Semantics, Structured Meanings), the widening of the empirical domain achieved by cross-linguistic studies of focus, and the use of experimental techniques (e.g. Onea & Beaver 2011).

In the case of Greek, the majority of studies have examined information-structural categories in their interaction with syntax (and particularly word-order). Although important work has been done on the phonology of Greek focus, few studies have scrutinized the prosodic properties of different information-structural categories and word-orders, while even fewer ones have investigated their semantic properties. A general weakness of the discussion on information-structural notions so far is that these are not always formally defined. It is, thus, not always clear that different studies target the same phenomena. Moreover, a domain that has been left largely unexplored is that of focus sensitive operators (e.g. mono “only”, additive *ke* “too”, a.o.) and constructions (e.g. clefts).

This workshop aims to promote the study of the grammar of focus in Greek in the light of recent theoretical, empirical, and experimental developments, by bringing together researchers that specialize on different sub-modules of grammar. Some of the questions we wish to explore include:

- Is the realization of focus in Greek the same for all types of focus?
- What are the phonological correlates of (different types of) focus?
- Which information-structural categories determine prosody in Greek?
- Which is the class of focus associating operators/constructions in Greek? Is it a uniform class, prosodically and semantically?
- What are the syntactic restrictions on association with focus in Greek? How do

these compare with those of other languages?

A last goal of this workshop is to inquire the possibility of setting up a more permanent collaboration among researchers that investigate different aspects of the grammar of focus.