

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS – WED

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2. ABSTRACTS IN GREEK

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Gyölde Greek

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Since the seminal works of Dawkins (1916), and Triantafyllidis (1938) the settlement of Gyölde (Hellenistic Goloida, medieval Kóllyda, modern day İncesu, province of Manisa) has been singled out as the location where a unique and isolated Asia Minor dialectal variety was spoken, which prove of major importance for the understanding of the overall dialectological picture of Asia Minor Greek, as it would provide the intermediate link between the well-attested varieties of Inner Asia Minor (Pontic and Cappadocian) on the one hand and the Bithynian and coastal varieties on the other. The investigation of this variety, however, was (and is) hampered by the lack of sufficient data, since the only available source so far, namely Buresch (1892), provides only 15 lexical items, not all of them fully or correctly identified.

The purpose of this contribution is to investigate this now vanished variety as exhaustively as possible. More specifically, this paper offers:

- a full linguistic and etymological analysis of the surviving vocabulary, in order to identify phonological, morphological and lexical properties which could serve as indications of dialectal isoglosses and ensuing dialectal classification

- a comparative lexical examination of the vocabulary, on the basis of recent dialectal lexicography (mainly the ILIK and the archive of the ILNE) which serve as an indication of dialectal filiation

- a search for additional linguistic material on the basis of archival sources (Centre of Asia Minor Studies, Research Centre of Modern Greek dialects, Ottoman tax registers, travellers' accounts etc.)

- an evaluation of the collected data in order to establish the history, provenance and classification of the Gyölde variety and its position and value within Modern Greek dialectology and the history of the Greek language.

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Dawkins, R. M. (1916): *Modern Greek in Asia Minor. A Study of the Dialects of Silli, Cappadocia and Phárasa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ILIK = *Ιστορικό Λεξικό των Ιδιωμάτων της Καππαδοκίας*. Αθήνα: Ακαδημία Αθηνών 2024.

ILNE = *Ιστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς, τῆς τε κοινῶς ὄμιλουμένης καὶ τῶν ἴδιωμάτων*.

Αθήνα: Ακαδημία Αθηνών 1933-

Triantafyllidis, M. (1938). *Νεοελληνικὴ Γραμματικὴ-Ιστορικὴ εἰσαγωγὴ*. Αθήνα, repr. in *Μανόλης Τριανταφυλλίδης, Άπαντα*, vol. 3. Thessaloniki: INS.

Temporal organisation of vowel-consonant(s)-vowel sequences in Cypriot Greek

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Inter-segmental temporal coordination in Cypriot Greek (CyGr) has been investigated so far in terms of the singleton-vs-geminate contrast in relation to adjacent vowels in V1CV2 sequences. Arvaniti (1999), Tserdanelis and Arvaniti (2001), and Armosti (2011) examined the effect of the singleton-vs-geminate contrast on the immediately preceding vowel (V1) and found no consistent durational differences between pre-singleton and pre-geminate vowels. C. Christodoulou (2007) and Armosti (2011) investigated the duration of V2 (i.e. of the vowel immediately following the target consonant) in the case of plosives and affricates and found consistent shortening of V2 in post-geminate position compared to in post-singleton.

The present study expands the investigation of temporal coordination of segments in CyGr by examining not only singletons and geminates but also sequences of up to four consonants. The aim was to investigate compensatory vowel shortening due to consonant accumulation similarly to the V2 shortening observed in Standard Modern Greek (SMG) (Botinis et al., 1999) and in other languages, such as English (e.g., Katz, 2012); moreover, the study aimed to investigate possible clustering effects, i.e. compression of consonants when in consonant sequences, something that has been observed in SMG (Botinis et al., 1999; Fourakis et al., 2005) and English (e.g. Haggart, 1973; Klatt, 1974; Umeda, 1977; Crystal & House, 1988). To that end, a production experiment was designed targeting singleton and geminate consonants of various manners and places of articulation as well as allowable consonant sequences in 114 pseudowords of the form [‘fiC₀₋₄a] (where “C₀₋₄” denotes zero consonants up to four consonants). The durations of all segments in the pseudowords were measured, with the analysis focusing on the [V1C₀₋₄V2] sequence.

While data collection is still ongoing, preliminary results confirmed that V1 was generally unaffected by what followed. Regarding V2, there was a tendency for it to be shorter after geminates and consonant sequences than after a single singleton consonant: in general, the bigger the number of consonants in the sequence, the shorter V2 became. The accumulation of consonants showed compression effects only in 3- and 4-consonant sequences. In 2-consonant sequences, contrary to what has been observed in SMG, no compression was found in CyGr; on the contrary, a tendency for the participating consonants to lengthen was observed, something that provides empirical support to M. Christodoulou’s (1967) impressionistic observation that CyGr consonants in CC sequences are longer than single consonants.

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Graph structures in comparison and directionality of change: A case study in the domains of PERCEPTION and COGNITION

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This paper presents a methodological approach that integrates crosslinguistic data with language-specific historical data. It focuses on graph structures, specifically comparing semantic maps and colexification networks, and demonstrates how diachronic data, such as diachronic colexifications (i.e., meaning extensions within a single language), can be incorporated into both types of graphs. The case study draws on the history of Greek and explores the semantic fields of PERCEPTION and COGNITION, using Vanhove's (2008) study on crosslinguistic semantic associations in these domains as a starting point. Vanhove examines associations between vision, hearing, and mental perception across 25 languages, involving 46 lexical items coexpressing at least two of the following meanings: SEE, HEAR, HEED, UNDERSTAND, KNOW, LEARN, THINK, OBEY, REMEMBER. Linguistic typology has a long-standing tradition of using diagrams to represent such data. The most prevalent representation, the semantic map, was introduced in the early 1980s (Anderson, 1982) and developed further in the following decades (e.g., Haspelmath, 1997; van der Auwera & Plungian, 1998; Croft, 2001). More recently, colexification networks have also gained prominence (e.g., Jackson et al., 2019). This paper will examine the key differences between these two graph structures, particularly in how they incorporate diachronic data. Despite these differences, both share several similarities, such as nodes representing concepts and edges representing colexification patterns, and both can integrate information like frequency of attestation. Examples of weighted (incorporating this information) and unweighted graph structures (without frequency data) are presented in Figures 1-4, all based on Vanhove's dataset. For the diachronic analysis of Greek, which covers three stages - Homeric Greek, Classical Greek, and Hellenistic Greek - we will adapt a protocol developed by AUTHORS, involving three steps:

- 1) *Onomasiological step*: Begin with the concept and identify the different lexemes with which the concept can be named (see Geeraerts, 1997) using dictionaries and resources providing information about the relevant lexemes such as Montanari (2015) and Buck (1949). Examples include the verbs: *horáō*, *dérkomai*, *leússō*, *akoúō*, *klúō*.
- 2) *Semasiological step*: Chart the different meanings of these lexemes across different stages, focusing on those present in Vanhove's synchronic network.

- 3) *Track semantic developments:* Determine whether lexemes undergo meaning shifts between stages and integrate these semantic extensions into the networks.

This study illustrates how diachronic colexifications can be systematically integrated into graph-based representations, providing valuable insights for both typologists and historical linguists.

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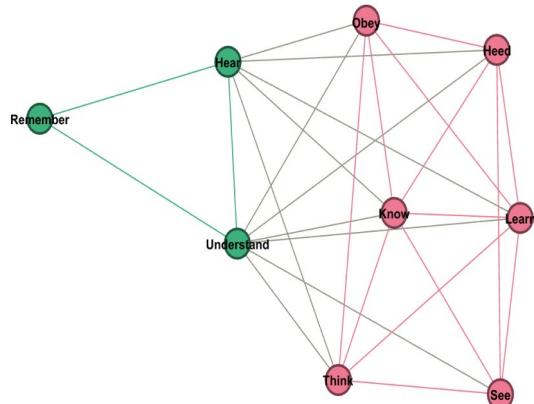


FIGURE 1. Unweighted colexification network

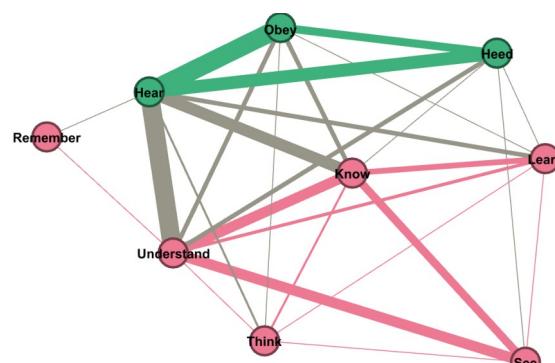


FIGURE 2. Weighted colexification network

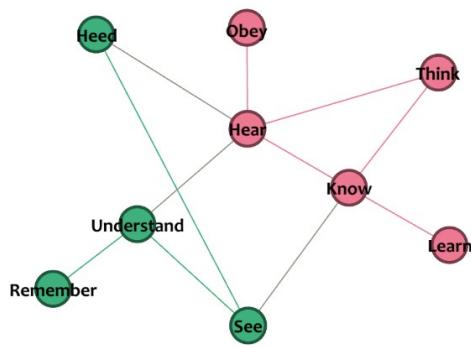


FIGURE 3. Unweighted semantic map

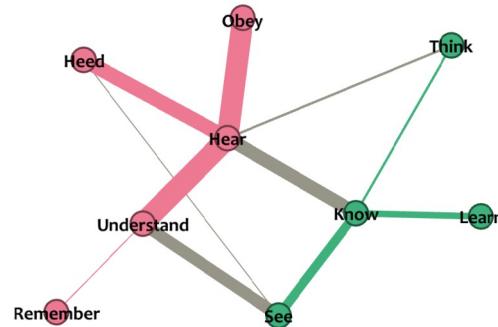


FIGURE 4. Weighted semantic map

(Apparent) doubling of negative markers in Greek

Marika Lekakou

Greek has two markers of sentential negation, *ðen* and *min*. The received wisdom is that they are in complementary distribution, each heading the single NegP of the clause, depending on mood: *ðen* occurs in indicative and *min* in subjunctive contexts (Veloudis & Philippaki-Warburton 1984; Rivero 1994; Philippaki-Warburton 1998; Tsimpli & Roussou 1996, *i.a.*). Quite unexpectedly, however, a number of cases exist where *dhen* and *min* co-occur, as in (1)-(4). Manta (2020) and Lekakou (2023) show that these doubly negative contexts do not constitute a homogeneous class, syntactically or semantically. However, the mere fact that *ðen* and *min* may co-occur undermines the generalization about their mood-related distribution. Do we need two NegPs to accommodate (1)-(4)? What of the distribution of the negators in the “canonical”, non-doubling case? I will argue that a single NegP can be upheld, even in the face of the doubling data, each of which requires a separate treatment.

The simplest case involves complements to *verba timendi* such in (1): *min* introduces the embedded clause, spelling out C (Roussou 2016; see also Makri 2013; Chatzopoulou 2018; Tsiakmakis & Espinal 2022); *ðen* contributes sentential negation. A similar treatment, I argue, explains (2): *min* is a C-head and *ðen* contributes sentential negation. That *min* heads an unembedded clause should not come as a surprise. After all, *pu* – an incontestable complementizer – can do the same, as in (7) (cf. Makri 2017, and Nicholas 2005). In (3) what looks like negative doubling is in fact no such thing. We are arguably dealing with a bi-clausal structure wherein each clause features its own negator (as argued e.g. by Oikonomou 2017). Example (4) instantiates the only genuine case of negative doubling (Alexiou 2004): (4) is truth-conditionally equivalent to (5). Thus, what is expletive here is, in fact, *ðen*. I will show that expletive *ðen* is licensed in a way similar to polarity subjunctives (Stowell 1993; Quer 1998): it requires matrix negation or a question operator. Let us thus postulate for expletive *ðen* the head of a projection PolP, immediately below the NegP headed by *min*. Although semantically inert, expletive doubling is not devoid of pragmatic meaning (thus patterning with semantic expletives in the sense of Tsiakmakis & Espinal 2022): as Barouni (2023) and E. Tsiakmakis (p.c.) note, (4) cannot occur out of the blue, but requires that the propositional content of the clause containing double negation is pragmatically available (cf. Schwenter 2006 for similarly licensed Romance negative doubling). This observation allows us to explain a property that Alexiou (2004) noted with respect to (6): in the presence of expletive *ðen*, the question can only be interpreted as rhetorical. On the assumption that rhetorical questions are semantically questions with special pragmatics, namely that their answer is part of the common ground (Caponigro & Sprouse 2007), the rhetorical interpretation of (6) follows.

- (1) Fovame mi ðen erthi.
fear-1SG NEG NEG come-3SG
'I fear s/he may not come.'
- (2) Siya mi ðen erthi.
slowly NEG NEG come-3SG
'I seriously doubt she will not come./' Like hell she won't come.'
- (3) Min tixon/tixi ke ðen erthis!
NEG possibly/happens and NEG come-2SG
'Don't you dare not come!' = 'Make sure you come'
- (4) ðe yinete na mi ðen erthi.
NEG happens SUBJ NEG NEG come-3SG
'It's not possible that s/he won't come.'
- (5) ðe yinete na min erthi.
NEG happens SUBJ NEG come-3SG
'It's not possible that s/he won't come.'
- (6) yinete na mi ðen erthi?
happens SUBJ NEG NEG come-3SG
'Is it possible that she won't come?'
- (7) Siya pu ðe tha erthi.
slowly COMP NEG come-3SG
'Like hell she won't come.'

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Metalinguistic negation in Modern Greek
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In this talk I will explore the syntax and semantics of metalinguistic negation (MN) in Modern Greek, a less studied phenomenon in this language, despite the large interest on negation (cf. Veloudis 1983; 2023, Baltazani 2006, Giannakidou&Stavrou 2009 for MN). Following Horn (1985, 1989), negation can be used either to deny the truth of a proposition (logical negation) as in (1B) or to deny the (felicitous) assertability of an utterance, as in (1B') (cf. Dummett 1973; Wilson 1975) (metalinguistic negation); in (1B') the speaker objects to a previous utterance.

(1) A: Tilefonisan i Eleni ke o Aris

called the Eleni and the Aris ‘Eleni and Aris called’

B: Ohi, den tilefonisan (proposition denial)

No, NM called

‘No, they didn’t call’

B': Ohi, den tilefonisan. Estilan mail. (denial of the previous utterance/ MN).
called NM called. Sent mail

‘No, they didn’t call. They sent an email’

In this talk I will focus on the cases of certain non-negative morphologically expressions that appear to introduce negation, similarly to the expression *like hell* in English, seen in (2).

(2) A: You still love me.

B: *Like hell* I still love you. (Horn 1989: 402)

I will argue that these expressions do not express ordinary, descriptive negation, but metalinguistic one, what Horn refers to as ‘formulaic external negations’ (Horn 989:402). More precisely, despite not being negative on its nature, a non-negative adverb, *siga*, (literally: softly, slowly) when occurring at the beginning of a proposition can induce a negative meaning. As seen in (3), due to *siga* a negative interpretation is induced (Barouni 2023, Lekakou 2023). Extending on (3), I will argue that *siga* is not the only idiomatic expression that induces a metalinguistic negative interpretation. Similarly, the adverb *ka/a* (literally:well) may induce a negative interpretation in this specific structure (4). Applying the criteria for distinguishing logical vs. metalinguistic negation I will show, among others, that these elements do not license negative polarity items (NPIs), as seen in (5), while, at the same time, they license positive polarity items (6), similarly to their English counterparts in (7). Moreover, I will explore whether this structure can be analyzed as discourse markers, similarly to Rioplatense Spanish which are also always left-peripheral (see Martins 2020) and whether Rizzi’s (2004) left periphery which assumes a pragmatically-motivated structure above CP can provide a syntactic account for this phenomenon.

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Aspect as an interpretable feature: implications for L2 acquisition

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Variability attested in second language acquisition (L2A) in terms of a dissociation between syntactic properties and overt morphophonology has been addressed by different feature-based theoretical accounts. The Interpretability Hypothesis (IH, Tsimpli and Dimitrakopoulou, 2007) makes a crucial distinction with respect to learnability differences between interpretable features (i.e., features with a semantic content) and purely formal, uninterpretable features, assumed to be subject to maturational constraints. IH predicts persistent problems with the L2 acquisition of uninterpretable features but easier access and ultimate attainment of structures and properties involving interpretable features.

However, the difficulty in the acquisition of interpretable features such as grammatical aspect attested in a number of studies (Rothman and Iverson, 2009; Diaubalick and Guijarro-Fuentes, 2019, a.o.) have been used as evidence pointing to the vulnerability of semantic (interpretable) features and against the IH. Specifically, accounts that focus on the morphology-syntax interface view the acquisition task as a dynamic reanalysis of morphophonological items along the lines of feature reassembly, predicting difficulties in organising overt morphophonological forms into bundles of abstract features that make up functional categories. Thus, variability in developing grammars as well as ultimate attainment are expected irrespective of the type of features (along the +/-interpretable divide) involved. Other studies have focused on the interplay between lexical aspect and pragmatics in L2 aspectual marking (Bardovi-Harlig, 2000 and Slabakova and Montrul, 2007, respectively).

The present paper will review previous studies of the L2 acquisition of aspectual distinctions and explore the reasons behind the attested difficulties in the morphosyntax and interpretation properties of aspect aiming for a refined account of interpretability. It will be argued that differences in learnability when interpretable features are involved stem from local (phrasal) and/or sentence-level or discourse-level integration constraints that go beyond the interpretability status of aspect itself. For instance, at the local level aspectual morphology shows crosslinguistic variation in the way events are viewed with Greek distinguishing between perfective and imperfective but not between habitual and progressive. At the sentence level, the choice of aspectual morphology interacts with manner-of-motion verbs to encode location or direction (e.g. Tsimpli and Papadopoulou, 2009) while the interplay between the semantics of adverbial connectives and verbal aspect lead to a distinct interpretation of the event in the adverbial clause in relation to the matrix one (Tsimpli et al. 2010). We will argue that feature interpretability does predict learnability effects in the comparison between +/-interpretable features while delays in ultimate attainment can be accounted for by reference to the interaction

of Aspect (and interpretable features more generally) with the syntax-semantics and syntax-discourse interfaces (Tsimpli and Sorace, 2006).

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The Arcadian Greek syllable**Photini Coutsougera****University of Toronto**

The Arcadian Greek syllable prefers to have an onset rather than be onsetless (e.g. [kato'mirjo] < /katomirio/ 'million'; ['Λο] < /lio/ 'untie'; ['τρο] < /troo/ 'eat'; [kri'jeno] < /krieno/ 'be cold', whereby hiatus is resolved with the help of palatalization, palatalization and fusion, deletion and epenthesis respectively) and bans obstruents from its codas word-medially, via epenthesis or deletion (e.g. [vaθi 'mos] vs. SMG [vaθmós] 'degree, grade', [ar'θimos] vs. SMG [ariθmós] 'number', ['alama] vs. SMG ['alayma] 'change' etc.), or even sonorants word-finally, via epenthesis (e.g. e.g. /exun/ → ['exune] 'they have'; /peðion/ → [pe'ðjone] 'children.GEN.PL.'; /ylikon/ → [γλι'kone] 'sweet.MASC.ACC.SG.', etc.).

On the other hand, as a consequence of the loss of syllabicity of high vowels in an unstressed position (Coutsougera 2022), interesting consonantal sequences and a variety of codas both word-finally and word-internally are yielded: e.g. ['fiΛ.pas] < /filipas/ 'Philip.NOM.' (cf. SMG ['fi.li.pos']); ['popi] < /popi/ 'Popi', short for 'Penelope or Calliope'. Additionally, branching word-final codas, are also yielded when unstressed [i] and [u] get deleted word-finally, triggering secondary palatalization or labialization (respectively) in the preceding consonant: e.g. [ɔi'mitri] < /ðimitri/ 'Dimitri.GEN./ACC.', ['kastrw] < /kastru/ 'castle.GEN.' Branching codas are outputs of underlying /(C)CCi/ or /(C)CCu/ strings. Moreover, the loss of high vowel syllabicity and secondary palatalization or labialization eventually may cause resyllabification, which yields codas of falling or rising sonority word-finally: e.g. ['marti] < /marti/ 'March.GEN./ACC.'; [ɔi'mitri] < /ðimitri/ 'Dimitri.GEN./ACC.'. The above are obviously more complex codas than the ones described in the previous paragraph.

In the present study, in an attempt to reconcile the two, underlying syllabic margins will be analysed separately from derived non-underlying ones, and will be considered surface outputs or reflexes of underlying structure at a phonetic level.

Science and Fiction behind Invented Languages

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This paper aims to present my ongoing work on constructed languages, which differ from natural languages in that they are linguistic codes deliberately created by individuals or teams. In the past decade, linguistic research has renewed its interest in these topics, partly due to the growing production and use of artificial languages: in addition to the approximately six thousand existing natural languages, more than a thousand artificial ones have been recorded to date.

The research so far outlines the history of invented languages, starting with the scarce ancient and medieval examples at our disposal and continuing with the Renaissance so-called philosophical languages, when language construction was guided largely by religious and cognitive concerns. This first course of action was followed by a “communicative” period, when modern linguistics began to develop, and language construction was being perceived as a practical means to unite humanity and provide support for peace and security all over the world. The research continues by exploring more recent history, with language systems being developed either to test various aspects of the linguistic relativity hypothesis or even as artworks.

Artistic language construction first developed in fantasy literature, became a building block of popular culture, especially in contemporary science fiction. [Nowadays](#), writers and conlangers are being hired by producers to create languages for fictional worlds and cultures. At the same time, followers gather in fandoms, i.e. online communities of practice where engagement transcends geographical and national boundaries producing new communication norms.

Finally, the study explores the emerging interest in using language construction as a pedagogical tool to provide deeper insights into language, reaching a wider audience of school learners and university students.

The phonetics and phonology of stress in Greek: insights from the core and the periphery

This paper explores the phonetic and phonological nature of Greek stress, as well as issues related to the periphery of Greek accentuation, such as the formation of nicknames and acronyms, and the structure of poetic rhymes.

Greek has a dynamic stress with stressed syllables having longer duration and/or higher amplitude than unstressed ones (Arvaniti 2000, 2007). Stress falls on one of the last three syllables of the word (Ralli & Touratzidis 1991; Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 1999; Revithiadou 1999, 2007; Apoussidou 2003; Burzio & Tantalou 2007; Tsompanidou 2023). When an enclitic is added to a word stressed on the (ante)penultimate, another stress (enclitic stress) is added two syllables to the right. While it is agreed that the two types of stress are not equally prominent, there is disagreement regarding the relative degree of their prominence (Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman 1980; Nespor & Vogel; 1986, 1989; Botinis 1989; Arvaniti 1992). Here we present perceptual and acoustic data comparing prominence in sequences with and without enclitic stress (e.g., [i fila'ces tu] ‘his prisons’ vs. i 'fila'ces tu] ‘his prison guards’) and prominence within sequences with enclitic stress (e.g., [i 'fila'ces tu]).

With respect to the phonological structure of Greek stress assignment, the standard view suggests that stress placement is unpredictable. However, recent experimental research has challenged this idea of unpredictability, revealing underlying regularities driven by lexical frequency and inflection type (Apostolouda 2018; Revithiadou & Lengeris 2016; see also Revithiadou et al. in prep.). We present a state-of-the-art analysis of Greek stress and offer a brief overview of experimental findings on stress preferences among adult and young speakers of Greek (also Revithiadou et al. in prep.; Tsompanidou 2023).

Moving away from the core stress system, we focus on more peripheral configurations, which offer additional interesting insights, especially in terms of preferred metrical patterns and foot structure. Foot structure in Greek is generally considered trochaic (e.g., Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 1999), although this is usually assumed, rather than explicitly argued for. Taking stock of findings regarding the prosodic patterns encountered in truncated nicknames (Malikouti-Drachman 1999; Topintzi 2003; Apostolopoulou 2023) and acronyms (Vazou & Xydopoulos 2007; Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 2012; Topintzi & Kainada 2012; Revithiadou et al. 2015), as well as novel observations stemming from the exploration of poetic rhyme (de Sisto, Martinez-Paricio & Topintzi in prep.), we examine Greek foot structure in the light of internally layered feet (Martinez-Paricio & Kager 2015).

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**Decoding the role of prosodic edges in the production and perception of prominence:
Data from Greek and cross-linguistic comparisons.**

According to the autosegmental-metrical (AM) theory (see Ladd 2008 for a review) and prosodic typology (e.g., Jun 2014), there are two basic ways in which phrasal tonal events can be associated with positions in the prosodic structure in head-prominence languages, like Greek. They can either associate as pitch accents, docking onto a stressed syllable (i.e., the head of a constituent) or as edge tones, being associated with initial or final boundaries of smaller or larger constituents. At the same time, AM presupposes specific functional properties for pitch accents and edge tones (e.g., Grice 2022): pitch accents cue prominence, serving the highlighting function, while edge tones are attributed to the mere function of phonological phrasing. In this talk, we will show that prominence and prosodic edges are not as independent from each other as traditionally considered in either speech production or perception.

On the production side, we will present research indicating that word- and/or phrase-level prominence triggers the phonetic effects, both temporal and tonal, of prosodic edges in Greek (Katsika et al. 2014, Katsika, 2016, Katsika & Tsai, 2021). Analyses use kinematic and F0 data from a wide range of intonational contours, examining the relationship of phrase-final lengthening and boundary tone coordination with lexical stress, pitch accent and focus type. We will further support these findings by extending this type of analysis to languages with different types of word- and phrase-level prominence, i.e., Japanese, a lexical pitch accent language, and Korean, a language with no word prosody (Japanese: Tsai & Katsika 2020; Chien et al. 2023; Korean: Jang & Katsika 2022, 2023, 2024).

Zooming in on the side of perception, we will first present cross-linguistic evidence on the prominence-cueing potential of edge-tones. We will show that, contra to what is predicted by standard-intonational theory, edge-related rises in German function as prominence-cueing devices, as indicated by their attention orienting potential (e.g., Grice et al. 2024, Laliou et al. 2024a, Laliou et al. 2024b). We will also report on research on Maltese and Maltese English (MaltE) early H peaks, showing that words in Maltese and MaltE can be perceived as having two types of prominence, that is, prominence on their stressed syllable and on their initial unstressed syllable (i.e., left edge) as well (e.g., Grice et al. 2019, Laliou et al. 2021, Laliou et al. 2023). We will then turn to Greek phrase accents in polar questions (H-), focusing on their acoustic properties and their perceptual consequences on the words bearing them, and we will show that these tones are somewhere between fully-fledged pitch accents and edge tones, like the early H peaks in Maltese and MaltE.

All the findings presented in this talk suggest that prosodic theory and typology could benefit from treating association and functional properties of tones as independent dimensions, allowing thus for more flexibility in accounting for diverse phenomena in intonation.

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Intonational and syntactic properties of contrastive focus in Greek: Evidence from production

Languages vary in how they package information. Early studies made coarse grain distinctions, such as 'broad' vs. 'narrow' (Ladd 1980) or 'information' vs. 'contrastive' focus (e.g. Guéron 1980; Kiss 1998). More recently (e.g. Repp 2016; Bianchi *et al.* 2016; Cruschina 2021) finer distinctions are made among contrastive focus types, i.e. merely contrastive, corrective, confirmative and mirative. These have been reported to differ not only in their syntactic and pragmatic properties but also in prosody. In Italian, for instance, prosodic differences have been attested among these focus types, especially in pitch accent type (Bianchi *et al.* 2016).

The syntactic and prosodic differences of these focus types are less well understood in Greek. On the syntactic side, it has been claimed that the focused element can appear either *in situ* or in a left peripheral position (Georgafentis & Tsokoglou 2023). Prosodic studies have suggested that both the syntactic position (high/low) and the type of contrast (contrastive/non-contrastive, or corrective/non-corrective) can influence the prosodic realization (Gryllia 2008; Georgakopoulos & Skopeteas 2010; Stavropoulou & Baltazani 2021), without detailed investigations into subtypes of contrastive focus. A consistent finding across these studies is that the L+H* pitch accent is systematically used in non-final utterance positions.

Our findings in a previous informal production experiment, with a small sample of speakers, showed more variation than previously reported, even within the same type across speakers (Fig.1). That experiment explored how different focus types are realized prosodically in Greek and informed the design of a subsequent perception experiment on listener preferences for high vs. low syntactic positions for each focus type (Authors submitted). Listeners in the perception experiment showed a strong preference for a high syntactic position for corrective focus, but for a low one for merely contrastive focus, while they showed nearly equal preferences for high and low positions for confirmative and mirative focus.

Given these findings, we aim to disentangle the effects of syntactic position from pragmatic interpretation by examining only the high position. We conduct a larger scale production study on the realization of the tunes according to focus type (1-4) in high syntactic position. We analyse pitch accent choice and intonational contour in 240 utterances (10 speakers (5F, 5M) X 6 scenarios X 4 focus types). We expect that the results of the present study will shed light on the variability observed in prosodic patterns of each focus type and reveal which of these patterns are deemed suitable for each focus type through speaker judgements.

1. *Mere*: Q: Είπατε σε όλους για το πάρτι; A: Το Μανώλη θα πάρει η Ελένη. Οι άλλοι το ξέρουν.

2. *Confirmative*: Q: Ξέρουμε ποιον θα πάρει η Ελένη; A: Ναι, το Μανώλη θα πάρει η Ελένη.
3. *Corrective*: Q: Μα είπες η Ελένη θα πάρει το Στέφανο. A: Όχι, το Μανώλη θα πάρει η Ελένη.
4. *Mirative*: Q: Θα είμαστε μόνο γυναίκες στο πάρτι. A: Καλά! Το Μανώλη θα πάρει η Ελένη.

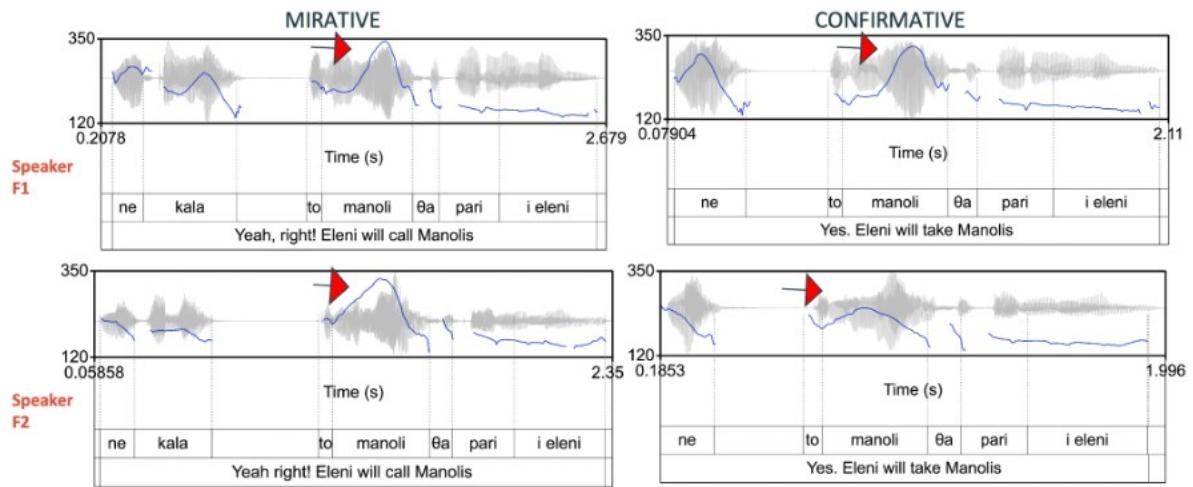


Figure 1. Utterances in mirative and confirmative contexts; 2 similar examples on the left, 2 different ones on the right (adopted from Authors, submitted). Target sentence: [to ma'noli θa 'pari i e'leni]

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Gender and individual variation in spontaneous speech intonation

According to recent research individual characteristics, such as empathy, affect intonation processing (e.g., Orrico et al., in press), but it is unclear whether this also applies to production. Here we examined the intonation of the Greek particle *oxi* as a response to positive questions to understand whether tune choice is related to individual speaker characteristics and gender.

Our analysis is based on data from 18 native speakers of Greek (9F), 18-33 years old (mean = 23; S.D. = 3.8), all functional monolinguals. The participants were recorded in groups of four playing the board game “Guess What + Who,” in which one player wears a headband with a picture card on it and asks the other players questions (which they can only answer with *yes* or *no*) in order to figure out what entity is depicted on the headband card. The resulting corpus consisted of 1614 *oxi* responses divided relatively evenly among speakers (Table 1). The *oxi* f0 curves were analysed using Functional Principle Component Analysis (FPCA), a data-driven approach that returns the major modes in which the F0 curves differ (Gubian et al., 2015), followed by hierarchical cluster analysis (Kaland, 2023), which groups together similar curves, modelled as time series of 20 equidistant F0 points.

Figure 1 shows the first two principal components (PCs) of FPCA which account for 84.6% of the variance in the tunes. Both PCs indicate that differences relate to whether the tunes are rises or falls (cf. Figure 2). To assess whether individual characteristics of the participants affected their choice of tune, we next ran linear mixed effects models using as predictors the participants’ Autism Quotient (AQ; Baron-Cohen et al., 2001), Empathy Quotient (Baron-Cohen & Wheelwright, 2004), and musicality as measured by mini-PROMS (Zentner & Strauss, 2017), with the coefficients of the first two principal components as dependent variables. We anticipated that speakers scoring higher on empathy would vary more in their choice of tune so as to provide cues to other players, with the reverse being the case for high AQ participants, while those scoring higher on musicality would also vary their tunes, being more sensitive to tune differences in perception (Orrico et al., in press). Additionally, we anticipated that—given previous results on uptalk (e.g. Arvaniti & Atkins, 2016)—women would use rising tunes more. The results suggest that there was no connection between PCs and the three predictors. Finally, we conducted clustering by gender, eliminating outliers in the process. As Figure 2 shows, both male and female participants used overwhelmingly falling tunes, but men used more rises than women.

In conclusion, in this communicative situation at least, Greek speakers used either falls ($H^* L-L\%$) or rises ($L^* H-H\%$) with women largely preferring the former. As choices did not correlate with individual cognitive characteristics, our results suggest that the cognitive traits we tested affect perception (cf. Orrico et al., in press) but not production, while gender differences in production may be more important than other speaker characteristics.

Table 1 Number of *oxi* tokens (#) per female (F) and male (M) speaker (SP)

SP	#	SP	#	SP	#	SP	#	SP	#
SP.F03	107	SP.F07	79	SP.F10	55	SP.M01	85	SP.M13	85
SP.F05	146	SP.F08	121	SP.F11	120	SP.M02	57	SP.M14	77
SP.F06	108	SP.F09	83	SP.F20	67	SP.M04	98	SP.M15	97

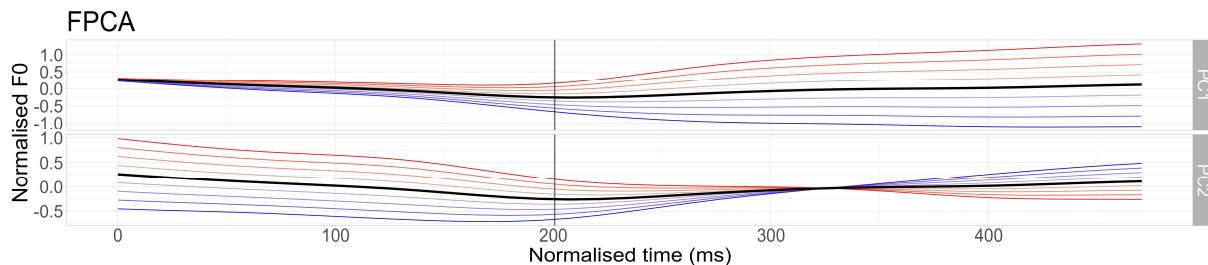


Figure 1. FPCA output as applied to the entire data set of F0 curves. Color-coded curves illustrate the effect of each PC on the mean curve (solid black line). The vertical line indicates the offset of the accented vowel of *oxi*.

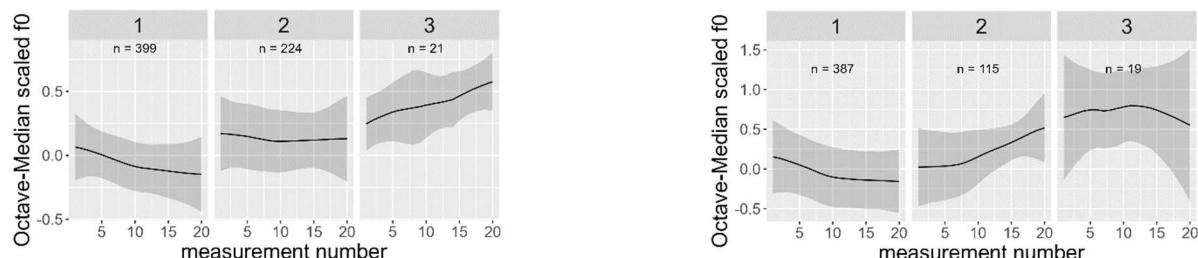


Figure 2. Clustering results (with three clusters), showing mean contours (black lines) and standard error (gray bands), separately for female (left) and male speakers (right).

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Pedagogical Translanguaging in Teaching L2 Greek: Evidence from Migrant Education

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Current research in migrant education emphasizes the importance of incorporating learners' cultural background in language teaching, particularly for forced migrants who often show emotional vulnerability due to a range of traumatic experiences and stressors associated with their displacement (García & Wei, 2014). Another way of connecting language learning and teaching to the learners' culture is through recognizing the languages the migrant learners speak. This approach fits within theories on bilingual education initiated in the eighties, and more recently within theories of translanguaging (Cummins , 2019; García, 2011), i.e. the use, by multilingual individuals, of their entire linguistic repertoire to communicate, often blending elements from different languages in a flexible way. Pedagogical translanguaging (PTL) involves instructional strategies that purposefully incorporate two or more of the learners' languages as part of the teaching process (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017). Recent research provides positive insights into the use of PTL practices in migrant learners, both in terms of language learning (Hopp et al., 2021; Leonet et al., 2020) and in terms of emotional well-being (Busse et al., 2020; Franck & Papadopoulou, 2024). However, research is still scarce, particularly in migrant classrooms. The present study aims to assess the effectiveness, feasibility, and emotional impact of PTL in migrant learners who learn Greek as a second language as well as in monolingual Greek children. **Methodology:** (a) *Teachers' training:* Teachers participated in a 300-hour training seminar focused on teaching Greek as L2 to migrant students, including instruction on PTL practices and techniques; (b) *Pedagogical material:* We developed a series of language teaching interventions incorporating a variety of PTL practices such as translation, cognate awareness, language comparisons etc., (c) *Implementation & Evaluation:* Each implementation lasted approximately 2 teaching hours. The language learning outcomes were assessed by means of short pre- and post-tests, while learners' and teachers' attitudes and emotions were evaluated using questionnaires and focus groups. **Results:** Preliminary results indicate that teachers, despite their initial skepticism regarding PTL, gave overall high evaluations of the feasibility of PTL and learners experienced positive emotions. PTL also seems to enhance language learning and particularly improve learners' metalinguistic awareness. **Conclusions:** The preliminary results suggest that PTL is a feasible language teaching approach and is overall beneficial for migrant learners. What is more, PTL also improves monolingual learners' metalinguistic awareness and contributes to the establishment of an inclusiveness and acceptance climate within the classroom

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Vocabulary and Grammar Teaching in Migrant Learners: The ACTIN project

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Despite the growing body of research on second language learning and teaching in migrant education, there is still limited cumulative evidence on the effectiveness, feasibility and emotional impact of specific methods for teaching vocabulary and grammar. In particular, Processing Instruction has been extensively explored in adults but much less so in migrant children and adolescents, little is known about the effectiveness of Running Dictation compared to other teaching methods (Olioumtsevits et al., 2023), and Dictogloss has been scarcely investigated in comparison to other input- and/or output-based methods (Qin, 2008). Regarding vocabulary teaching, limited comparisons have been made between Flashcards and Pantomime, while Contextual Cues have received even less attention in the context of migrant education (Olioumtsevits et al., 2022). Importantly, most research focuses on students' learning gains, while less is known about the attitudes and emotional impact of these methods as experienced by migrant students and their teachers (Franck & Papadopoulou, 2024). **Aim:** The present study aims to assess the effectiveness, feasibility, and emotional impact of the aforementioned vocabulary and grammar teaching methods. **Research Question:** Are these teaching methods effective, feasible, and appealing within a migrant education context? **Methodology:** (a) *Teachers' training:* Teachers participated in a 300-hour training seminar focused on teaching Greek as L2 to migrant students, including instruction on the aforementioned vocabulary and grammar teaching methods (150 hours approximately); (b) *Implementation:* Each implementation (vocabulary and grammar) lasted approximately 2 teaching hours, followed by an evaluation process where students' and teachers' attitudes and feelings, and students' language learning outcomes were evaluated using questionnaires and focus groups. **Results:** Preliminary results indicate that both teachers and migrant students rated the feasibility of the teaching protocols highly and generally experienced positive emotions, although the extent of positive emotions varied across the different teaching methods. In terms of students' language learning outcomes, not all methods equally contributed to improving their language skills. **Conclusions:** Thus, the preliminary results suggest that the vocabulary and grammar teaching methods applied were overall beneficial for migrant students. Both students and teachers reported positive emotions and attitudes towards the methods, although the language learning outcomes varied depending on the teaching method. These differences may also be influenced by factors such as the students' age, proficiency level, the specific protocol used, and the target grammatical or vocabulary domain targeted in each case.

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Plurilingualism and Teaching Greek as a Second Language to children with refugee / migrant backgrounds: Challenges, Multimodal Tools, and Social-Emotional Learning

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In this presentation, we focus on the Greek context, particularly regarding the superdiversity of the contemporary linguistic landscape and the presence of refugee students in Greek schools. This dynamic environment presents unique challenges and opportunities in language education. We explore the concept of plurilingualism within the context of teaching Greek as a second language along with the integration of multimodal tools, including digital resources, to support both language development and social-emotional learning. Special emphasis is placed on translanguaging, a concept that embraces and utilizes the entirety of students' linguistic and cultural repertoires in the learning process (García & Wei, 2014).

Additionally, we will discuss specific teaching methods, such as the plurilingual approaches advocated by Candelier (2008), alongside experiential activities that are essential for students' well-being. These methods not only validate but also integrate the diverse linguistic and cultural identities of refugee students, promoting a strong sense of belonging and self-worth. As Candelier highlights, plurilingual approaches foster the recognition and utilization of students' multiple identities, thereby enriching their educational experience.

Furthermore, these methodologies are related with the enhancement of communication skills, as well as transferable skills and competencies necessary for a democratic culture. This includes social-emotional life skills such as critical thinking, emotional recognition and management, collaboration, empathy, decision-making, conflict resolution, flexibility, and resilience—all integrated within a unified learning ecosystem (Simopoulos & Gatsi, 2022).

The materials presented, developed by practitioners in the field and during teacher training programs, aim to support the development of inclusive and effective learning environments that address the linguistic challenges faced by refugee students while fostering intercultural sensitivity. By acknowledging the multiple identities of these students and incorporating multimodal and experiential learning strategies, we seek to promote both academic success and emotional well-being. Research indicates that positive learning environments enhance motivation and effort, ultimately leading to more effective learning outcomes (Frack & Papadopoulou, 2024) and supporting individual and collective well-being.

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Embracing Diversity Through Language Autobiographies in Migrant Education

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A language autobiography is a first-person narrative that includes personal reflections on one's language journey. It allows individuals to explore how various languages and dialects have shaped their identity and communication skills, encouraging self-reflection on their personal history and their linguistic, cultural, and other forms of capital (Perregaux, 2002: 83; Cuq, 2003: 36-37; Molinié, 2006: 9, among others). The European Language Portfolio (2000–2014), conceived and developed by the Council of Europe alongside the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, serves as a valuable tool in promoting this idea. Language autobiographies typically take the form of oral or written narratives, sometimes accompanied by reflective drawings (e.g., Kalamakidou, 2020; Kimiskidou, 2020; Moussouri et al., 2019; Tzatzou, 2020, among others) or digital form (e.g. Vabiola project: <https://vabiola.org/en/our-project/>).

Teachers' perceptions of languages and cultures have been shown to influence the implementation of appropriate didactic approaches, while reflective writing, in the form of a language autobiography, can encourage teachers to rethink their practices and enhance their professional skills in the frame of heterogeneous student communities (Vacher, 2010; Cross, 2006; see also the IRIS Erasmus project: <https://irisplurilingua.unimi.it/>).

In this talk, we present three case studies from different educational settings in Greece, examining how language autobiographies can effectively promote plurilingualism and pluriculturalism in education. We describe the process of creating language autobiographies with (a) pre-service language teachers (university students), (b) in-service language teachers (trainees), and (c) secondary school students. We then discuss the key themes that emerged in their autobiographies (such as language environments and attitudes toward their linguistic capital) across the different groups. Finally, we highlight participants' evaluations of their experience during the creation of their language autobiographies.

The data are analyzed with a focus on cultivating language awareness, which, in turn, helps teachers and students foster plurilingualism and pluriculturalism in the classroom. Thus, language autobiography is proved a transformative tool for promoting inclusivity both when integrated in pre- and in-service teachers' training and migrant education in the Greek context.

Keywords: Language Autobiography (LA), plurilingual education, pluricultural education, pre-service language teachers, in-service teachers' training, secondary education, migrant education.

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**Plurilingual education from Greek teachers' perspectives: A view from the Erasmus+
PEP survey**

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This paper outlines a European survey conducted as part of the Erasmus+ KA220 project PEP “Promoting Plurilingual Education” (2023-2026), and it will focus on the data from the Greek context. The importance of promoting plurilingualism is strongly supported by European educational policies such as through the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages and its Companion Volume (Council of Europe, 2001; 2020), as well as through various guides for plurilingual and intercultural education (Beacco et al, 2016; Beacco & Byram, 2007). The Project PEP, with a consortium of seven European Universities, aims at the promotion of plurilingualism in education by researching and analysing teachers' perspectives and declared plurilingual practices, in secondary schools and universities, as well as at disseminating good practices and further developing the professional skills of language teachers regarding plurilingual education. To this end, a large-scale European survey was conducted aiming at researching and analysing language (in- and pre-service) teachers' and teacher trainers' beliefs and practices regarding plurilingualism in education. The survey was developed based on the theoretical framework of plurilingualism as articulated by scholars and reflected in policy documents. Following a process of internal and external pre-testing, the survey was disseminated in Europe through the project partnership and a range of mailing lists and professional social media platforms. A total of 800 responses were collected and subjected to statistical analysis using SPSS.

In this paper, we present the research findings from the Greek context, drawing from 63 completed questionnaires from language teachers in secondary and higher education. We focus on their understandings of plurilingualism in education, and on how they are translated into their own language/plurilingual teaching practices. The findings are discussed in relation to language teaching among migrant background learners, looking into the data in order to shed insights on the ways plurilingualism is understood and dealt with in the education of migrant/refugee students. Implications are discussed related to teachers' further professional development and training regarding plurilingual approaches in language teaching in linguistically/culturally diverse classrooms aiming at addressing students' language and socio-emotional needs, and promoting linguistic equality, justice and inclusion in education.

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When 'to have' goes beyond possession.

Metaphorical multi-word expressions with ἔχειν in Homer and Classical Drama

The paper focuses on multi-word expressions containing the verb ἔχειν 'to have' in the Homeric poems and Classical Drama, including the Tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, as well as the Comedies of Aristophanes. As is well known, the verb ἔχειν occurs in various types of multi-word expressions in Ancient Greek, among which the most studied are light verb constructions such as ποθὴν ἔχειν (= ποθεῖν) and χόλον ἔχειν (= χολοῦσθαι), where the verb 'to have' combines with a predicative noun in the accusative (cf. Tronci 2009; Benedetti and Bruno 2012 for further details). This paper explores another type of construction, in which the verb 'to have' co-occurs with nouns denoting body parts. From a constructional perspective, the verb combines with a human subject and a direct object denoting concrete or abstract entities, with the noun denoting the body part functioning as a locative complement. The noun denoting the body part is governed by various prepositions, e.g. ἔχειν ἐν στήθεσιν 'to have in their breasts', ἔχειν μετὰ χερσίν 'to have in his/her/their hands', but it can also occur in the dative (locative) case, e.g., ἔχειν φρεσί 'to have at heart'. In addition to these constructions, the types ἔχειν ἐπ' ἀριστερά and ἔχειν ἐν δεξιᾷ 'to have on his/her/their left/right' will also be examined.

The goals of this study are, first, to provide a corpus-based collection of the constructions under investigation and, second, to analyse the possible metaphorical meanings emerging from these combinations. Data will be collected using the electronic resources of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, focusing on the Homeric poems and hymns, as well as the Tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and the Comedies of Aristophanes. The corpus-based analysis will also allow for diachronic and stylistic considerations: which types occur in epic and dramatic texts, which types appear in Homeric texts but disappear later, and which types are typical of dramatic texts.

As a general framework, Lexicon-Grammar studies (e.g., Gross 1975, 1981, 1995) will be useful for the distributional analysis, particularly for investigating how nouns denoting body parts and nouns functioning as direct objects are distributed, which combinations are the most frequent, which are less common, and which metaphorical meanings emerge from the various combinations. The potential metaphorical meanings arising from the locative use of body-part nouns have not yet been analysed in detail (for a cognitivist approach, cf. Cairns 2016). This analysis will also provide new insights into the topics of diachronic change, register, and genre.

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The Verbal Idiom (VID) frame διά dia X[GEN] εῖμι eimi in the tragedians and beyond

Phrases such as *pay attention* are verbal multi-word expressions, there are multiple signifiers but only one signified (Mel'čuk 2023). Verbal multi-word expressions can be compositional, transparent, and analysable (Sheinfux et al. 2019) or they can be the opposite. Verbal Idioms (VIDs) as defined by the PARSEME 1.3 universal guidelines are lexically, morphologically, morphosyntactically, and syntactically inflexible and contain at least two lexicalised (i.e. fixed) elements. This makes semi-compositional, transparent, and analysable frames such as the διά dia X[GEN] εῖμι eimi frame a VID. διά dia in combination + noun in the genitive means ‘through’ in classical times, but the frame does not mean ‘to go through X’, i.e. ‘to have / be in X’, but ‘to become / start doing X’.

The contribution addresses three research questions: (1) What comparable frames (consisting of a fixed preposition-verb combination) exist in classical literary Greek? (2) How are these frames distributed diatopically, diastratically, and diachronically? (3) Why is a VID in one corpus a Light-Verb Construction (LVC) in another corpus? For instance, εἰς τοσοῦτο / τοῦτο & τοσοῦτος ἔρχομαι / ἀφικνέομαι / καθίστημι / προσάγω / ἥγεομαι ‘to arrive at (such) X’ appears commonly in literary classical Attic historiography, oratory, and philosophical prose and while two components are lexically fixed, there is significant morphological, morphosyntactic, and syntactic variability (cf. Fleischhauer & Hartmann 2021). εῖμι in the διά dia X[GEN] εῖμι eimi frame can be replaced by ἔρχομαι in epic (Homeric Hymn on Mercury, l. 421, pre-5th c. BC), Attic tragedy (Aeschylus, Prometheus, l. 121, 6th/5th c. BC), and Ionic historiography (Herodotus, Histories, 6.9.19, 5th c. BC). The variants with athematic εῖμι and thematic ἔρχομαι seem to fall out of use over time although Diodorus Siculus (1st c. BC) still shows instances of both. Conversely, εἰς τοσοῦτο / τοσοῦτος ἔρχομαι appears from Aesop’s fables (6th c. BC) to Procopius’ historiographical works (6th c. AD) and beyond.

Data is drawn by means of the lemma-based proximity-search tool from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* for literary texts from archaic (ca. 8th c. BC) to early Byzantine times (7th c. AD). Structures are assessed using the [PARSEME 1.3 universal guidelines](#) for verbal multi-word expressions with the addition that VID structures are rated transparent or not. The distribution across genre, register, and (personal) style over time is tested for statistical significance by means of chi-squared tests in order to discover indexical values of the constructions in question (cf. Bentein 2019; Fendel 2025). The contribution highlights the internal diversity of the group of structures labelled VID in the PARSEME 1.3 guidelines and suggest avenues to modify and update these as well as the implementation of VID structures in authoritative dictionaries and grammar books.

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The stylistic markedness of Ancient Greek Cognate objects in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*

For both modern languages and Ancient Greek (AG) much discussion on cognate object constructions (COCs) has been devoted to establishing their syntactic role as either arguments (Massam 1990; Hale & Keyser 1993; MacFarland 1995; Matsumoto 1996; Mirto 2007; 2011; Horrocks & Stavrou 2010) or adjuncts (Jones 1988; Moltmann 1990; for AG, see Bary & De Swart 2005; Bruno 2011). Less attention has been given to the distribution of such structures among literary genres, and, especially, to their stronger link with either prose or verse. With reference to modern languages, Jones (1988) states that the choice of a COC with a modified CO ('Bill sighed a weary sigh'), rather than an intransitive verb adverbially modified ('Bill sighed wearily') is only justified stylistically (see also Mirto 2007; 2011 for English and Italian). Horrocks & Stavrou 2010 propose this same principle for AG. In a study on the occurrence of *figurae etymologicae* with AG perfect stems, Clary (2007) observes that the combination of the reduplicated stem of the perfect with a formally linked object produces an alliteration, i.e. *figura etymologica* can turn into a useful sonic rhetorical device. Some studies have been conducted in modern languages, in order to substantiate such claims about stylistics (see e.g. Eitelmann & Mondorf 2018 for English), but lack for AG.

The present paper will test the data on the COCs of Attic Prose collected by the annotation conducted in the PARSEME AG corpus (<http://www.ancientgreekmwe.com>) against new data from Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. The choice of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* is justified by the relative contemporaneity with our *corpus* and by the fact that, according to Clary (2007), Aeschylus constitutes a turning point for the freer use of *figurae etymologicae* in comparison to Homeric Epic. This paper would thus give some first answers to the following research questions:

1. Does the occurrence of COCs in Classical Greek prose and verse differ in frequency, proving the aforementioned claim of genre-related stylistic markedness?
2. Do COs occurring in verse show a tendency to differ from those occurring in prose in their semantic link to the verb, with special reference to their possibility of nominalising the overall product of the verbal action (Xen. *An.* IV 3, 27: ὠδάς τινας ἄδοντες 'singing certain songs' or naming a hyponym of such product (Isocr. 9, 16: ὑπὸ Θεῶν [...] ὑμέναιον ἀσθῆναι 'The wedding-song was sung by gods').
3. Do COs occurring in verse tend to being formally linked to their verb, as the use as a device for producing an alliteration proposed by Clary (2007) seems to suggest?
4. Given that AG COs can be encoded either in the accusative and in the dative (Bruno 2011; Gianollo & Lavidas 2013), do COs occurring in verse show a preference for a specific morphosyntactic marking?

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What goes out of style: Verbal multi-word expressions in the *Batrachomyomachia* and its rewriting

The *Batrachomyomachia* is a poem shrouded in ambiguity, both in its origin and its tone. This text adopts an epic style in its linguistic and poetic form, yet is distinctly humorous in its content. Linguistic commentaries of the *Batrachomyomachia* have traditionally focused on evidence aimed at approximating the date of its composition and highlighting its Homeric characteristics (Ludwich 1896; Hosty 2020). To move beyond these conventional approaches, this study uses the poem and its modern prose rewriting by Theodoros of Gaza as a case study to explore the contrast between the epic poem and its prose counterpart, also called paraphrasis or metaphrasis (Alwis et al. 2021; Constantinou and Høgel 2021; Høgel 2021). My analysis centers on verbal multi-word expressions as defined in the PARSEME 1.3 guidelines (<https://parsemefr.lis-lab.fr/parseme-st-guidelines/1.3/>), which have received little attention in the study of verse literature.

This paper aims to investigate how these verbal multi-word expressions contribute to the style of the original poem in contrast to its prose rewriting. More specifically, it addresses the following research questions:

- a. In what ways does Theodoros of Gaza's prose version diverge from the original poem, and what new insights does it offer that the poem alone cannot provide?
- b. How do verbal multi-word expressions shape the language of each text, and what are their distinctive features?
- c. How do chronology, stylistic choices and literary form influence the use of verbal multi-word expressions in each version of the text?

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Verbal multi-word expressions in the rewriting process of the Greek Psalter and socio-linguistic characterisation: from interlingual to intralingual translation in Postclassical Greek

The rewriting of the Greek Psalter in Late Antiquity and Byzantium is currently the subject of intense research (Ricceri 2020, Albrecht y Kratz 2024). Two critical editions have been published in recent years, one on the Psalter of Apollinaris of Laodicea, a fourth-century author (Faulkner 2020), and the other on the Psalter of Manuel Philes, a thirteenth-century author (Mondini 2024). The original Septuagint Psalter, translated from the original Hebrew into a variety of Koine Greek and replete with semitisms (low register) is rewritten by both authors at a higher level of speech. We will apply a historical sociolinguistic methodology to this corpus of Post-classical Greek poetry. It thus contains extremely interesting linguistic data for the study of the type of constructions that are the subject of this workshop, since the corpus of biblical translations in its various versions is a model of evidence for grammatical change (Lavidas 2021), but also offers very interesting answers to the various processes of sociolinguistic variation typical of a situation of diglossia: levels of speech, standardization, stylistic and register substitutions, etc. (Bentein 2017). In terms of interlingual translation, George (2010) presents examples of the effects of the Hebrew syntax in the Septuagint on the increased use of periphrastic constructions (Giannaris 2023) and syntactic complexity (Larsson & Kaatari 2020).

In the context of what is commonly referred to as 'intralingual translation', many of the versions of the Psalter have been considered authentic metaphrases (ΑΓ μεταφράσεις) of the original Septuagint model. Linguistic studies of this type of rewriting (Hinterberger 2014; Resh 2015; Signes 2021; 2023) allow us to define these types of forms as features of 'intralingual translation', which bring into play various mechanisms of lexical substitution and syntactic or pragmatic variation. Particularly in the latter case, multi-word expressions, especially in the highly metaphorical language of the Psalms, function as potential markers of changes in levels of speech (Vives & Madrigal 2022) or register (Biber & Conrad 2009; Fendel 2023).

Our approach to these constructions through the prism of translation mechanisms follows several works by the main researchers of the Spanish DiCoLaT-DiCoGra project (<https://dicogra.iatext.ulpgc.es/dicogra/>), Baños & Jiménez (2017a; 2017b; 2022; 2024), who have typified the analysis of some typical verbal support constructions as interlingual translation linguistic features. We will also incorporate the guidelines of the PARSEME group (<https://parsemefr.lis-lab.fr/parseme-st-guidelines/1.3/index.php?page=home>) in the description of the data.

In concrete terms, our analysis will apply the hypothesis of grammatical multiglossia (Ferguson 1959; Krock 1989; 2001; Lavidas 2021) to the selected corpus, focusing on the

support-verb constructions introduced by the most frequent light verbs: ποιοῦμαι, δίδωμι, ἔχω, τίθημι, λαμβάνω, etc. At a second level of analysis, another type of multi-word verbal expression will also be studied, identifying the functioning of this 'syntactic diglossia', as reflected in the parallel development of the grammatical features of intralingual translated texts.

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Movements of complement clauses are postsyntactic. Evidence from Classical Greek

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Classical Greek (CG) word order is assumed to be based on information structure (Dik 1995 a.o.). In this paper, we shall see that pure syntactic constraints also play a role, both in Narrow syntax and at the interfaces. I will focus on finite complement clauses (FCCs), which are strictly clause-final. I argue that this fixed position is due to their impossibility of accessing an escape hatch in the vP phase (Chomsky 2000): They cannot be passivized, topicalized or focalized. The very few exceptions are telling. FCCs can **only be removed from their final position when contrasted**. This is because Contrast does not operate in Narrow Syntax, but at the interfaces (Horvath 2010), thus **dispensing with the constraints imposed by phasality**.

My investigation is based on the comprehensive exploration of a CG corpus of 20 works. All types of FCCs are strictly final in their matrix clause (*hóti/hōs* ‘that’, *mē* ‘lest’, indirect questions, etc.) for a total of 1190 tokens, here illustrated with *hóti*-clauses (1, 5, 6), contrasted to DPs, which can appear in any place in the clause (2-postverbally; 3 and 4-preverbally).

Across languages, this relative freedom of DPs with respect to FCCs is attributable to their being case-marked (Stowell 1981, a.o.), which is confirmed by Phase theory (Chomsky 2000, a.o.). In this framework, a clause is built stepwise: vP first. When this first Phase is completed, the complement of v is spelled out and becomes inaccessible (*Phase Impenetrability Condition*). To remain usable for further operations, a phrase must, before spell-out, be positioned in the Specifier of vP (above it in the structure), which is where the accusative case is assigned. Object DPs thus go to Spec, vP and remain available for further movements. That this theory applies to CG is visible from the contrast between (5) and (6). A subject DP that is extracted from an FCC can only be further topicalized in the matrix if it is assigned accusative (so called ‘Prolepsis,’ see *Kritóboulon* in 5), otherwise it cannot go out of vP (see *sítos* in 6).

This picture shows that FCCs do not have the same freedom as DPs because they are case-less. However, 87 FCCs are non-final, i.e., 7% of the corpus. Two examples are given in (7), where the two *hóti*-clauses show up preverbally (before the matrix verbs *eísesthe* and *éisthēsthe*). These 87 exceptions are unlike non-final DPs in all having the same information property: They are contrastive (topics in 7, marked with the particles *mén/dé*, Goldstein 2016). Crosslinguistically, Contrast does not align with other pragmatic functions like Topic or Focus in terms of semantics and prosody (Molnár 2002; Kratzer & Selkirk 2020). The CG facts show that Contrast does not abide by the rules of Narrow Syntax in this language, dispensing with Phasal constraints. That is why I propose that Contrast operates at the interfaces, in line with Horvath’s (2010) suggestion based on Hungarian. Contrastive movements in Classical Greek are driven by the interface between PF and a separate pragmatic module (Zubizarreta 1998; Haidou 2012), an account that sheds new light on the architecture of grammar in general.

- (1) Pálin élegen ho Thēraménēs [hóti (...) adýnaton ésoito (...)].
 again said the Theramenes-NOM that impossible would.be
 '(When it was evident that many were banding together), Theramenes repeated that it would be impossible...' (X. HG 2.3.17)
- (2) Proségage tēi Poteidaíai tòn stratòn. [Part of the focal domain]
 led the Potidaea-DAT the army-ACC
 '(Phormion) led the army to Poteidaia' (Th. 1.64.2)
- (3) Tēs trofēs aporíai tòn stratòn elássō égagon. [Topic]
 the food-GEN lack-DAT the army-ACC less they led
 'Because of the lack of food, (lit.) the army, they led (it) reduced' (Th. 1.11.1)
- (4) Hoi dè [dusfórōs toúneidos êgon] tōi methénti tòn logon. [Inf. Focus]
 they impatiently the.blame-ACC led the letting.out-DAT the rumor
 'lit. They impatiently put the blame on the one who had let out this rumor' (S. OT 783-784)
- (5) Kritóboulon (...) [_{vP} puthómenos [hóti K. effílēse tòn Alkibiádou huiòn]].
 K.-ACC having.learnt that kissed the A.-GEN son-ACC
 'Having learnt that Kritoboulos had kissed Alcibiades' son' (Xen. Mem. 1.3.8)
- (6) [_{vP} Punthanómēnoissítos toís en tēi nésōi [hóti sítos espleî]].
 learning food-NOM those-DAT in the island that is.being.brought
 'Learning that the food was being brought to those who were on the island.' (Th. 4.27.1)
- (7) [Hóti mèn oudenòs áxiós estin, epeidàn apologetai], eísesthe,
 that PTC nothing worth is when he.defends you.will.know
 [hóti dè ponérós estin ek tōn állōn epítēdeumátōn], éisthēsthe. (Lysias 14.43)
 that PTC bad is from the rest lifestyle you.have.learnt
 '(Talking about a man about whom) you will know that he is worthless when he delivers a defense, but you have (already) learnt that he is a bad man based on the rest of his life'

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Anti-factive 'pu' in Northern Greek dialects

Anastasia Tsilia

In Standard Modern Greek (SMG) complementizers *oti/pos* and *pu* are in complementary distribution, with *pu* introducing emotive factives and *oti* non-factive complements or epistemic factives (Christidis 1981; 1986, Roussou 1992; 1994; 2010; Angelopoulos 2019 a.o.). We describe a Northern Greek dialect where *pu* has a wider distribution, and is not only non-factive, but can sometimes generate an anti-factivity inference.

Non-factive *pu*. Even in SMG although *pu* usually presupposes its complement, Varlokosta (1994) shows that the presupposition can be cancelled with perception predicates as in (2). There is also a non-factive *pu tha* 'pu FUT' after expressions like *sigha* 'slowly' in (1) (Nicholas 1998; 2005, Makri 2019) or in wishes (see Makri 2019). SMG aside, there are many dialects where the distribution of *pu* is not restricted to factive complements. Nicholas (1998; 2001; 2005) thoroughly discussed these data (also mentioned in Christidis 1982; Roussou 2010) as a loss of the markedness of *pu* in Thracian, Western Macedonian, Corfiot, Livisiot, and Italiot (see Map 1 in Nicholas 2001:198), where *pu* has become a generic realis complementiser.

Anti-factive *pu*. In Northern Greek of the Thessaloniki region as well (henceforth NG) *pu* is not restricted to emotive factives, as shown by (3). Interestingly, *pu* can be used with anti-factive predicates like *ipokrinome* 'pretend' in (4). The key observation is that with attitude verbs, we get an inference that the attitude holder is mistaken according to the speaker. In other words, the complement of *pu* is not part of the speaker's belief set, as we can see in (5). By contrast, the complement of *oti* can be part of the speaker's beliefs as seen in (6). What is more, *pu* is only acceptable in a passivised subject if the speaker does not believe its complement as we can see by the contrast in (7)-(8). When *pu* is used with perception verbs, it feels like the speaker is questioning the truth of its complement. Concretely, in (9) we would use *oti* in a context where Maria tried to fit the table, and *pu* in a context where she didn't try and the table could turn out to fit contrary to her belief. Whenever we have a clearly factive verb, like in (10), then *pu* is dispreferred, unless it is a psych verb/emotive factive as in (11) in which case NG patterns with SMG in only allowing *pu*. This could be due to emotive factives being stressed, since stress before *pu* gives rise to a factive reading as in (13), while at the absence of stress a non-factive reading is possible as in (12).

Discussion. We argue that in NG *pu* retains a [+Q] feature (from its life as a *wh*-item), which contributes the presupposition that its complement is not part of the belief set of the speaker. Because of neg-raising properties of belief, in some environments this is strengthened to 'the speaker believes the negation of the complement'. When *pu* is actually factive, this is thanks to the factivity of the predicate it combines with (which may in turn depend on the predicate's stress properties). This leaves as an open puzzle the incompatibility of *pu* with the definite article (**to pu*) for which we will offer some possible explanations during the talk.

Linguistic Examples.

- (1) *Sigha pu tha ton filiso stavrota !*
 slowly that FUT him.CL kiss.1SG crosswise
 ‘Hell I kiss him on both cheeks.’ Makri (2019:13a)
- (2) *Ton ida pu efevje an ke itan skotadi ke bori na kano lathos.*
 Him saw.1SG that leave.impf.3SG but was dark and it-may prt make.1SG mistake
 ‘I saw him leaving but it was dark and I may be mistaken.’ Varlokosta (1994:11)
- (3) *I Christina ipe pu/pos/oti dhen tha boresi na erthi telika.*
 The Christina said that NEG FUT can.3SG prt come.3SG eventually
 ‘Christina said she will eventually not be able to come.’
- (4) *Ipokrithike pu echis pireto jia na min pai scholio.*
 Pretended.3SG that has.3SG fever for prt NEG go.3SG school
 ‘S/he pretended to have fever so as not to go to school.’
- (5) *I Zoi pistevi pu ime arosti, #ke pragmati ime / #ke ontos echo 40 pireto.*
 The Zoi believes that be.1SG sick and indeed be.1SG and indeed have 40 fever
 ‘Zoi thinks I am sick (#and indeed I am / #and indeed I have a fever of 40).’
- (6) *I Zoi pistevi oti ime arosti, ke pragmati ime / ke ontos echo 40 pireto.*
 The Zoi believes that be.1SG sick and indeed be.1SG and indeed have 40 fever
 ‘Zoi thinks I am sick (and indeed I am / and indeed I have a fever of 40).’
- (7) *Oti/pos/??pu erchete kima kafsona anakinothike chtes.*
 That come.3SG wave heat announce.PASS.3SG yesterday
 ‘It was announced yesterday that a heat wave is coming.’
- (8) *Pu erchete tacha afksisi anakinothike sto prosopiko.*
 That come supposedly raise announce.PASS.3SG to-the employees
 ‘It was announced to the employees that a raise is supposedly coming.’
- (9) *I Maria vlepi oti/?pu to trapezi dhen chorai se afto to dhomatio.*
 The Maria see.3SG that the table NEG fit.3SG in this the room
 ‘Maria sees that the table doesn’t fit in this room.’
- (10) *Dhen kseri oti/??pu efighe i Maria.*
 NEG know.3SG that left.3SG the Maria
 ‘S/he doesn’t know that Maria left.’
- (11) *STENACHORITHIKA pu/*oti/*pos dhen irthes.*
 Saddened.1SG that NEG came.2SG
 ‘It saddened me that you didn’t come.’
- (12) *Thimomun pu echis ena pedhi, ala vlepo echis dhio.*
 Remember.IPFV.PST.1SG that have.2SG one child, but see.1SG have.2SG two
 ‘I remembered that you have one child, but I see that you have two.’
- (13) *THIMOMUN pu echis ena pedhi, # ala vlepo echis dhio.*
 Remember.IPFV.PST.1SG that have.2SG one child, but see.1SG have.2SG two
 ‘I REMEMBERED that you have one child, (# but I see that you have two).’

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In many languages, cause and purpose expressions in both nominal and clausal domains are realized similarly. English *for* expresses both causal and purposive relations (1-2), showing syncretism between prepositions and complementizers. Modern Greek (MG) and Hungarian (Hu) display similar patterns in the nominal domain, (3-4). Then, *why are conceptually distinct notions, like cause and purpose, often expressed by the same markers cross-linguistically?* We **assume**: (i) clause linkers like prepositions function as case markers; (ii) causal relations are modelled on spatial markers along a PATH (cf. Caha & Burkina, in prep; cf. Haspelmath 1997 on temporal relations); (iii) causal and purpose events are conceptually related (Saebø 1991). Thus, causal and purpose events are conceptually linked, and encoded linguistically through the notion of PATH. We **hypothesize** that (i) causal and purpose markers share the same underlyingly case-*fseq* cross-linguistically but lexicalize different portions of it; (ii) case marking for cause and purpose differ, even when syncretic, because they correspond to distinct portions of the causal PATH.

We examine cause and purpose marking in MG, Fr and Hu. First, we identify **causal** clause-linkers that decompose into a nominal core (often indefinite-like) as a case-bearer, a case marker, and a subordinator (3a-5a). We analyze these cases as allative and perative. Allative expresses movement towards the Ground, while perative encodes movement through/along the Ground. On a causal PATH, causal relations may be represented based on the observer's position (the speaker) relative to these events. While events follow a linear temporal flow, causal relations do not. We propose that allative case describes situations where the observer, situated at the main event, moves towards the causal event, i.e. the explanation for the matrix event. Perative case marks a switch in the directionality: the observer, located at the causing event, moves through it towards the main event, i.e., the main event is explained *through* the cause. **Purpose clauses** are uniformly introduced by allative case-linkers (3b-5b). Along the causal PATH, the observer, situated at the main event, moves toward a hypothetical, future, irrealis event. The irrealis nature of a purpose is encoded in the subjunctive mood in its different grammaticalizations. We also identify **justification** cause markers (3c-5c), which are typically marked by ablative or instrumental cases. The ablative (and its kin) expresses movement of the figure from the Ground towards the observer, reflecting a situation where the observer is located at the main event and deduces the reason from the causing event. It takes the reverse trajectory from allative marked objects. We claim that the observer, situated at the matrix event, infers the connection between the two events both from the sequence of events itself and from the context, a justification for the link between the two. Thus, the systematic use of the cases identified for causal and purpose relations finds an anchor in our conceptualization of causal relations as abstract expressions of spatial relations along a causal PATH.

Causal Path and Case marking on Adjunct Clauses: Cause and purpose in Greek, French and Hungarian

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|---------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | John got arrested for theft. | CAUSE |
| | b. | John came for the cat. | PURPOSE |
| (2) | a. | I told her to leave for I was very tired [McMillan] | CAUSE |
| | b. | I need something for storing CDs. [Cambr.] | PURPOSE |
| (3) | a. | Thimoríthike yia tin afthádeiátou
'He was punished for his insolence'. | (MG) CAUSE |
| | b. | to kana yia plaka it
did-past.1s for fun
'I did it for fun' | PURPOSE
[Holton et al. 1997] |
| (4) | a. | Pált lopás-ért tartóztatták le. (Hu) | CAUSE |
| | | Pál-acc theft-cause arrest-past.defobj-3pl down
'Pál was arrested for theft.' | |
| | b. | A cicá-ért jöttem.
the cat-cause come-past-1sg
'I came for (i.e. in order to fetch) the cat.' [Dékány & Hegedűs 2021] | PURPOSE |
| (5) | a. | Mod.grk: <i>yati, dhioti, epidhi,</i> | (CAUSE) |
| | b. | Mod.grk: <i>yia (+na), oste (+na)</i> | (PURPOSE) |
| | c. | Mod.grk: <i>afu, kathos, efon</i> | (JUSTIFICATION) |
| (6) | a. | Hu: <i>mert, mert + hogy, (amiatt) hogy</i> | (CAUSE) |
| | b. | Hu: <i>hogy (+subj)</i> | (PURPOSE) |
| | c. | Hu: <i>mivel, miután</i> | (JUSTIFICATION) |
| (7) | a. | French: <i>parce que, pour</i> | (CAUSE) |
| | b. | French : <i>pour</i> | (PURPOSE) |
| | c. | French: <i>du moment que</i> | (JUSTIFICATION) |

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Beyond Complement Selection

Christos Vlachos

In Generative Grammar (Chomsky 1965), complement selection has traditionally been seen as an inherent property of lexical entries, with predicates like *believe*, *wonder*, and *know* selecting specific types of complements—propositions (P), questions (Q), or both (P/Q). This ‘lexicalist’ framework, grounded in categorial (c-) and semantic (s-) selection (Grimshaw 1979), posits fixed boundaries between antirogative (*believe*), rogative (*wonder*), and responsive (*know*) predicates. However, more recent empirical evidence points to a more fluid system, revealing greater flexibility in complement selection than previously thought (e.g. Adger & Quer 2001; Uegaki & Sudo 2019; Özyıldız 2021).

This paper revisits complement selection, focusing on clausal complementation. Antirogatives, typically restricted to propositional complements, show unexpected flexibility, as seen in corpus data where *believe* merges with wh-complements in specific contexts. For example, negation permits sentences like *You won’t believe who it is*, with an exclamative reading, and focus operators, such as *only*, enable similar structures, as in *Only John believes who came today*. These patterns are not language-specific (e.g., English), but are mirrored in, e.g. Greek (*Mono o Janis pistevi pjos irthe simera* “Only John believes who came today”). Similarly, rogatives, while generally selecting wh-complements, sometimes take propositional complements, as in *I wonder that more Americans aren’t Republicans* (example from Sketchengine). Responsives, typically selecting both P and Q complements, also display flexibility by selecting exclamatives, as in *I know what a fool John is* (Grimshaw 1979).

Capitalizing on Chomsky (2004), who takes concepts such as c-selection and s-selection to have no placement in narrow syntax, and building on Chomsky et al. (2023), who take Merge to occur ‘at a vacuum’, we propose an alternative to the lexicalist model of complement selection: (clausal) complement selection is not lexically pre-specified but emerges from syntactic configurations. In this analysis, the compatibility between predicates and complements is determined by the broader syntactic environment. For instance, in sentences like *I can’t believe who came to the party*, *believe* projects an argument slot that is occupied by the wh-clause (*a la* Hale & Kayser 2002), while it is not the lexical properties of *believe* but syntactic factors like negation that facilitate the successful interpretation of the combination. This configurational approach explains the flexibility across antirogative, rogative, and responsive predicates, shifting the focus from lexical selection to the overall syntactic environment that both the predicate and the complement surface at.

In short, this paper advocates for a configurational model of complement selection. By emphasizing syntactic configurations rather than fixed lexical properties, this approach better accounts for the variability seen in empirical data and provides a more nuanced understanding of predicate-complement relations.

Patterns of *wh*-extraction from complement clauses in Greek

George Kotzoglou

The fact that complement domains are –at least in principle and other theirs being equal– opaque to extraction is generally acknowledged both in traditional accounts to locality (Ross 1967), and more recent works. Under current assumptions, this is to a large extent due to the fact that complement clauses (i) are right-branching constituents, and thus part of the main derivation (i.e. *not* assembled in special workplaces, as discussed in Nunes 2004), and (ii) may be unmoved elements (and, as a consequence, they are not subject to the Freezing Principle of Wexler & Culicover 1981, or to Criterial Freezing (Rizzi 2006, et seq.)). However, residues of illicit extraction from complement domains have been noted and attributed to other factors.

This paper takes a closer look at a number of (seemingly) unrelated to each other violations of (*wh*-) extraction from some kinds of complement clauses in Greek, specifically (i) extraction from factive *pu*-clauses (1) (already discussed in detail in Roussou 1992, Varlokosta 1994, a.o.), (ii) extraction from complement *ke*-clauses (which exhibit the subject/object asymmetry presented in (2a-b)), (ii) extraction from (quasi-)ECM-clauses (3) (whose illicitness was first observed in Hadjivassiliou et al. (2000) and briefly discussed in Kotzoglou & Papangeli (2007); Kotzoglou (2017)).

- (1) *pçon_i metanioses [pu kalese o nikos t_i]?
who regret.past.2sg that invite.past.3sg the Nick
'Whom did you regret that Nick invited?'
- (2a) ti ikseres [ke trayuðuses t_i]?
what knew.2sg and were.singing.2sg
'What did you know how to sing?'
- (2b) *pote ikseres [ke trayuðuses ti ðieθni t_i]?
when knew.2sg that were.singing.2sg the Internationale
'When did you know how to sing the Internationale?' (Kotzoglou & Canakis 2021)
- (3) ??pjon iθeles ton proθipuryo na entiposiasi?
who.Acc want.Past.2sg the prime-minister.Acc SUBJ impress.3sg
'Who did you want the prime minister to impress?'

Taking into consideration the (varying/not uniform) argument/adjunct asymmetries on extractions from such domains, we explore the possibility that a single unifying syntactic analysis be given to (1, 2b, 3), and discuss the possible contribution of various factors (type of matrix/selecting predicate, complementisers and their fine features, cf. the relevant works of Baunaz & Lander 2018; Angelopoulos 2019; Roussou 2020, a.o.) to the cases of islandhood under discussion.

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**Towards (one more) syntactic analysis of contact-induced change in complementation
in Greek
George Vardakis**

This paper investigates syntactic change in *na*-clauses in the history of Greek. I propose an analysis whereby the reanalysis of *i(vα)* as a modal marker and the possible deictic or anaphoric anchoring of the [+AUTHOR] feature within the Speech Act layer of embedded and main *na*-modal clauses may be seen as a contact-induced effect in various Balkan languages.

The loss of infinitival clauses and the emergence of 'finite' complementation is the most perspicuous and most studied property in numerous languages of South-Eastern Europe (Joseph 1983; Mišeska-Tomić 2004; Ledgeway 2013), including Greek (Bentein 2018). One of the factors considered to have affected change in the complementation system from Post-Classical to Modern Greek is the reanalysis of the subordinator *i(vα)* as a modal marker in main clauses (see Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos 2004; Sampanis 2011; la Roi forthcoming).

In Modern Greek, besides subordinate clauses, the particle *na* marks main modal clauses (see Veloudis & Philippaki-Warburton 1983; Rouchota 1994; Giannakidou 2009; Roussou & Tsangalidis 2010; Oikonomou 2016 i.a.) creating a verb complex which is marked via inflectional suffixation for all relevant φ -features i.e., [PERSON] and [NUMBER], as shown in (1). While the properties of control (see Spyropoulos 2007; Roussou 2009), quasi-ECM (Kotzoglou 2017), Long Distance Agreement (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2020) and prolepsis (Tsilia 2023) in SMG have been analyzed with respect to various complement-taking verbs, the syntax of *na*-clauses as embedded speech acts has received attention only recently (Magionos 2023). As shown in (2), *na*-clauses embedded under the verb *leo* 'say' allow for a triple interpretation of the null subject of the clausal complement. The subject of the embedded clause in (2) need not be bound and is not controlled by any of the arguments of the matrix, as in (3).

The subordinator *i(vα)* has been reanalyzed as a modal marker along with the possible deictic or anaphoric interpretation of [+AUTHOR] in main assertive and directive modal clauses since Medieval Greek, as shown in (4a). I suggest this reanalysis have triggered an expansion of the domain of infinitival complements from INFL/CP to the speechactP, as in (4b). The activation of the speechactP has enabled binding between a [+AUTHOR][±ADDRESSEE][±LOG] free variable in the perspectival center of the embedded speechactP feeding an Agree operation with the complement verb, while bleeding control of the PRO of previously infinitival clauses in INFL/CP by the matrix arguments. Empirical evidence supporting a contact-induced hypothesis of convergence (Baptista 2020) is brought by Balkan Romance, including Romanian and Corfíoto, as shown in (5) and (6), respectively.

- (1) *na dhiavás-o/dhiavas-eis/dhiavás-i/dhiavás-ume/dhiavás-ete/dhiavás-un!*
 PRT read.PNP-1SG/2SG/3SG/1PL/2PL/3PL
 'I/you/he/she/we/you/they should study!'

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Challenging Native Speaker Norms: Analyzing Humorous Narratives in Greek L2
Classrooms

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The standard of the ideal native speaker (Chomsky, 1975) has long been central to theories of second language acquisition (Krashen 1985, Swain 1985). As a result, these theories focused on identifying practices and methodologies that promote the development of advanced language competence. Consequently, the primary aim was to find the most effective ways for learners to understand vocabulary, grammar, syntax, and other linguistic features of their second language, often overlooking certain aspects of communication (Cook 2000). In this context, humor was often considered by researchers and teachers as merely a way to entertain students or provide relief from serious language instruction, rather than as an integral part of language learning (Bell 2005, Tsakona 2020). However, in recent decades, applied linguistics and sociolinguistics have begun to question the ideal of the native speaker in L2 teaching, shifting attention to overlooked areas of communication, such as humorous interaction (Bell & Pomerantz, 2016; Gasteratou 2020, Gasteratou & Tsakona, 2023, Rucynski & Prichard, 2020 Shively, 2013; Tsakona, 2020). Thus, humor began to gain recognition in second language classrooms both as a tool and a subject of instruction, as teachers and researchers sought to leverage its basic functions to improve and enhance language learning. These functions included creating a friendly environment within the classroom and among peers, reducing learners' anxiety (Shively, 2018), as well as serving as a means for constructing identities (Archakis & Tsakona 2012) and criticizing dominant sociolinguistic norms (Bell & Pomerantz 2016).

In this context, this study will focus on a main function of humor that is to challenge dominant sociolinguistic norms (Bell & Pomerantz 2016: 96) and examine the ways in which adult learners of Greek language exploit the humorous framework to position themselves towards the standard of the ideal native speaker. Specifically, we examine 49 written humorous narratives in which learners recount instances of miscommunication with locals, where humor emerges from ineffective or failed communicative interactions. For the analysis of the narratives, we apply the concepts of the *script opposition*, and the *humorous target* derived from the *General Theory of Verbal Humor* of Salvatore Attardo (GTVH, Attardo 2001). The analysis shows that L2 learners use humor to reflect on their miscommunications with native speakers, leading to both humorous misunderstandings and tense encounters. By humorously targeting themselves, learners seem to challenge native speaker norms, critically

engaging with their communicative failures in Greek society and ultimately asserting their right to speech (Bourdieu 1977).

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Enhancing Greek Teaching through the Utilisation of the *LeNEKAZ*

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ABSTRACT

The present paper deals with the effectiveness of utilising the *Digital Lexicon of Neologism of Kazantzakis (LeNEKAZ)* in the teaching of the Greek language to enhance students' learning experiences. A common lexicon serves as both a dictionary and a key resource for understanding linguistic nuances and cultural references. Integrating specialised lexicons of poetic neologisms into the curriculum, rather than relying on a traditional dictionary, equips students with tools for vocabulary acquisition, retention, and creativity.

The *LeNEKAZ* is the first –open access– digital dictionary for modern Greek authors; it was created based on the Kazantzakian epic *Odys[s]ey* and includes thousand words – mostly compounds and multi-compounds words. The macrostructure of *LeNEKAZ* contains approximately 3,800 (poetic) neologisms, as lemmas, and are morphological formations, which were not found in basic dictionaries of modern Greek. The microstructure includes a detailed description of the lexicographic information of the lemma, as the part of speech (noun, verb, adjective, proverb), the interpretation, the morphological analysis, the context etc. Finally, it should be noted that in Greek we have only two general dictionaries in digital form.

The paper focuses on teaching the phenomenon of composition and the creation of new compound words, highlighting the strategies of guessing/inferencing and constructing the meaning. Kazantzakis' compound words, which are lemmatised as neologisms in the *LeNEKAZ*, enable us to think, create and carry out a multitude of language activities that can be applied at different levels of teaching Greek (both as L1 and/or as L2). These activities, implemented in small student groups, include: *Compound Word Creation* (to understand how compound words are formed), *Lexicon Search* (to explore the lexicon for examples of compound words) *Compound Word Matching* (to recognise and understand common Greek compound words), *Word Breakdown Exercise* (to analyse the components of compound words), *Compound Word Story Creation* (to encourage creativity while practicing compound words). These exercises show that, with the right tools, language teaching can be both creative and full of imagination and knowledge.

Although this study primarily focuses on the phenomenon of composition and the creation of new compound words, it also outlines various strategies for implementing the lexicon *LeNEKAZ*. These strategies include contextual learning, interactive activities, and thematic vocabulary lists. Thus, the main aims of this research are to: (i) discuss the impact of these strategies on student engagement and comprehension and (ii) underscore the importance of lexical resources in fostering a deeper understanding of the Greek language, thereby enriching the educational experience for learners at all levels.

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Towards a phylogeny of Greek varieties

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This paper reports on an ongoing project, falling within the general framework of the PhylProGramm ERC Advanced Grant Project (ERC ADG 2022, Project 101096554), aiming at providing a detailed phylogeny of the Greek branch of the Indo-European family based on a large lexical dataset and using Bayesian Inference.

Even though Indo-European has been studied using phylogenetic methods since the beginning of their use in historical linguistics (see e.g. Ringe et al. 2002, Gray & Atkinson 2003, Rexová et al. 2003, Nakleh et al. 2005, Chang et al. 2015, Heggarty et al. 2023), the Greek clade is represented in most of these works by a handful of varieties. Among them, Heggarty et al. (2023) stands out including ten Greek varieties from ancient to modern and gives the most detailed view of Greek lexical phylogeny to date, based on 170 concepts. To our knowledge, there have been no phylogenetic studies focusing on Greek varieties using modern phylogenetic methods (see, however, Skelton (2015) for a parsimony approach). Indeed, it is rather rare to study closely related varieties using phylogenetic methods, despite recent promising examples (Auderset et al. 2023, Takahashi et al. 2023).

In our project, we will analyze a large lexical dataset of ~30 Greek varieties, spanning all different historical periods of Greek varieties, as well as wide geographical representation of both ancient and modern ones. Our concept list contains ~ 400 concepts of basic vocabulary and is based mainly on the list used by Ringe et al. (2002), which is in turn based on the Swadesh 200 list. Our dataset contains variants and synonymous terms. Lexical forms will be organized in cognate sets, while loanwords will be treated as independent evolutionary events. We will analyze the resulting cognate sets with BEAST 2 (Bouckaert et al. 2019) to produce a dated phylogeny.

Our results are anticipated to deepen our knowledge of the phylogeny of the Greek branch of Indo-European and provide a fuller picture of the (non-) immediate relatedness of the different diatopic and diachronic varieties of Greek. The resulting phylogeny is expected to verify or counter argue established dialectological assumptions on the direct ancestor of different dialectal varieties of Greek (e.g., of Tsakonian Greek which is thought to date back to a Doric Koine). Moreover, this work aspires to serve as a standard of comparison for the evaluation of morphosyntactic

features regarding their signal, i.e. to provide substantial insights into the questions of which features are a) conservative, b) prone to transfers c) showing parallel developments reflecting language universals.

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Making subordinating connectives through coordination: The development of a family of constructions in the diachrony of Greek

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Throughout the history of Greek, the connective *kai* ‘and’ is indisputably the most typical conjunctive coordinator, routinely used for formally establishing paratactic relations between conjoined structures. Other than coordinating uses of *kai* encountered in various diachronic phases of Greek are also well known and have been discussed in the literature (e.g. van Emde Boas, Rijksbaron, Bakker & Huitink 2019 about the ‘adverbial *kai* of Classical Greek or Canakis 1995 and Kotzoglou 2018 about its function as a complementizer or subordinator in Modern Greek). Apart from these uses, however, Medieval and Early Modern Greek *kai* is found to be used as part of complex connectives giving, thus, rise to a set of compound adverbial subordinating devices with various functions (see the examples below).

The paper aims to discuss the rise and subsequent development of these subordinating connectives with a view to shedding light to the actual diachronic process by which a prototypically coordination marker evolved to an element that seems to have had a principal role in the restructuring of Greek adverbial subordinators from Medieval Greek onwards. In previous research (Giannaris 2019; Giannaris & Karantzola 2021), attention has been drawn to the role of constructional networks in introducing novel concessive markers in Early Modern Greek. Keeping up with recent work about the role of networks, generality/schematicity, productivity and compositionality adopted by the diachronic Construction Grammar approaches to grammaticalization (e.g. Gyselink 2020), in this contribution I intend to show that *kai*, at least after the Hellenistic-Roman period of Greek, pervasively extended to new and different contexts, functioning diachronically as an increasingly schematic element that contributed to successive restructurings of the inventory of subordination markers through the creation of a ‘constructional family’ (cf. Sommerer 2020). Further, I will discuss the role of *kai* in relation to the hierarchy of clausal downgrading (cf. Hetterle 2015) with the aim to understand the range of syntactic and semantic features that pertain to its subordinating role. As far as the mechanics of change, I will especially bring into the discussion the role of immediate context as the basic unit of language change (cf. Diewald 2002, 2006), when grammatical words are involved and the importance of analogical thinking as a force of constructional network change.

Examples:

- (1) *εἰ δὲ καὶ* (conditional)
- (2) *ἀν’ ἔναι καὶ* (concessive conditional)
- (3) *ἀνίσως καὶ* (conditional/concessive conditional)
- (4) *ἀγκαλά καὶ* (concessive conditional, concessive)
- (5) *ἐπειδή καὶ* (causal)
- (6) *μονάναυτα καὶ* (temporal)

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**The role of etymology in the processing of semantically opaque complex words:
Evidence from Modern Greek**

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An interesting theoretical and methodological issue for morphological processing research regards the role of etymology in the processing of semantically opaque complex words. Many studies do not distinguish between etymological (e.g. *whisker–whisk*) and non-etymological (e.g. *corner–corn*) opaque pairs, focusing on their common surface morphological structure from a strictly synchronic perspective (Rastle & Davis, 2003, 2008). On the other hand, a growing number of studies postulate such dissociation, assuming that the members of etymological pairs are more strongly connected in the mental lexicon compared to the members of non-etymological pairs (Baayen et al., 2011; Milin et al., 2017). We experimentally investigated this issue in the domain of derivational morphology, with typical adult native speakers of Modern Greek. Fourteen etymological (e.g. σαρκάζω–σάρκα ‘to gibe’–‘flesh’) and 14 non-etymological (e.g. αρπάζω–άρπα ‘to grab’–‘harp’) opaque pairs were rated for semantic relatedness on a seven-point Likert-type scale (Xu & Taft, 2015) and served as critical prime-target pairs in two reaction time lexical decision tasks with visual masked priming (Forster, 1998) and immediate cross-modal priming (Marslen-Wilson et al., 1994). Data analyses showed that mean semantic relatedness was significantly greater ($p=.007$) for etymological (1.99) than for non-etymological (1.61) pairs; masked priming was statistically significant ($p<.001$) and equivalent ($p=.141$) between etymological (33 ms) and non-etymological (19 ms) pairs; cross-modal priming was statistically negligible ($p=.767$) and equivalent ($p=.947$) between etymological (–3 ms) and non-etymological (3 ms) pairs. Namely, even though etymological and non-etymological pairs appear to be differentiated in terms of metalinguistic ratings, they essentially behave the same in morphological priming (Longtin et al., 2003). Results indicate that etymology is not a determinant in the processing of semantically opaque complex words in Modern Greek. Therefore, we suggest that distinguishing between etymological and non-etymological opaque pairs is rather not necessary for the design of a morphological processing experiment, as long as we control for semantic transparency.

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**Remarks on the current status
of the Greek dialect of Al-Hamidiyah in Syria**

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This paper offers a first glimpse onto the current status of the variety used by the Greek-speaking, Muslim population of the coastal area of Al-Hamidiyah, in southern Syria, based on field research that has been conducted in the area in August 2024.

Until today, linguistic studies on the dialect spoken in Al-Hamidiyah are extremely limited. According to these studies (Tsokalidou 1999, 2000, see also Behnstedt 1997), the variety spoken in Al-Hamidiyah is a Greek, Cretan dialect, used among the Greek-speaking inhabitants of the region, only in oral discourse. The Greek-speaking community is of great interest as it constitutes an ethnic and linguistic minority and, at the same time, its members, as individuals, share the official identity, language and religion of Syria. Interestingly, as discussed by Tsokalidou (1999, 2000), the Greek-speaking population of Al-Hamidiyah has maintained its linguistic and cultural identity for many generations, even though it is not supported by formal education in Greek schools.

The current study, part of an ongoing research project, presents the first results of recent fieldwork carried out in the area in August 2024, monitoring both grammatical and sociolinguistic aspects of the present status of the variety. Its aiming is twofold: (i) we analyse the grammatical characteristics of the dialect in all levels of linguistic representation (phonology, morphology, syntax, and the lexicon), tracing both the inherited elements of Cretan, and the impact of language contact with the dominant variety of the area, i.e. Syrian Arabic. (ii) we discuss the apparent co-existence -within the community- of groups of speakers with different levels of proficiency in (Cretan) Greek (or even with different levels of code-switching between Greek and Arabic) according to various socio-linguistic factors.

The emerging picture, albeit a preliminary one, is of great importance, especially given the fact that the number of the native speakers of the variety has been significantly reduced in the recent decades.

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Local Books, Global Goals: Navigating Diversity and Inclusion in Primary EFL Textbooks

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Abstract

Textbooks, as the cornerstone of language education, play a pivotal role in shaping students' worldview. Their portrayal of diversity and inclusion can have a profound impact on how learners perceive different groups of people, understand their own identities, and develop empathy towards others.

The present research paper includes a thorough analysis of EFL textbooks used in public primary schools (Grades 3 to 6) in six countries all over the world, including Greece, Cyprus, Turkey, Egypt, Vietnam, and the U.A.E.. The textbooks are evaluated in terms of their ability to foster a pedagogy of inclusion and acceptance.

More specifically, texts, language tasks, and grammar activities as well as visual elements from 24 textbooks are examined using a mixed method approach encompassing both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The latter includes a corpus analysis resulting in interesting findings on the nature of inclusion elements incorporated in the textbooks, varying from topics related to celebrations, food, clothing, as well as notions of belonging and ability. The research offers insights into the extent to which educational institutions in these countries have achieved inclusivity and diversity and provides recommendations for creating more equitable and culturally responsive learning environments.

Keywords: inclusion, diversity, textbook analysis, corpus analysis.

**Morphophonological changes in the Modern Greek Dialects:
the case of the nominal forms in -os/-es**

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Topic: Changes in the morphological and/or phonological structure of nominal inflection is a common phenomenon in the Modern Greek dialects. A typical instance is the o > e change in the endings of the nominal forms of the o-inflection, which occurs in the (Peloponnese and Propontis) Tsakonian and in the dialect of Skyros. The aim of the paper is to prove that the change is of the same kind in both dialects and that it is realized via a morphophonological fronting operation which spreads analogically to the system of inflection depending on the internal organization of each dialect and causes changes in its structure.

Data: According to (old and recent) reports on both dialects (Tsakonian: Deffner 1881, Pernot 1934, Κωστάκης 1951 – Skyros: Kretschmer 1905, Φάβης 1909, Ανδριώτης 1952, Κατσούδα 2021) the masculine/feminine and neuter (nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and participles) of the o-inflection exhibit new forms with an /e/ vowel in the ending of the nominative, accusative and (partially) the genitive singular (1). Contrastively, the change does not affect the forms ending in a (bi)labial and a palatal consonant (2) and a set of widely used nouns of the everyday speech (3).

- (1) nouns: *τσερέ, βάνε, άμπελε* (Tsakonian)
πετ'νές, γαρρές (Skyros)
- adjectives: *πρέσε, δίτσε, άτσε* (Tsakonian)
αλόρθες, ανάγνωστες (Skyros)
- pronouns: *ούγιε, όποιε, όσε* (Tsakonian)
αυτές, ίδιες (Skyros)
- participles: *σόνιστε, ορούμενε* (Tsakonian)
μαγερεμένες, καμένες, βαμμένες (Skyros)
- (2) (bi)labial: *κρόπο, χάβο, κοτσόφο* (Tsakonian)
λωλαμός, κορμός (Skyros)
- palatal: *λιούκο, σούκο αγό, όγο, τσάχο, τοίχο* (Tsakonian)
λιακός, φακός, ζ'γός, βράχος, (Skyros)
- (3) *έπαινος, ίδρος, γάδαρος* (Skyros)

Discussion: In Tsakonian (Κωστάκης 1951), the change is described as phonological with a special focus on the nominative/accusative singular of the o-inflection nominal forms. A special reference is also made (Pernot 1934) on the genitive as due to the analogical influence of the imparsyllabic loanword nouns in -es (cf. *καφές, καφέδες*). In Skyros, all relevant accounts consider the change as morphological because of its restriction to the sub-system of the o-

inflection. Its spreading to the singular cases is explained as due either to analogy with the vocative singular of the participle (Φάβης 1909, Ανδριώτης 1952), or possibly to analogy with the imparisyllabic loanword nouns in -es (i.e. ζαερές, κερεστές, λαλές), (Kretschmer 1905). Both approaches are considered problematic (Κατσούδα 2021). In our approach the change is viewed as a case of the morphology – phonology interface. The morphological structure consisted of the nominal base and the endings with o-vocalism is modified by phonology which turns the /o/ vowel into /e/ in the nominal bases ending in a front, high vowel or in a coronal consonant. Despite its systematic character, this change cannot be defined as purely phonological because it is conditioned by morphology in two ways at least. First by its restriction to the nominal forms in -o and second by its asymmetric distribution via analogy both inside the same as well as across different paradigms. This role of analogy is closely related to the internal organization of inflection in each dialect. Specifically, in Tsakonian, the o > e change occurs regularly in all nominal forms of the o-inflection in the singular (except of the genitive). This is because of the simplification of inflection in both numbers via syncretisms and the systematic and unexceptional phonological development of the nominal endings of the o-inflection (i.e. -os > -or > -o). Contrastively, in Skyros, the inflectional system exhibits greater variation in the inflectional endings which possibly prevented the spreading of the phonological change to all relevant forms. This is the reason for the fragmentary analogical changes which selectively affected the nominative (and occasionally the accusative) singular of the adjectives, pronouns and participles and the partial reformation of the genitive singular. All analogies are built up on the model of the other singular cases (i.e. the nominative) and/or they were influenced by the imparisyllabic -es nouns (cf. Tsakonian: καφές – καφέδες, Skyros: ζαερές – ζαερέδες). This second possibility is supported by the fact that (i) this class of imparisyllabic nouns is attested in both dialects, (ii) although it consists of loanwords, it is totally absorbed by the inflectional system of Modern Greek via the highly productive and acoustically similar Greek nouns in -eas > -es (i.e. γονέας > γονές, βασιλέας > βασιλές) (Holton et al. 2019), (iii) its nominal bases (with few exceptions) end in a liquid or nasal, and therefore they simulate the bases subject to the change, and (iv) especially for Skyros, the change affected first the personal and place names, something which happened in many other Modern Greek dialects and later influenced some words of purely Greek origin (cf. αρές < αρός, Κατσούδα 2021). What is more, in some instances, the imparisyllabic nouns triggered the creation of new imparisyllabic plurals for the parasyllabic nouns (cf. αφρές – αφρέδες not αφροί, Κατσούδα 2021). In historical terms, the morphophonological change should have started in the late medieval period (11th/12thc.) whereas the analogical formations possibly appeared during the early Modern Greek period (i.e. 15thc.) In contrast to Tsakonian in which the change was accomplished, in Skyros it stopped halfway under the influence of Standard Modern Greek, which blocked its analogical spreading, leaving the exceptional forms under (3) unaffected.

Boosting heritage language learning through CLIL: The case of Greek schools in the diaspora

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New internal diversities and changes in policy and institutional conditions in Greek language education within the Greek diaspora necessitate significant changes in the pedagogical approaches to teaching Greek as a Heritage Language (HL) (Kousis et al., 2022; Mattheoudakis & Maligkoudi, 2024). CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) encompasses a range of pedagogical approaches that integrate the learning and teaching of language and content, addressing the language needs of multilingual learners. CLIL integrates the learning and teaching of both content and an additional (L2/heritage) language, where the additional language is used as the medium of instruction for teaching non-language subjects (see, e.g., Coyle, et al., 2010; Llinares, 2015). An emergent body of work is starting to explore the integration of language and content (e.g., history, geography, music, theatre, environmental education) in Greek heritage language classes (Lytra et al, 2023; Simpsi, 2014; Voskou, 2021). To date, however, there has not been a systematic investigation of the implementation of different approaches to CLIL across diverse heritage language educational structures and settings (but see Charalampidi et al., 2017 for a notable exception). Addressing this gap, our study aims to explore for the first time this under-researched topical area. Specifically, it investigates (a) the forms different approaches to CLIL may take in diverse Greek language educational settings, (b) Greek heritage educators' perceptions, understandings and interpretations of CLIL approaches, (c) the learning objectives, curricula, teaching methods and materials employed and (d) the opportunities and tensions teachers encounter when they implement different CLIL approaches. Our study focuses on the different heritage language programs that are implemented in the educational settings examined (e.g., Greek state-funded schools, Greek supplementary schools) and the local, national and transnational educational policies related to bilingual education and the promotion of heritage languages. A mixed methods research approach, combining questionnaires and focus group interviews with educators who have reported implementing different forms of CLIL, is adopted. Preliminary findings indicate that balancing teaching between content and language depends on the local/national language policies adapted by the different educational settings. Findings also point to a wide variety of uses, understandings and interpretations of what approaches to CLIL might look like and the need for increasing the visibility of these approaches among heritage language teachers in the diaspora.

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Italian and Turkish loanwords detection in Greek dialects

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Loanwords offer valuable insights into historical and cultural interactions between languages. In the case of Greek, the influence of neighboring languages like Turkish and Italian is significant, particularly in regional dialects such as Cretan, which experienced extensive linguistic contact during the Venetian (1204-1669) and Ottoman (1669-1898) rule. Many of the loanwords are still used frequently in the Greek language and the Modern Greek dialects, despite the fact that their number is slowly decreasing or diminishing (Swat, 2016).

Our study investigates loanwords across four Greek dialects—Cretan, Pontic, Northern Greek, and Cypriot Greek—using the GRDD corpus (Chatzikyriakidis et al., 2023), consisting of raw text data from these specific dialects. By focusing on the Cretan dialect, which has been strongly influenced by both Italian and Turkish due to its history, we aim to assess whether it contains more such loanwords than other Greek dialects. This comparative approach allows us to hypothesize about which dialects have retained the most, or least, loanwords from Turkish and Italian.

Nath et al. (2022) presented a method to automatically detect loanwords across various language pairs, accounting for differences in script, pronunciation and phonetic transformation by the borrowing language. They incorporated edit distance, semantic similarity measures, and phonetic alignment. We employ the same approach and apply it to the corpora of four Greek dialects, with a focus on the Cretan one. Specifically, we evaluate a set of 126 loanwords identified from the work of Swat (2016) and we test their frequency and distribution across the four dialect corpora. Additionally, we measure their semantic and phonetic distance to explore linguistic variation and influence across the dialects.

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Language contact in a Greek dialect affected by Romance and Turkish

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Language contact is ubiquitous in the evolution of languages. It raises a number of crucial research questions, among which, the type of change, lexical and/or structural, brought by contact, and the extent of interference of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors (see, among others, Hickey 2010, Lucas 2015, Gardani 2020). The most prominent linguistic factors underlined in the literature are the typological profile of the languages in contact, the degree of their compatibility, and the properties of the borrowed material. The extra-linguistic factors can be summarized in the social status of the donor and the recipient languages, the intensity of contact, the socio-economic dominance, imperfect learning, the speakers' attitude, and the level of bilingualism (see, among others, Thomason 2001, Field 2002, Matras 2009). Other important factors that may influence the languages involved are their genetic relationship and geographic proximity (Aikhenvald 2007).

In this work, I present a language-contact situation that has affected the lexicon and the word structure of a Greek dialectal variety spoken on the Aegean island of Lesbos, which was influenced by two genetically and typologically different languages, the Indo-European semi-fusional Italo-Romance and the non-Indo-European agglutinative Turkish, in a period extending from Late Medieval to Modern Greek.

I propose to show that this contact situation produces not only divergent but also similar effects on the lexicon and the morphological structure of the recipient. With the help of data drawn from primary and secondary written sources, I account for the factors, principles and constraints regulating the degree and type of integration of the borrowed material. To this end, I examine features (e.g., gender), categories (nouns and verbs) and processes (derivation and inflection) that have been subject to contact-induced change. More particularly, I deal with the morphological (non)compatibility of the contact systems, the morphological integration of borrowed items (mostly shown on the selection of a native or foreign integrator and the assignment of Greek inflection), the rivalry between native and non-native items and features (e.g., the use of the Romance suffix *-ar(e)* and that of the native *-iz(o)* for the adoption of verbs of foreign origin), and the allogenous exaptation (Gardani 2016) of certain elements (e.g., the change of function from inflection to derivation of a borrowed affix). I conclude that the various integration strategies and the adopted patterns are not distributed according to the type of donor or recipient languages, since the same strategy or pattern can be found in dialects which have entered in contact with different languages, and different strategies or patterns can alternate within the same dialect influenced by the same donor.

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Katerina Mandenaki & Spiros A. Moschonas

Ideological shifts in the Histories of the Greek Language Question: A computer-assisted analysis

This paper develops a computational-statistical methodology, implemented within the Python programming environment, to analyze three key Histories of the Greek Language Question: Konstantine Sathas' inaugural *Iστορία του ζητήματος της νεοελληνικής γλώσσης* (1870), A. E. Megas' *Iστορία του γλωσσικού ζητήματος: Αιώνες γλωσσικών συζητήσεων, 1750-1926* (1927), a clearly puristic pro-katharevousa historicization of the Greek Language Question, and Yanis Kordatos' explicitly demoticist *Iστορία του γλωσσικού μας ζητήματος* (1943).

Our methodology includes digitizing and tokenizing these texts, compiling concordances, and identifying the most frequent words and collocations. Additionally, we generated concept maps, topics through topic modeling (LDA), and created custom-trained Word Embeddings (Word2Vec, 300 dimensions, with 2-word and 5-word windows) for each History. The most common bigrams and co-occurrences of specific terms are identified and analyzed.

Through topic modeling, concept mapping, and the calculations of distances between the embeddings of glottonyms and style labels, we support the following claims:

1. Sathas' early History adopts a *diglossic* understanding of linguistic variation, recognizing a continuum of coexisting varieties, ranging from Ancient Greek to regional vernaculars.
2. By the time of Megas, a *diglossic* model had emerged, categorizing each and every variant as either high (katharevousa) or low (demotic).
3. Kordatos' history also assumes a diglossic framework, but crucially differs in its evaluation of the two varieties and their proponents.
4. Each re-evaluation of the Greek Language Question involves important shifts in the configurations of such terms as 'spoken', 'written', 'Greek', 'Ancient Greek', 'old Greek', 'katharevousa', 'Modern Greek', 'new Greek', 'romaic', 'common', 'vernacular', 'everyday', 'simple', 'demotic', 'language', 'dialect', 'idiom', 'style'...

What stands out in the narration of the Greek language-ideological debates is not so much the different stances of the protagonists or of the historians, but rather their shared presuppositions – the common conceptual framework through which language variation is understood and evaluated. By demonstrating this common framework, our computer-assisted analysis can help mitigate the entrenched perspectives that both current and past researchers hold regarding language-ideological issues.

Identifying sublexical constituents of Greek origin in the Turkish vocabulary as a facilitator in L2 vocabulary development

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Our aim in the present study is to highlight the sublexical constituents of Greek origin that have entered the Turkish vocabulary mainly through internationalisms. We argue that the identification of these constituents can enhance morphological awareness and contribute to the more effective and/or faster vocabulary development by students of Greek with Turkish as L1.

Numerous studies for various languages, including Greek, have documented the relationship between, on the one hand, morphological awareness and, on the other hand, the comprehension of written language and the development of vocabulary in L2 through strategies, such as paying attention to the structure of the word, breaking the word into recognizable parts, etc. (Nation 2000; Stahl & Nagy 2006; Anastasiadis-Symeonidis & Mitsiaki 2010; Roussoulioti & Melissaropoulou 2019 among many others). Building on this body of research, we propose that a key factor in L2 vocabulary development is morphological awareness both in L1 and L2. More specifically, we claim that the metalinguistic knowledge about the meaning of sublexical constituents of foreign origin in L1 words can act as an accelerator in L2 vocabulary acquisition.

If we focus on Turkish learned loanwords borrowed mainly from French (e.g. *antidemokratik* ‘antidemocratic’, *anormal* ‘abnormal’, *filoloji* ‘philology’), we find a high number of sublexical constituents of Greek origin that are found both at the right and the left edge of the word (e.g. *-ik*, *-loji*, *-nomi*, *anti-*, *a(n)-*, *poly-*). Having previously recorded the prefixes/prefixoids of Greek origin that are attested in Turkish words (Kaili & Markopoulos 2024; see also recent corpus studies such as Sari 2014; Arican et al. 2022), in this phase of our research we include in our scope suffixes and suffixoids, in order to provide a comprehensive documentation of all Greek “morphological traces” in the Turkish vocabulary. Based on the hypothesis that the identification of these sublexical components –especially the semantically transparent and frequently encountered ones– can facilitate vocabulary acquisition by Greek students with Turkish as L1, we propose certain teaching strategies and exercises that allow an easier and faster recognition of Greek words and thus reduce the cognitive load for students.

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Language guides of 'proper' (Modern) Greek: linguistic prescriptivism, learnedisms and metalinguistic discourse

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Abstract

The study of learnedisms in contemporary Modern Greek has come into the spotlight in recent years. Most studies have focussed on learnedisms from the viewpoint of terminology, teaching, corpus analysis, but also with regard to their use in particular genres of written speech, such as journalism, etc. (cf. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Φλιάτουρας 2019). In this paper, I am going to discuss an understudied aspect of this broader subject, which also relates to time-long prescriptivism: the focus is placed on the metalinguistic discourse of learnedisms, namely on the way they are presented in bestselling 'language guides' meant for a wider readership, normally in the context of promoting 'proper' Greek among native speakers (e.g. Παπαζαφείρη 1988-97, Αναγνωστοπούλου & Μπουσούνη-Γκέσουρα 2013, Γεωργίου 2016; Χάρης 2022 from a different viewpoint). The goal is twofold: on the one hand, I will attempt to map this niche field by highlighting the main sub-categories of promoted learnedisms, both in terms of linguistic fields and categories (phonology, morphology, etc.; spelling in a rather ancillary fashion) and in the sense of pointing to their diverse origins / registers (ancient Greek, medieval Greek, katharevousa, etc.); similarities to and differences from English language guides will also be highlighted, though in a selective manner. On the other hand, I will focus on some representative cases from the Greek language guide books, with an aim to examine the validity of their suggestions, including some possible theoretical pitfalls and/or non-absolute truthfulness (e.g. accent patterns in nouns/adjectives, accent position in learnedisms like φίλοθεαμον (neut.), augmented past tense forms of compound verbs of the type συνήψε vs. σύναψε or πρόσθεσε vs. προσέθεσε (3sg, past), compound verb imperatives like επίλεξε (2sg), purported semantic differences between quasi-similar adverbs like αμέσως vs. άμεσα, etc.). Last but not least, the analysis will also make use of e-corpora (ΕΘΕΓ, ΣΝΕΚ, Sketch Engine, etc.) in an attempt to demonstrate through select cases whether (and to what extent) the under discussion learnedisms actually occur in written speech, and in fact, in what form and in which genres / types of texts.

Key words: katharevousa, language guide, language mistake, learnedism, metalinguistic discourse

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Axenitika Cappadocian
A Comparison of the Cretan and Central Macedonian Varieties

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Until recently, the only surviving dialect of Cappadocian was believed to be Misiotika, spoken by refugees from Misti and their descendants. It turns out that there are also speakers of Axenitika, spoken by refugees from Axo and their descendants. The two dialects are closely related, but differ significantly in their phonology, Misiotika being characterized by mid-vowel raising and velar palatalization, e.g. και [ce] → [tci]. Two different varieties of Axenitika will be discussed. The first is the highly endangered variety spoken by a few elderly speakers from Axos (Pella) in Central Macedonia, whose sociolinguistic profile varies from passive to semi-speaker, with only a handful of fluent speakers left. On the basis of recordings made during fieldwork in Axos in 2022 and 2023, I present an analysis of the present state of the dialect in comparison with earlier descriptions (Dawkins 1916; Μαυροχαλυβίδης & Κεσίσογλου 1960; Μαυροχαλυβίδης 1990), with particular attention to morphological and syntactic variation and change. The second variety is the idiolect of Apostolos Pavlidis from Sokaras (Iraklio), the terminal speaker of Axenitika in Crete. Whereas both varieties are ‘hellenized’ to greater or lesser degree, depending on the fluency of the speaker, the Cretan variety is also, to quote Pavlidis in his own words, ‘cretanized’ (κρητικοποιήθηκε), especially in its vocabulary. The cretanization is also evident in the phonology, where the velar palatalization characteristic of the southern dialects has resulted in the realization of και [ce] as [tce], making the Cretan variety of Axenitika more similar to Misiotika in this respect than the original one.

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Writing Strategy Instruction with on-site Mentoring and Coaching in Teacher Preparation Programs: Two Cycles of Design-Based Research

With regards to writing and teacher preparation programs there is limited research on preservice preparation (e.g., Goldhaber, 2019). Policies often address reading but neglect writing, while foci on reading have direct implications for the teaching of writing -or its lack of-in classrooms (Brenner & McQuirk, 2019). This is evident in the United States where the Common Core State Standards first addressed writing. Questions about writing instruction and its presence in teacher-preparation programs are raised across the globe (Graham & Rijlaarsdam, 2016) with teachers raising concerns about their college-experience and limited preparation to teach writing (e.g., See Graham et al., 2023; Traga Philippakos et al., 2022). Indeed, there is a pattern on teachers' responses across years and counties (Graham et al., 2023) as teachers consistently share they are ill-prepared to teach writing. Myers et al., (2016) found that writing instruction methods courses in a teacher preparation program were a rarity, and writing methods did not exist on their own. Across a series of metanalysis, strategy instruction is found to be effective for all learners and to support their writing growth as they compose papers of higher quality (e.g., Graham et al., 2016). This present work designed and implemented an evidence-based writing approach in preservice teachers' internship in Greece. Writing instruction was not central in Greek educational system until 2021 (N. 5768/B/ 10-12-2021). Emphasis in the education programs is on linguistics and on grammar, and less on writing process and composition that addresses different purposes and genres, while reading is also emphasized in methods' courses. The purpose of this study was to design and evaluate processes for preservice teachers' preparation to teach writing utilizing a genre-based instructional approach (e.g., see Traga Philippakos & MacArthur, 2021; 2022) with the goal of examining the feasibility of this instructional approach and mentoring/coaching model in a teacher-preparation program. The study employed two cycles of Design Based Research (DBR; Gravemeijer & Cobb, 2006) with one university-level coach, three and two preservice teachers on each cycle, respectively, while instruction was whole group for sixth and ninth graders, across each cycle. The results showed that students' writing quality and inclusion of elements of argumentation improved within each cycle. Further, preservice-teachers were positive on the instructional approach and on the model utilized to support their implementation that involved observation of their coordinator, of their peers, and immediate briefings with reflection. Implications and considerations for practice are discussed.

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Svetlana Berikashvili

Exploring Differential Subject Marking in Pontic Greek

The presentation examines putative cases of differential subject marking (DSM) in the endangered variety of Pontic Greek spoken by the Pontic Greek community of Georgia (PNT_{GE}). PNT_{GE} differentiates its subjects on the basis of definiteness specification: in the presence of the definite article the noun head of the DP appears in the accusative case (1a), while in the presence of the indefinite article or bare DP, it appears in the nominative case (1b).

The phenomenon is characteristic of Pontic (PNT) in general and is attested in all Pontic varieties. However, the existence of DSM in PNT is a controversial issue, as DSM does not appear outside DPs and has been claimed not to affect the case properties of the whole DP. As neither Modern Greek nor mainland Greek dialects exhibit DSM, it has been also claimed in the literature that Pontic DSM is a contact-induced phenomenon from Turkish. Mostly it is associated with Turkish differential object marking (DOM), also present in other Asia Minor Greek (AMG) dialects (see Kornfilt 1997; 2008; 2020 on the Turkish phenomenon and references therein). The existing explanation in the literature is that DSM in PNT is morphological in nature and derives from postsyntactic impoverishment rules at Morphological Structure which results in differentiating exponence of case on the surface level (Spyropoulos 2020).

The issue in PNT_{GE} has not been addressed so far. The research is based on the data obtained as a result of the original fieldwork, available to the research community via the TLA and the grammatical description provided by Berikashvili (2017). In this presentation, I discuss the peculiarities of DSM in PNT_{GE}, including (a) the retreat of definiteness specification in DSM, accelerated by contact with languages that lack overt definiteness marking, namely Russian and Georgian and (b) the extension of DSM examples to other inflectional classes. I also demonstrate that PNT_{GE} provides a strong argument against the impoverishment explanation of the Pontic DSM, as it is not restricted to one Inflectional Class (IC1: masculine DPs ending in -os) and SG number, unlike other Pontic varieties. These masculine nominatives are regarded to be more specific forms; thus, they can impoverish further so as to derive a differential less specific form. However, in PNT_{GE}, the phenomenon is found not only in masculines but also in feminines, as it extends to IC3: feminine DPs ending in -i, -a, -e, -u (2). In contrast, feminine DPs show that the nominative case is expressed by a less specific, morphologically unmarked form, which cannot be further impoverish. This observation suggests that a less specified exponent is not tied directly to the abstract case assignment.

Examples:

- (1) a. o θíon ípen
DEF:M.SG.NOM uncle:M.SG.**ACC** say:PFV.PST:3.SG
'the uncle said...'
- b. (ínas) θíos ípen
INDEF:M./F.SG.NOM uncle:M.SG.**NOM** say:PFV.PST:3.SG
'(an) uncle said...'
- (2) a. érθen i γarín
come:PFV.PST:3.SG DEF:F.SG.NOM woman:F.SG.**ACC**
'the woman came...'
- b. érθen (ínas) γarí
come:PFV.PST:3.SG INDEF:M./F.SG.NOM woman:F.SG.**NOM**
'(a) woman came...'

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Clausal nominalizations in Asia Minor Greek

Metin Bağrıacık

In the Modern Greek dialect of Pharasa and in Romeyka, event and situation complements (in Wurmbrand and Lohninger's terminology 2023) surface largely as *na*-clauses (1) (or infinitives—at least in certain environments in Romeyka, Sitaridou 2014), whereas proposition complements are claimed to surface either as bare (i.e., without a complementizer, (2a)), or, occasionally, with some complementizer-like element—either of native or of Turkish origin (Dawkins 1916, Schreiber 2022) (2b-c). This talk is meant to re-assess this general picture based on naturalistic data from Romeyka and the dialect of Pharasa. Focusing first on proposition complements in both languages, I show that they differ structurally along the lines of presuppositionality. Non-presuppositional (and asserted) complements are always bare (2a), apparent complementizers being part of the matrix clause, through which the speaker expresses a private judgement concerning their assertion (à la Krifka 2023) (2b). Presuppositional complements host an overt morpheme (*tu* or ⁽ⁿ⁾*to*) (2c), which also appear as *wh*-elements and in relatives (3). Following Roussou (2018), I take these morphemes as nominal elements, which, however, unlike *pu* in Modern Greek, appear in sentential subjects, and can be embedded under prepositions (yielding adverbial clauses) (4). I conclude that complements introduced by these morphemes are core arguments, and involve a N-layer—hence they are, at least, descriptively nominal(ized) clauses. Going back to non-presuppositional complements (2a-b), I claim they are bare TPs, and are not arguments of the matrix predicate. Second, I focus on event and situation complements in Romeyka, and show that a specific subset of event and situation complements mix features from both finite complementation and nominalization (see already Sitaridou 2014) (5). Crucially, this mixing is absent in proposition complements, which remain finite and do not allow nominalized/TAM-reduced verbs. Although nominalization in event and situation complements has been attributed to Turkish influence (Schreiber 2022), and seems to increase for heritage speakers, its ramifications for the grammatical asymmetry between proposition and situation/event complements has not been properly addressed. Coupling Wurmbrand and Lohninger's (2019) Implicational Complementation Hierarchy with the asymmetry in the target of influence suggests an implicational hierarchy for contact effects in complement clauses. Building on Demirok and Öztürk (2024), I argue that contact-induced changes appear first in (non-modal) event complements and then extends to situation complements (and only later in proposition complements). I provide suggestive evidence for this from other languages of Asia Minor. I tentatively claim that this hierarchy is a function of the internal complexity of the complement clauses.

Examples

- (1) a. sin Trapezunda u porum na stekume.
in.the Trabzon not can.1PL NA stay.1PL
'We can't stay in Trabzon.' (Romeyka)
- b. či thelo na porpato.
not want.1SG NA walk.1SG
'I don't want to walk.' (Romeyka, Sitaridou 2014:123)
- (2) a. ighrep sen o vasilos eni a kao fšaxokko.
realized.3SG the king is a good boy
'The king realized that he is a good boy.' (Pharasa, Dawkins 1955:277)
- b. ighrep sen da o vasilos ki enotune a zori palikari.
understood.3SG it the king KI becomes a strong lad
'The king realized that he was becoming a fine youth.' (Pharasa, Dawkins 1916:491)
- c. idhikses ta tu ise sofos.
showed.2SG it that be.2SG wise
'You showed that you are wise.' (Theodoridis 1966:108)
- (3) tu pominan so xorio, irstan ta Turči.
THAT remained.3PL in.the village made.3PL them Turks
'Whoever remained in the village, they Turkified them.' (Theodoridis 1966:18)
- (4) s-tu čupen ta o tatas tu avuči...
from-THE not.said.3SG it the father his as.such...
'Because his father did not say it as such...' (Dawkins 1955:277)
- (5) a. epašlaepsa polla so dhipsasimo
started.1SG much to.the be.thirsty.NOM
'I started to get thirsty.' (Romeyka, Sitaridou 2014:131)
- b. uč etheleses tsi Sevdas to oxuyema yarımdönem daha?
not wanted.2SG of Sevda.GEN the study.NOM half semester more
'Did you not want Sevda to study half a semester more?' (Romeyka)

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Multimodal constructions ‘in the making’: Insights from a Modern Greek meme cycle

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The affordances of modern digital culture and the participatory frameworks it enables have given rise to new forms of communication such as internet memes, i.e. “digital items sharing common characteristics of content, form, and/or stance [...] circulated, imitated, and/or transformed via the Internet by many users” (Shifman 2014: 7-8). Memes, then, can be “remixed, parodied, mashed up and altered” with a view to “reflect[ing] the concerns of the culture” in which users participate (Attardo 2020: 162). The result is a thematically related “meme cycle”, akin to joke cycles. Adopting a Construction Grammar (CxG) approach (Goldberg 2006), we aim to showcase that despite the attested heterogeneity within meme cycles (Tsakona 2024) the derivation of new sub-cycles follows a motivated pathway, which is grounded in the anchor meme’s constructional template and its ability to enact viewpoint dynamics (Dancygier & Vandelanotte 2017). To this end, we will zoom in on a particular internet meme in Modern Greek, «ας έστελνε(ς)»/as éstelne(s) ‘s/he should have texted’, which appears in both monomodal and multimodal instances, with the latter exhibiting formal variability and discursive versatility, as suggested in Examples (1)-(3):



While (1) and (2) pertain to the domain of dating (with which the meme is prototypically associated, meaning that since he did not text me, he must bear the consequences), they differ in terms of the semiotic resources used. In contrast, (3) qualifies as a prime example of “memetic drift” (Attardo 2023) as it extends the meme’s usage to the realm of politics, expressing again a regretful stance over an act that should have happened but did not, with the agent and the particular act remaining unspecified and open to the meme viewer’s interpretation. On the basis of a dataset comprising 2164 tokens from X (former Twitter), as well as Facebook posts, YouTube videos, song lyrics and advertisements, we aim to address the following questions: (a) What motivates the emergence of new sub-cycles and what limits memetic drift?; (b) What coheres a meme cycle? How can we account for both the similarities and the differences within a meme cycle?; and (c) How can we distinguish between the different sub-cycles in a principled, systematic way? In this light, we tentatively suggest that meme cycles may be recast as ‘meme spirals’, a term that can address at once the embeddedness, dynamicity and on-going productivity of the meme’s constructional template.

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Emotion concepts as source domains in conceptual metaphors
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In Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), the difference in abstraction between the target domain (the abstract domain) and the source domain (the concrete domain) is central to the definition and function of conceptual metaphor. Metaphor becomes necessary when we need to talk about and conceptualize an abstract domain in terms of a more concrete one (Kövecses, 1990, 2010). Within this paradigm, emotions are thought to be abstract concepts and thus they are treated as the target domains in the process of metaphor: people make use of concrete (source) domains (e.g., A HIDDEN OBJECT) in order to speak about, think about, and express their emotions such as romantic love (for example, *He sought for love in the wrong places* – Kövecses, 1986). As a result, much of research on emotion concepts focuses on identifying the source domains used in the conceptualization of emotions (Kövecses, 1986, 2000; Athanasiadou & Tabakowska, 1998; Fussell, 2002).

Although some scholars have documented cases where a domain serves as both a target and a source domain (see discussions on non-reversibility – Barcelona, 2002; Kövecses, 2010; Dancyngier & Sweetser, 2014), emotions are rarely referred as source domains. For instance, Averill (1990) highlights expressions like *The storm unleashed its fury*, where "fury" instantiates the source domain (A STORM IS ANGER), while Kövecses (2010) notes that such reversals, like A STORM IS ANGER, tend to be genre-specific, occurring mainly in literary language. In Modern Greek, Theodoropoulou (2008) mentions similar expressions involving sadness (e.g., *Κοίταζε τον θλιμένο ουρανό* "He gazed at the sorrowful sky"), and Xioufis (2022) documents a significant number of expressions where romantic love serves as the source domain (e.g., *H πίτσα είναι έρωτας* "Pizza is love," *H μαγειρική είναι έρωτας* "Cooking is love").

Building on these findings, the present study seeks to identify which "basic" emotion concepts (anger, sadness, happiness, fear, romantic love – Shaver et al., 1996) can function as source domains in metaphorical expressions within the Greek language. The data is drawn from various sources, including dictionaries, social media, literature, and corpora, utilizing a range of methodological tools. This variety allows for a comprehensive examination of the phenomenon, offering insights into its scope. Additionally, the analysis aims to explain the phenomenon, linking the function of figurative language primarily to expressiveness rather than conceptualization (Foolen, 2012; Theodoropoulou, 2012).

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Maria Theodoropoulou & Theodoros Xioufis

The 'CAUSE and EFFECT plus Metaphor' pattern: Evidence from the Greek language of fear and romantic love

In this presentation we argue for the existence of a figurative conceptual pattern of interaction between metonymy and metaphor, that has not been addressed in the relevant studies (e.g., Goossens 2002; Geeraerts 2002; Radden 2002; Theodoropoulou 2012) adopting the Conceptual Metaphor (and Metonymy) Theory (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kövecses & Radden 1998). Specifically, we propose the 'CAUSE and EFFECT plus Metaphor' pattern, which is instantiated by linguistic expressions such as Ο έρωτας αλλάζει τον τρόπο που βλέπεις τον κόσμο 'Romantic love changes the way you perceive the world', Ο φόβος πάντα φέρνει πανικό και απελπισία 'Fear always brings panic and despair'. These types of utterances are typically considered linguistic instantiations of THE EMOTION IS SUPERIOR metaphor (Kövecses 2000) or are referred to in the literature as examples of personification (Dancygier & Sweetser 2014).

It is argued in this paper that this pattern is an instance of metaphor-metonymy interaction (Goossens 2002; Geeraerts 2002; Radden 2002; Theodoropoulou 2012), where a metaphor is embedded within a metonymy. More specifically, the entire expression explicitly profiles the CAUSE and EFFECT metonymic relation (Ruiz de Mendoza 2003), while the metaphor, as personification of the emotion, highlights the CAUSE. This pattern contrasts with 'pure' emotion metonymies, where the EFFECT STANDS FOR CAUSE (the emotion); for example, παρέλυσα 'I was paralyzed' (INABILITY TO MOVE FOR FEAR), αγωνία κάθε στιγμή 'anxiety at every moment' (ANXIETY FOR ROMANTIC LOVE). We argue that this specific pattern is further distinguished from metaphor within metonymy (Goossens 2002; Theodoropoulou 2012) based on several dimensions, such as emotional immediacy/distance, the type of effect, and others. Finally, we discuss its possible position within the metaphor-metonymy continuum (e.g., Radden 2002; Dirven 2003).

The 'CAUSE and EFFECT plus Metaphor' pattern was identified within a broader research project aimed at comparing the figurative language of fear and romantic love (Theodoropoulou & Xioufis 2021). The data is derived from a corpus compiled from the responses of participants (25 men and 25 women, aged from 19 to 40) to two questionnaires about these two emotions. The MIPVU procedure (Steen et al. 2010)

was used for the identification of metaphors, while Biernacka's (2013) method was applied for identifying metonymies.

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Developmental language disorder (DLD), but not dyslexia, is comorbid with spatial deficits: evidence from 7 to 8 years old Greek children.

Katerina Tselika, Spyridoula Varlokosta, Katerina Sakellariou, Marinos Kyriakopoulos, Maria Vlassopoulos, Helen Lazaratou, Dimitris Dikeos

Developmental language disorder (DLD), but not dyslexia, is comorbid with spatial deficits: evidence from 7 to 8 years old Greek children.

Research has shown that DLD and dyslexia are comorbid with cognitive and metacognitive deficits, such as executive function and information processing deficits, pragmatic processing deficits, impaired implicit learning and problem-solving deficits (Al-Yagon, 2003; Andrés-roqueta & Katsos, 2017; Avtzon, 2012; Baird et al., 2009; Davies et al., 2016; Erostarbe-Pérez et al., 2022; Heiman, 2006; Johnson et al., 2010; Krishnan et al., 2016; Passolunghi & Siegel, 2001; Pavlidou et al., 2010; Peng & Fuchs, 2016; Santegoeds et al., 2022; Träff & Östergren, 2021; Van Daal et al., 2009; Bougioukakas, 2015; Σακελλαρίου, n.d.). However, spatial cognition in these clinical cases has not been researched extendedly, apart from the spatial navigation impairments which are evident in DLD and dyslexia (Botting, 2007; Tobia & Marzocchi, 2014; Vieira et al., 2013).

The present research assesses the verbal and non-verbal spatial skills of two groups of Greek children (age=7-8 years), one diagnosed with dyslexia (N=17) and the other with DLD (N=22) and compares their performance with typically-developing (TD), age-matched peers (N=122, age=7-8), as well as with TD children (N=22, age=6-7) matched for verbal and non-verbal skills. The verbal and non-verbal spatial skills of children are assessed by the mean errors they conduct at *The Spatial Tasks*. *The Spatial Tasks* is a standardised psychometric test consisting of 120 questions (Tselika, n.d.; Tselika, Varlokosta, Sakellariou, et al., n.d; Tselika, Varlokosta, Vlassopoulos, et al., n.d), composed of the image schemata IN, ON, NEXT TO and UNDER, as reflected by the Greek preposition *se σε*.

The results show that children with dyslexia perform similarly with TD age-matched peers at *The Spatial Tasks*, therefore, they do not exhibit spatial deficits. On the contrary, DLD children produce significantly more errors than TD age-matched peers, in all image schemata IN, ON, NEXT TO and UNDER. Additionally, DLD children appear to have a distorted conception of space, as the order of usage of image schemata, in terms of mean errors, does not follow the typical order of TD children and of children with dyslexia (IN<ON<NEXT TO<UNDER), but an atypical order ON<IN<UNDER<NEXT TO. Their spatial difficulties are persistent even when DLD children are matched with TD children of the same verbal and non-verbal abilities (language comprehension, pragmatic skills, IQ and working memory).

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Supporting language, reading and narration skills in multilingual Greek primary schools: A Presentation of the D_READ-NARRATE software and preliminary evaluation findings

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In this talk we present an innovative educational software, D_READ-NARRATE, which is designed to support the linguistic, reading and narrative skills of children attending Greek state primary schools, especially bilingual L2 Greek students. The aim of the talk is to present the software design, as well as preliminary findings from its test application in Greek classrooms.

Research has shown that poor narrative skills hinder reading ability (Oakhill & Cain, 2007; Babayigit, Roulstone & Wren, 2021), which impacts on academic performance, while interventions targeting narrative skills significantly improve reading abilities (Calhoon et al., 2007) and academic performance in bilingual children (Proctor et al., 2020). However, most learning applications are addressed to English-speaking populations, are not specifically designed for classroom use and do not focus on reading and narrative skills.

In the D_READ-NARRATE project we have developed a software that exploits parts of *iRead*, a previously designed software (<https://iread-project.eu/>), by adapting and expanding its educational content, design and infrastructure, in order to meet the educational needs of Greek multilingual classrooms, since its activities target both intermediate proficiency L2 Greek bilinguals and monolingual children of 8-12 years of age. To this end we designed two components: a) the Smart Games, which involve game-like activities of varying and ascending difficulty that target language skills, i.e., phonology, orthography, morphology, syntax and morphosyntax, depending on the language profile of the student, and b) the Reader/Narrator, which involves web-based lessons that engage students in reading and story-building tasks that assist the development of vocabulary, reading comprehension and analysis, as well as narrative skills. Additionally, supportive applications were designed to assist the teaching/learning process both for teachers and learners, namely: *Teacher Tools* (student assessment, digital classrooms, creation of assignments), *Language Assessment Component* (bilingual language skills assessment before and after the use of the application) and *Student Profiles* (student autonomy and personalized learning experience).

During the school year 2024-2025, the software will be used in state primary schools with reception classes, as well as schools with high numbers of bilingual students (e.g., schools of Intercultural Education). Additionally, the tool will be evaluated as regards its impact on the development of students' a) language, reading and narrative skills, b) motivation, confidence, and attitude towards using Greek in the classroom, and c) their overall school performance. Preliminary findings will be presented in the talk.

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Past Participle Agreement in the Griko Perfect Tense: Variation and Change in Contact with Italo-Romance

Through contact with Salentino, Griko has structurally integrated a periphrastic perfect, with BE/HAVE + past participle passive (PPP). This construction has lost the adjectival/resultative nature of the Greek BE/HAVE + PPP periphrases exemplified in (1), acquiring a temporal reading on the model of Romance (Squillaci 2017). This work proposes an account of participial agreement (PPA) in Griko, analysing the role of both contact and internal change. Data from six towns have been studied, including prose, poetry and speech from the 16th century up to nowadays. The findings show that most Griko varieties have departed from Salentino, both in transitives (v*Prt-PPA) and in unaccusatives (vPrt-PPA). As examples (2), (3) and (4) show, Salentino has PPA with the (reflexive) unaccusative argument – independently of auxiliary selection (AS) – and with the clitic transitive object. Moreover, it may allow PPA with the in-situ internal argument (IA) of transitives. Griko instead clearly shows a first unaccusative-based distinction, namely v*Prt-PPA is not diachronically attested, while vPrt-PPA is the locus of change and variation: it was the default in all older sources, as shown in (5), but it gradually disappeared in four out of six varieties.

Crucially, the two varieties keeping vPrt-PPA are also the only ones to keep the Romance unaccusative-split in AS; the other varieties innovated their AS patterns along with PPA loss. Consequently, contact cannot be the direct trigger of PPA loss in most Griko varieties.

Hence, the reason of change is to be found internally, in the loss of Agree features on v([†])Prt: this is probably due to the instability of *uφ*-features in the absence of cues for their semantic import (see van Gelderen 2019 for similar contact outcomes). As for the historical lack of v*Prt-PPA, we hypothesize that *uφ*-features here were lost earlier due to the complexity of transitives: in the resultative construction, PPA encoded a predicative relationship between PPP and IA, which is lost in the new perfect tense. The fact that the perfect arose in Griko via contact, and not via gradual grammaticalization as in Romance, may have disfavoured the incorporation of *uNumber/uGender* features in the purely temporal construction.

Such internal changes in a contact-induced construction support the idea that the syntactic make-up of a language can determine the direction of change independently of contact with a sociolinguistically dominant code and language erosion (see Adger 2017).

However, a wider areal phenomenon involving both languages at varying degrees may be ongoing, i.e. the loss of encoding of argument structure distinctions on v([†])Aux and/or v([†])Prt: this is mirrored in the link between PPA and unaccusative-split in Griko, but also in the fact that Salentino as well has partially lost its unaccusative-split in AS, showing e.g. HAVE-unaccusatives in the perfect and free auxiliary choice in the pluperfect (Andriani 2017).

This proposal accounts for the divergent outcomes of the same change in two languages in contact, unifying at the same time AS and PPA under a deeper areal perspective.

**Past Participle Agreement in the Griko Perfect Tense:
Variation and Change in Contact with Italo-Romance**

(1)

έχω τα μανίκια σηκωμένα
have.IND.PRS.1SG the sleeves rolled-up.PTCP.PST.N.PL

“My sleeves are rolled up.” (not: “I have rolled up my sleeves”) (Squillaci 2017)

(2)

M'aggiu lavata
me have.IND.PRS.1SG wash.PTCP.PST.F.SG

“I have washed myself.” (Manzini & Savoia 2005)

(3)

Simu rrivati
be.IND.PRS.1PL come.PTCP.PST.M.PL

“We have come.” (Bergamo 2020)

(4)

Ieri t' aggiu vista
yesterday you.CL have.IND.PRS.1SG see.PTCP.PST.F.SG

“I have seen you yesterday.” (Presicce 2023)

(5)

Pesti ti en diavimmenos o cerò
tell-her that be.IND.PRS.3SG pass.PTCP.PST.M.SG the time

“Tell her that time has passed.” (Morosi 1870)

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Speechreading ability in Greek children and adults

Stackhouse & Wells (1997) argue that the speech processing system includes three major components (speech perception, mental lexicon, speech production) and forms the foundation for literacy development. Speechreading is one specific aspect of speech perception that has been investigated in children and adults with hearing impairment or dyslexia and also in typically developing children (Kyle et al., 2023; Kyritsi & Nicolaidis, 2024; Mohammed, et al., 2006). Evidence suggests that people with hearing impairment are better speechreaders than hearing people, who are better speechreaders than individuals with a history of language and literacy difficulties. Cross-linguistic research on speechreading is important because languages differ in terms of their linguistic characteristics (e.g. word length, syllable structure, sentence structure). Therefore, cross-linguistic research can inform theoretical accounts and also contribute to the implementation of educational practices that can promote spoken language development and, by extension, literacy development.

This study aims to investigate speechreading ability in Greek primary-school children and in young adults with typical language skills. Data was acquired from 10 children at each grade level in primary school (total: 60 children) and 10 young adults (18-24 years old). A speechreading test was administered (Kyritsi & Nicolaidis, 2024) that assesses speechreading ability for words (disyllabic, trisyllabic) and sentences. There are two conditions in each task. In the first condition, participants watch silent video clips of a female speaker saying a word or sentence and they are asked to reproduce what was said on the clip. In the second condition, following the video presentation of the target word or sentence, participants see an array of four pictures and they are asked to indicate the picture that matches the video.

The results show that older children are generally better speechreaders than younger children and that young adults are better speechreaders than children. At the same time, in each age group speechreading accuracy varies. Analysis of erroneous responses on the word tasks suggests that these are often driven by consonants that are indistinguishable by sight (e.g. /'kota/ > /'xorta/). Further, incorrect responses on the trisyllabic word task suggest that the presence of the stress in the middle syllable may make this syllable more salient, thus leading to incorrect judgements (e.g. /kre'mastra/ > /'matja/). It is concluded that speechreading ability develops over time. During the developmental period, errors in speechreading ability are influenced by several factors (e.g. consonant type, stress). Individual variation in performance also exists. The implications of these findings for classroom practices will be discussed.

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The productivity of morphological processes used to form nouns denoting agents in Modern Greek: Evidence from corpus measurements and experimental data
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Productivity of morphological processes, i.e. whether and the degree in which a morphological process is used for the creation of new forms which are not listed in the lexicon (Bauer, 2005), has been a central topic in derivational morphology in recent years (Fernández-Domínguez, 2013; Plag, 2021)., albeit understudied in Modern Greek, at least quantitatively (Efthymiou et al., 2012). Productivity is related to other variables, such as type frequency and number of conditions, i.e. structural, semantic, etc., on the application of a morphological process (Plag, 2021). It should not, however, be equated to them, as type frequency may be an indication of past productivity, and a morphological process may be highly productive in a specific domain despite the existence of various conditions on its application (Bauer, 2001). Several corpus-based measures have been proposed for measuring productivity (Baayen 1992, 1993; Baayen & Renouf, 1996; Hay & Baayen, 2002). At the same time, the degree to which native speakers use certain morphological processes to coin new words to convey new meanings when asked should also be considered as a measure of productivity (Štekauer et. al., 2005).

In this study we investigate the productivity of morphological processes used to form nouns denoting agents in Modern Greek, by using both corpora and experimental data. More specifically, we use Baayen's formula (1992; 1993) to measure the productivity of 6 derivational suffixes (i.e., *-tís*, *-ás*, *-dzís*, *-áris*, *-istís*, *-ístas*) and also certain suffixoids (*-pólis* and *-piós*), i.e. forms in-between compounding and suffixation (Booij, 2010), in the Greek Web 2019 corpus (eLTen19) (Suchomel, 2020) via Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al., 2014). We investigate the productivity of these suffixes and suffixoids both in the whole corpus, which comprises of 2.3 billion words, and in smaller subcorpora with different topics (i.e. news vs. sports and arts). Experimental data were also collected by means of an oral elicitation task, in which participants were shown a series of 80 pictures, each of which depicts a person doing an unspecified act or in interaction with an unspecified object, accompanied by a sentence which contains a pseudoword. They were then asked to produce a derived form by using that pseudoword as the base and applying the appropriate morphological process. 44 native speakers of Greek, aged 18-21, participated in the study.

Results indicate that *-tís* and *-istís* are the most frequently used suffixes in both corpus and experimental data. However, there is also evidence that suffix *-ístas* is quite productive in the semantic field of arts and sports, although it does not display high frequency for agents overall. Furthermore, both experimental and corpus data provide evidence that suffixoids are especially productive in Modern Greek. Differences between corpus and experimental data are

also discussed, pointing to the fact that different measures of productivity highlight different aspects of productivity (cf. Baayen, 2009; Plag, 2021).

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Anaphoric expressions for retrieving non-nominal antecedents in Modern Greek

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The paper investigates first pronominal anaphora to a non-nominally introduced abstract entity (an event, a state, a situation, a fact, a proposition, etc.), known as non-nominal antecedent anaphora (Kolhatkar et al., 2018), discourse deixis (Webber, 1988), among other terminologies, in comparison to pronominal reference to individual discourse referents introduced nominally in Modern Greek (MG).

Subsequent reference to a non-nominally introduced abstract entity in discourse in MG can be made more or less via the same pronominal expressions used for individual discourse referents introduced via a nominal:

a. via a null subject, which corresponds to the most salient, or topical referent (e.g. Gundel et al. 1993, Miltsakaki, 2001 for MG) – ex. (1). Although with a more restricted use, the null subject can occur with particular syntactic types of predicates, with the null subject predication occurring at a close distance to its non-nominal antecedent (Strikova, conference paper).

b. via the neuter singular accusative clitic *to* as a direct object to transitive verbs – ex. (2). The clitic *to* as a weak pronominal form signals topic continuation (as does the null subject).

c. via the neuter singular form *afto* of the demonstrative pronoun, used for referents with a medium degree of salience/prominence, i.e. known from the preceding discourse, but not topical (e.g. Gundel et al. 1993). The demonstrative can also mark emphasis or contrast.

- as a subject (in the nominative case), in which case it can be replaced by the null subject in some contexts (see a. above) – ex. (3),
- as a direct object (in the accusative case) to a transitive verb (when weakly stressed replaceable by the clitic *to*) – ex. (4), or
- introduced by a preposition (obligatorily used).

Moreover, the first anaphora to a non-nominally introduced abstract object can be subject to information-structural factors, as it can be topicalized by means of clitic doubling – ex. (5), ex. (6).

These linguistics facts possibly indicate that the choice of a particular pronominal as a first anaphor in the case of non-nominal anaphora does not depend on the degree of salience of the entity in the mind of the addressee (as judged by the speaker), as held in a number of theories of reference and anaphora in discourse mainly with regard to individual referents. Rather, as this type of anaphora is resolved mainly via the linguistic context (close distance to the antecedent, lack of other candidate referents), the choice of a particular pronominal depends on its discourse-

structuring functions (topic continuation, topicalization) or pragmatic factors such as contrast or emphasis.

Examples:

- (1) [Ξεμένουμε από ελπίδα]₁ και *pro₁* είναι επικίνδυνο.
- (2) Δεν τους είδαμε να [μασάνε τσίχλα]₁, και εάν **το₁** έκαναν, δεν τις έφτυναν στον δρόμο.
- (3) ...πρέπει να εξασφαλίσει ότι [τα μέλη της κυβέρνησης των υποστηρίζουν]₁. **Αυτό₁** είναι απαραίτητο για την επιβίωση της Ελλάδας...
- (4) Από το Μέγαρο Μαξίμου λένε ότι [οι εκλογές θα γίνουν από τον Απρίλιο και μετά]₁. **Αυτό₁** είπε και ο κυβερνητικός εκπρόσωπος
- (5) [Η γνώση που αποκτάμε από τις σπουδές (...)] μπορεί θαυμάσια να αξιοποιηθεί στη δική μας εταιρεία]₁. Στην Ελλάδα δεν έχουμε μάθει να **το₁** θεωρούμε **αυτό₁** ως επιλογή.
- (6) Μου είναι πολύ σημαντικό [να περνούν καλά]₁, και **αυτό₁**, **το₁** προσπαθώ καθόλη τη διάρκεια της σκηνικής μου παρουσίας (...)

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Translanguagings of young migrant learners in Cyprus: Corpus-based research

Despo Kyprianou & Maria Mitsiaki

Abstract

Translanguaging as the process of meaning-making through the use of various languages (García & Wei, 2015) is being extensively researched in multicultural school contexts, especially with respect to second, foreign, or heritage language learners. However, considerably less research has been conducted on the translanguaging practices that young migrant learners employ. The challenge is bigger for migrant children who attend primary school in Cyprus, a socially diglossic country (Christodoulou & Ioannidou, 2020). These learners have various L1s and are expected to learn the language of schooling (Standard Greek, L2), but at the same time they are exposed to Cypriot Greek (CG). For native speakers, there is an implicit value system that associates the CG variety with a lower status (Tsiplakou et al., 2022); however, for migrant and refugee L2 learners, this variety may be the only form of everyday communication they are exposed to.

Our study draws on the translanguaging practices used by plurilingual learners when writing in Greek (L2). It is part of ongoing research aiming to build an annotated learner corpus of texts written by 1395 migrant L2 learners of multiple ethnic backgrounds who attend primary school in Cyprus. The learners were asked to write on topics of interest (i.e., introducing themselves, describing a pet, etc.) as part of their diagnostic and formative assessment. The texts were digitised and analysed both for translanguagings and the linguistic aspects they affect. A mixed-methods approach was employed, involving both qualitative analysis of salient patterns and quantitative analysis of their frequency by grade.

The results reveal that translanguaging practices are favoured even in writing. Almost one in three children engages translanguaging in L2 writing by activating different varieties: L1s, an additional language (e.g., English), and CG. Translanguaging practices are most evident with regard to CG and more frequent in younger children. In linguistic terms, translanguaging affects various aspects of language use, such as graphophonemics, morphology, syntax, and lexis (Table 1), leading to written productions that support the learners' creative potential. These practices underline the fact that translanguaging can give place to "weaker" varieties along dominant ones (Tsokalidou & Skourtou, 2020). They are also more evident in the early acquisition stages. This may be because 1st and 2nd graders are less "shy about using their entire language repertoire to make meaning" (García & Wei, 2015: 231) or they are less affected by the teachers' ideology that supports monolingual writing as a sign of language development (Velasco & García, 2014). The study lays the path for strategic pedagogies that legitimise the learners' plurilingual talents.

Table 1: Linguistic aspects of translanguaging

Linguistic aspects	Examples
(1)	ΠΑΙΤΕΛÓΝΙ (CG), παντελόνι (SG) “trousers”
Graphophonemics:	Υοντάρι (CG), λιοντάρι (SG) “lion”
(2) Morphology	εξύπνησα (CG), ξύπνησα (SG) “I woke up” εχτύπησεν (CG), χτύπησε (SG), “he hit”
(3) Syntax	εμινένμου (CG), μου έμεινε (SG) “it was left”, αρέσκει της (CG), της αρέσει (SG) “she likes it”
(4) Lexis	μάππα (CG), μπάλα (SG) “ball” Η τσάντα είναι βαρετή (CG) “the bag is heavy” ο αγορι φουτ σπαγετι “the boy eats (food) spaghetti”

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"Hands in the darkness": a linguistic take on depression narratives in Greek
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This presentation focuses on linguistic instances of metaphor and metonymy in a first-person depression narrative in Greek (cf. Barcelona 1986; McMullen et al. 2002; Demjén 2011; Coll-Florit et al. 2021). The data considered is a detailed account on the experience of a depressive episode from a patient suffering from chronic depression. The aim is to examine illness narratives (Kleinman 1988) from a cognitive linguistic perspective, focusing on the role of figurative language. The analysis follows an interdisciplinary path, drawing from Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999; Dancygier & Sweetser 2014) and the dynamic view (Cameron et al. 2009) for metaphor, as well as narrative health psychology (Bury 1982; Frank 1995) for illness narratives. For the identification of metaphors and metonymies, the analysis uses the lexical method MIPVU (Steen et al. 2010), while integrating a dynamic perspective by considering the role of context (Semino 2008; Denroche 2018). Preliminary results indicate how metaphor is used to express emotional intensity, either to highlight the effects of depression to the person's sense of self and everyday life, or to emphasize the importance of illness narratives in alleviating pain for the sufferer (Clark 2008). This study could provide new insights to research on depression and the role of metaphor in emotional discourse, while also furthering the discussion on the role of online communities in experiencing illness.

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On the syntax of explanans and explanandum: revisiting nominalized clauses

Nikos Angelopoulos and Anna Roussou

Traditionally, embedded clauses like *that she is happy* in (1) are analyzed in the same way as the corresponding DP arguments, serving as internal arguments of verbs like *said*. However, recent literature (Kratzer 2006, Moulton 2015, Elliott 2020, Bondarenko 2022 i.a.) challenges this consensus by arguing that embedded clauses do not share the semantic properties of individual arguments but are predicates that denote sets of individuals with propositional content or sets of situations. Consequently, embedded clauses are not true arguments but are semantically composed with verbs as modifiers through Predicate Modification, even in cases where they seem to function as internal arguments of transitive verbs. Accordingly, embedded clauses never serve as syntactic complements of the verb; instead, they are VP-adjoined. This analysis has been effectively applied to embedded clauses in languages like Turkish, Uyghur, and Buryat, where they are introduced by say-type elements (Ozyildz 2020, Major 2021, Bondarenko 2022). Conversely, these languages also feature nominalized clauses, which are argued to be both semantically composed and syntactically merged as true arguments.

In the present paper, we challenge the above view arguing for a dissociation between syntax and semantics. We examine embedded declarative clauses in Greek introduced by *oti*. Greek differs from languages like Turkish or Uyghur in that it lacks a say-type Complementizer. Nevertheless, as shown in (2), nominalized clauses are available. Yet, they express a distinct meaning: the *explanans* (the explanation) is expressed by bare *oti*-clauses whereas the *explanandum* (the thing explained) is expressed by nominalized clauses (see Cattell's (1978) 'response-stance' class). We argue that bare *oti*-clauses, which share semantic properties with predicates, are syntactically merged as arguments of the verb. Thus, nominalization via an overt D is not the only way cross-linguistically to turn a clause into an argument.

We present evidence from argumenthood diagnostics, including Clitic Doubling, extraction, and subject agreement, to show that bare *oti*-clauses behave as genuine arguments. Specifically, Clitic Doubling, which in Greek is restricted to arguments, provides crucial evidence: clauses can be Clitic Doubled without any change in meaning, suggesting that they lack a silent determiner or nominal structure, as in (3). These findings challenge the assumption that embedded clauses interpreted as predicates must be merged as adjuncts. Instead, our results suggest a more nuanced syntax-semantics mapping, where XPs exhibiting modifier-like characteristics at semantics can nonetheless be integrated as arguments. This raises questions about the validity of analyses that neglect the syntax of embedded clauses, particularly when determining their argument or adjunct status.

Examples

(1) Mary said that she is happy.

(2) I Maria eksijise (to) oti i ji ine strogili.
the Maria explained.3sg the oti the earth is round
'Maria explained that/the fact that the Earth is round.'
'Mary explained the fact that the Earth is round.'

(3) I Maria to thimotan [oti itan harumeni].
the Maria it remembered.3sg that was happy
'Maria remembered (it) that she was happy.'

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Η συμβολή των ιστοσελίδων διαλεκτολογικού ενδιαφέροντος στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους: η περίπτωση του Θρακιώτς.

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Είναι σημαντικά τεκμηριωμένη η υποχώρηση/συρρίκνωση των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων υπέρ της πρότυπης/επίσημης ποικιλίας (Κοινή Νέα Ελληνική), για λόγους που απορρέουν από τον ομογενοποιητικό γλωσσικό προγραμματισμό, από την αρνητική στάση των ομιλητών, με αποτέλεσμα το χαμηλό κύρος και τον στιγματισμό των γεωγραφικών ποικιλιών, αλλά και από την παραμορφωτική γλωσσική και σημειωτική αναπαράσταση των διαλεκτόφωνων στα μέσα μαζικής κουλτούρας. Στον αντίποδα παρατηρείται αύξηση του ενδιαφέροντος για τη διάσωση των διαλέκτων, παρά το καλυμμένο γόντρο της Κοινής Νέας Ελληνικής. Τμήμα αυτής της διαδικασίας αποτελεί τα τελευταία χρόνια η αυξητική τάση της παρουσίας των διαλέκτων στα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης με την ανάπτυξη πολλών ιστοσελίδων διαλεκτολογικού ενδιαφέροντος με τοπικό ή και πανελλαδικό χαρακτήρα, όπως η Ντοπιολαλία, ο Σαμιώτης κλπ.

Σκοπός της παρούσας εργασίας είναι, αφού παρουσιάσει και διατρέξει τον χαρακτήρα αυτών των ιστοσελίδων κοινωνικής δικτύωσης στο Facebook, να επικεντρωθεί στη σελίδα Θρακιώτς με 40.000 ακόλουθους και έντονη δραστηριότητα, καταγράφοντας, κατηγοριοποιώντας και αναλύοντας το διαλεκτικό υλικό αλλά και τη συστηματικότητα με την οποία αναπαρίστανται σε αυτό οι νεοελληνικές θρακιώτικες διάλεκτοι κατά την τελευταία πενταετία.

Παράλληλα, θα διερευνήσει τις αυτο-αξιολογικές και ετερο-αξιολογικές στάσεις που υιοθετούν οι χρήστες τόσο απέναντι στη σελίδα καθαυτή όσο και στη χρησιμότητά της. Για την καταγραφή των δεδομένων έχει διενεργηθεί έρευνα με την αξιοποίηση ενός ερωτηματολογίου που διανεμήθηκε στους χρήστες της, προσδιορισμένο με βάση κοινωνιογλωσσικά κριτήρια (φύλο, ηλικία, μόρφωση). Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας επιβεβαιώνουν τη θετική στάση των χρηστών απέναντι στη σελίδα, θεωρώντας την σημαντική για την προβολή της Θράκης και των διαλέκτων της, αλλά, ταυτόχρονα, το καλυμμένο γόντρο της Κοινής Νέας Ελληνικής, διανοίγοντας έτσι τη συζήτηση για τις προϋποθέσεις της χρησιμότητας τέτοιων ειδικών ιστοσελίδων σε συνδυασμό με τις υπό εξέταση κοινωνιογλωσσικές και ιδεολογικές παραμέτρους.

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πτοικιλιών και διαλέκτων στην πρωτοβάθμια και δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση -
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Μεταφορά και χιούμορ σε μιμίδια:
δεδομένα από την ελληνική πραγματικότητα

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Τα μιμίδια συνιστούν ένα ψηφιακό κειμενικό είδος και επιδιώκουν με έναν παιγνιώδη, διασκεδαστικό τρόπο να ασκήσουν κριτική σε ποικίλα κοινωνικοπολιτικά ζητήματα (Denisova 2019, Wiggins 2019). Βασίζονται στην ανάμειξη ποικίλων σημειωτικών και γλωσσικών πόρων, μεταξύ των οποίων είναι η μεταφορά και το χιούμορ. Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή αναλύουμε τη σύνδεση του χιούμορ με τη μεταφορά σε μιμίδια τα οποία προέρχονται από 7 διαφορετικές διαδικτυακές χιουμοριστικές πηγές (π.χ. *Μαργαρίτες Μάντολες*, *Ο τοίχος είχε τη δική του υστερία*). Ειδικότερα, αναλύουμε την επίδραση του μηχανισμού της μεταφοράς στην κατασκευή του χιουμοριστικού νοήματος.

Για την ανάλυση του χιούμορ αντλούμε από τη *θεωρία της ασυμβατότητας* (incongruity theory) και προσεγγίζουμε το χιούμορ ως την αναντιστοιχία ανάμεσα στο τι αναμένουμε και στο τι τελικά συμβαίνει σε ένα κείμενο ή σε μία κατάσταση (Attardo 1994: 47-49). Στις θεωρίες που ερμηνεύουν το χιούμορ ως ασυμβατότητα εντάσσεται και η *Γενική Θεωρία του Γλωσσικού Χιούμορ* (στο εξής ΓΘΓΧ, βλ. Attardo 2001: 222-270).

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή η έμφαση μας θα είναι στον ρόλο που διαδραματίζει ο λογικός μηχανισμός, ως μία από τις παραμέτρους που θέτει η ΓΘΓΧ, για τη διαμόρφωση του χιουμοριστικού κειμένου. Ο λογικός μηχανισμός αναφέρεται στην παιγνιώδη λογική που φέρει το χιουμοριστικό κείμενο. Στα υπό ανάλυση μιμίδια ο λογικός μηχανισμός είναι η *μεταφορά* (metaphor). Προσεγγίζουμε τη μεταφορά ως μία γνωσιακή (cognitive) διεργασία κατά την οποία προσλαμβάνουμε ένα εννοιακό πεδίο-στόχο με τους όρους ενός άλλου εννοιακού πεδίου-πηγή. Οι εννοιακές μεταφορές (conceptual metaphors) πραγματώνονται και γίνονται αντιληπτές στις μεταφορικές εκφράσεις (linguistic metaphors, βλ. Lakoff 1993, Kövecses 2010, Βελούδης 2005). Η εννοιακή αυτή αντιστοίχιση γίνεται αντιληπτή σε γλωσσικό επίπεδο με το λεξιλόγιο που δανείζεται το πεδίο-στόχος από το πεδίο-πηγή (Θώμου 2023).

Η ανάλυση των δεδομένων μας δείχνει ότι η μεταφορά επιδρά στην κατασκευή του χιούμορ με σταθερά και επαναλαμβανόμενα *μοτίβα* (patterns) μέσω της δόμησης μιας μεταφορικής πρόσληψης και ερμηνείας και της ακόλουθης αποδόμησής της. Ειδικότερα, ενώ το αρχικό περικείμενο κατασκευάζει το νόημα παραπέμποντας στο εννοιακό πεδίο-στόχο (μεταφορική πρόσληψη), το περικείμενο που ακολουθεί ανατρέπει αυτή την κατασκευή νοήματος φέρνοντας στο προσκήνιο το εννοιακό πεδίο-πηγή (μη μεταφορική πρόσληψη) ή αντίστροφα. Διαπιστώνουμε, λοιπόν, ότι η μεταφορά διαδραματίζει καθοριστικό ρόλο στη διαμόρφωση της γνωσιακής αντίθεσης, η οποία αποτελεί μία ακόμα βασική παράμετρο για την παραγωγή του χιούμορ. Εργαλεία για την κατασκευή του χιουμοριστικού νοήματος μέσω του μηχανισμού της μεταφοράς αποτελούν το ίδιο το περικείμενο, πολύσημες λέξεις, λεξικές συνάψεις και οι χρήσεις τους. Για παράδειγμα, στο μιμίδιο *Μη μας παίρνετε τα μυαλά, αν δεν έχετε πού να τα πάτε* η μεταφορική πρόσληψη της λέξης μυαλά, στο πρώτο μέρος του μιμιδίου (metaphorical construction), ανατρέπεται με τη μη μεταφορική χρήση της στο δεύτερο μέρος (metaphorical deconstruction). Παρατηρούμε δε ότι μέσα από τον τρόπο που λειτουργεί ο λογικός μηχανισμός της μεταφοράς, τα μιμίδια στοχοποιούν τις δυσκολίες των κοινωνικών σχέσεων και αναδεικύουν το βάρος που αισθάνεται ένα άτομο από τους κοινωνικούς περιορισμούς στους οποίους πρέπει να υπακούσει και από τις προσδοκίες των άλλων με τις οποίες πρέπει να συντονιστεί.

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Διερευνώντας τη μεταφορική ικανότητα ενήλικων φυσικών ομιλητών της Ελληνικής

Χρήστος Χριστοδουλάκης

Παρασκευή Θώμου

Ειρήνη Στυλιανουδάκη

Ως μεταφορική ικανότητα (metaphorical competence), ορίζεται η ικανότητα αντίληψης και δημιουργίας μεταφορικών σχέσεων ανάμεσα σε διαφορετικές έννοιες, δηλαδή, η γνώση-κατανόηση και η παραγωγή μεταφορών (Danesi, 1993; Littlemore, 2008; Littlemore & Low, 2006). Η μεταφορική ικανότητα συνδέεται στενά με τη μεταφορική επίγνωση (metaphor awareness). Ο όρος αυτός αφορά την ικανότητα των ομιλητών/τριών να αναγνωρίζουν τη σημασιολογική κινητροδότηση των μεταφορικών εκφράσεων (Deignan et al., 1997; Boers, 2000; Beréndi et al., 2008; Skoufaki, 2008; MacArthur, 2010). Αυτή η σχέση γίνεται ακόμα πιο εμφανής όταν αναφερόμαστε σε λεξιλόγιο που χαρακτηρίζεται από πολυσημία, δεδομένου ότι ο μεταφορικός λόγος συνδέεται με το φαινόμενο της πολυσημίας, καθώς οι πολύσημες λέξεις εμπεριέχουν κυριολεκτικές και μεταφορικές σημασίες (Θώμου, 2023). Η διερεύνηση της κατανόησης μιας πολύσημης λέξης από φυσικούς ομιλητές μπορεί να ρίξει φως στην αλληλεπίδραση ανάμεσα στη μεταφορική ικανότητα, την μεταφορική επίγνωση και την πολυσημία στη γλώσσα.

Η παρούσα εισήγηση διερευνά τον τρόπο με τον οποίο ενήλικοι/ες φυσικοί/ές ομιλητές/τριες της Ελληνικής πραγματεύονται και κατανοούν τη σύνδεση των σημασιών, κυριολεκτικής και μεταφορικών, ενός πολύσημου λεξήματος. Για τους σκοπούς της έρευνας σχεδιάστηκε και χορηγήθηκε μια γραπτή δραστηριότητα ανοιχτού τύπου σε 70 ενήλικους φυσικούς ομιλητές της Ελληνικής, οι οποίοι φοιτούσαν στο Παιδαγωγικό Τμήμα Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης του Πανεπιστημίου Κρήτης. Οι συμμετέχοντες/ουσες κλήθηκαν να σχολιάσουν γλωσσικά δεδομένα της μητρικής τους γλώσσας. Πιο συγκεκριμένα κλήθηκαν να εντοπίσουν σε παραδείγματα την προτυπική σημασία της λέξης και να την ορίσουν, να εντοπίσουν και να ορίσουν τις δύο παραγόμενες μεταφορικές σημασίες, να ανιχνεύσουν τις πιθανές ομοιότητες των δύο αυτών σημασιών με την προτυπική και να εξηγήσουν πώς αυτή πυροδοτεί την παραγωγή τους.

Η ανάλυση των δεδομένων δείχνει ότι οι περισσότεροι συμμετέχοντες εντόπισαν την προτυπική σημασία της λέξης. Όσον αφορά τον εντοπισμό των παραγόμενων μεταφορικών σημασιών αλλά και τη συσχέτισή τους με την προτυπική, η ανάλυση των δεδομένων δείχνει χαμηλές επιδόσεις εγείροντας προβληματισμό για τον βαθμό ανάπτυξης της μεταφορικής επίγνωσης ως πτυχής της μεταφορικής ικανότητας των φυσικών ομιλητών/τριών της ελληνικής.

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Η ενίσχυση και ο μετριασμός στον ρευστό ρατσισμό:
Αναλύοντας μαθητικά κείμενα για τους/τις πρόσφυγες/ισσες

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Ως αντίδραση σε ρατσιστικά φαινόμενα, όπως οι φρικαλεότητες των ναζί, οι διακρίσεις εις βάρος των μαύρων, η παραβίαση των δικαιωμάτων των μεταναστών/τριών-προσφύγων/ισσών και κάθε είδους διάκριση και κατάχρηση εξουσίας, αναδύθηκε ο αντιρατσισμός. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, ο αντιρατσιστικός λόγος στοχεύει στην αντίσταση ενάντια σε κάθε είδους διάκριση και κατάχρηση εξουσίας. Μέσω του αντιρατσιστικού λόγου, ασκούνται πιέσεις ώστε να περιοριστούν τα φαινόμενα ρατσισμού σε κοινωνικό και θεσμικό επίπεδο, επιχειρείται η αποφυσικοποίηση των ανισοτήτων και επιδιώκεται η αποδόμηση των στερεοτύπων μέσω της εκπαίδευσης. Αν και ο αντιρατσιστικός λόγος διαδίδεται όλο και περισσότερο, ρατσιστικές πρακτικές εξακολουθούν να λαμβάνουν χώρα σε ποικίλα πλειονοτικά περιβάλλοντα, όπως, μεταξύ άλλων, η εκπαίδευση (van Dijk 2021). Έτσι, συχνά παρατηρείται η συνύπαρξη του ρατσιστικού με τον αντιρατσιστικό λόγο που δημιουργεί ένα νέο αμφίσημο είδος ρατσισμού, τον *ρευστό ρατσισμό* (liquid racism, Weaver 2011). Ο ρευστός ρατσισμός προωθεί συγκαλυμμένα τον ρατσισμό, ελίσσεται και προσαρμόζεται ενισχύοντας με διάφορους τρόπους τη γλωσσική και πολιτισμική ομοιογένεια (βλ. Αρχάκης 2020: 60-61).

Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τα παραπάνω, στην παρούσα εισήγηση το ενδιαφέρον μου εστιάζεται στο σύγχρονο ελληνικό σχολείο και στόχος μου είναι να μελετήσω κατά πόσο οι μαθητές/τριες Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξης αναπαράγουν τον ρευστό ρατσισμό αναφορικά με τους/τις νεοεισερχόμενους/ες πρόσφυγες/ισσες. Αξιοποιώντας εργαλεία των *Κριτικών Σπουδών Λόγου* και συγκεκριμένα τη *Λογοϊστορική Προσέγγιση* (Reisigl & Wodak 2016), επιδιώκω να εξετάσω με ποιο τρόπο οι στρατηγικές ενίσχυσης και μετριασμού, μεταξύ άλλων στρατηγικών λόγου, συμβάλλουν στη διαμόρφωση αμφισημιών που φυσικοποιούν τον ρευστό ρατσισμό.

Από την ανάλυση διαπίστωσα ότι οι μαθητές/τριες αναπαράγουν σε μεγάλο βαθμό τον ρευστό ρατσισμό όταν τοποθετούνται υπέρ των προσφύγων/ισσών. Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, χρησιμοποιούν στρατηγικές ενίσχυσης, από τη μία, για να δώσουν έμφαση στην προβληματικοποίηση και/ή στη θυματοποίηση των προσφύγων/ισσών και, από την άλλη, για να υπογραμμίσουν την επιβολή του αντιρατσιστικού λόγου όχι ως συνειδητής επιλογής, αλλά ως επιβεβλημένης συνθήκης. Επιπλέον, οι μαθητές/τριες χρησιμοποιούν στρατηγικές μετριασμού είτε για να δικαιολογήσουν τις ρατσιστικές πρακτικές εις βάρος των προσφύγων/ισσών είτε για να μετριάσουν τις κατά τα άλλα αντιρατσιστικές δηλώσεις υπέρ των προσφύγων/ισσών. Τα παραπάνω ευρήματα μπορούν να συμβάλουν στη συνειδητοποίηση

του υπόρρητου τρόπου με τον οποίο η ενίσχυση και ο μετριασμός εξυπηρετούν τον ρευστό ρατσισμό και να αναδείξει την αναγκαιότητα αναστοχασμού πάνω σε τέτοιου είδους παραδείγματα.

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