The Sociolinguistic Phenomenon of Modern Greek Diglossia: the Outcome of Conflicts between (H)igh and (L)ow Variety and the National Language Question in 19th – 20th c. Greece: an Historico - Sociolinguistic Perspective.

Olga-Maria Gkaragkouni

OLLSCOIL TEICNEOLAÍOCHTA
BHAILE ÁTHA CLIATH
TU DUBLIN
TECHNOLOGICAL
UNIVERSITY DUBLIN

The Sociolinguistic Phenomenon of Modern Greek Diglossia

The Outcome of Conflicts between (H)igh and (L)ow Variety and the National Language Question in 19th – 20th c. Greece: an Historico - socio-linguistic Perspective.*

Olga – Maria Gkaragkouni
Centre for Language and Communication Studies
Trinity College Dublin

Abstract

The present paper first and foremost aims to examine the sociolinguistic phenomenon of diglossia as it was depicted within the 19th and 20th century Greek linguistic community (1830-1976). More specifically, this study tries to explore the social context in general and the political-religious-ideological context in particular within which Modern Greek Diglossia (MGD for short) first presented and developed, and how it eventually declined. The paper at hand adopts a particular sociolinguistic analysis by providing the most suitable definition for the concept of diglossia – among the many variations that have been propounded with the passage of time – under which MGD could best be described and analysed. More concretely, the specific definition adopted in our case is the initial and original Fergusonian one. The term diglossia proposed by Ferguson refers to the social and functional differentiation of two linguistic varieties – namely an (H)igh and a (L)ow one – of the same language and of the same speech community for distinct purposes. Since Katharévousa (i.e., the H code) and Dhimotikí (i.e., the L code) in MGD constitute two varieties of the same language (i.e., the continuum of the Greek language) and of the same speech community, Ferguson's model seems to be rather relevant and fairly applicable. Furthermore, due to the fact that diglossia almost always is interwoven within an historical as well as a social context, emphasis is placed on those two contexts. It has been stated by Mesthrie et al. (2000, p. 42) that 'language is embedded in a social and historical context, and a full understanding of language can only be achieved by paying attention to those contexts'. Thus, both the historico-linguistic perspective and the socio-linguistic approach that are employed in this paper intend to explain the emergence, maintenance, attrition as well as demise of MGD in the light of external socio-politico-historical factors, on the one hand, and to carefully analyse the specific characteristics of the phenomenon of MGD as such, on the other. The raising of the national language query (i.e., which of the existing Greek varieties is going to become the standard, official, symbolic, written language of the Greek nation?) – is another parameter which has to be considered side by side with the modern Greek diglossic situation. In fact, the Language Question in Greece is transformed from a clearly linguistic issue into a sociopolitical issue. Above all, the very existence of MGD is regarded as embedded in the ideological beliefs of its speakers. As a result, the conflicts that took place between the proponents of Katharévousa and the representatives of Dhimotikí in common with the reasons for such conflicts are mentioned. In the case of MGD conflicts exist between the two diglossic varieties, when in other countries the diglossia situation is not problematic at all. In Greece H and L varieties compete because their supporters compete. Last but not least, the predominance of Dhimotikí over Katharévousa is clearly justified.

1 Introduction

As a phenomenon diglossia is not a new one. In some countries like Greece it has existed at least since antiquity. As a notion, on the other hand, diglossia has been first defined and first analysed by Ferguson in 1959. Since then, many more linguists (Fishman, Gumperz, Fasold and Hudson, to name only a few) have tried to redefine the very first Fergusonian concept of diglossia. Since diglossia once constituted and even nowadays constitutes "an extremely widespread phenomenon" (Pride 1971, p. 37), many different as well as diverse theories and definitions of the initial 'classic' and original diglossia are formed with the passage of time.

1.1 Diglossia: origin and initial appearance of the term

The phenomenon of diglossia has attracted special attention as well as unabated interest since 1959 due to the fact that it constitutes a controversial sociolinguistic issue as far as its meaning is concerned (Paulston and Tucker 2003, p. 344). It is widely accepted that the real origin of the term diglossia emanates from the Greek word dio (< from dis meaning two) and glossia (< from glóssa meaning language), in Greek διγλωσσία, referring literally to the use of two and only two languages (Baker 2001, p. 44). According to Edwards (2006, p. 20), diglossia is the Greek word for bilingualism. The Greek word for diglossia is dimorphia or diyfia which stands for two forms or two styles respectively (Babiniotis 2002, p. 173).

In point of fact, Ferguson is the first one who initiates the term diglossia not only into the Anglo-American and Germanic linguistic literature but also into the international sociolinguistic bibliography (Pauwels, 1988, p. 86). Furthermore, the term diglossia constitutes a Greek loanword (Sella-Mazi 2001, pp. 84-85) rather than a french one as Ferguson (1959, pp. 325-326) as well as Fasold (1984, p. 34) accept, and a coinage for English (Sella-Mazi 2001, p. 85). However, two other linguists, - the one German and the other an Arabist – Karl Krumbacher (1902) and William Marçais (1930) respectively, are mentioned in connection to the very same phenomenon, i.e., that of diglossie (Rosenhouse and Goral 2006, p. 842; Sotiropoulos 1977 cited in Elgibali 1988, p. 59; ibid. cited in Paulston and Tucker 2003, p. 343). Both Krumbacher and Marçais scrutinise diglossia with particular emphasis on the Greek and Arabic diglossic communities. In addition, Marçais tries to define diglossia in French linguistic theory as 'la concurrence entre une langue savante écrite et une langue vulgaire parfois exclusivement parlée' (Elgibali 1988, p. 59).

Even before Krumbacher and Marçais, however, Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) is believed to be the very first person who mentions the notion of diglossia in his literary theory work 'De vulgari eloquentia'. Giannoulopoulou (2008, p. 138) affirms that Dante had already been well-aware of a phenomenon like diglossia both in Italy and Greece. Of course, he does not name diglossia with its very contamporary name. On the contrary, he refers to the diglossic situation of Italy by saying that the Romans use a second language – just like the Greeks do – which they name 'grammatical language' and which is only learned by the few who succeed in assimilating the norms of that language by means of time-consuming as well as persistent study (Karouzos 1966, p. 115). What is more, Jean Psycháris – a Greek of diaspora employed as a linguist in Paris – refers to the case of Modern Greek Diglossia, in 1888, through his well-known literary novel 'My Journey'. He (Psycharis 1888, cited in Sella-Mazi 2001, p. 85) characteristically writes to his compatriots:

> *"...if the intelligentsia did not subdue their own lexicon and as a result their own language (i.e., grammar and lexicon) to resemble that of the everyday common people and that of the masses, the contrary would inescapably lead to diglossia".* (my translation)

In any case, it is Ferguson (1959) who seems to establish the concept of diglossia into the sociolinguistic survey by making it a debatable issue. In other words, diglossia wholly and fully presented by Ferguson would be described as the first well-attempted instance to define such a term sociolinguistically. As Haas (2002, p. 109) puts it, Ferguson 'has brought to the awareness of sociolinguists a language "arrangement" that

was not perceived as something specific before'.What is more, it is Feguson who first makes the distinction of prestige H and of vernacular L code within a putative diglossic society (Kaye 2002, p. 117).

1.2 Ferguson's term of diglossia in monolingual speech communities - 'narrow' or 'classic' diglossic situations

> *"Diglossia is a a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversations".*
> (Ferguson 1959, p. 336)

Ferguson (1959, p. 325) initiates the notion of diglossia in order to employ it in the description and analysis of that kind of sociolinguistic phenomenon in which two different codes or varieties of one and the same language (more frequently a 'standard' language and a regional or peripheral dialect genetically, historically, closely, and somehow structurally (Wölck 2002, p. 164) related to the previous 'standard' or less frequently two local dialects of a language (Brown and Levinson 1978 p. 110) existed in the same geographically oriented speech community (Hornby 1977, p. 6; Baker 2001, p. 44) – one known as the (H)igh variety because of its high status and prestige and the other as the (L)ow variety due to its low prestige (henceforth H and L) – are used by the speakers of the putative speech community in distinct communication circumstances and for totally different interaction purposes. In other words, in a diglossic community the two codes H and L of the same language cooccur in the repertoire of the same speaker's mental lexicon. Two strict restrictions are posed by Ferguson in order for a speech community to be characterised as diglossic. The first restriction concerning Ferguson's model of diglossia has to do with the use of no more than just two varieties of one and the same language (Hoffmann 1991, p. 167; Romaine 1995, p. 35; Baker 2001, p. 44, among others). The second one is that of functional separation of the two varieties which is deemed as something socially acceptable – 'tacitly' accepted, according to Schiffman (1997, p. 205) - as well as well-preserved within a diglossic society.

In fact, the most focal as well as significant sociolinguistic feature of so-called classic diglossia is the sharply marked sociofunctional segregation of the H and L varieties concerning their use in society (Romaine 1995, p. 33). In Hamers and Blanc's (2000, p. 22), Ann's (2001, p. 44) and Shiffman's (1997, p. 205) own terms, both formal and informal linguistic varieties in a diglossic situation happen to be found in a definitely complementary social as well as functional distribution, i.e., in a nonconflictual relationship, as Fishman (1975, p. 74) puts it. That is to say that the variety called H is employed in only those contexts of language use in which the variety called L is forbidden to be used and vice versa. Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982, p. 4) point out that it seems that by means of this particular compartmentalisation of the social functions of the two codes 'diglossic speech communities have imposed autonomy on their varieties as well as useful social boundaries between them' in order to maintain 'a state of functional equilibrium' (Hamers and Blanc 2000, p. 21) and to limit cases of social rivalry and conflict between H and L.

Moreover, the functional separation between the two codes is so sharply and strictly predetermined that it is almost unlikely that the two codes can overlap or coincide under the same field of linguistic use (Edwards 1976, p. 59; Fasold 1984, p. 52; Gafaranga 2007, p. 281). Even in the case where there is a little overlapping between H and L (i.e., situational switching from H to L or vice versa), this does not mean that H and L interconnect or that they are used together under the same domain of language use. As noted by Elgibali (1988, p. 52), each spoken or written utterance is 'either H or L, but not a mixture of both'. Only one variety is being used at a time (Romaine 1995, p. 121).

Furthermore, it is fairly certain that in a diglossic community apart from the shared everyday spoken language variety (i.e., the vernacular L variety) which speakers of that community appear to acquire and learn as their mother tongue, there also exists another well-codified, well-standardised, well-normalised and well-institutionalised variety of that same language, the so-called H or standard or superposed variety (viz., it is learned later as Ferguson (1959, p. 325) stresses). H's acquisition always follows L's acquisition, since H is learned as a second or rather as a foreign language and under no circumstances as the mother tongue (Nercissians 2001, p. 61).

H is frequently more complicated than L as far as phonology, grammar (i.e., morphosyntax) as well as lexicon are concerned. What is more, it is exclusively being employed in the legal system, the educational and religious domains and above all in the governmental sphere as well as in the military service. There is a tendency for H to be learned outside the home environment, more regularly at school under the supervision of a well-qualified teacher or by means of dictionaries, grammar and orthography books. Sometimes, since it is said that H also depicts the status quo or prestigious language code of religious, cultural and other literary traditional circles of society, it is taught under the auspices of the aforementioned institutions (Wardhaugh 2006, p. 91). As opposed to L which is always an informal spoken variant, H is both a formal written and oral one but is almost never used for ordinary speech and chat among the speakers of the speech community in question (Sella-Mazi 2001, p. 85). Thus, it constitutes 'a conscious artefact' (Glinert 1987, p. 47). On the other hand, the L variety is, as Yule (2006, p. 200) mentions, the 'local version' of the H variant. It is then acquired within the narrow boundaries of a given speech communication, i.e., local acquisition in the home environment.

1.3 Ferguson's model of diglossia and MGD

It is very appropriate at this point of the present paper to maintain that the most suitable definition for diglossia as well as the specific evolutionary framework adopted under which MGD is best described and analysed is that propounded by Ferguson in 1959. In the case of MGD, Ferguson's model is fairly applicable and undoubtedly totally relevant. The reason for such a choice is simple; since Katharévousa and Dhimotikí in MGD constitute two socially as well as functionally distinct varieties of the same language (i.e., the Greek language) - which, nevertheless, seem to be historically and genetically related - and belonging to the same speech community (i.e., Greece), it is apparent that the most appropriate and relevant theoretical, sociolinguistic model on diglossia analysis is that of Ferguson. By means of the nature of the diglossia definition supported by Ferguson, Katharévousa and Dhimotikí are 'not two different languages',

but 'two different realisations' of one and the same language (Kotzantonoglou 1995, p. 31). Besides, Ferguson names Greece as one of his four prototypical diglossic countries (the other three are Haiti, Switzerland and the Arabic speaking countries) that he first pays attention to and analyses according to his model of diglossia.

1.4 Are Katharévousa and Dhimotikí mutually intelligible?

At this point a last question remains to be answered; namely whether Katharévousa and Dhimotikí are mutually intelligible languages or not. Although some diglossic communities exhibit a degree of 'mutual unintelligibility' between the H and the L code of one and the same language, as if they are two completely distinct languages (Hudson 1999, p. 431), in the case of MGD the exact opposite seems to happen. Both Katharévousa and Dhimotikí are codes of the same language (ancient or modern), i.e., the Greek language, which are placed side by side for years, even for centuries (Wardhaugh 2006, p. 89). In addition, even though there are supporters of the view that Katharévousa appears to be 'historically distant' from Dhimotikí (Spolsky 1989, p. 141), there are others who prefer to emphasise the 'uninterrupted', 'unbroken continuity' of the Greek language (Frangoudaki 1992, p. 370, 374). There are, of course, those who focus on the existence of 'two phases' in the history of Greek language rather than on the occurence of two totally unrelated languages (Petrounias 1970, p. 2). In any case, Katharévousa and Dhimotikí seem to be mutually intelligible linguistic varieties.

2 An Historical Overview of Modern Greek Diglossia

2.1 Emergence, maintenance and decline

As a phenomenon, diglossia comes to the fore of the Greek dominion since the first century B.C. and continues its existence for more than twenty centuries until the twentieth century A.D. (Horrocks 1997, p. 5; Babiniotis 2002, p. 168). In particular, the case of MGD is presented as an historico-socio-linguistic phenomenon in 1830, certainly not for the first time, since the roots of MGD lie in Byzantium which constitutes a diglossic community at the time as well (Petrounias 1970, p. 3).

In 1830, Greece becomes a state and acquires its national freedom after four centuries of enslavement under the Ottoman domination. Henceforth, great conflicts take place between conservative Greeks (i.e., the Archaisers) and the more radical ones (viz., the Demoticists) concerning the choice of a national and official Greek language. Since it is generally agreed that language seems to play a significant role as far as a nation's rebirth from a foreign power's occupation is concerned, the focus is specifically placed on the written linguistic form by means of which the Greek population would be educated (Andriotis 1992, p. 146). Thus, the Language Question, in Greek "to Glossikó Zítima", is posed from the very beginning of the foundation of the greek nation-state, thus, perpetuating the existence as well as the maintenance of MGD with its two distinct linguistic varieties (i.e., Katharévousa and Dhimotikí) and lasting until the solution of the problem in 1976 along with the triumph of Dhimotikí over Katharévousa, the abolishment of Katharévousa in particular and the dissolvement and demise of MGD in general. It is now generally recognised that the Greek language once was diglossic. In fact, nineteenth and twentieth century Greece forms a diglossic speech community until 1976, where, as noted by Mackridge (1985, pp. 6-7) 'the contemporaneous existence' of two discrete varieties – one labaled as Katharévousa

and the other as Dhimotikí – of the same language (i.e., the Greek language) are used for distinguishable purposes. What is more, it should be pointed out that the very coexistance of both varieties definitely leads to the dominance of both Katharévousa and Dhimotikí, each one prevalent for its own linguistic purposes (Nercissians 2001, p. 60). In point of fact, Katharévousa is the variety determining the social circumstances and situations where Dhimotikí may be used. Katharévousa or in other words the lofty H variety is the specific language used for formal and conventional occasions (i.e., the focus is on writing), whereas Dhimotikí, the L variety, that is, the secular language, is the informal code employed in more friendly and day-to-day communicative circumstances (i.e., the focus is on speech). Dhimotikí is the maternal language as opposed to Katharévousa which is the second language. Dhimotikí is expected to be presented within the local community, i.e., home, hearth (Grillo 1989, p. 4). However, on the whole, L, in our case Dhimotikí, is scarcely viewed as a language at all.

According to Grillo (ibid.), in a diglossic community, one of the varieties, usually the H variety, seems to be obligatory. In the case of MGD, Katharévousa plays such a role. It is Katharévousa that is appropriate for state, administration, court and religious affairs. Katharévousa, under no circumstances, is used for face-to-face speech interactions; it is employed as a medium of oral communication only in cases of reading loudly, often a political or religious speech.

2.2 Attitudes towards Dhimotikí and Katharévousa

Speakers' attitudes towards Dhimotikí and Katharévousa are usually dictated and formed by means of which variety holds the greater prestige. On the whole, it has been suggested that Dhimotikí is perceived as the *'bad'* or the *'poor'* language, whereas Katharévousa is the *'good'* language, since it depicts the standard and official language of the Greek nation-state. Dhimotikí is considered corrupt and degenerate; it is the *'debased'* code, a *'broken'* language, an impoverished variety as well as the *'poor relative'* of the glorious Ancient Greek language, according to Katharévousa-proponents. On the other hand, Dhimotikí, as the Greek origin of the word attests, is the only democratic variety for its supporters, since it is the maternal and the most intimate language of the *'demos'*, namely of all the greek population. Even if Dhimotikí is the oral language of all the Greeks, some (i.e., the Katharévousa-educated promoters) treat Dhimotikí as a disparaged code, as a crude, vulgar idiom and as an uncultivated language. For them, Dhimotikí is the secular, popular, trite and commonplace variety, the language of mere laymen and the dialect of the peasants. Furthermore, the supporters of Katharévousa are of the opinion that Dhimotikí does irreparable harm rather than good to the Greek nation-state (Babiniotis 2002, p. 171).

It is often the case that attitudes to high and low varieties are a reflection of social, political, ideological as well as educational matters. It is usually the élites, namely the educated and more socially privileged classes, who attribute to varieties other than their own derogatory and pejorative characterisations. Thus, the linguistic variety spoken by the non-élites is automatically deemed inferior, low-status and non-prestigious. In the Greek case the previous statement holds true, since it is the schooling and, as a result, the Katharévousa-user, and under no circumstances the Dhimotikí-speaker, who has a better chance for social and political advancement. Katharévousa's style is rather pompous, rhetorical, artificial, stiff, bookish, grandiose, flowery, archaic, sophisticated, but delicate. That is the reason why it is exclusively being employed in the

governmental sphere, the legal system, and only by the élites. It is the beauty, efficacy, richness and logic of Katharévousa's style that its advocates mostly bolster about. On the other hand, the representatives of Dhimotikí regard Katharévousa as a language rather *'passé'*, old-fashioned in the century of industrialisation and modernisation. Moreover, Katharévousa lacks naturalness, vividness and spontaneity (Mandilaras 1972, p. 94). With time, it is true that the proponents of Katharévousa become more and more distant from the living language of the masses.

2.3 The Language Question: a new dilemma for Greece

The language question – in Greek *"to Glossikó Zítima"* – is posed from the very beginning of the foundation of the Greek state and lasts until the solution of the problem in 1976, composing a new dilemma for the newly-established Greek state. In fact, this particular dilemma concerns the decision on which of the two coexisting languages – or rather to put it better, which of the two styles of the Greek language as Iósipos Misiódax very tellingly remarks (Babiniotis 2002, p. 172) – would become the national standard Greek language.

2.4 Three implacable foes: Classicists versus Demoticists versus Compromisers

The language question is explicitly faced and argued by three categories of intellectuals of that era who are differently placed towards this particular problem and who intensely struggle to support their own view against that of their opponents, often resulting in political and social unrest. By means of intellectual books, articles, and often libels against their adversaries, each of these firstly philological and then linguistic circles of scholars – be they Classicists (the ruling class), Demoticists (forming the disadvantaged group), or the so-called Compromisers (forming the privileged group) – seem to promote their own linguistic option as the most suitable and proper instrument to be used as the national language of Greece, both in speaking and in writing (Mackridge 1985, p. 7).

2.4.1 The Classicists

To begin with, there are those who are in favour of the Ancient Greek language by slavishly using the so-called old Attic dialect, namely the language of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon and Demosthenes. These intelligentsia, the so-called *Classicists* or *Purists* or *Archaisers* or *Atticists* or differently *Conservatives*, claim that the regeneration of the Greek nation can only be achieved through the systematic usage and, in fact, the resurgence and revivalism of the Ancient Greek culture as well as language not only as a means of written language but also as a spoken one. For them, the official language of the newly-established Greek state should reflect Ancient Greek and Byzantine past glories (Mandilaras 1972, p. 51; Horrocks 1997, p. 344). What is more, any attempt to promote the status of Dhimotikí is taken as a threat. Last but not least, it has to be clarified, however, that the Classicists support Koraís and Katharévousa with the passage of time. It is exactly then that Classicists perceive Katharévousa as *'a factor unifying all Greeks'* (Browning 1982, p. 55).

2.4.1.1 The Phanariots

The Classicists are often members of the Greek élite, in other words, the upper social stratum ruling power group, namely higher civil servants or higher military officers. Some of them, in fact, belong to the well-known Phanariot aristocrats of Constantinople (Panayiótis Soútsos, to cite an example), who stick to tradition and decline any kind of change of the already 'existing power structure' (Wardhaugh 2006, p. 92) and the already well-established social hierarchy, i.e., the order of things, the 'status quo' (Browning 1982, p. 53). The Phanariots act as men of power and form the 'head of the enslaved nation', that is the reason why they totally 'influence and control the enslaved nation' (Kotzantonoglou 1995, p. 12).They had indeed well-established and well-maintained their own power both before and mainly after the Fall of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. As confirmed by Mackridge (1985, p. 4):

> *"...at the very centre of the Ottoman Empire, Greeks [those were the Phanariots] were entrusted by the Sultan with key administrative posts, ..."*

2.4.2 The Demoticists

Secondly, there exist the so-called *Demoticists* or *Liberals* or *Vulgarists*, the fervents of the popular language, who undoubtedly consider Ancient Greek to be an unintelligible language. For that reason, they try to impose Dhimotikí - and by Dhimotikí we mean the Peloponnesian dialect which forms the basis of the Athenian dialect once Athens becomes the capital of Greece (Browning 1969, p. 106) - not only for oral purposes but also for writing ones. Demoticists attempt to render Dhimotikí both in speaking and mainly in writing as a privilege of the masses rather than a privilege of the few élites. According to them, the written language in any case must depict the speakers' spoken language, which is created by the speakers themselves, in order that *'an unbridgeable gulf'* does not exist between the two (Mandilaras 1972, p. 61). Writing in 1991, Andriotis (1992, p. 146) comments that both the Archaisers themselves and the Atticising language which is being employed by the latter - a language undoubtedly very difficult as far as its grammar, lexicon and orthography are concerned – seem to constitute an impendiment to the already existing rudimentary education of the Greek masses. Often, the Demoticists regard Archaisers as another means of slavery (linguistic this time) that comes to replace the slavery of the Turks (ibid.). Dionysios Solomos (ibid.), the national poet of Greece and a fervent supporter of Dhimotikí, addresses Archaisers by saying:

> *" I would like to remind you that your reign in Greece has come to an end along with the Ottoman Empire's kingdom".*   (my translation)

Dhimotikí is mostly supported by socialist and leftist parties, which usually happen to be the most progressive ones (Baslis 2000, p. 72), as opposed to *'rightist'*, juntist and generally more conservative parties which are in favour of Katharévousa (Horrocks 1997, pp. 356, 360). That is the reason why the Conservatives quite often call Dhimotikí as *'malliari'*, namely hairy (ibid. p. 357). Petrounias (1970, p. 21) quotes the following:

> *"[In Modern Greek] /ma'lja/ means hair. The name was ironically used at the beginning of the century, because a number of the pioneers and militant supporters of Demotiki in literature wore long hair. In their zeal they made some (linguistic) exaggerations".*

What is more, in those days the specific expressions, syntactic *'schemata'* (structures), even the sort of words a speaker used to employ seemed to be a feature of her/his political beliefs and ideology (Browning 1969, p. 110).

To sum up, the former group assumes that the Greek nation has declined not only intellectually and culturally but also linguistically. They attribute such a national decay as well as decadence to the loss of Ancient Greek as their national language and, therefore, they struggle to revive and restore it (Petrounias 1970, p. 3, 5 ; Archakis and Kondyli 2004, p. 104). The only thing Classicists are interested in is the archaic language per se, rather than the education of the Greek masses. That is the reason why they underestimate as well as disparage the everyday, colloquial demotic language as the sole instrument of written discourse and, thus, they try to employ the *'pure'* Ancient Greek language which forms a continuity with Ancient Greece and which will remind them of their past. On the other hand, Demoticists - many of whom are Greeks of Diaspora or belong to the well-known middle-class bourgeoisie and are supporters of the Enlightenment and Democracy - attempt to promote the already spoken demotic variety of that time free from local, strong, dialectal features, which they wish to adopt as their national standard and official language both in writing and in speaking.

2.4.3 Koraís's proposal: the *'middle – way'*; the conciliatory solution

Between the former two opponent groups, an advocate of an intermediary and conciliatory solution, Adamántios Koraís, comes to the fore. It is fair to suggest that Koraís represents the *'middle – way'*. As a compromiser, he appears to resolve the already existing conflict between Classicist and Demoticists concerning the official language of Greece, at least for the time being (1830-1880). Koraís is the creator and the father of Katharévousa, namely the *'pure'* or *'purifying'* language, a mixture of Demotic Greek and Ancient Greek. In fact, Katharévousa tends to resemble Ancient Greek much more than Dhimotikí (Petrounias 1970, p. 3; Frangoudaki 1992, p. 336); it is, as other linguists often remark (Mackridge 1985, p. 14), the *'extension'* of Ancient Greek. It uses suffixes and prefixes resembling Ancient Greek attached to the lexical stem of demotic lexical items (Baslis 2000, p. 48). For instance, the word πουλίον, consists of a demotic kind of stem (i.e., πουλ-) and an Ancient Greek-like suffix (i.e., -ιον) and it forms the word of Katharévousa πουλίον which in English stands for bird. What is more, at the beginning Katharévousa is neither codified nor standardised; it is, therefore, a variety which is likely to face extinction or to more or less become ever more identical to Ancient Greek even more (Baslis 2000, pp. 48-49). With time, and more particularly after 1880, Katharévousa is actually equated with Ancient Greek. Thus, the previous lexical item πουλίον becomes πτηνόν.

Moreover, knowledge of Katharévousa certainly presupposes an excellent command of Ancient Greek (Browning 1969, p. 108) and, therefore, it can never be spoken naturally because of its difficulty. Its limited usage demonstrates another disadvantage; it can almost function as a means of face-to-face communication among the majority of the Greek population, nor can it be learned as a foreign language (Petrounias 1970, pp. 5-6). It is now very clear to state that Koraís's proposal turns out to support a language which is neither a maternal language nor a foreign one (Horrocks 1997, p. 350). Nevertheless, Katharévousa acquires its attendants since its grammar as well as vocabulary are simpler compared to those of Attic Greek (Andriotis 1992, p. 148).
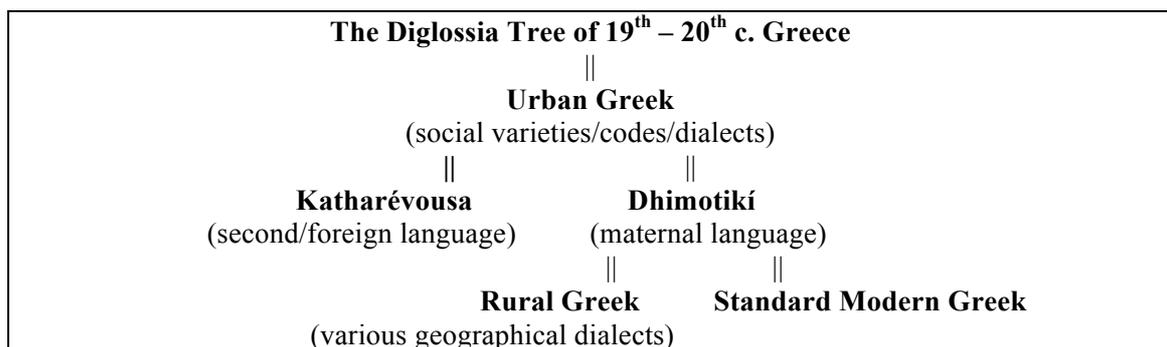
Koraís suggests that the spoken language must be corrected morphologically (Andriotis 1992, p. 147) and must be cleansed of all the strong dialectal features (Browning 1969, p. 104) as well as the Turkish loanwords that the Ottomans left behind (Horrocks 1997, p. 345; Christidis 2005, p. 201). However, those Turkish words are replaced by Greek equivalents or better by prestigious french words. As Kakridi- Ferrari (2001, p. 204 cited in Archakis and Kondyli 2004, pp. 104-105) characteristically points out:

> *"While the purpose of Katharévousa was to 'clean' the greek language, inter alia, from the Turkish and Italish loanwords such as μπαξές→κήπος 'garden' and μινίστρος→υπουργός 'minister', it also allowed the insertion and adoption of many French loanwords like λαμβάνει χώρα 'to take place' or διαμέρισμα 'apartment'".* (my translation)

The emphasis of Katharévousa on languages of prestige like French has as a result the usage of that kind of variety in order to indicate a social feature of superiority and high status. In nineteenth and twentieth century Greek society, the notion of division of the social classes is prevalent. Thus, Katharévousa exactly appears to indicate that kind of superiority of its representatives (Browning 1982, p. 50).

2.5 An important clarification

At this point, an additional point has to be emphatically clarified; it has been argued by some scholars (Browning 1969, p. 109; Thomson 1989, p. 106; Archakis and Kondyli 2004, pp. 105-106, among others) that the nineteenth and twentieth century Greek speech community is triglossic, or even multilingual rather than merely diglossic. The reason for such an assumption is that a number of linguistic varieties seem to coexist in Greece at the time, namely Atticising Greek, Katharévousa, Dhimotikí and many more regional dialects. The truth is that with the passage of time Attic Greek gives its place to Katharévousa which is the only legitimate descendant of the former. Furthermore, as far as the many different, at the time, existing local dialects of the Greek dominion are concerned, they are not taken into consideration in the paper at hand, since they are regarded as elements (mostly phonological, morphological and lexical) incorporated into the demotic variety spoken by the rural Greek populations.

The Diglossia Tree of 19ᵗʰ – 20ᵗʰ c. Greece
||
Urban Greek
(social varieties/codes/dialects)
|| ||
Katharévousa   **Dhimotikí**
(second/foreign language)   (maternal language)
|| ||
Rural Greek   **Standard Modern Greek**
(various geographical dialects)

2.6 A second clarification

Secondly and most importantly, it seems to the author of this paper that each of the aforementioned groups struggles to promote and ultimately impose its own preferable linguistic variety to the others, simply because the Neo-Greeks were almost never in favour of diglossia, since the latter appears to promote great social differences and

inequalities among the classes. Chambers (2003, p. 9) reports that *"coexistent languages are never sociologically equal, though of course they are linguistically equal"*. Diglossia seems to constitute a rather oppressing language situation for the Greeks. In fact, Greeks do not think of diglossia as an essential and necessary linguistic situation. Diglossia rather confuses Greeks due to the existence of two forms of grammar, orthography and lexicons. At least in the case of MGD, it is quite obvious that both the proponents of Katharévousa and those of Dhimotikí are fond of monolingualism; either Katharévousa or Dhimotikí and under no circumstances both varieties. More specifically, supporters of Dhimotikí have neither social motivation nor an individual reason why to use Katharévousa which is a language without native speakers.

As noted previously, Ferguson specifically highlights the fact that a diglossic community is a legally established and a socially protected linguistic situation which is clearly defined as such by the linguistic community itself. It is a sociolinguistic convention which has been decided to exist by the speakers of the putative diglossic community as such. In Coulmas's (2002, p. 61) own terms *"diglossia is not a natural situation, it is an artifact, which means that it is historically and* [socially] *contingent"*. In other words, diglossia is a well-accepted social consensus among the speakers of a given diglossic community. Chambers (2003, p. 9) remarks that *"native speakers understand the unwritten rules for diglossia... because they are integral elements of the value system of their societies"*. That is the reason why diglossia remains a quite stable and uniform sociolinguistic phenomenon. As a result, there are no conflicts between the two coexisting varieties since each variety's function is always fully predetermined to be maintained as such (i.e., the function of each code in diglossia is defined a priori). In MGD, once again, the exact opposite appears to have happened. Since both of the foregoing groups of Greeks believe that the existence of more than one varieties of the same language is likely to lead to a national quarrel, as it actually happened in the case of nineteenth and twentieth century Greece, the proposal of the selection of one national variety that will constitute the only standard seems to be the best solution.

2.7 Dhimotikí and its predominance.

The existence of two functionally distinct varieties in the same speech community entails and engenders a kind of rivalry (linguistic conflict) between them. Although Fishman (1972, p. 74) insists on believing that there is no such rivalry between H and L forms in a diglossic situation, simply because one code complements the other, conflicts between H and L are likely to appear due to sociopolitical matters. In fact, when speakers of both varieties become conscious of the fact that there is a kind of dualism in their linguistic community which is unnecessary, they realise they must struggle to abolish the least useful variety by shifting from the more useless linguistic form to the most appropriate one.

After one centurty and a half of conflicts and struggles, in 1976, Greece acquires its national and official language that depends on the spoken language of the Greeks. At the same time, the spoken language is the written one as well. This is the so-called Standard Modern Greek (SMG) which highly reflects Dhimotikí. The usage of Katharévousa as a distinct style, on the other hand, is generally abandoned. Besides, as Maher (1991, p. 80) affirms *'elaborate language forms gradually die out, leaving only those informal variants used in the intimate setting'*. Nevertheless, Katharévousa is

still, even nowadays, the written language of the Greek Orthodox Church, the army as well as the court. Katharévousa is now regarded as *'a useless written register'* (Baslis 2000, p. 40).

3 A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Modern Greek Diglossia

3.1 The characteristics of diglossia

According to Ferguson (1959, pp. 328-336), a diglossic situation is briefly characterised by the sociofunctional differentiation between the H and the L variety in accordance with (i) the social function of each variant, i.e., the distinct domains of language use, (ii) the status, i.e., how prestigious each variety is, (iii) the kind of pre-existing literary tradition, (iv) the acquisition (in the case of the vernacular L) or the learning-teaching process (in the case of H), (v) the degree of standardisation, codification and institutionalisation, (vi) the stability of the phenomenon of diglossia, and last but not least (vii) the grammatical structure of both varieties (viz., differences concerning the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical level). The foregoing characteristics, typical of the Fergusonian trend of diglossia, can be presented more concisely in the following table:

1. **Function:** There are specialised functions for H and L.
2. **Prestige:** Speakers regard H as superior to L in some respects.
3. **Literary Heritage:** There is a large, respected body of written literature in H.
4. **Acquisition:** Adults use L in speaking to childern. Children use it in speaking to one another. L is acquired naturally and H is learned, usually in school.
5. **Standardisation:** There is a strong tradition of grammatical study of H.
6. **Stability:** The situation in which H and L occur persists for several centuries.
7. **Grammar:** H has grammatical categories not present in L.
8. **Lexicon:** The bulk of vocabulary in H and L is shared.
9. **Phonological:** There is a single phonological system of which L is basic. H has phonological distinctions that L does not have.

(Ann 2001, p. 44)

Table 1: The characteristics typical of the Fergusonian trend of diglossia

3.1.1 Function

The most strikingly obvious discrepancy between H and L variety has to do with the function, the domains of language use in which each of those two varieties is employed, i.e., formality, how (in)formal the written or spoken circumstance appears to be. Either way, the functional separation between the H and L codes is not only *'the defining characteristic of diglossia'* (Kotzantonoglou 1995, p. 3) but also the first inviolable restriction and rule that Ferguson poses in his very definition of diglossia. In other words, H is suitable only for those linguistic circumstances which are different from those of L. Furthermore, both Gumperz and Hymes (1972, p. 240) claim that the code, namely H variety, which differs from the *'casual vernacular'*, namely L variety, is always appropriate for formal occasions. In Greece, given that political speeches, and more generally, public talks such as ecclesiastical sermons, newscasts and university lectures along with the writing of formal letters, scientific articles as well as Sunday and daily newspapers of serious sociopolitical content, are deemed to be highly formal and etiquette-like domains of language use, they are almost always composed by their

speakers or writers in H, i.e., Katharévousa. The contrary seems to happen with the L vernacular variant; daily home and household interactions with parents, grandparents and siblings, informal friendly conversations with the kin circles or other peer-group acquaintances, and last but not least the composition of informal letters are some of the informal domains of language use in which Dhimotikí is rather employed exclusively and explicitly. Ferguson's prototypical and general predictions concerning the possible functional domains of language use of both H and L variants are depicted in Table 2.

An additional list of domains of linguistic use is provided in Table 3, simply in order to pinpoint the functionally different situations in which Katharévousa and Dhimotkí are being employed in MGD. This last table, moreover, is an excellent case to discern how much MGD diverges from Ferguson's initial trend of diglossia as far as function is concerned.

Domains of language use	H	L
Sermons in church or mosque	+	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		+
Personal letter	+	
Speech in parliament, political speech	+	
University lecture	+	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		+
News broadcast	+	
Radio "soap opera"		+
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	+	
Poetry	+	
Folk literature		+

Table 2: Domains of language use

Domains of language use	H	L
Orthodox Christian Sunday sermon*	+	(+)
Instructions to servants , waiters, workmen, clerks		+
Personal letter	+	
Speech in parliament, political speech	+	
University lecture*	+	(+)
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		+
News broadcast	+	
Radio "soap opera"		+
Sunday and daily newspapers	+	
Caption on political cartoon		+
Poetry*	(+)	+
Prose	+	
Folk literature (i.e., demotic folk-songs)		+

Table 3: Domains of language use

As can be seen from Table 3, whereas Greek prose is almost always written in Katharévousa, there is no doubt that nineteenth and twentieth century Greek High poetry is written in Dhimotikí, which is the vernacular spoken language of the Greeks. It is a literary tradition since ancient times that Greek poetry is always written in a language different from that used for writing prose (Aiginitis 1958, p. 19). Given this, MGD seems to definitely diverge from Ferguson's diglossic model in which every kind of poetry but folk-songs is written in H. In fact, the majority of Greek poets coming from the Ionian Islands (Dionýsios Solomós, Aristotélis Valaorítis, Julius Typáldos) and the New Athenian Literary School (Kostís Palamás) employ the vernacular spoken language of the Greek masses as a linguistic instrument for writing their poems. In Kotzantonoglou's (1995, p. 4) own terms:

> *"in Greece there was a long tradition of poetry written mostly in demotic by writers who regarded Katharévousa as an artificial language, unable to express the passions and the pains of the souls".*

On the other hand, there is, of course, a minority of other poets (Aléxandros Ragavís), the so-called Romantic poets, who form the Old Athenian Romantic Literary School and who still use Katharévousa in their own writings. Moreover, it can be seen from the last table that two domains of language use seem to be quite ambivalent; namely the situation of the Orthodox Christian Sunday sermon and that concerning University lectures, since they appear to use both H and L variants. As far as the former instance is concerned, we have to say that along with those prelates who support and promote the use of Katharévousa both inside and outside the Church, there are others, as well-educated as the former ones, who try to promote the understanding of their preaching among their flock by using the spoken language of the masses rather than the artificial and unintelligible Katharévousa. In addition, Dhimotikí is the medium of instruction and book publication (Browning 1982, p. 56) at the University of Thessaloniki but it is not supported by the National University of Athens. That is the reason why University lectures of the former are almost always in Dhimotikí, whereas of the latter always in Katharévousa. Petrounias (1970, p. 17) quotes the following:

> *" At the one school of letters of international renown, that of Salonica, Demotiki is used. The same happens at the new school of Jannena. At the third, that of Athens, Katharevusa is obligatory. The rest of University Schools use more or less Katharevusa. Professors at the schools of Law and Theology and at the school of letters in Athens are firm supporters of Katharevusa (a student will not pass the exams or will not even be admitted, if he does not try to use it). Usually the teacher reads aloud from a text Written in any form of Katharevusa. As a rule, there is no discussion".*

A speaker's 'code shift' or better 'code-switching' from the H form to another lower variety of the same language (i.e., from classical to colloquial Greek or better in our case from Katharévousa to Demotic Greek) usually depends upon the speaker's social setting, social activity or the context of her/his interaction (Halliday 1978, p. 65). This is the so-called situational switching. The sociolinguistic situation in turn tends to determine the speaker's language choice. In case L is employed in linguistic domains which categorically pertain to H linguistic sphere, then non-serious discourse, 'artificial', 'pedantic', even 'insulting' language are likely to be produced (Ferguson 1959, p. 337; Edwards 1976, p. 59; Schiffman 1997, p. 214). Conversely, if a speaker or writer speaks and writes in H respectively, whereas L is supposed to be used by her/him, we then normally and certainly are lead to that speaker's ridicule as well as to

the mockery of the writer in question (Ferguson 1959, p. 329; Archakis and Kondyli 2004, p. 101). The speaker or writer in this last situation at least appears to be 'facetious', 'ludicrous', 'weird', even 'sarcastic' (Kaye 2002, p. 120). Schiffman (1997, p. 213) poignantly holds that

> *"the use of L where H is expected (or vice versa) constitutes a violation of communicative competence rules...[and such] violations of social norms stem from an inadequate understanding of the linguistic culture".*

Kaye (2002, p. 118) further bolsters the viewpoint that *'some things can only be said in L, and although one can translate those into H, they would be awkward, to say the least'*. With particular reference to MGD, using Katharévousa at home would be like wearing your Sunday clothes and using Dhimotikí in public speeches would be like wearing your bathing suit in the Parliament (Hudson 1996, p. 52). Furthermore, Kotzantonoglou (1995, p. 4) contends that employing Dhimotikí, the L variant, in cases where Katharévousa, the H variant, holds both the norm and the primacy, may lead to *'a feeling of uneasiness or even contempt'*. On the contrary, employing Katharévousa in domains in which Dhimotikí is appropriate rather appears to create a stilted, affected as well as unnatural nuance. Furthermore, in Greece the speaker or writer who deliberately or because of ignorance misplaces and misuses the two codes, is often regarded as a *'rebel'* (ibid.) who is supposed to want to overthrow the already well-established diglossic as well as sociopolitical status quo. Last but not least, Greek speakers who employ the wrong linguistic code in situations other than the desired ones can even be called *'traitors'* (ibid.). A highly salient example of such a situation is the following; Aléxandros Pállis's translation of the New Testament in 1903 lead to protests and riots in the streets of Athens by the students of the National University of Athens who are in favour of Katharévousa. The result is that those who had taken part in such translations into Demotic Greek, are now accused of treason towards the Greek Nation and the Eastern Orthodox Christian Church.

3.1.2 Prestige

Archakis and Kondyli (2004, p. 101) argue that

> *"Katharévousa has the tendency to display greater status and to be deemed superior to Dhimotikí, which is to say that the former variant is more correct and more capable of expressing more complex thoughts".*   (my translation)

In addition, Katharévousa is the only nationally recognised variety; therefore, it is considered more prestigious, logical (i.e., being able to express serious thoughts and ideas), elegant, powerful and beautiful, whereas Dhimotikí more domestic. Due to the fact that Dhimotikí is very rarely employed in writing until 1976 except for poetry, that is the reason why it is regarded as a non-status as well as a non-prestigious variety.

Katharévousa serves ideological as well as political expediencies (Browning 1982, p. 54), since it constitutes an instrument by means of which social, political, professional advancement and progress as well as economic opportunities are likely to be attained. Political and other public figures as well as the élites employ Katharévousa as 'a linguistic mark of distinction in a socially deeply divided society' (ibid., p. 50) like Greece so as to demonstrate their high-status origin and their high-ranking education, two parameters which can actually differentiate them from the lower-class masses. Even though Ferguson affirms that it is almost always the situational circumstance, and

under no circumstances the social class and the status of the speaker, that determines the use of H and L each time, in MGD both the social situation and the speaker's social class seem to take place concerning the selection of the appropriate variety (Lyons 1995, p. 313). What is more, Katharévousa has been selected so as to demonstrate the origin of the Neo-Greeks back to the roots of Ancient Greece (Archakis and Kondyli 2004, pp. 104-105). That is to say, the Neo-Greeks constitute the continuity of their ancestors. Furthermore, even at school 'children were taught to admire Katharévousa' as a means of promoting 'social advancement, success and prestige' and to deny the very existence and usage of Dhimotikí as a language of 'backwardness' (Kotzantonoglou 1995, p. 5).

Last but not least, it is suggested by Ferguson (1959, p. 330) that Katharévousa is the language of the New Testament and, therefore, this particular variety has very strong bonds with religion. Although Katharévousa is not exactly the language in which the New Testament is written, it is quite similar to that. New Testament's language is the Hellenistic Koine which is simpler to be understood than Katharévousa. In any case, Katharévousa at the time is the prestige language that clergymen employ for the Sunday and daily sermons as well as the catechism.

3.1.3 Literary Heritage

In a diglossic situation there is usually a great literary tradition of poetry, prose and theatre recorded and written in the linguistic variant of the H form rather than the L form. This is simply due to the fact that L is the *'everyday colloquial vernacular'*, whereas H, i.e., the *'real'* language, the elevated written tongue or as Cooper (1989, p. 137) tellingly states *'the bearer of an esteemed literary tradition'*. Thus, it is suitable for the writing of High poetry and fiction as well as religious liturgical texts.

Although the Fergusonian model of diglossia requires High poetry to be written in the H variety, namely Kathévousa in the Greek case, it is largely known that MGD seems to definitely diverge from Ferguson's prototypical diglossic model. In MGD, high-standard poetry is obviously written in Dhimotikí, i.e., the vernacular spoken variety, since nineteenth and twentieth century Greek poetry mainly expresses the struggles of the Greeks against the Turkish yoke and against injustice on the whole. It is the majority of the Greek poets (the Ionian poets such as Dionýsios Solomós and the New Athenian Literary School poets such as Kostís Palamás) who choose to employ the vernacular spoken Dhimotikí in order for their poems to be clearly and fully understood not only by the élites but also and mainly by the Greek population as a whole. The Demoticist poets go against the Katharévousa poets; the latter still exist but there are only those few who survive in the Old Athenian Romantic Literary School circles.

3.1.4 Acquisition and Learning

As far as the acquisition of the two varieties is concerned, a significant discrepancy is remarked; namely, while L is acquired, H is learned from scratch through teaching. Children acquire the L variety (i.e., the L form is their mother tongue, the nascent language) quite easily and naturally in their surrounding, immediate, familiar environment, whereas they learn the H variety through the formal educational training and teaching at school. Moreover, they can learn the H through an official *'religious and cultural indoctrination'* like Church, for instance (Wardhaugh 2006, p. 91). It has been argued by Romaine (1984, p. 132) that speakers in diglossic communities seem to

be well-aware of the fundamental social differences of the two codes in question, so as to adopt the L variety, i.e., their maternal language, since their infancy, as well as to adapt to the H one (viz., an additional second or foreign language) since schooling starts.

In nineteenth and twentieth century Greek diglossic speech community, most considerable of all is the fact that Dhimotikí, which is everyone's mother tongue, remains forbidden as a linguistic medium of instruction at school as well as at university. The medium of instruction is Katharévousa which requires a rather persistent as well as conscious effort to be mastered at an advanced level, often by employing methods such as the learning of grammar and vocabulary by rote. As a result, Greek children –the boys only, since the girls still stay at home - are unable to understand what the teacher is saying upon their arriving at school for the first time. Therefore, they have little opportunity to master Katharévousa at a proficient level, since they commit many errors of grammar and vocabulary. Additionally, children grow up unable to speak, read and write in Katharévousa, unless their parents help and teach them all four skills of that variety at home. This, of course, does not happen in everyone's home; only the wealthy élites and only those who have undertaken university education have the opportunity to educate their children either themselves or by paying extra-teachers at home. Thus, it is apparent that Katharévousa rather promotes social inequality among children at school. Paulston (2002, p. 132) has this to say about the learning of the H variety:

> *"Having no native speakers of the H form in diglossia entails great pressure on book learning and education, especially in the form of economic resources and leisure time for study, a situation that very much favors the élite classes and ultimately serves to legitimate their status, not infrequently with ties to religion".*

3.1.5 Standardisation

Rather than dealing with the standardisation and codification of the L variant which is the everyday colloquial language of the masses, in diglossic societies the H variant, which is the language of the few élites, is that which is undertaken a great degree of standardisation, codification, normalisation, elaboration and, last but not least, institutionalisation. Such kind of standardisation of H is achieved by means of written normative-prescriptive grammar - Antonio Gramsci believes that *'the imposition of normative grammar is un atto politico'* (Steinberg 1987, p. 205) - dictionaries, spelling guides as well as pronunciation manuals and companions by means of which the so-called prescriptive rules are applied (viz., what has to be written and spoken, and not what is actually being written and spoken). As a result, the H code is standardised and described in detail for *'scholarly liturgical, literary and other formal purposes'* (Cooper 1989, p. 137). In Greece, it is the Academy of Athens that undertakes and is engaged in the standardisation of the national language, which, until 1976, is no other than Katharévousa. Aiginitis (1958, p. 32) contends that

> *"one of the most important tasks and duties of the Academy is the study, purification and normalisation of the national language and, therefore, the creation and compilation of a common standard Grammar, Syntax as well as a [national] Dictionary".*
>
> <div align="right">(my translation)</div>

Recent research by Diatsendos (2008, pp. 155-156) shows that the role of the Academy of Athens is dual at the time of MGD; on the one hand, its role has to do with *'the*

maintenance and defence of the national Greek language against its decay' and on the other, its aim is to define a linguistic model which will constitute the common linguistic norm of the nation-state and which will be *'stable and generally acceptable'*. Once a common norm is being decided and standardised, every ambitious person who tries to achieve his/her social or political advancement has to forget his/ her regional linguistic variety and to faithfully as well as accurately follow and comply with the normative linguistic code (Baslis 2000, p. 50).

As far as Dhimotikí is concerned, there is no systematic effort to standardise this particular sort of variety, since it is regarded as consisting of many local dialectal pronunciations and having a simpler grammar compared to that of Katharévousa (ibid.). Besides, Dhimotikí is regarded as *'improper'* Greek, infantile and uncultivated language, and thus, not wholly codified and standardised. Although there are some efforts to standardise Dhimotikí before the Greek Revolution in 1821, especially by Greeks of Diaspora such as Nikólaos Sophianós and Athanásios Christópoulos, it is only in 1940 that Triantaphyllidis provides the first, complete modern Grammar of Dhimotikí which is appropriate for school usage as well (Browning 1969, pp. 115-116).

3.1.6 Stability

There is an assumption made by Ferguson (1959, p. 332) that the phenomenon of diglossia may be proven to be a highly stable one with the passage of time. This stability rather is due to the fact that diglossia may be retained for years or even centuries and millennia. This last statement holds true for both Ancient Greek – Byzantine diglossia and MGD; MGD lasts for more than a century and a half, although in the last decades of the twentieth century Greece is converted from a diglossic speech community into a monoglossic one. Furthermore, with particular reference to the phenomenon of Greek diglossia as a whole, it is evident that existing from the first century B.C. (Ancient Greek diglossia) up to the nineteenth-twentieth century situation (MGD) through Byzantine diglossia, the phenomenon of diglossia in Greece actually forms a continuity – instead of three different phases – that lasts for more than two millennia. Therefore, what is previously mentioned is strong evidence in favour of the steadiness of diglossia at least as far as the case of Greek diglossia is concerned. What is more, even in case diglossia heads for its decline (since even the notion of stability is relative and subjective, according to Romaine (1995, p. 36)), this is not due to conflicts between H and L varieties, since both varieties are linguistically equal, but because of conflicts within a given society, either sociopolitical (the Junta domination in 1967 in Greece which overthrew the teaching of Dhimotikí from schools, for instance) or ideological-educational rivalries among the speakers of that particular diglossic community. Ferguson (1959, p. 332) suggests that a solution to a diglossic situation in the face of attrition and consequently instability, would be the insertion of an intermediate linguistic variety combining lexical and then grammatical and, why not, phonological characteristics of both H and L variants. Such a variety which, in other words, is a mixed variety, is employed by the Greek press (mostly newspapers) during the period of MGD. It is the so-called Greek Miktí variety. Greek Miktí, which comes to the fore just before the beginning of World-War II, is an updated version of the old or *'pure'* Katharévousa. However, it consists of the fusion of both non-archaic Katharévousa elements and mostly of contemporary lexical items taken from Dhimotikí (Horrocks 1997, p. 364). It is this particular Greek Miktí that gives Dhimotikí its place with time. Therefore, in MGD the vernacular code (i.e., Dhimotikí) triumphs over the superposed code (i.e., Katharévousa).

3.1.7 Phonology

The existence of fundamental phonological differences is rather significant between the H and L variants, although L forms the phonological basis upon which H is created and based on. However, in MGD the exact opposite seems to happen; it is fairly certain that Katharévousa and Dhimotikí have phonological similarities (Wardhaugh 2006, p. 91). As Ferguson himself (1959, p. 335) reports, ' *H and L phonologies may be quite close, as in Greek'*. As far as the phonological differences are concerned, merely an outstanding example has to be mentioned; namely, whereas in Katharévousa we have the presence of the final *v* [n] as a word ending, in Dhimotikí this *v* is absent.

3.1.8 Grammar

The H variety is likely to display a more complicated grammatical structure (i.e., morphosyntax) and have a richer morphology as well as a more complex syntactic structure in contrast to the L variety. Therefore, H is deemed better than L, a position which first appeared in Schlegel's philological beliefs (Petrounias 1970, p. 26).

3.1.8.1 Morphology

Both Katharévousa and Dhimotikí are highly inflected linguistic varieties concerning the verb declension as well as the noun declesion. Even in this case, Katharévousa presents a more complex tense system than Dhimotikí. As far as the verb and noun endings of the two varieties are concerned, they diverge from each other but not widely. Tsiouris (1989, p. 164) stresses the fact that *'many* [verb] *affixes have been kept intact'* between Katharévousa and Dhimotikí. Furthermore, whereas Dhimotikí has four cases for nouns (i.e., nominative, genitive, accusative and vocative), Katharévousa has five cases for nouns, namely, the previous ones along with the dative case.

3.1.8.2 Syntax

What follows is a list providing differences between Katharévousa and Dhimotikí at the syntactic level of analysis adapted from Tsiouris (1989, p.185).

KATHARÉVOUSA	DHIMOTIKÍ
1. More complicated and elaborate syntax.	1. Simpler syntax
2. Hypotaxis of clauses (usage of embedded and dependent clauses with various conjunctions)	2. Parataxis of clauses (connection of clauses with the conjunction 'and' mostly)
3. Passive syntax	3. Active syntax
4. Usage of all the nominal cases (nominative, genitive dative, accusative)	4. Accusative and nominative cases only.
5. Maintenance of the dative case used in Ancient Greek to express the notion of *giving*.	5. Elimination of the dative case on the whole, but maintenance of dative in idiomatic, fossilised clichés such as Δόξα τω Θεώ (i.e., Thank God)
6. A strict (S)ubject-(V)erb-(O)bject word order (SVO).	6. All possible word orders are likely to happen in Dhimotikí, namely SVO, SOV VSO, VOS, OSV,OVS.
(Adapted from Tsiouris 1989, p. 185)	

Table 4: Syntactic level differences between Katharévousa and Dhimotikí

3.1.9 Lexicon

It is widely accepted that the vocabulary of H and L varieties may present some similarities; as far as the lexical similarities in MGD are concerned, Katharévousa and Dhimotikí appear to share common lexemes such as grammatical words, mainly conjuctions i.e., *'και'* and, *'τι;'* what?, et cetera as well as some ancient Greek words i.e., *'θάλασσα'* sea, *'ουρανός'* sky, and so on (Kotzantonoglou 1995, p. 42). Apart from the similarities, H and L vocabulary may present many more discrepancies with respect to form, usage and meaning (Ferguson 1959, p. 334). In general, H consists of technical terms such as literary, philosophical and scientific terms; such lexical items do not exist in the L variety (Trudgill 2000, p. 97; Holmes 2001, p. 28). For instance, L's lexicon contains more informal lexical items such as *fruits* and *vegetables*, which primarily have to do with the daily reality. On the other hand, H's lexicon comprises formal lexemes such as *classicism*, *psychoanalysis*, *bioengineering* and *aesthetics*. Similarly in MGD, Katharévousa is the language of science, whereas Dhimotikí is the language for everything else but science. As Kotzantonoglou (1995, p. 44) persuasively affirms:

> *"The prevailing attitude had been that demotic was not sophisticated enough to qualify for the expression of the elevated concepts of science. Most scientific writing was done in Katharevusa and demotic was slow to evolve in that field"*.

Moreover, for expressing the same lexical notion in discrete sociofunctional settings – both formal and informal – each of the two varieties can use different lexical items. Archakis and Kondyli (2004, p. 102) point out that the coexistence of such semantic pairs – in Ferguson's (1959, p. 335) own words *'lexical doublets'* – are found in complementary distribution. Ferguson (1959, p. 334) in turn has this to say about lexical doublets:

> *"...a striking feature of diglossia is the existence of many paired items, one H one L, referring to fairly common concepts frequently used in both H and L, where the range of meaning of the two items is roughly the same, and the use of one or the other immediately stamps the utterance or written sequence as H or L".*

What follows is some sociofunctionally contrasting lexical doublets of Katharévousa (i.e., the formal – written lexeme) and Dhimotikí (i.e., the informal - colloquial lexeme), existing in MGD:

Greek	Katharévousa	Dhimotikí	Gloss
	ρόδον	τριαντάφυλλο	rose
	τέκνον	παιδί	child
	γεώμηλον	πατάτα	potato
	θέρος	καλοκαίρι	summer

4.1 Conclusion

Sociolinguistically speaking, the language situation in Greece (1830-1976) has been described as diglossic, in the classical sense of Ferguson's definition (1959), since the two codes involved (Katharévousa and Dhimotikí) are forms of one and the same language. However, the case of MGD has somehow proven to be a more complex and unique one, because its divergence at some points from Ferguson's initial model is certainly obvious. Usually there exist no conflicts between the two diglossic varieties H and L in most diglossic speech communities, since the diglossia situation is established by the speakers of the putative diglossic country themselves. However, the diglossic situation seems to be problematic in the case of MGD. This happens due to the fact that H and L varieties struggle against each other. In other words, Katharévousa and Dhimotikí compete since their supporters compete. As a result, the Language Question in Greece (i.e., which of the existing Greek varieties is going to become the standard, official, written language of the Greek nation?) is transformed from a clearly linguistic issue into a sociopolitical one.

To conclude, since the establishment of the Greek independent state in 1830, there has been much debate concerning the national and official language of Greece. Among the three types of language that are being proposed (Ancient Greek, Katharévousa, Dhimotikí), Katharévousa predominates as the national language of Greece until 1976. During that period, the existence of both Katharévousa for highly formal situations and Dhimotikí for less formal ones lead to the occurence of the two codes at the same time, a phenomenon widely known as diglossia. However, Dhimotikí gradually gains ground and is finally recognised as the official language of the Greek state in 1976 and ever since.

References

Aiginitis, D. 1958. *To Glossiko Zitima; I Neoelliniki Glossa* [The Language Question: The Neo-
    hellenic Language]. Athens: Academy of Athens.

Andriotis, N. 1992. *Istoria tis Ellinikis Glossas* [History of the Greek Language]. Thessaloniki: Institute for Modern Greek Studies.

Ann, J. 2001. Bilingualism and Language Contact, in C. Lucas (ed), *The Sociolinguistics of Sign Languages*, pp. 33-60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archakis, A. and Marianna Kondyli. 2004. *Isagogi se Zitimata Kinonioglossologias* [Introduction to Sociolinguistic Issues]. 2nd ed. Athens: Nissos.

Babiniotis, G. 2002. *Sinoptiki istoria tis ellinikis Glossas; isagogi stin istoricosigritiki glossologia* [A Brief Introduction of the Greek Language; an introduction to comparative-historical linguistics]. 5th ed. Athens: Babiniotis.

Baker, C. 2001. *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. 3rd ed. Clevendon: Multilingual Matters.

Baslis, G. 2000. *Kinonioglossologia: Mikri Isagogi* [Sociolinguistics: A Small Introduction]. Athens: Grigoris.

Brown, P. and Stephen C. Levinson. 1978. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Browning, R. 1969. *Medieval and Modern Greek*. London: Hutchinson.

------. 1982. Greek diglossia yesterday and today, *International Journal of the the Sociology of Language* 35, pp. 49-68.

Chambers, J.K. 2003. *Sociolinguistic Theory: linguistic variation and its social significance*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Christidis, A.-F. 2005. *Istoria tis archaias ellinikis glossas* [History of the Ancient Greek Language]. Thessaloniki: Institute for Modern Greek Studies.

Cooper, R. 1989. *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coulmas, F. 2002. Writing is crucial, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 157, pp. 59-62.

Diatsendos, P. 2008. *The Language Reform between the Intellectual Élites and the Greek State during the Second-half of 19th Century*, in Studies in Greek Linguistics: Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, May 2008, pp. 147-158. Thessaloniki: Institute for Modern Greek Studies.

Edwards, A. D. 1976. *Language in Culture and Class: The Sociology of Language and Education*. London: Heinemann Educational.

Edwards, J. 2006. Foundations of Bilingualism, in T. K. Bhatia and W. C. Ritchie (eds), *The Handbook of Bilingualism*, pp. 7-31. Malden, Mass.; Oxford: Blackwell.

Elgibali, A. 1988. The Language Situation in Arabic-speaking Nations, in C. B. Paulston (ed), *International Handbook of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, pp.47-62. New York ; London: Greenwood.

Fasold, R. 1984. *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Ferguson, C. 1959. Diglossia., *Word* 15, pp. 325-340.

Fishman, J. 1972. *Advances in the Sociology of Language Vol II*. The Hague: Mouton.

------. 1975. *Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction*. Rowley (Mass.): Newbury House.

Frangoudaki, A. 1992. Diglossia and the present situation in Greece: A sociological approach to the interpretation of diglossia and some hypotheses on today's linguistic reality, *Language in Society* 21, pp. 365-381.

Gafaranga, J. 2007. Code-switching as a conversational strategy, in P. Auerand L. Wei (eds), *The Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*, pp. 279-314. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Giannoulopoulou, G. 2008. *Diglossia in Greece and Italy and the Contemporary* Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, May 2008 pp. 138–146. Thessaloniki: Institute for Modern Greek Studies.

Glinert, L. 1987. Hebrew – Yiddish diglossia: type and stereotype Implications of the language of Ganzfried's Kitzur, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 67, pp. 39-55.

Grillo, R. D. 1989. *Dominant Languages: Language Hierarchy in Britain and France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. and Dell Hymes (eds). 1972. *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. New York, London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Haas. W. 2002. Comment, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 157, pp. 109-115.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1978. *Language as social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.

Hamers, J. and Michel H. A. Blanc. 2000. *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 109-115.

Hoffmann, C. 1991. *An Introduction to Bilingualism*. London: Longman.

Holmes, J. 2001. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 2nd ed. Harlow: Longman.

Hornby, P. 1977. *Bilingualism: Psychological, Social, and Educational Implications*. New York: Academic Press.

Horrocks, G. 1997. *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*. London: Longman.

Hudson, G. 1999. *Essential Introductory Linguistics*. Malden, Mass., Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Hudson, R. A. 1996. *Sociolinguistics*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Karouzos, X. 1966. O Dante kai i glossa [Dante and his Language], *in Prosfora ston Dante* [Tribute to Dante], pp. 111-122.Athens: Embassy of Italy in Athens.

Kaye, A. 2002. Comment, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 157, pp. 117-125.

Kotzantonoglou, C. 1995 *Greek Diglossia: An Historical and Sociolinguistic Approach*. Unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Trinity College Dublin.

Lyons, J. 2004. *Isagogi sti Glossologia* [Language and Linguistics: an Introduction]. Translated from English by M. Arapopoulou et al. 12th ed. Athens: Patakis.

Mackridge, P. 1985. *The Modern Greek Language: A Descriptive Analysis of Standard Modern Greek*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Maher, J. 1991. A cross-linguistic study of language contact and language attrition, in H. Seliger and R. Vago (eds), *First Language Attrition*, pp. 67-84. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mandilaras, B. 1972. *Studies in the Greek Language: Some aspects of the development of the Greek language up to the present day*. Athens: Xenopoulos Press.

Mesthrie, R. et al. 2000. *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Nercissians, E. 2001. Bilingualism and diglossia: patterns of language use by ethnic minorities in Tehran, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 148, pp. 59-70.

Paulston, C. 2002. Comment, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 157, pp. 127-134.

Paulston, C. B. And G. Richard Tucker (eds). 2003. *Sociolinguistics: The Essential Readings*.Malden, Mass., Oxford: Blackwell.

Pauwels, A. 1988. Diglossic communities in transition: the cases of the Limburgs and Swabian speech communities in Australia, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 72, pp. 85-99.

Petrounias, E. 1970. Modern Greek Diglossia and its Sociocultural Implications, *Linguistic Communications* 2, pp. 1-41.

Pride, J. B. 1971. *The Social Meaning of Language*. London: Oxford University Press.

Romaine, S. 1984. *The Language of Children and Adolescents: The Acquisition of Communicative Competence*. Oxford: Blackwell.

------. 1995. *Bilingualism*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell.

Rosenhouse, J. and Mira Goral. 2006. Bilingualism in the Middle East and North Africa: A Focus on the Arabic – Speaking World, in T. K. Bhatia. and W. C. Ritchie (eds), *The Handbook of Bilingualism*, pp. 835-868. Malden, Mass.; Oxford: Blackwell.

Ryan, E., Howard Giles and Richard J. Sebastian. 1982. An Integrative Perspective for the study of attitudes toward language variation, in E. B. Ryan and H. Giles (eds), *Attitudes towards LanguageVariation: Social and Applied Contexts*, pp. 1-19. London: Edward Arnold.

Schiffman, H. 1997. Diglossia as a Sociolinguistic Situation, in F. Coulmas (ed), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, pp. 205-216. Oxford: Blackwell.

Sella-Mazi, E. 2001. *Diglossia kai Kinonia: i elliniki pragmatikotita* [Bilingualism and Society: the greek reality]. Athens: Proskinio.

Spolsky, B. 1989. *Conditions for Second Language Learning: Introduction to a general theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Steinberg, J. 1987. The Historian and the Questione della Lingua, in P. Burker and R. Porter (eds), *The Social History of Language*, pp. 198-209. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thomson, G. 1989. *I Elliniki Glossa Archaia kai Nea* [The Greek Language, Ancient and Modern]. Translated from English by C. Alexiou. 2nd ed. Athens: Athens Publishing Institute.

Trudgill, P. 2000. *Sociolinguistics. An introduction to language and society*. 4th ed. London: Penguin.

Tsiouris, E. 1989. *Modern Greek: A Study of Diglossia*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Exeter.

Wardhaugh, R. 2006. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 5th ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Wölck, W. 2002. Ethnolects: Between Bilingualism and Urban Dialect, in L. Wei, J. M. Dewaele and A. Housen (eds), *Opportunities and Challenges of Bilingualism. Contributions to the Sociology of Language*, pp. 157-170. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Yule, G. 2006. *The Study of Language*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.