

Storia e storie della lingua greca

a cura di

Caterina Carpinato e Olga Tribulato

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The Greek language since 1750

Peter Mackridge (University of Oxford, UK)

Since the eighteenth century the history of Greek has no longer
been that of a natural evolution, but the story of the difficult
construction of a modern national language.
(Tonnet 2003, p. 259)

1 Introduction

The history of the Greek language since 1750 is an under-researched topic.¹ This is partly because most of the basic changes in the phonology, morphology and syntax of the vernacular had already taken place many centuries earlier² and partly because of the diglossia that existed until 1976. Greek diglossia (the coexistence of different varieties of Greek for different uses) makes it difficult to write a unified history of the Greek language during the period. Moreover, since historians of the language have focused on developments in the spoken language, the history of the written language (particularly in its non-vernacular varieties) has been marginalized.

This chapter is divided into two chief parts. Part 2 provides a general overview of situations and developments in the language, while Part 3 presents examples of particular linguistic changes that have taken place during the period. The chapter closes with a brief final part consisting of a discussion of Greek views on the pronunciation of Ancient Greek (AG).

In this chapter I am more or less ignoring the regional spoken dialects. However, it needs to be said that the evolution of Standard Modern Greek (SMG), which has entailed the archaization of some features of the colloquial language, has paradoxically suppressed many of the archaic features found in the modern dialects. However, as Tonnet points out with reference to the linguistic comedy *Korakistika* by Iakovos Rizos Neroulos (1811), in

Abbreviations: acc. = accusative; AG = Ancient Greek; CMG = Common Modern Greek; E = English; F = French; fem. = feminine; gen. = genitive; It. = Italian; MG = Modern Greek; nom. = nominative; pl. = plural; sg. = singular; SMG = Standard Modern Greek; T = Turkish; Ven. = Venetian.

I would like to thank Marjolijn Janssen and David Holton for sharing with me some data from the as yet unpublished *Cambridge grammar of Medieval Greek*. I am also grateful to Marc Lauxermann for his advice on Greek arguments against the Erasmian pronunciation.

1 One of the few studies dedicated to the language of the Ottoman period is Thavoris (1971), which is the text of a single lecture.

2 This is the reason why, of the total of 470 pages in Horrocks 2010, only 100 are devoted to the period since 1453. For more on the evolution of the Greek language since 1750 see Mackridge 2010.

which different characters speak in different Greek dialects, «at that time, knowing the dialects wasn't a matter of academic curiosity: it was the indispensable condition for Greeks to understand each other».³

I am focusing not on the regional dialects but on Common Modern Greek (CMG). CMG can be defined as the varieties of Greek that were spoken by people who were trying to avoid regionalisms when conversing with people from other Greek-speaking areas. CMG is a theoretical construct, since we cannot know exactly how Greeks spoke before the advent of recorded sound. But it is useful to think of CMG as the precursor of today's SMG. It has traditionally been stated, without evidence, that CMG is based on the traditional varieties spoken in the Peloponnese. However, this assumption has been challenged by Pandelidis, who demonstrates that some of the features of CMG are not found in the Peloponnese, while many Peloponnesian features are not used in CMG.⁴ It is much more likely that CMG originated in large urban centres where Greeks from various regions had settled, particularly Constantinople, but also ports such as Patra in the Peloponnese, and of course Athens once it became the capital of the Greek kingdom in 1834.⁵

2 General overview of developments

2.1 Historical background

At the beginning of our period the vast majority of Greeks were subjects of the Ottoman Empire, living either in South-East Europe or in Asia Minor, while a culturally influential minority were living in the Venetian-controlled Ionian Islands. Their speech was strongly influenced – especially in vocabulary but also in turns of phrase – by the languages of their Turkish or Venetian masters, in other words either by Turkish or by Italian and Venetian. Irrespective of which empire they lived in, however, all the Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians considered the Patriarch of Constantinople to be their spiritual leader, and they called themselves Πωμαίοι (colloquially Πωμιοί) as their Byzantine ancestors had done, since what we call the Byzantine Empire was the continuation

³ Tonnet 2003, p. 214.

⁴ Pandelidis 2001 and Pandelidis 2007.

⁵ In the above paragraph I am referring to the origins of the grammatical system of CMG rather than its vocabulary. Greek-speakers in Constantinople in the late 18th century used a large number of loanwords from Turkish (as well as from French and Italian) – and even complete Turkish phrases – which were unknown to mainland Greeks and which did not enter CMG. For an indicative picture of the Greek spoken in Constantinople see the journals of Panagiotis Kodrikas, who was born in Athens in 1762 but worked as a secretary, either in Constantinople itself or with Constantinopolitan employers, from 1778 to 1797 (Angelou 1991).

of the Roman Empire. At that time, to most Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians, the word Ἑλλην («Hellen») meant a pagan. One of the most significant changes to have taken place in the Greek world since 1750 is that the ‘Romaic’ identity of the Greeks as Orthodox Christians has been supplemented by their ‘Hellenic’ identity as descendants of the ancient Greeks. This sense of Hellenic identity is the most important legacy of the intellectual revival known as the Greek Enlightenment movement, which lasted from the mid-eighteenth century until the outbreak of the Greek Revolution in 1821.

At the same time the two Ottoman provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, which today form part of the republics of Romania and Moldova, were ruled on the Sultan’s behalf by Christian princes drawn from a group of Greek and Hellenized families known collectively as the Phanariots because they lived near the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the suburb of Phanari (Fener in Turkish). In the two capitals of Bucharest and Jassy (Iași in Romanian) Phanariot princes ran Greek high schools and conducted most of their government business in Greek. They also published legal codes, which were the first such documents to be produced in Modern Greek (MG). The drafters of these codes had to develop a vocabulary and a register that could express modern legal concepts.

After the fall of the Venetian Empire in 1797 the Ionian Islands (also known as the Heptanese) were dominated by a succession of foreign powers until they became a British protectorate from 1815 until 1864, when they were finally incorporated into the Greek state. The two chief constitutions of the Ionian Islands, approved in 1803 and 1817, were originally drafted in Italian but were translated immediately into Greek. Although Greek was supposed to be the official language of the Ionian Islands, Italian continued to be used there for official purposes until 1852. However, some official business was conducted in Greek from immediately after the end of Venetian rule. Thus Greek was being used for official purposes in the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia and in the Ionian Islands before the outbreak of the Revolution in mainland Greece in 1821.

Since 1750 the most important historical developments for the Greek language have been the establishment of an independent state in the 1820s, with its need for a language that can express all aspects of modern life, and Greece’s accession to the European Union (known at that time as the European Economic Community) in 1981, which required that all EU official business should be translatable from and into each of the official languages, which now included Greek.

However, another factor that has been decisive in the evolution of the Greek language during the last two hundred and fifty years has been the so-called language question or language controversy. Before the Greek Revolution there was a heated debate about the most suitable form of Greek to be used for written purposes. These debates have involved the

use of a number of ‘stories’ or language myths about the Greek language. There were three camps in the language controversy:

- a) the archaists, who urged that AG (albeit in somewhat simplified form) should be used for all serious written purposes;
- b) the compromisers, who argued for a compromise between Ancient and Modern Greek;
- c) the vernacularists, who supported the written use of the colloquial spoken language.⁶

After the establishment of the Greek state, its government and most of its literate citizens employed a compromise between Ancient and vernacular Greek for written purposes. This eventually came to be called *katharevousa* (literally «tending towards purity» because it imitated many features of AG grammar and avoided the use of loanwords). But a number of writers (especially in the Ionian Islands, and then increasingly in Athens after the union of the islands with the Greek state) proposed an alternative version of written Greek based on the vernacular, which eventually came to be known as demotic. By 1890 almost all Greek poetry was written in demotic, and the only important fiction writer to continue writing in *katharevousa* after 1900 was Alexandros Papadiamandis, who died in 1910. From then on, unlike most diglossia situations in the world, literature was written in the vernacular while the archaic version of the language was increasingly confined to official use. Demotic superseded *katharevousa* as the official language of the Greek state and of the education system during the two years after the fall of the Colonels’ dictatorship in 1974. The abolition of Greek diglossia was a *sine qua non* for Greece’s entry into the EU, which was a priority for most of its leading politicians in the immediate post-dictatorship period. In what follows, I shall focus on the evolution of the language itself rather than on the ideologies behind the various arguments deployed in the language controversy.⁷

⁶ Throughout this paper I am using the terms ‘vernacular’ and ‘vernacularists’ as non-pejorative terms, whereas, at least in English, terms such as ‘vulgar language’ are strongly pejorative.

⁷ For a history of the Greek language controversy see Mackridge 2009a.

2.2 Developments in the language

Tonnet rightly talks of the ‘orientalization’ of the vernacular Greek vocabulary during the Ottoman period, as Greeks adopted many of the features of Ottoman material culture such as dress and food.⁸ At the same time, if not before, Greek became Balkanized, not in vocabulary but in modes of expression that were translated word-for-word from one Balkan language to another (including Turkish). The Greek Enlightenment (beginning in the mid-eighteenth century) involved a re-orientation towards modern western European culture, accompanied by a large-scale re-discovery and re-assertion of the contemporary Greeks’ connections with Hellenic Antiquity. One of the chief new developments in Greek from the Enlightenment period onwards has been the *westernization* of the language through the massive borrowing of concepts and turns of phrase (though comparatively little vocabulary) from modern western European languages. Since that time Greek writers have been remodelling their language under the conscious and subconscious influence of the western European texts they have been reading and translating. I should add that, even though, as Alfred Vincent points out in his chapter, works of Cretan literature written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries continued to be reprinted into the nineteenth century, the Cretan dialect features that were used in the Cretan literary language had little influence on the language of our period.

The poetic language of the Cretan Renaissance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was influenced by Italian in turns of phrase, but this influence was embedded in a matrix of modern vernacular vocabulary, phonology, morphology and syntax. By contrast, from the late eighteenth century onwards the western linguistic influence in vocabulary and turns of phrase was embedded in a matrix of Hellenistic vocabulary, phonology and morphology. In both cases, however, modern loanwords were avoided in the written language, though in the Cretan Renaissance this avoidance applied only to the ‘serious’ genres of tragedy and romance. Whereas comparatively few neologisms were introduced in the Cretan Renaissance, from the Enlightenment period onwards a vast number of new words have been coined on the basis of AG morphemes and the AG rules of derivational morphology.⁹ In fact, the vast majority of *loan translations* in MG (which include both neologisms and the adapta-

⁸ Tonnet 2003, p. 211. ‘Orientalization’ is a more accurate description than ‘Turkification’, since much of the Turkish vocabulary borrowed into Greek had its ultimate origin in Persian and Arabic.

⁹ See Koumanoudis 1900, a compendium of about 60,000 new words constructed by Greeks out of AG roots in the nineteenth century. On the question of neologism in MG the standard work is Anastasiadi-Symeonidi (1986).

tion of existing Greek words in order to denote western concepts) are of learned origin.¹⁰

The rebuilding of the Greek language out of the disparate strands of MG vernacular, AG and western European languages was not the work of a few individual writers, but of a very large number of translators, scholars, schoolteachers, journalists and others, who in many cases worked against each other rather than in collaboration.

2.3 Some Greek attitudes to the relation between Ancient and Modern Greek

One of the stories that Greeks have told in the past about their own spoken language (what we call Modern Greek) is that it is a dialect of (Ancient) Greek. Until the nineteenth century it was not realized that Modern Greek developed almost entirely from the Hellenistic Koine rather than directly from the Aeolic, Doric, Ionic and Attic dialects of classical Greece. Until 1800 most Greek writers reserved the term Ελληνική γλώσσα for AG. Until this time very few Greek writers called their own language ‘Modern Greek’. Instead many writers, when informing their readers (on the title page or in the preface) that they were writing in the modern rather than the ancient language, referred to it as ρωμαϊκή or ρωμαϊκιά γλώσσα, «Romaic language», or else κοινή γλώσσα, «common language», απλούν ύφος, «simple style»,¹¹ or some other such term. Although the contrasting terms παλαιά, «old», or αρχαία, «ancient», and νέα, «new», or νεωτέρα, «modern», were used by a small number of authors from about 1800 onwards, the term νεοελληνική γλώσσα, «modern Greek language» (a loan translation of *langue néogrecque*, *lingua neogrecica* and *neugriechische Sprache*), first recorded in 1815, did not become current until the twentieth century.¹²

Dimitrios Katartzis (c. 1730–1807, writing in Bucharest in the 1780s) was the first to describe ‘Romaic’ as ‘the sixth dialect of Hellenic’, the five oth-

¹⁰ By «existing Greek words» I mean both words that were currently being used in the modern period and words that were revived from earlier periods. A ‘loan translation’ is where an existing word is made to take on a new *meaning* borrowed from another language, as opposed to a ‘linguistic loan’ (also known as a loanword), where it is the *form* of word that is borrowed. For example, κομπιούτερ, «computer», is a linguistic loan from English, whereas ποντίκι, «mouse» in the sense of «computer mouse» is a loan translation. For more on loan translation in MG see Petrounias 1998, p. XXI. Note that throughout this chapter I am using the adjective ‘learned’ («learned tradition», «learned words» etc.) in the sense of the Italian *erudito*. In this sense the English word is pronounced as two syllables.

¹¹ Or, in more modern terms, ‘register’.

¹² For more details on the names used by the Greeks to refer to their modern language see Mackridge 2009b.

ers being the four chief classical dialects and the Hellenistic Koine.¹³ This ahistorical approach, which suggested that ‘Romaic’ coexisted side-by-side with the dialects of Greek that are known from Antiquity, influenced other vernacularist writers of the period until 1821, who found it a convenient story to justify their use of the vernacular in writing, since ‘Romaic’ could be considered to be an additional dialect of Hellenic that simply did not happen to have been recorded in Antiquity. This implied that Romaic was not a *corruption* of ‘Hellenic’ (as the archaists alleged), but simply another – equally legitimate and respectable – *version* of it. Athanasios Christopoulos (1772–1847), a well-known poet as well as a government official serving at the court of the Phanariot prince of Wallachia in Bucharest, proposed a different but related theory. In a grammar published in 1805, Christopoulos argued that vernacular Greek was ‘Aeolodoric’, in other words that it was not descended from Attic but was the result of a fusion between the Aeolic and the Doric dialects. The ‘Aeolodoric theory’ too enabled vernacularists to claim that MG was not *inferior* to the prestigious Attic but simply *different* from it. Yet the proponents of the Aeolodoric theory were defending their use of MG not as an autonomous synchronic system but as a random medley of ‘survivals’ from a more glorious and *authoritative* ancient past.¹⁴

By contrast, despite promoting the unscientific ‘sixth dialect’ theory, Katartzis insisted that, although the modern Greeks were the descendants of the ancients, ‘Hellenic’ and ‘Romaic’ were two distinct languages because they had different grammatical systems; Romaic was derived from Hellenic yet distinct from it, wrote Katartzis, just as Italian, French, Spanish and Romanian were derived from Latin yet distinct from it.¹⁵ Katartzis was one of the few Greek intellectuals of his time (and indeed much later) who viewed Ancient and Modern Greek as constituting distinct systems, each with its own grammar. Most others saw Ancient and Modern Greek as part of a single continuum – which is why they thought it legitimate to use a more or less arbitrary mixture of the two systems in their writing. In fact, the ideological belief that Greek is a single language from Antiquity to the present has greatly influenced its historical evolution and its current use.

Katartzis was the first writer to make systematic use of the phonology and morphology of vernacular MG outside poetry. In fact, particularly in

¹³ See Dimaras 1970, pp. 17, 94. As early as AD 200, Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1, 21, 42) reported that the Hellenistic Koine was known as the ‘fifth dialect’.

¹⁴ The phonetic orthography devised by Athanasios Psalidas and Yannis Vilaras in the 1810s (but used only by them) is a rare historical instance of Greek vernacularists making proposals for linguistic reform without the *authority* of Ancient Greek.

¹⁵ See Dimaras 1970, pp. 318, 332, 217, 332.

terms of morphology, he used a language variety that was closer to SMG than practically any other writer until the twentieth century. Katartzis claimed to be writing in the language spoken by the Greeks of Constantinople, which he saw as being the capital of the enslaved Greek nation. He uses a number of loanwords from Turkish, French and Italian, which were the languages with which Greek-speakers had the closest contact in Constantinople. The AG elements he used were not features of phonology and morphology but fixed phrases (like the Latin phrases used in modern European languages) and logical discourse markers, for which the spoken language had no equivalents, e.g. εν ταυτώ, «concurrently», εξ εναντίας, «on the contrary», ουδέν ἡττον, «none the less», ως εικός, «apparently», ως επί το πλείστον, «for the most part», θέτεν, «hence», ομοίως, «similarly», πλην, «but», «yet» – almost all of which are used today in SMG.

In phonology and morphology Katartzis avoids the final -ν and uses:

- a) modern colloquial forms such as μετράει «he/she measures/counts» (AG μετρεῖ, SMG μετρά);
- b) the now standard -ουν(ε) (rather than the ancient and dialectal -ουσι) for the 3rd pl.;
- c) active imperfect forms such as μπορούσα, «I could» (without augment, and with the now standard inflectional endings that had spread from the 3rd pl. -ούσαν in the fifteenth century to both numbers and all persons by the seventeenth);
- d) the now standard [κοιμήθ]ηκα, «I slept» (rather than [εκοιμήθ]ην), for the aorist passive.

In the same way as the Italians have adapted learned loans from Latin to conform to the phonological and morphological systems of their own language, Katartzis applies colloquial phonological and morphological features to non-colloquial vocabulary items, e.g. η υπόθεσι, «business» (AG ή ὑπόθεσις, SMG η υπόθεση), pl. η υπόθεσες (AG αἱ υπόθεσεις, SMG οἱ υπόθεσεις), αποχτώ, «obtain» (SMG αποκτώ), οδηγιούμαστε, «we are led» (Hellenistic ὁδηγούμεθα, SMG οδηγούμαστε). Sometimes he even used colloquial forms of everyday words which, when Psycharis used them more than a century later, were stigmatized as «extreme demotic», e.g. σκολειό, «school» (AG σχολεῖον, SMG σχολείο). He also uses forms that would now be considered to be regional, e.g. ζουγραφίζω, «I paint» (SMG ζωγραφίζω), ας έρτουνε, «let them come» (SMG ας ἔρθουν), να διω, «let me see» (SMG να δω).¹⁶

Another set of stories told by Greeks who have been aware of the historical distance separating Ancient and Modern Greek consists of the metaphors that have been used to describe the relationship between the two.

16 να διω is characteristic of Constantinople speech.

Few Greeks have stated categorically that AG and MG are two distinct languages. Instead, they have often talked in terms of MG being the daughter of AG. Metaphors such as this are bound to be reductive and even misleading, and the ‘mother-daughter’ relationship is especially so, since in real life a daughter is a totally distinct individual from her mother, even though she carries many of her genes; besides, the rest of the daughter’s genetic makeup originates from her father, who is a figure that doesn’t make an appearance in the ‘mother-daughter’ metaphor. This metaphor also implied that the mother gave birth to the daughter at a particular moment in time, whereas in fact AG gradually became MG over a period of two millennia. In addition, those who argued that the ‘daughter’ should become more like her ‘mother’ were suggesting that the daughter either dress up as someone who she is not, or grow older at an unnaturally fast rate. Finally, the mother-daughter metaphor failed to take account of Medieval Greek, since the medieval varieties were not properly studied until the late nineteenth century and beyond.¹⁷

Yet another story that has been told in order to explain the relation between Ancient and Modern Greek is that the modern language is a barbarized and corrupt version of the ancient. The view frequently expressed by western Classicists that any kind of Greek that was not classical was ‘barbaric’ was highly influential on the way that Greek intellectuals viewed their modern language.

Perhaps the first writer who explicitly stated that he was trying to ‘correct’ MG in order to make it suitable for learned use was Iosipos Moisiodax (1730-1800). It is interesting to note that this influential teacher and writer was not a native speaker of Greek but of Vlach (otherwise known as Aromanian), a Romance language related to Romanian, that he had studied in Italy, and that he worked as a teacher in Bucharest.

Far better known, however, is Adamantios Korais (1748-1833). Living in Paris from 1788 until his death, Korais was the most influential writer of the Greek Enlightenment. Concerning the MG language, about which he wrote copiously, his basic doctrine was that vernacular Greek had been barbarized by two millennia of alien rule (by Romans, Byzantines, Franks and Turks), and that the barbarities of spoken Greek, combined with the deprivation of political freedom, were responsible for the mistaken beliefs (‘superstitions’) and immoral behaviour of many (if not most) of his fellow-Greeks. An essential component of the solution to what was for him a predominantly moral rather than a linguistic problem was the reform of the MG language by partially reversing the process of barbarization and cor-

¹⁷ The first scholar to highlight the importance of Medieval Greek as the link between the ancient and the modern language was G.N. Hatzidakis (1848-1941). For more about metaphors used by Greeks to describe the relationship between the ancient and the modern language see Mackridge 2009b.

ruption and thus making it closer to AG. Korais had studied medicine, and his medical approach to language is obvious in what he wrote to a friend:

I think that the corruption of language is a disease related to the corruption of morals and, according to the Hippocratic rules, demands a related and similar cure. When the nation corrupts its morals, the wise legislator who wishes to reform his fellow-citizens does not give them, nor can he give them, the best laws, but «the best possible», as Solon put it explicitly to those who criticized his laws. [...] [The legislator] therefore enacts the best possible laws, not as a correction but as the preparation and introduction to the correction that is hoped for in the future, just as doctors prepare the impure body with potions that are either lighter or suitably emollient before they give it the cathartic. [...] Adapt this whole theory to the corruption of the language. [...] When you speak and write, always have in mind that you are speaking and writing for a nation that is barbarized [...].¹⁸

As far as the Greek language is concerned, ‘barbarization’, for Korais, had taken the form of impoverishment and adulteration. Impoverishment entailed the loss of many native vocabulary items, and of certain grammatical categories such as the infinitive, which prevented complete and precise expression, while adulteration consisted of the presence of many words of foreign origin, which Korais perceived as shameful stains on the face of a once noble language.

Korais felt a mixture of pride and shame about the Greek language – pride that he spoke a language that was descended from the incomparable AG, and shame that the language of his own time had altered so much since the classical period. The importance of pride and shame is borne out in the following statement by Korais about MG words of foreign origin:

To borrow from foreigners – or, to speak more clearly, to beg words and phrases, with which the storerooms of one’s language are already replete – creates a reputation for complete ignorance [$\alpha\piαιδευσίας$] or even idiocy as well as dishonour.¹⁹

It is remarkable how early in the history of the Greek language the modern forms and meanings of Greek words had developed – often in Hellenistic or even in classical times, that is, before the Greeks were subjected to the rule of foreign powers. As Albert Thumb wrote a hundred years

¹⁸ Korais to Vasileiou, 9 Aug. 1804, in Korais 1966, pp. 180-181 (the last sentence quoted is in French in the original).

¹⁹ Korais 1805, p. LXXXV.

ago, «foreign influences play but a small part in comparison with the great number of innovations which have altered the character of Classical Greek».²⁰ Korais himself did some research into the early history of post-Classical Greek: he was the first of a series of Greek scholars who established the etymologies of MG words, thus linking them to their AG origins and showing how a huge number of AG words had survived, albeit metamorphosed, in colloquial MG. However, as Tonnet writes, Korais «attempts to retrieve the Ancient Greek hidden within the popular language», and «his philologist's admiration for Ancient Greek and his patriotism allowed him to see, in the modern language, only those features it has preserved from the ancient one».²¹ For these ancient features preserved in the modern language Korais uses the term λείψανα, «relics», a word with sacral connotations.

Korais wanted the relationship between MG and AG to be clearly visible in the etymological and morphological forms of the words, and for this reason he used MG words in a ‘corrected’ (i.e. archaized) form. For example, for the verb ‘I am able’ he used neither the ancient δύναμαι nor the modern vernacular form μπορώ, but εμπορώ, which resulted from the ‘correction’ of the vernacular form according to AG morphological patterns. Similarly, for ‘fish’ he used neither the AG ἵχθυς nor the vernacular ψάρι, but οψάριον, which likewise represents a ‘correction’ of the vernacular form by ‘restoring’ the sounds and letters that have been ‘lost’ since Antiquity.²² The archaization of the morphology of MG (as far as he thought it was feasible) was perhaps the most damaging aspect of Korais’ work.

A similar spirit of compromise between the ancient and the modern is shown in some of the grammatical features he used. For example, for the 3rd sg. of the imperfect tense of the verb ‘to be’, instead of the ancient ἦν and the common modern ἤταν, he used the medieval and dialectal form ἤτο (ήτον before a vowel) «he/she/it was».²³ For the future tense, instead of the AG γράψω and the MG θα γράψω (admittedly not yet universally used in vernacular Greek in his time) he used θέλω + a non-finite form (θέλω γράψειν, «I will write»). Others in his time wrote θέλω γράψει, using the same non-finite form that is used in the perfect and pluperfect tenses in MG, which is derived from a mixture of the AG present infinitive γράφειν and the aorist infinitive γράψαι. Korais, however, insisted on writing θέλω γράψειν, using the form of the ancient future infinitive. For the imperfect and aorist active he preferred the forms είχα, «I had», and είχαν, «they

20 Thumb 1914, pp. 202-203.

21 Tonnet 2003, p. 236.

22 By contrast, many later writers of *katharevousa* preferred to use δύναμαι and ἵχθυς.

23 Ἔτο was in fact used by many other writers of his time, as well as by many later writers of *katharevousa*.

had», είπα, «I said», and είπαν, «they said», to the ancient forms εἶχον and εἶπον, which did not differentiate between 1st sg. and 3rd pl. He often used external augment as being closer to everyday MG usage, e.g. επρόσθεσα, «I added», instead of AG προσέθεσα.²⁴ Also, whereas he used the third-declension paradigms of nouns, which had been lost in the vernacular language, he nevertheless avoided using the dative case. In syntax:

- a) he freely used the MG particle να;
- b) he introduced final clauses (clauses of purpose) with διά να rather than AG ἵνα or vernacular για να;
- c) he constructed από, «from», with the acc. (as in MG) rather than with the gen. (as in AG);
- d) for «in» he used εις instead of AG ἐν (in order to avoid using the dative) or SMG σ[ε];
- e) for «without» he used MG χωρίς + acc. (as opposed to gen. as in AG) instead of AG άνευ + gen. (which was preferred by later writers of *katharevousa*).

But his policy of compromise also led to inconsistencies: for instance, all of the following coexist in a random fashion in his writing:

- a) possessive pronoun: both the ancient forms (ήμῶν, αὐτοῦ, ἡμέτερος etc.) and the modern ones (μας, του, εδικός μας/ιδικός μας²⁵ etc.);
- b) relative pronoun: both the ancient ὅστις/ἵτις (but only in the nom. sg.) and the medieval ο οποίος (in all its forms);
- c) imperfect active forms of contract verbs: both ancient ἔχρεώστει «he/she owed/ought», and modern ἤμποροῦσε «he/she could»;
- d) 3rd pl. non-past endings: -ουσι (ancient, but also modern dialect) and -ουν (CMG).

The development of SMG has entailed the construction of a new language with the use (as far as possible) of old components. This is what Korais conceived of but was unable to carry it out because he insisted on archaizing the forms of MG words (instead of modernizing the forms of AG words) and using the greater part of the AG morphological system. In his *Dialogue* on the language, which he wrote in 1823, the poet Dionysios Solomos humorously demonstrated the futility of Korais' attempt to 'correct' the vernacular by taking the first line of Dante's *Inferno* and fitting the Italian vocabulary into Latin grammatical structures. Thus, in order to be 'cor-

²⁴ Note that the syllabic augment (ε-) had not completely disappeared from spoken Greek in Korais' day, as it has now.

²⁵ 'Corrected' forms of vernacular δικός μας.

rected' according to Korais' principles, he alleged, Dante's 'barbarous' verse, «Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita», should become «In medio cammini nostrae vitae» - which is neither Latin nor Italian.²⁶

2.4 Language planning

From the time of the Greek Enlightenment, beginning in the late eighteenth century, the Greek language was reformed so as to be capable of becoming the national language of an independent European state. The emergence of new nations and new states normally involves a certain amount of language planning, and modern Greece was no exception to this: Greek intellectual and political leaders had to decide which variety of Greek should be used in writing for official and educational purposes, and how this variety should be standardized and elaborated. Linguistic elaboration involves the expansion of the vocabulary and the development of new registers and forms of expression. The aim of elaboration was to enable the language to adequately express all aspects of modern life (administration, education, science, literature etc).

Greece is unusual in that language planning consisted of two rival projects: the elaboration of the 'purist' *katharevousa* and the elaboration of the vernacular demotic. In essence, the Greek language controversy was based on a disagreement about the way in which MG should be standardized. Both of these projects were based on ideologies concerning the relationship between the modern and the ancient Greeks. As Shipp put it, «“Δημοτική is the result of natural development of Greek over the centuries”, and as such gives one direct access to Antiquity, whereas the καθαρεύουσα, a hybrid resulting from a misapplied admiration for Antiquity [...] is largely borrowed rather than inherited from Antiquity».²⁷

The development of *katharevousa* took place empirically and unsystematically at the hands of non-linguists, leaving plenty of scope for individual choice on the part of writers, while the planning of demotic was carried out in a systematic manner by linguists as well as literary writers. There were two distinct and competing proposals for the standardization of demotic. The version of demotic proposed and promoted by Pscharis (1854-1929) from 1888 onwards was supposedly based strictly on the findings of the linguistic science of his time (in particular the supposedly exceptionless nature of phonological rules), while that of Manolis Triandaphyllidis (1883-1959) from about 1910 onwards was based on what is known in Greek as

26 See Politis 1955, p. 17.

27 Shipp 1979, p. 2. The quotation in the first line is from Browning 1969, p. 113 (~ Browning 1983, p. 113).

γλωσσικό αίσθημα (a loan-translation of the German term *Sprachgefühl*, meaning «an intuitive sense of what is linguistically appropriate» or «the instinctive or intuitive grasp of the natural idiom of a language»). The flexibility of this concept led to its success: the version of demotic proposed by Triandaphyllidis embraced many of the learned phonological and morphological features that had become incorporated into the speech of educated Greeks. Triandaphyllidis' version of demotic was disseminated through primary schools and enshrined in his *Modern Greek Grammar (of Demotic)*²⁸ which was commissioned by the Greek Ministry of Education at a time when *katharevousa* was still the official language of the state. Both the *katharevousa* and the demotic projects aimed to eradicate diversity based on *geographical* differences. However, the plurality of standardization projects actually resulted in significant – and often redundant – *stylistic* diversity, since there were often two words or forms for the same concept, one used in *katharevousa* and the other used in demotic – and sometimes even one for each version of demotic: thus «evolution» was εξέλιξις in *katharevousa*, ξετύλιγμα in Pscharis' demotic, and εξέλιξη in that of Triandaphyllidis (and in SMG).

One of the stories told by demoticists was that MG did not have dialects, only 'idioms'.²⁹ They made this claim for two reasons: first, because their arguments were strengthened by the supposed existence of a common spoken language, which rendered *katharevousa* unnecessary and, second, because for nationalist reasons they wanted to show that all the Greeks were united by this common language (unlike the classical Greeks, who were divided by their various local dialects and thus prone to civil strife and ultimately to conquest by foreign powers), and that *katharevousa* threatened to split the Greek nation into the educated and the uneducated. The demoticists who took part in the language controversy (both literary writers and grammarians) succeeded in forming a standardized written language – standardized in terms of a systematized orthography and morphology. Standard written demotic was based on a tendency that already existed before the standardization projects of Pscharis and Triandaphyllidis, namely a tendency to form a common spoken language, an

28 Triandaphyllidis 1941.

29 The earliest instance of this that I know of is the following statement by Nikolaos Kone-menos: «There is a single common language; we don't have dialects, but we have idioms» (Konemenos 1875, p. 12). As far as I know, this distinction between 'dialect' and 'idom' is peculiar to Greece, and is not used in dialectology and sociolinguistics in general. Regarding the distinction between 'common' and 'idom' compare the full title of the dictionary of the Academy of Athens (ΙΑ): *Historical dictionary of Modern Greek, of both the common spoken [language] and the idioms*. As early as 1823 Solomos claimed that, in contrast to Italian, the difference between the regional varieties of spoken Greek was so small that they were readily mutually comprehensible. However, no quantitative studies have been carried out to test this assertion.

accommodation between speakers that eventually led to dialect levelling. This common spoken language was the result of *geographical convergence*: major factors in the evolution of the common spoken language included the avoidance of features that were felt to be regional and the restoration of many modern forms to their ancient etymological origin. Constantinople, which still had more Greek inhabitants than Athens as late as 1900, was a melting-pot for the regional speech of people who came there from all over the Greek-speaking world, and thus it became one of the chief centres where a common spoken Greek was developed. Although many features of standard demotic seem to have originated from the dialects of the southern mainland, some features seem to have originated in northern Greece (which included Constantinople).

The ancient-modern hybrid language that came to be known as *katharevousa* was *de facto* the official language of the Greek state from its inception in 1821, in the sense that it was the variety of Greek used for official written communication. It became *de jure* the official language in the 1911 Constitution. However, in 1974–1976 *katharevousa* ceased to be the official language, and diglossia was consequently abolished. Since then, Standard Modern Greek has been both the official and everyday language of Greece.

In the age of diglossia it was not possible to talk about ‘Standard Modern Greek’, since there were two rival written standards: *katharevousa* and demotic. Thus the term ‘Standard Modern Greek’ refers to the single standard variety that has been used for practically all purposes since 1976. SMG is largely based on the vocabulary and grammar of demotic, but it goes further than Triandaphyllidis’ demotic in accepting additional features from the learned tradition of *katharevousa*. In addition to the *geographical convergence* that characterizes standard demotic, SMG has been the result of a *sociolinguistic convergence* between the two varieties that coexisted in the age of diglossia, namely the vernacular-based demotic and the purist *katharevousa*. The vernacular varieties have provided most of the morphology, some of the phonology, and a large proportion of the vocabulary (including most of the vocabulary of everyday life), while the learned varieties (which largely consisted of ancient material) have provided a number of phonological and morphological features, as well as a large proportion of the vocabulary (especially the vocabulary of abstract, official and scientific discourse), including a huge number of neologisms based on ancient roots. In this way, SMG has achieved a synthesis and reconciliation between the two traditions that had previously been viewed as antithetical and potentially hostile.

3 Specific examples of Developments in Common Modern Greek since 1750

3.1 General

Many of the cases presented below are the result of ‘linguistic engineering’, in other words deliberate changes brought about by linguists and literary writers. One of the major developments in the history of the Greek language in this period has consisted of a double process: the semantic *content* of the language (the *signifiés*) has been Europeanized and modernized, while the *form* of the language (the *signifiants*: the vocabulary and the morphology) has been partially Hellenized (i.e. archaized). The first of these aspects has enabled the mutual translatability of expressions between MG and other modern European languages (language viewed as a vehicle of communication), while the second made the connections between the modern and ancient languages more clearly perceptible (language viewed as an ideological symbol).

In recent times the more *natural* phonological processes that had converted learned material into vernacular forms since Late Antiquity have ceased to operate. In the twentieth century, instead of applying vernacular rules to learned words, learned (i.e. ancient) phonological and morphological patterns were *added* to the existing phonological and morphological systems of the vernacular (for details see the sections on phonology and morphology below). The only area of phonology in which old processes have continued to operate is in the underlying consonant clusters /mp/, /nt/ and /nk/ (also /ng/), where a rule that operated in certain regional dialects, whereby the nasal was deleted after voicing the following stop, has spread to SMG in recent decades: in Athens, at least, most people pronounce κάμπιος, «plain», as ['kabos] rather than ['kambos], ἄντρας, «man», «husband», as ['adras] rather than ['andras] and σύκιστρι, «fish-hook», «island in the Saronic Gulf», as [a'jistri] rather than [apj'istri].

In recent years (perhaps since 1974) a vernacular process of morphological regularization has operated on a small number of verbs in which in AG and *katharevousa* the present stem was irregular. The meanings of these verbs are technical, yet they are very commonly used in everyday modern speech. In these cases a long-standing vernacular process has operated, whereby the present (imperfective) stem has been remodelled on the basis of the aorist (perfective) stem. These verbs include ancient and *katharevousa* διαβίβρωσκω, «I erode», which has been largely replaced by διαβρώνω (by analogy with the aorist subjunctive διαβρώσω and the noun διάβρωση), ancient and *katharevousa* καταναλίσκω, «I consume», which has been largely superseded by καταναλώνω (cf. the aorist subjunctive καταναλώσω and the noun κατανάλωση) and διαγιγνώσκω, from which

there has developed a vernacular present form διαγνώνω (cf. the aorist subjunctive διαγνώσω and the noun διάγνωση), though this has not yet been recorded in the standard printed dictionaries.³⁰

3.2 Vocabulary

Developments in the vocabulary can be distinguished into the following categories: various formal and semantic details (3.2.1), the origins of the SMG vocabulary (3.2.2), and doublets in SMG (3.2.3).

3.2.1 Formal and semantic details

3.2.1.1 Formal correction

A number of vernacular words have been re-archaized in SMG, though the older vernacular form may still exist as a colloquial alternative. Examples:

- a) γιοφύρι, «bridge», has become γέφυρα;
- b) κορφή, «summit», has become κορυφή;
- c) νιος, «young man», has become νέος;
- d) σύγνεφο, «cloud», has become σύννεφο.

In addition, certain vocabulary items have been corrected (or at least adjusted) in other ways, e.g.:

- a) απερνώ (since medieval times side by side with περνώ), «I pass», was replaced by περνώ;
- b) επίλοιπος (AG and moderately learned medieval) and αποδέλοιπος (medieval & vernacular), «the rest of», were replaced by υπόλοιπος;
- c) υστερώ (very frequently used in Early Modern Greek³¹ in the sense of «I deprive» rather than in its original meaning of «I am lacking») was replaced by στερώ (which meant «I deprive» in AG), while υστερώ has been restored to approximately its ancient meaning («I fall short»).

30 Babiniotis; ΑΚΝ.

31 ‘Early Modern Greek’ is sometimes said to have lasted from the 12th to the 17th centuries, which is in fact the period covered by Kriaras’ Medieval dictionary. Other scholars use this term for the period 1500-1700. However, for the purposes of this chapter, ‘Early Modern Greek’ can be said to extend up to the late 18th century, since many more far-reaching and radical changes occurred from that time onwards than had taken place in the period between 1500 and the late 18th century.

3.2.1.2 Loss of a synonym

Words of Greek origin: απίδι gave way to αχλάδι, «pear».

Loanwords: πεσκίρι (< T *peşkir*) gave way to πετσέτα (< It. *pezzetta* or Ven. *pezzeta*), «napkin», «towel».

Native word replaced by loanword: native vernacular μαγειρείον/μαγερείο gave way to κουζίνα (Ven. *cusina*) «kitchen».

3.2.1.3 Replacement of one synonym by another

- a) διάφορο, «profit», «interest» (medieval), was replaced by κέρδος, «profit», and τόκος «interest».
- b) ζήτημα, «demand», «request» (early modern), was replaced by αίτημα, «demand», and παράκληση, «request», while ζήτημα came to mean «matter», «question (for discussion)».
- c) καραβοτοσάκισμα, the expressive noun meaning «shipwreck», has been replaced by the less forceful ναυάγιο.
- d) πρα(γ)μάτεια, «merchandise», and πρα(γ)ματευτής, «merchant» (medieval; but πραγματευτής, «business representative», from Plutarch onwards), were replaced by the ancient words εμπόρευμα and ἐμπορος.
- e) ανταμώνω (since medieval) and απαντώ (ancient and medieval with same meaning), «I meet», were replaced in that meaning by συναντώ, whereas απαντώ is now «I answer» (though the Hellenistic and medieval αποκρίνομαι is still used in that sense today).
- f) γιαίνω and γιατρεύομαι, «I am cured», have been replaced by θεραπεύομαι.
- g) διαφεντεύω/διαυθεντεύω, «defend», «protect» (medieval: from Latin *defendere* but influenced first by αφέντης, «master», and then by its learned equivalent αυθέντης), have been replaced by υπερασπίζω, «defend», and προστατεύω, «protect».
- h) παρρησιάζω, «I present» (since medieval, but with both its ancient and its modern meanings in the passive: ancient «I speak openly» and early modern «I present myself»), has been replaced by παρουσιάζω in the sense of «I present».
- i) συγχωρώ, «I permit», «I forgive», has been replaced in its first meaning by επιτρέπω (now used only in the sense of «I permit», whereas in AG it had a wide range of meanings).

As an example of such changes in practice, the sentence Το βασιλόπουλο ο Αλής δεν απέβαλε το πρόβλημα το υποχρεωτικόν του πραγματευτού, «Prince

Ali didn't reject the merchant's obliging suggestion»,³² would in SMG become: Ο πρίγκιπας Αλής δεν απέρριψε την εξυπηρετική πρόταση του εμπόρου:

- a) the vernacular βασιλόπουλο has been replaced by πρίγκιπας (< L *princeps*);
- b) for πρόβλημα and πραγματευτής see above and below;
- c) υποχρεωτικόν in the original means «obliging» (i.e. «helping», «courteous», «kind»; cf. It. *obbligante*), whereas today it usually means «obligatory» (cf. It. *obbligatorio*).³³

3.2.1.4 Semantic change

- a) είδησις, «knowledge» (Ancient and Medieval Greek) and «piece of information» (Korais uses the word in both senses), lost its first meaning («knowledge»), in which it was replaced by γνώση (which had continued to be used in this sense).
- b) πολίτης, «Constantinopolitan», came to be commonly used in its ancient sense of 'citizen' (a loan translation of French *citoyen*; already in Katartzis), alongside its older meaning (the adjective πολίτικος, with stress on the second syllable, is still used exclusively to mean «Constantinopolitan»).

3.2.1.5 Ancient words with restored, modernized, internationalized and refined meanings

Some words of AG origin have been semantically aligned to the meaning of cognate words in other modern European languages. An interesting case is θεωρία: the multiple meanings of this word in Ancient and Medieval Greek have given way to a more precise and limited meaning in MG:

- a) ancient (based on *LSJ*): «sending of θεωροί (state ambassadors) to the oracles or games», «the θεωροί themselves», «embassy», «mission», «office of θεωρός», «being a spectator at the theatre or games», «viewing», «beholding», «sight», «spectacle», (of the mind) «contemplation», «consideration», «theory», «speculation» (note that some of these senses are visual, others abstract);
- b) Medieval (based on Kriaras): «view», «spectacle», «appearance»,

32 Νέα Χαλιμά (Vienna 1791-1794), in Kechagioglou 2001, I, p. 861.

33 However, Babiniotis states that υποχρεωτικός can mean περιποιητικός, εξυπηρετικός, and ΛΚΝ offers υποχρεωτική συμπεριφορά as an example of its use.

«good looks», «gaze», «glance», «ornament», «dream», «vision», «visit» (all these meanings are related to the visual);

c) Modern: «theory» (abstract).³⁴

Κριτήριον, which meant «law court» in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Greek, gave way to δικαστήριο in this meaning, while κριτήριο came to mean «criterion».

πρόβλημα, which meant «suggestion», «proposal» in Medieval and Early Modern Greek, gave way to πρόταση but was retained in the sense of «problem».

3.2.2 Some of the origins of the SMG vocabulary

(1) There have been attempts to purge MG of Turkish and Italian loanwords; sometimes these attempts have been successful, sometimes not. Over the centuries Greek has borrowed many words from other languages (chiefly Latin, Italian and Turkish), and many of these are still in common use today. However, many other loanwords have now been replaced by ‘native’ Greek equivalents, most of which have been based on AG: thus

- a) φαμελιά (Lat. *familia*) has been replaced by οικογένεια,
- b) πόστα (It. *posta*) has been replaced by ταχυδρομείο,
- c) βίζιτα (It. *visita*) has been replaced by επίσκεψη,³⁵
- d) μουστερής (T *müsteri*), «customer», has been replaced by πελάτης,
- e) οντάς (T *oda*), «room», has been replaced by δωμάτιο,
- f) σερμαγιά (T *sermaye*), «financial capital», been replaced by κεφάλαιο.³⁶

(2) Words have been revived from AG. Many ancient words were revived in order to denote modern institutions (it is also notable that the semantic fields of the words in MG are narrower and more specific than in AG), e.g.:

³⁴ Moisiodax (in the title of his book *Θεωρία της γεωγραφίας*, 1781) may have been the first to use this word in the abstract modern sense. Note that some of the medieval meanings have been retained today in the vernacular noun θωριά ‘external appearance’, so that θεωρία and θωριά can be seen as an instance of the phenomenon described below in section 3.2.3.

³⁵ Nowadays the word βίζιτα has been demoted to two specific uses: in the phrase αρμένικη βίζιτα (literally «Armenian visit») to refer to a visit that lasts longer than the hosts would like, and on its own to denote a home visit by a prostitute to a client.

³⁶ For more examples of the replacement of loanwords by words of Greek origin see Babiniotis, s.v. εξελληνισμός ξένων λέξεων.

- a) Ἀρειος Πάγος, «supreme court» (AG: originally «hill of Ares at Athens»),
- b) βουλή, «parliament» (AG: «will», «determination», «counsel», «design», «deliberation», «decree», «Council of elders», «Senate»),
- c) γυμνάσιο[ν], «high school» (AG: «exercise», «gymnastic school», «school»),
- d) δήμαρχος, «mayor» (AG: at Athens, «chief official of a δῆμος»),
- e) δραχμή, «drachma» (AG: «drachm (weight)», «a silver coin worth six obols»),
- f) μουσείο[ν], «museum» (AG: «shrine», «seat or haunt of the Muses», «home of music or poetry», «philosophical school and library»),
- g) νομός, «prefecture (administrative region)» (AG: originally «place of pasturage»),
- h) πολιτισμός, «civilization» (Hellenistic: «the administration of public affairs»),³⁷
- i) πρύτανις, «vice-chancellor», «rector» (AG: «ruler», at Athens, «member of the tribe presiding in βουλή or ἐκκλησία», «chief magistrate»),
- j) συνέδριο[ν], «conference» (AG: «council», «meeting», «council-chamber»),
- k) φροντιστήριο[ν], «private tutorial school» (AG: «thinking-shop» in Aristophanes' *Clouds*).

(3) Neologisms. Since the late eighteenth century thousands of new Greek words have been invented to cover aspects of modern culture and science and are still in use today, e.g. πανεπιστήμιο[ν], «university» (1810), ισολογισμός, «balance sheet» (1813), λογοκρισία, «censorship» (1826 – all the above created by Korais), στρατοδικείο[ν], «court martial» (1847), νομοσχέδιο[ν], «draft law» (1849), αμερόληπτος, «unbiased» (1856), αντιπολίτευσις/η, «opposition party» (1856), νηπιαγωγείο[ν], «infant school» (1865), ψυχραιμία, «sang-froid» (1873), and more recent words such as υπολογιστής, «computer», διαδίκτυο, «internet», ιστοσελίδα, «web page» and ιστολόγιο, «blog». Some of these are loan translations of western European terms, literally translating Latinate or Germanic words from French, German and, more recently, English.³⁸

(4) International words of AG origin. The Greeks have been fortunate in that many scientific terms invented in modern times by western scholars

37 The word was introduced in its modern meaning by Korais in 1829. In Antiquity it is only attested once: in D.L. 4, 39 (third century AD).

38 This process (extremely frequent from about 1800 onwards) is the reverse of the one by which Romans created new Latin loan translations on the basis of Greek words, e.g. *compositio* < σύνθεσις, *essentia* < οὐσία, *insectum* < ἔντομον and *passio* < πάθος. For more examples see Petrounias 1998.

have been based on Greek roots and could therefore be imported into Greek ready-made, e.g. ηλεκτρισμός, «electricity», θερμόμετρο, «thermometer», παιδιατρική, «paediatrics», τηλέφωνο, «telephone», ψυχολογία, «psychology». Where necessary, these have been linguistically corrected in the process, e.g. λευχαιμία, «leukaemia», χιλιόμετρο, «kilometre» and οξυγόνο, «oxygen».³⁹

3.2.3 Pairs of related vernacular and learned words co-existing in SMG

One of the legacies of Modern Greek diglossia (the former co-existence of demotic and *katharevousa*) is a number of instances in which there are two vocabulary items that are related in their form and/or meaning, the first being inherited from the vernacular tradition, the second from the learned tradition.⁴⁰ The following sub-sections provide examples of such pairs, divided according to the semantic relationship between the two words. In each pair, the vernacular word appears first and the learned one second.

3.2.3.1 Literal (concrete) vs figurative (abstract)

- a) δίχτυ, «net», and δίκτυο, «network» (both *rete* in Italian); plural forms δίχτυα (two syllables: ['dixtja]) and δίκτυα (three syllables: ['diktja]) respectively.
- b) καρέκλα and ἡδρα, «chair» (the first refers to a physical chair, the second denotes, e.g., a university professorship).
- c) σκάλα, «staircase», and κλίμακα, «scale (of map etc.)» (both *scala* in Italian).
- d) σπίτι and οίκος, «house» (the former refers to someone's home, the latter to a commercial house [i.e. company], or the White House in Washington).
- e) φτερό and πτέρυγα, «wing» (the former of a bird or aircraft, the latter of a building).
- f) σκεπάζω and καλύπτω, «cover» (the first refers to covering in a concrete sense, the latter to the coverage a certain topic).

39 For more examples see Petrounias 1998.

40 For more on vernacular/learned doublets see Setatos (1969) and Tombaidis (1978).

3.2.3.2 Colloquial vs scientific (or at least «respectable» and politically correct)

- a) Ρωμιός (< Ρωμαίος) and Ἑλληνας, «Greek» (the former used in Byzantine and Ottoman times to refer to a Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian, the latter becoming widespread from 1800 onwards to denote a Greek).
- b) σοκάτης (< T sakat), «cripple», and ανάπτηρος, «disabled».
- c) στραβός and τυφλός, «blind» (the former is derogatory, while the latter is neutral: the difference between the two is similar to that between σοκάτης and ανάπτηρος).
- d) συκώτι and ἡπαρ, «liver» (the former the everyday term, the latter the medical term).
- e) φεγγάρι and σελήνη, «moon» (the former the usual term, the latter used in scientific discourse: astronomy, space travel, etc.).⁴¹

3.2.3.3 Other pairs of cognate words

- a) στοιχειό, «ghost», and στοιχείο, «element».
- b) ακριβός, «dear», and ακριβής, «precise».
- c) βιάζομαι: there are two distinct verbs spelled in this way; one has been inherited from the vernacular tradition and is pronounced ['vjazome], «I'm in a hurry», the other from the learned tradition and pronounced [vi'azome], «I am raped».
- d) καταλαβαίνω (aor. κατάλαβα, καταλάβαμε), «I understand», and καταλαμβάνω (aor. κατέλαβα, καταλάβαμε), «I capture», «I occupy».
- e) πιάνω, «I catch», «I seize», and πιέζω, «I pressurize».

Many verbs have two alternative stems: the bare stem is inherited from the vernacular tradition, whereas all or most of the derivatives using prepositional prefixes have a stem of learned origin, e.g.

- a) δείχνω, «I show», but αποδεικνύω, «I prove».
- b) δίνω, «I give», but παραδίδω, «I hand over», «I deliver».
- c) διάχνω, «I chase away», but επιδιώκω, «I pursue (an aim)».
- d) μιλάω (2nd sg. μιλάς), «I speak», «I talk», but συνομιλώ (2nd sg. συνομιλείς), «I converse».

41 Consider the following: Οι άνθρωποι μπορεί στο μεταξύ να πηγαίνουν στη Σελήνη για δουλειές, μα η μαγεία του φεγγαριού τη στιγμή που ξεπροβάλλει πάνω από την κορυφή του Υμηττού, θα μείνει πάντα η ίδια, «In the meantime people may be going to the Moon on business, but the magic of the moon the moment it appears above the peak of [Mount] Hymettus will always remain the same» (Tachtis 1980, p. 25).

e) φέρνω, «I bring», and καταφέρνω, «I manage», but διαφέρω, «I differ», and μεταφέρω, «I transport, transfer».

3.3 Phonology

Psycharis insisted that all words in his version of demotic should conform to the rather restricted phonological system of the spoken dialects. In SMG, however, whereas the *morphology* of learned words has usually been adapted to conform to the vernacular morphology, their *phonology* has *not* been adapted to conform to the phonology of any spoken dialect. In SMG, all of the consonant clusters that existed in *katharevousa* have been *added* to those that already existed in demotic, with the result that consonant clusters that were particular to the learned tradition such as [kt], [xθ], [pt], [fθ], [mv], [nð], [sx], [sθ] now co-exist with those that were used only in colloquial varieties such as [xt], [ft]. This process resulted in the *expansion* of the phonology of MG. For this reason SMG is capable of embracing the whole of the Greek vocabulary, irrespective of whether it is of vernacular or learned origin. Thus SMG includes both the vernacular word ἀχτί [áxti], «grudge», «rancour» (from Turkish *ahd*, «oath», «promise») and the learned words ἀχθός [áxθos], «burden» and ακτή [aktí], «coast»; the first of these would have been rejected by *katharevousa* on phonological grounds (because of the sequence [xt]) as well as its foreign origin, while the second and third would have been rejected by Psycharis' demotic on quite different phonological grounds (the presence of [xθ] and [kt]). There are also pairs of cognate words in SMG such as δέντρο (with [nd]), «tree», and δενδροστοιχία (with [nð]), «avenue of trees», and φτερό (with [ft]), «wing», and περίπτερο (with [pt]), «kiosk», of which the first has been inherited through the oral tradition and the second is a creation of the modern learned tradition.⁴²

3.4 Morphology

1st-declension nouns: the AG final accent has been restored in the gen. pl.: των κόρων, «of the girls/daughters», and των αναγνώστων, «of the readers», have given way to των κορών and των αναγνωστών.⁴³

Plural of masculine nouns in -τής: learned μαθηταί and vernacular μαθητάδες, «pupils», have been replaced by μαθητές (on the analogy of

⁴² Cf. the examples δίχτυ and δίκτυο in section 3.2.3.1 above.

⁴³ The examples των κόρων and των αναγνώστων are taken from the glossary of Kechagioglou 2001, II, pp. 1381 and 1281.

κλέφτης, pl. κλέφτες), which is rarely attested before the late nineteenth century.

In SMG learned words have generally been made to conform to the morphology of the vernacular as long as the appropriate paradigms are available; otherwise these words are inflected according to ancient morphology. Two examples:

- a) Masculine nouns in -εύς/-εας: SMG, following Triandaphyllidis, has demoticized learned nouns such as συγγραφεύς (gen. συγγραφέως) into συγγραφέας (gen. συγγραφέα) in the singular but has retained the ancient/learned plural form συγγραφείς (gen. συγγραφέων).
- b) Feminine nouns in -(σ)ις: in the singular the learned υπόθεσις (gen. υποθέσεως), «supposition», «business», has been replaced by the vernacular υπόθεση (gen. υπόθεσης), while in the plural the vernacular υπόθεσες (on the analogy of φήμη «fame», «rumour», pl. φήμες) has been abandoned in favour of the ancient and learned υποθέσεις. This is an instance of what I have called sociolinguistic convergence. The chief reason for the adoption of the learned plural forms is that the vernacular paradigm of this class of nouns did not normally form a genitive plural, whereas the ancient/learned υποθέσεις has gen. pl. υποθέσεων.

Many of the nouns and adjectives borrowed from French and English since the early twentieth century are indeclinable (e.g. το ασανσέρ, «lift», «elevator», < F *ascenseur*, το κομπιούτερ < E *computer*): this is a new development in the Greek language.

Definite article and weak object pronoun: in SMG the medieval fem. acc. pl. form τες (formerly spelled ταῖς or ταις) has given way to τις, which first appeared in the fifteenth century and coexisted with τες for several centuries. Τις became widespread in the seventeenth century, but it did not completely supersede τες in Greece proper until the early twentieth. However, τες (and not τις) is still used in Cypriot Greek.⁴⁴

Past active, 2nd pl.: είχετε, «you had», has given way to είχατε, which is first attested in mainland Greece shortly before 1600, after which the two forms continued to be used until the newer form finally prevailed in the nineteenth century.

Future: the preponderant constructions in the early modern period are with θενα (θενα σου ειπώ, «I will tell you»; θενα σου ἐλεγα, «I would tell you») or either θέλω + non-finite verb (θέλω σου ειπεί, ήθελα σου ειπεί) or non-finite θέλει with finite verb (θέλει σου ειπώ, ήθελε σου ειπώ). These have now been replaced with θα σου πω and θα σου ἐλεγα. Θα is first attested in

⁴⁴ I should add that τες as a form of the weak personal pronoun is still used frequently in Standard Modern Greek (as an alternative to τις) after imperatives and gerunds, e.g. φέρ' τες! 'bring them!', φέροντάς τες 'bringing them'.

Cretan texts from Chortatsis (late sixteenth century) onwards.⁴⁵ It seems to have spread from there to most parts of the Greek-speaking world shortly afterwards, though for a long time it continued to coexist with the other forms given above. However, Katartzis doesn't use θα at all, while in the writings of the War of Independence hero Makriyannis (mid-nineteenth century) it is extremely frequent; in fact it seems to be the only way in which he forms the future.

Present perfect: although the pluperfect construction with είχα + non-finite verb (το είχα αγοράσει, «I had bought it») had existed since at least the fourteenth century, the perfect equivalent isn't attested until shortly before 1700, when it begins to appear in texts from northern Greece. Instead the construction ἔχω + past participle passive (το ἔχω αγορασμένο, «I have bought it») was used or, less frequently, είμαι + past participle passive for intransitive verbs (είμαι πηγεμένος, «I have gone»); the corresponding pluperfect forms are το είχα αγορασμένο and ήμουν πηγεμένος. These constructions have been replaced by το ἔχω αγοράσει and ἔχω πάει, which were absent from almost all of the traditional regional dialects as well as from grammars of MG published before 1800.⁴⁶

Some ancient declension patterns (minus the dative case and the dual number) have been added to the morphological system of demotic, e.g. paradigms such as the adjective ακριβής, «precise».

Despite a fairly high degree of standardization, alternative forms are still used for some morphological categories. In the verb, for instance, pairs of forms with different geographical origins, such as the imperfect forms κρατούσα and κράταγα, «I was holding», «I used to hold», κάθονταν and καθόντουσαν, «they were sitting», «they used to sit», continue to co-exist, the first member of each pair being the standard form laid down by Triandaphyllidis, while the second is a colloquial alternative that is very commonly used in Athens and elsewhere.

3.5 Syntax and expression

In texts written during the period in question the case of the indirect object pronoun wavers between the ancient dative (μοι), the southern genitive (μου) and the northern accusative (με) before finally becoming stabilized as μου. The other chief developments in SMG are the following.

45 Kriaras, VII, s.v. θα.

46 As late as the end of the nineteenth century Jannaris 1897, p. 559, still maintained that the ἔχω + non-finite perfect is a scribal invention which «has not yet established itself in popular speech». For the development of the MG present perfect see Janssen 2013; for the introduction of the θα future and the ἔχω perfect into the grammatical tradition of Early Modern Greek see Manolessou (2012).

(1) The genitive case. In most of the spoken dialects of Modern Greek, the use of the genitive was rare except in expressions of possession, e.g. του Γιάννη η αδερφή, «John's sister». This meant that nouns that did not denote animate referents (i.e. humans and animals) were rarely used in the genitive. Many of the new uses of the genitive that entered SMG through the learned tradition were based on uses of the French and Italian prepositions *de* and *di*. These included the so-called subjective and objective genitive, e.g. η υποστήριξη της οικογένειάς του, «the support of his family», which usually indicates that his family is supporting him (subjective genitive) but could mean that his family is being supported by him (objective genitive). In addition, the genitive is used to express a wide range of other abstract relationships, such as ξενοδοχείο πολυτελείας, «luxury hotel».

(2) The abstract functions of basically spatial prepositions such as 'in' and 'from' were greatly extended (e.g. το βιβλίο τυπώθηκε σε 1.000 αντίτυπα, «the book was printed in 1,000 copies» and από πολιτική άποψη, «from a political point of view»).⁴⁷

(3) SMG has been greatly enriched by the learned tradition in the use of discourse markers, and in particular logical connectives. These include επειδή, «since», διότι, «because», αφού, «since» (cause and time), όμως, «however», ἄρα, «therefore», εφόσον, «provided that», απεναντίας, «on the contrary», εξίσου, «equally», and επίσης, «also».

(4) In syntax, as in phonology and morphology, there has been some convergence between the vernacular and the learned traditions. For instance, in the vernacular tradition, «until» (in time) and «as far as» (in space) were expressed by ώς or ίσαμε + acc., while the equivalent in *katharevousa* was μέχρι + gen. Instead of these, SMG uses μέχρι + acc.

(5) A huge number of metaphorical expressions have been translated word for word from French, German and English, e.g. εντάξει, «in order», «OK», which is a literal translation of the German phrase *in Ordnung* into pseudo-AG, using the preposition εν «in» + dative. Today the largest number of new concepts is being generated – or at least disseminated to the rest of the world – in the English language. For this reason it is not surprising that Greek today is being profoundly influenced by concepts and idioms that have reached it from or via English, e.g. στη μέση του πουθενά, «in the middle of nowhere», μου πήρε τρεις μέρες να το τελειώσω, «it took me three days to finish it» (the equivalent of the more traditional expres-

⁴⁷ These prepositions were already in use for the expression of a limited range of abstract relationships: σε for the indirect object and από for the agent. For more information on 'syntax and expression' (1) and (2) see Mackridge 1985 and grammars of Modern Greek.

sion χρειάστηκα [or χρειάστηκαν] τρεις μέρες για να το τελειώσω, literally «I needed three days [or three days were needed] in order to finish it»).⁴⁸

In addition, in SMG the relative pronoun που co-exists with the relative expression ο οποίος, whose origins have been dealt with in Theodore Markopoulos' chapter. Whereas που is uninflected, the fully inflected ο οποίος is useful for indicating the gender and number of the referent («the daughters of the doctor we saw»: οι κόρες του γιατρού τις οποίες είδαμε, or οι κόρες του γιατρού τον οποίο είδαμε, depending on whether we saw the daughters or the doctor) and for being capable of acting as the complement of a preposition («the doctor from whom I bought it»: ο γιατρός από τον οποίο το αγοράσαμε). Even though it is the result of language contact, however, ο οποίος is also perceived as being more formal and elegant than που, and is often used even in contexts where που would be perfectly unambiguous, and even in restrictive relative clauses («the doctor who came»: ο γιατρός ο οποίος ήρθε).

3.6 Orthography⁴⁹

Before the first half of the nineteenth century Greek orthography did not distinguish between the sounds [dz] and [ts], both being represented by τζ. Around 1830 some writers began to distinguish between the two sounds by using τζ for [dz] (e.g. τζίρος, «turnover» < It. *giro*) and τσ for [ts] (e.g. τσάντα, «handbag» < T *canta*).⁵⁰

During the last 100 years certain orthographic reforms have taken place on the basis of (1) etymological rationalization and (2) simplification.

(1) Etymological rationalization: spellings such as ἡ κόραις, «the daughters» (nom.), and ὁς ταῖς κόραις or ὁς τῆς κόραις, «to the daughters», have been replaced by οι κόρες and στις κόρες; γέρωντας, «old man» (based on the ancient nom. sg. γέρων), has been replaced by γέροντας (based on the other cases, such as acc. sg. γέροντα); κυττάζω, «I look» (supposedly < κύπτω, «I bend»), by κοιτάζω (supposedly < κοίτη, «river bed», «trench»), and γλίγωρα, «quickly» (which was believed to be derived from the non-existent phrase *εκ λίγη ώρα, «from a short time»), by γρήγορα (ultimately < ἐγρήγορα, the perfect tense of the ancient verb ἐγείρω, «I raise»).⁵¹ It has

48 For more on loan translations from English see Mackridge 2012.

49 For the history of MG orthography, including accentuation, see Papanastasiou 2008.

50 Vyzandios explicitly distinguished between τζ and τσ, and this distinction was soon universally adopted.

51 The change from γλίγωρα to γρήγορα is more than purely orthographic, since it also involves the change of [l] to the more «etymological» [r].

also been proposed that αυγό, «egg», and αυτί, «ear», be replaced by αβγό and αφτί, though these last proposals have not been universally accepted. Nevertheless, the theoretical and practical conflict between ‘etymological’ and ‘historical’ principles of orthography has still not been resolved. Thus, of the two current major dictionaries of MG, Babiniotis uses an orthography that clearly displays the AG etymology of words, while ΛKN tends to use spellings that conform to habitual twentieth-century practice.

(2) Simplification: the distinction between the indicative and subjunctive endings (e.g. indicative γράφεις, subjunctive γράφῃς, «you write») has been abolished in favour of the former. But the chief orthographic simplification is the ‘monotonic’ system, which was officially introduced into the Greek education system in 1982.⁵² Whereas the traditional ‘polytonic’ system used three accents and two breathings plus the iota subscript, the monotonic system uses only one accent, no breathings and no subscript. Here is a demotic translation of the beginning of the Lord’s Prayer, written first in the polytonic system, then in the monotonic system:

- a) Polytonic: Πατέρα μας, ποὺ βρίσκεσαι στοὺς οὐρανούς, κάνε νὰ σὲ προσκυνήσουν ὄλοι ὡς Θεό, κάνε νἀρθει ὁ καινούργιος κόσμος τῆς βασιλείας σου, κάνε νὰ γίνει τὸ θέλημά σου καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
- b) Monotonic: Πατέρα μας, που βρίσκεσαι στους ουρανούς, κάνε να σε προσκυνήσουν όλοι ως Θεό, κάνε να 'ρθει ο καινούργιος κόσμος της βασιλείας σου, κάνε να γίνει το θέλημά σου και από τους ανθρώπους.⁵³

4 Pride and pronunciation

Finally, one of the most important stories that Greeks have told about their language is that the pronunciation of Greek has not changed since the classical period.

When western Europeans, beginning with Italians, began to learn AG from the late 14th century onwards, they learned it from Greeks who taught them to pronounce it just as they pronounced their own spoken language. From the time of Erasmus in the sixteenth century, however, many western Classicists began to reject the modern pronunciation in favour of various alternative pronunciations based on a hypothetical reconstruction of the way the classical Greeks were believed to have pronounced their language.

⁵² The fact that the monotonic system was officially introduced into education doesn’t mean that the polytonic has stopped being used. It is still used today by a number of literary and scholarly writers.

⁵³ *NT Ev. Matth.* 6,9-10. The monotonic version is quoted from *Kaini diathiki* 1985, p. 11.

This reconstruction was based on evidence from ancient texts rather than on the belief that the Greeks had preserved the pronunciation of their language unchanged since the fifth century BC.

It was during the years leading up to their national independence movement that Greeks first put forward serious arguments that challenged what had by then become the Erasmian *status quo* in the West. Unfortunately the belief, widespread among western Classicists, that the modern Greeks pronounced their language differently from their ancient ancestors was often accompanied by moral disapproval, and even contempt, towards the later Greeks for having ‘corrupted’ their venerable language. For some westerners, these differences in pronunciation, together with the lexical and grammatical differences between Ancient and Modern Greek, were perceived as ‘proof’ that the Modern Greeks had failed to preserve the ancient language intact and that they were therefore morally corrupt, intellectually decadent, and generally inferior both to the ancient Greeks and to the modern Europeans. Two instances indicate the contempt with which many nineteenth-century European scholars looked upon the modern Greek language. The Austrian historian J.P. Fallmerayer dismissed MG with the words «a language without an infinitive is not much better than a human body without a hand».⁵⁴ And the Byzantinist Karl Krumbacher wrote of a Classics professor in Bonn «for whom it was inconceivable that one could deal with a period [of the Greek language] in which ἀπό governed the accusative [rather than the genitive]».⁵⁵

This judgmental attitude towards the modern Greeks and their language, which took the form of an accusation or condemnation, led Greek proponents of the «unchanged pronunciation of Greek» ideology to present their arguments in equally irrational and prejudiced terms: that they alone were the true Hellenes, the legitimate descendants of the classical Greeks; that they alone had preserved the pronunciation of AG intact by passing it down from parents to children in an unbroken tradition,⁵⁶ whereas the Erasmians persisted in perverting the Greek language with their ugly and ridiculous pronunciation; and that the allegation that they had ‘lost’ the genuine pronunciation of their forebears was a slander against their entire nation. In short, some Greek writers have indignantly interpreted the ‘accusations’ levelled against them by the Erasmians as an attempt to challenge the legitimacy of their claim to nationhood.

⁵⁴ Fallmerayer 1845, II, p. 452.

⁵⁵ Krumbacher 1897, p. V.

⁵⁶ The ‘argument from tradition’ bears some similarity to the (more justifiable) argument that the Orthodox Church has retained early Christian beliefs that have been altered by the Catholics, especially the belief that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father alone, which the Catholic Church, by inserting the word *filioque* into the Nicene Creed, has changed into a belief that the Holy Ghost proceeds from both the Father and the Son.

Korais, living in Paris and surrounded by western Classicists, took a rather level-headed attitude towards the pronunciation of Classical Greek. One fact that western Classicists had to face was that, even though the Greeks of the classical period may have pronounced their language in the way taught by Erasmus, the pronunciation changed very rapidly and rather radically immediately after the end of the classical period. Korais wrote in 1807 that the Erasmian pronunciation is a πρόληψις (French *préjugé*, i.e. a preconception based on insufficient evidence). He doesn't know whether the classical Greeks pronounced their language in the same way as the modern Greeks, he continues, but what was good enough for Sextus Empiricus, Plutarch and Galen is good enough for him.⁵⁷ It is significant that he chose to name three authors of the first two centuries of the Christian era, by whose time the pronunciation of Greek had already come very close to the way the modern language is pronounced today.

Other Greek writers have taken a more extreme line. For instance, in a posthumously published work Athanasios Christopoulos, «in order to shut the mouths of the Erasmians», tried to prove scientifically that the ancient Greeks pronounced the language in the same way as the moderns, yet at the end of his text he found himself obliged to concede that «the spelling of αι, ει, οι and of η, υ, ω is a foolish misspelling of the stupid ancient Greek grammarians».⁵⁸

It is clear that what is at stake here is the *ownership* of the ancient Greek language, which can be likened to the disagreement over the ownership of the Parthenon marbles. Generations of Greeks have been taught that the ancient language belongs to them, and many Greeks today are proud of the fact that 'they' (meaning their ancestors) provided mankind with concepts and terms such as philosophy, drama and democracy. Especially at the present time when national debt is frequently being discussed, many Greeks seem to believe that one of the many debts that the rest of Europe owes the (modern) Greeks consists of the vocabulary and the concepts that the West has borrowed from them.

Greek schoolchildren who study AG are taught to pronounce it in the modern way, and, although professors in Greek universities teach their students that AG was pronounced differently from MG, the vast majority of Greeks assume that it was pronounced in the modern way, and they are probably unaware that this assumption has ever been challenged.

The Greeks' sense of pride in their language tends to be directed towards ancient rather than Modern Greek. Be that as it may, the Greek sense that

⁵⁷ Korais, prologue to his 1807 edition of Isocrates, in Korais 1984-1995, I, pp. 303-305. Earlier, in 1800, he had written in French that «Erasmus' reform was nothing but the result of a bad joke» (Korais 1800, p. CLXXII, reprinted in Korais 1984-1995, IV, p. 692).

⁵⁸ Christopoulos 1852, pp. οβ' and 24.

their language is the living continuation of Classical Greek sometimes leads to exaggerated claims. One of these is the story that the Greek language is the richest in the world, since it contains six million words. As Nikos Sarantakos has pointed out, many of those who tell this story claim that the figure of six million represents the number of lemmata, i.e. separate vocabulary items such as one would find in a dictionary. In fact, though, the figure is based on the fact that the director of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae at Irvine, California, announced at one point that its database of Greek texts consisted of 72 million words, this being the total number of words that have been found in ancient Greek, i.e. the sum of the total number of words contained in each text. Sarantakos points out that Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* contains fewer than 150,000 vocabulary items, which is considerably fewer than the number of words in English – and even in Modern Greek.⁵⁹

59 See <http://www.sarantakos.com/language/ekatom.htm> (2014-02-27).

Nota sul sistema accentuativo e sulla traslitterazione dei caratteri greci in italiano adottati nel volume e in bibliografia

In Italia la traslitterazione in caratteri latini dal neogreco non ha ancora una sua tabella di riferimento prodotta, accettata e adottata dalla comunità scientifica dei neogrecisti italiani. Un comitato dell'Associazione Nazionale di Studi Neogreci si è assunto (aprile 2014) l'incarico di redigere uno schema di riferimento, ma alla data attuale (settembre 2014) non l'ha ancora reso noto. Come è noto a quanti si occupano di lingua (neo)greca una operazione, apparentemente semplice, come la traslitterazione ha implicazioni storiche, ideologiche, culturali più complesse, ed è sottoposta a contingenze esterne ed estranee agli aspetti linguistici e fonetici *tout court*. In Italia, almeno fino alla metà degli anni Novanta del Novecento (ma anche in seguito), di consueto è stata adottata una trascrizione capace di indurre il lettore ad una riproduzione orale quanto più possibile vicina alla pronuncia del greco. In Italia, molti di noi hanno dunque traslitterato Αλεξίου = Alexiu, Παναγιωτάκης = Panaghiotakis, Παπαδιαμάντης = Papadiamandis (ma anche Papadiamantis), Χατζόπουλος = Chatzòpulos, Πρωΐου = Proiu, Διγενής = Digenis.

In occasione della catalogazione del Fondo Mario Vitti, acquisito dalla Biblioteca di Area Umanistica (BAUM) dell'Università Ca' Foscari (durante il 2007-2008), è stato proposto al comitato nazionale per l'OPAC - SBN un modello di riferimento per la trascrizione del greco moderno secondo un diverso criterio rispetto a quello adattato per la traslitterazione del greco antico. La proposta non è stata accolta. L'incertezza nella trascrizione dal neogreco continua quindi a generare incertezze, determinando confusioni anche in casi anche apparentemente facili: per Καβάφης, ad esempio, nel Catalogo OPAC - SBN si trovano 237 titoli sotto KABAPHES e 227 sotto KAVAFIS.

Mario Vitti, nella sua edizione della *Storia della letteratura neogreca*, Roma 2001, ha introdotto un nuovo sistema di trascrizione, che renda anche la pronuncia dell'aspirazione del δ e del γ: pertanto Γρηγόριος Ζενόπουλος è reso con Ghrigorios Xenòpulos, Αλέξανδρος Παπαδιαμάντης con Alèxandros Papadhiamandis, ecc. Sarebbe auspicabile che la nuova edizione in preparazione per le edizioni Ca' Foscari (2015) possa definitivamente adottare il sistema standard e condiviso di riferimento per la traslitterazione dal neogreco in italiano.

Un ulteriore problema postosi durante la redazione del presente volume è connesso con l'adozione del sistema monotonico o di quello politonico nella bibliografia, dal momento che gli autori dei capitoli hanno fatto uso dell'uno o dell'altro sistema, a seconda delle proprie scelte (scelte sti-

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listiche, ma anche – come sempre succede con la lingua greca – scelte ideologiche). A più di 30 anni, infatti, dall’adozione per legge del sistema monotonico, il dibattito sulla persistenza e la valenza del sistema politonico non si è ancora spento (con interventi non solo nelle sedi accademiche ma anche sulla stampa nazionale greca).

Al fine di uniformare, nei limiti del possibile, la bibliografia, ho preso una decisione editoriale che rispetta (nei limiti del possibile) le seguenti norme:

- a) tutti i titoli in greco prima della riforma ortografica del 1982 sono riportati con il sistema politonico;
- b) tutti i titoli in greco moderno post 1982 (indipendentemente dalle scelte dell’autore) in monotonico;
- c) le traslitterazioni dei cognomi greci sono state effettuate seguendo la forma corrente nelle bibliografie internazionali.

Caterina Carpinato

Sigle e abbreviazioni

AB = I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I-III, Berolini, 1814-1821.

Babiniotis = G. Babiniotis, *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής γλώσσας*, Αθήνα, 1998.

BGV = *Bibliothèque Grecque Vulgaire*, publiée par E. Légrand, I-X, Paris, 1880-1913.

DBI = *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, I-, Roma, 1960- (anche online: <http://www.treccani.it/biografie/>).

Dimitrakos = D. Dimitrakos, *Μέγα Λεξικὸν ὅλης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, I-IX, Αθῆναι, 1954-1958.

IΛ = *Ἰστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς, τῆς τε κοινῶς ὄμιλουμένης καὶ τῶν ἴδιωμάτων*, I-, ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1933-.

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Le riviste sono abbreviate secondo il sistema della «Année Philologique», con le seguenti aggiunte o discrepanze: «BMGS» = «Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies», «BZ» = «Byzantinische Zeitschrift», «JÖB» = «Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik», «RHM» = «Römische Historische Mitteilungen».

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