

ΙΝΣ, Θεσσαλονίκη, 9/11/2024



National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
Dpt of Communication and Media Studies

Spiros A. Moschonas

A genealogy of diglossia

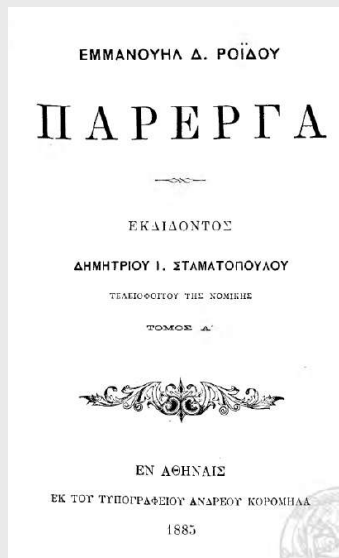
Applied sociolinguistic vs. Genealogical approach

- » Applied sociolinguistic approach: Retrospective application of the Fergusonian model of diglossia to past situations (Καρβούνης 2023)
- » Genealogical approach: Evolution of the term and concept of 'diglossia' in a competitive context (the Language Question)
 - ▶ Avoids anachronistic projections into the past
 - ▶ The genealogical approach 'encompasses' the applied sociolinguistic approach and must, eventually, also account for it

Καρβούνης Χρήστος, 2023. *Κοινωνική διγλωσσία και γλωσσική ιδεολογία: Συμβολή στην ιστορία της κοινής νεοελληνικής (1783 – 1941)*. Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης.

Overview: A genealogy of 'diglossia'

- A. 1885: The early discovery of 'diglossia'.
Diglossia and the Greek Language Question
- B. 1959: The late discovery of 'diglossia'.
Diglossia in Sociolinguistics
- C. Conclusions. A de(con)structive approach



A. 1885: The early discovery of 'diglossia'

A. 1885: The early discovery of 'diglossia'.
Diglossia and the Greek Language Question

B. 1959: The late discovery of 'diglossia'.
Diglossia in Sociolinguistics.

C. Conclusions. A destructive approach



Fernández Mauro, 1995. Los orígenes del término diglosia: Historia de una historia mal contada. *Historiographia Linguistica* 22.1-2: 163-195.

—, 1999. El tratamiento de la 'diglosia griega' en el *Mercure de France*. *Actas del I Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Historiografía Lingüística*, επιμ. Mauro Fernández, Francisco Gondar και Nancy Vázquez Veiga, 301-310. Μαδρίτη: Arco Libros.

—, 2005. Leyenda e historia del término diglosia: Su invención y su primera expansión. *Palabras, norma, discurso: En memoria de Fernando Lázaro Carreter*, επιμ. Luis Santos Río κ.ά., 447-464. Σαλαμάνκα: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΜΑΡΑΣΣΗ

ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ

ΕΚΚΡΙΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΩΝ ΞΕΝΩΝ ΤΕ ΕΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΕΙ
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΤΟΤΥΠΩΝ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ

ΕΚΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΗ ΣΥΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΤΩΝ Κ.Ε.

ΣΗ. ΒΑΣΗ (ισθ. ἐν τῷ Πανετ.), Γ. ΒΕΡΝΑΡΑΚΗ (ισθ. ἐν τῷ Πανετ.),
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΟΥ, Σ. Δ. ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΗΣ (ισθ. ἐν τῷ Πανετ.), Π.
ΚΑΡΟΛΙΔΟΥ (ισθ. ἐν τῷ Πανετ.), Δ. ΚΟΥΡΤΙΔΟΥ (ισθ. ἐν τῷ Πανετ.), ΣΠΥΡ.
Π. ΔΑΜΠΡΟΥ (ισθ. ἐν τῷ Πανετ.), Μ. ΔΑΝΙΑ (ἐ. φ. λ.), Θ. ΛΙΒΑΛΑ
(ἐ. φ. λ.), Κ. ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΔΟΥ (ισθ. ἐν τῷ Πανετ.), Γ. ΠΑΝΤΑΖΙΔΟΥ (ισθ.
ἐν τῷ Πανετ.), Θ. ΠΑΠΑΔΗΜΩΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ (ισθ. ἐν τῷ Πανετ.), Ν. Γ. ΠΟ-
ΛΙΤΟΥ (ισθ. ἐν τῷ Πανετ.), Δ. ΠΡΟΒΕΛΕΤΙΔΟΥ (ἐ. φ. λ.), Ε. ΡΟΪΔΟΥ
(ἐ. φ. λ.), Σ. Χ. ΣΑΚΕΛΛΑΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ (ισθ. ἐν τῷ Πανετ.), Γ. ΣΠΗΡΙΔΟΥ (ισθ. ἐν τῷ Πανετ.),
ΤΣΟΥΝΤΑΣ (ἐ. φ. λ.), Δ. ΦΙΛΙΟΥ (ἐ. φ. λ.), Γ. ΧΑΤΣΙΔΑΚΙ (ισθ. ἐν
τῷ Πανετ.) καὶ ἄλλων λογίων

ΚΟΙΝΕΥΕΤΑΙ ΔΕ

ΑΥΤΕΛΕΝΑΡΟΥ Γ. Χ. ΚΩΝΣΤΑ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΜΑΡΑΣΣΗ
ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ 8.

ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ
ΝΕΩΝ ΛΕΞΕΩΝ

ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΤΩΝ ΜΑΛΘΕΣΙΩΝ

ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΕΑΣ ΚΕΣΣΥΤΩΝ ΕΛΘ' ΗΜΑΣ ΣΥΝΕΚΩ

ΥΠΟ

ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΑΘ. ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΗ

ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΟΥ

ΤΟΜΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ

ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ

ΤΥΠΟΙΣ Π. Δ. ΣΑΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΟΥ

1900



οιγλουφοξόος ρυκάνη, ἡ ἀπλῶς διγλουφο-
ξόος, ἡ. Γρ. Χαντσ. 70.
διγλωσσία, ἡ. Κ. Οἰκ. 30 — Ἐμ. Ροῖδ.
88 καὶ 93. — Ἀγ. Βλ. λ. 97.
διγδογα, τά. (ἐν τοῖς στιχηραρχίοις μάλι-
στα τῆς ἐκκλησι. μουσικῆς.) .. Δ. Τζέτζ. 82.

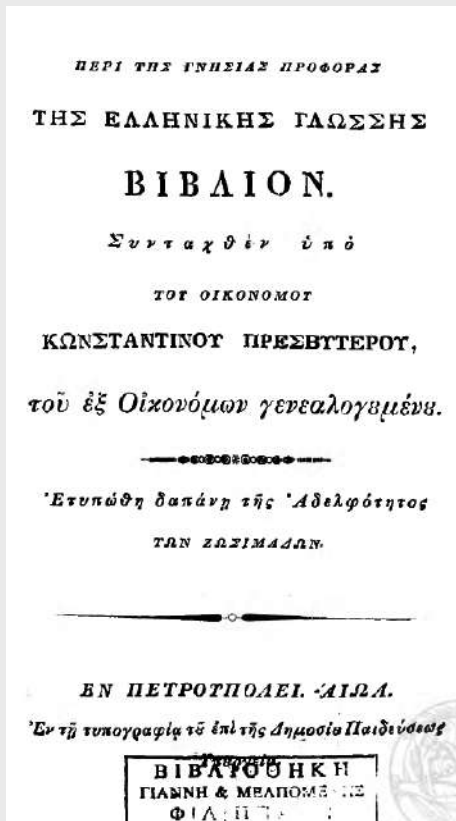
A first occurrence

Κωνσταντίνος Οικονόμος, *Περί της γνησίας προφοράς της ελληνικής γλώσσης* βιβλίον, εν τη Τυπογραφεία του επί του Δημοσίου Παιδεύσεως Υπουργείου, εν Πετρούπολει 1830, ρ. ιε΄.



A first occurrence

Κωνσταντίνος Οικονόμος, *Περί της γνησίας προφοράς της ελληνικής γλώσσης* βιβλίον, εν τη Τυπογραφεία του επί του Δημοσίου Παιδείσεως Υπουργείου, εν Πετροπόλει 1830, ρ. ιε´.



But someone might say that we learn multiple pronunciations, including the Erasmian one (as if it were the old one!), to read the ancient Greek writers and poets, and the modern Greek one to communicate with all Greeks. And what is the fruit of this διγλωσσία and διφωνία?

A first occurrence (in context)

Εμμανουήλ Δ. Ροΐδης, *Πάρεργα*, Εκ του Τυπογραφείου Ανδρέου Κορομηλά, Εν Αθήναις 1885, ρ. ιζ´-ιη´.



A first occurrence

Εμμανουήλ Δ. Ροΐδης, *Πάρεργα*, Εκ του Τυπογραφείου Ανδρέου Κορομηλά, Εν Αθήναις 1885, p. ιζ´-ιη´.

A ready example of the difference between dialogue and

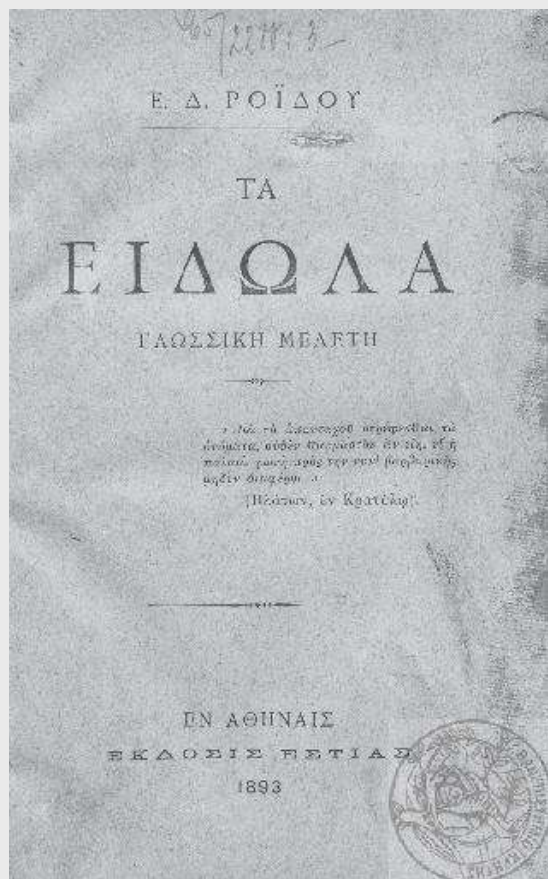
ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ Δ. ΡΟΪΔΗΣ
ΠΑΡΕΡΓΑ
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ
ΤΕΛΟΣ
ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ
ΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ ΚΟΡΟΜΗΛΑ
ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ 1885

Even those who speak with great pomp in Katharevousa (members of parliament, prosecutors, lawyers, preachers) *"will not use it when socializing with friends, enduring the pains of surgery, scolding a child who has broken a glass, bidding farewell to a dying relative, being stepped on in the street by a careless passerby, kneeling before a woman, or raving in a dream"*.

issue, one always ends up at διγλωσσία (diglossia).

“coexistence of two grammars”

Εμμανουήλ Δ. Ροΐδης, *Τα είδωλα: Γλωσσική μελέτη*, in *Ἄπαντα Δ΄*, Ερμής, Αθήνα 1978, pp. 93-363 [first edition: έκδοσις Εστίας, εν Αθήναις 1893].



- » “coexistence of two grammars”, (p. 270 n. 1)
- » “Our form of diglossia has no relation either to dialectal differences or to barbarisms of the provincials or the solecisms of the uneducated, but rather lies in the difference between the spoken and written names for the most common things and in the use of two grammars” (p. 330)

Αγ. Βλ. λ. 97 ἸΑγ. Βλ. λ. 97

Ἀγγελος Σ. Βλάχος, *Λεξικόν Ἑλληνογαλλικόν*, παρά τοις εκδόταις Α. Καναριώτη...,
εν Αθήναις 1871¹, 1897².

Δίγλωσσος (δ, ῥ), à deux lan-
gues, f; bilingue.

ἸΑγ. Βλ. λ. 97

— 25

δίγλωσσος

δίγλωσσος (δ, ῥ) à deux langues; bi-
lingue.

δίγλωσσος (δ, ῥ) qui a deux opinions;

διγενῆς (δ, ῥ) de deux genres.
δίγλωσσία (ῥ) duplicité de langues.

Spreading the word

Jean Psichari, *Essais de grammaire historique néo-grecque*, première partie, Ernest Leroux, Paris 1886, pp. 211 n. 1, 267.



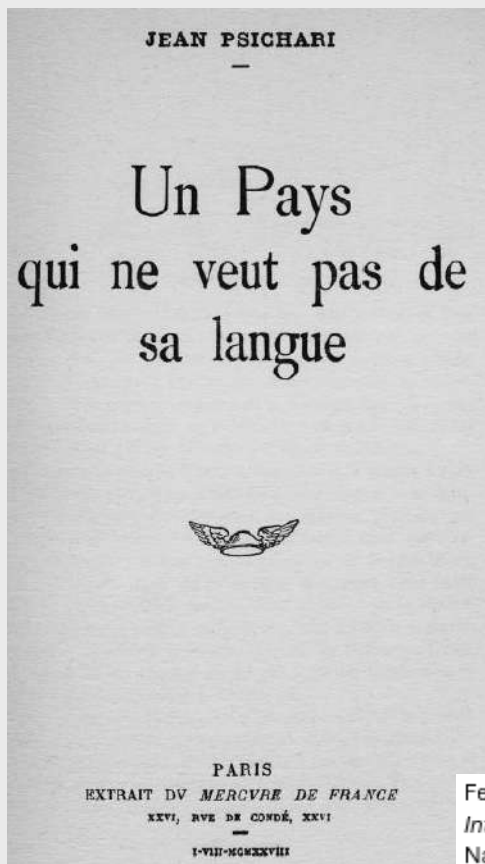
Spreading the word: Ψυχάρης

Jean Psichari, *Essais de grammaire historique néo-grecque*, première partie, Ernest Leroux, Paris 1886, pp. 211 n. 1, 267.

ESSAIS DE GRAMMAIRE HISTORIQUE	NÉO-GRECQUE. 211 voir dans les auteurs médiévaux se retrouve aujourd'hui dans la langue littéraire. Seulement aujourd'hui nous avons autour de nous, et à portée de l'oreille, le meilleur critérium pour décider avec certitude que cette langue est une langue artificielle et de convention : ce critérium c'est la langue moderne, la langue <i>populaire</i> que nous entendons	NÉO-GRECQUE. 267 que M. Kondos a récemment écrit ses <i>Remarques grammaticales</i> . Le raisonnement de certaines personnes me paraît donc manquer de justesse sur ce point : elles reconnaissent qu'il serait désirable d'user de la langue moderne; elles trouvent cependant que celle-ci n'est point encore assez mûre; son vocabulaire, dit-on, n'est pas
JEAN PSICHARI MAÎTRE DE CONFÉRENCES À L'ÉCOLE DES HAUTES-ÉTUDES	(1) Comme l'a spirituellement dit M. Roidis dans un récent article paru dans les numéros 1056-1057, 16-17 avril 1885, du journal <i>Ἀκρόπολις</i> , on souffre aujourd'hui de <i>diglossie</i> . médiévaux : ce qui est vrai aujourd'hui devait être vrai également à cette époque; aujourd'hui nous avons un style de convention; le style du moyen âge était	proposé et d'usage. il est ne; mais servir : <i>diglossie</i> pas créé se manifeste même dans les événements les plus simples de la vie, dans la correspondance, par exemple. Une des choses qui nous troublent le plus, c'est d'écrire une
PARIS ERNEST LEROUX, ÉDITEUR 28, RUE BONAPARTE, 28 1886	Il est temps de mettre une fin à l'étrange <i>diglossie</i> dont souffre la Grèce (voyez p. 211). L'embarras créé que, telle qu'on la pratique de nos jours. Pour bien comprendre un personnage historique — et cela est également vrai des phénomènes du langage — on envisage le personnage ou le phénomène dans le cadre même et dans le milieu où l'un et l'autre se sont développés. (1) Comme l'a spirituellement dit M. Roidis dans un récent article paru dans les numéros 1056-1057, 16-17 avril 1885, du journal <i>Ἀκρόπολις</i> , on souffre aujourd'hui de <i>diglossie</i> .	: <i>δεν υπάρχει ἀληθῶς παρ' ἡμῖν γλωσσικὸν ζήτημα!</i> (' <i>Εἰδομάς</i> , 1885, N° 69, p. 293, col. 1). Le moment ne semble donc pas venu de considérer le débat comme épuisé. M. Chatzidakis s'est peut-être un peu hâté d'écrire l' <i>épilogue</i> des récentes discussions (1) M. Dikéas, dans sa traduction de Shakespeare, s'est conformé à ce principe : c'est de la sorte qu'il est parvenu, en bien des endroits, à augmenter le vocabulaire d'une façon tout à fait heureuse.

Spreading the word: Ψυχάρης

Jean Psichari, *Un pays qui ne veut pas de sa langue*, *Mercure de France* 26, 1928.

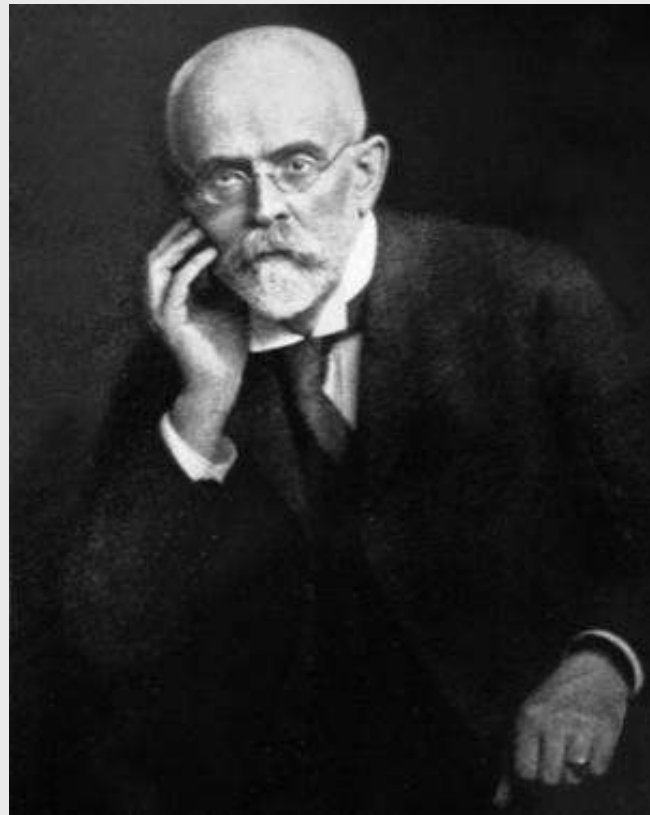


“the term diglossie appears in [*Mercure de France*] at least six times between 1909 and 1928, before Psichari's article. All mentions, from the first in 1909, are routine, without definitions or explanations, as if it were a word with which the readers of the chronicles should already be familiar”.

Fernández Mauro, 1999. El tratamiento de la ‘diglosia griega’ en el *Mercure de France*. *Actas del I Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Historiografía Lingüística*, επιμ. Mauro Fernández, Francisco Gondar και Nancy Vázquez Veiga, 301-310. Μαδρίτη: Arco Libros.

Krumbacher: “Diglossie”, “Dualismus”, “Doppelsprachigkeit”

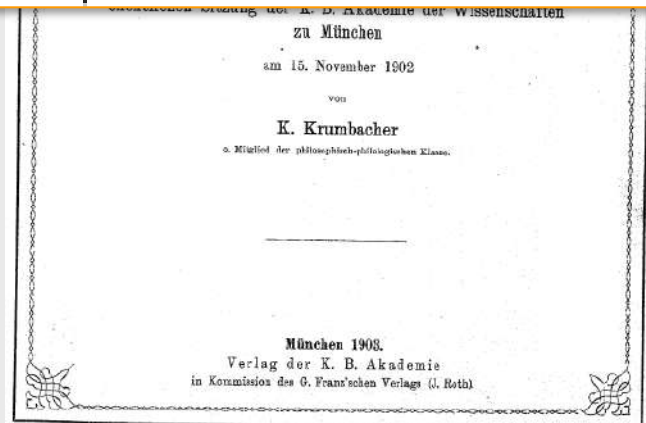
Κ. Krumbacher, *Το πρόβλημα της νεωτέρας γραφομένης ελληνικής ...*, τύποις Π. Δ. Σακελλαρίου, εν Αθήναις 1905 [*Das Problem der Neugriechischen Schriftsprache*, 1902]



Krumbacher: "Diglossie", "Dualismus", "Doppelsprachigkeit"

K. Krumbacher, *Το πρόβλημα της νεωτέρας γραφομένης ελληνικής ...*, τύποις Π. Δ. Σακελλαρίου, εν Αθήναις 1905 [*Das Problem der Neugriechischen Schriftsprache*, 1902]

Diglossie s. Doppelsprachigkeit.
Dionys von Halikarnass 20.
Dionysos, Zeitschrift 121.
Disraeli 116.
Doppelsprachigkeit im Neugriechischen 7,
14 ff., ihre historischen Gründe 16 ff.,
32 f., ihr historisches Recht 46.



διγλωσσία ἀνίατος . . .	122
διγλωσσίας ιστορική ἐξήγη- σις	19
διγλωσσίας ιστορικὸν δι- καιον	53
διγλωσσίας ἐπιζήμια ἀπο- τελέσματα	124

Other early uses of 'diglossia': Daniel Quinn (1901)

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN GREECE AND SOME

The phenomenon of diglossy does not suppose that the inhabitants of one and the same locality speak two languages so unlike as to be conceded by all to be entirely distinct, as, for example, where certain communities of Germans or French in North America speak not only a variety of English, but also a variety of their ancestral Teutonic or Latin tongue. These colonists can not by reason of the retention of their mother tongue, in addition to their acquired faculty in English, be said to be merely diglossic. They are bilingual out and out. Diglossy simply supposes that in a given community the phase or quality of language used by the educated classes is notably different from that of the lower strata of society; or, again, that the written language of the educated classes is different from their spoken language, because of their tendency in written language to imitate more ancient or classical composition, while in spoken intercourse they keep closer to the mode of speech in vogue

is proper for the written document.

The phenomenon of diglossy does not suppose that the inhabitants of one and the same locality speak two languages so unlike as to be conceded by all to be entirely distinct, as, for example, where certain communities of Germans or French in North America speak not only a variety of English, but also a variety of their ancestral Teutonic or Latin tongue. These colonists can not by reason of the retention of their mother tongue, in addition to their acquired faculty in English, be said to be merely diglossic. They are bilingual out and out. Diglossy simply supposes that in a given community the phase or quality of language used by the educated classes is notably different from that of the lower strata of society; or, again, that the written language of the educated classes is different from their spoken language, because of their tendency in written language to imitate more ancient or classical composition, while in spoken intercourse they keep closer to the mode of speech in vogue

ED 1900—VOL II—2

1297

The Language Question and the spread of «διγλωσσία»

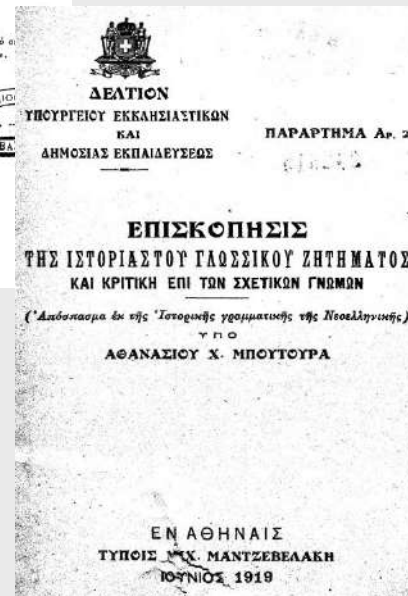
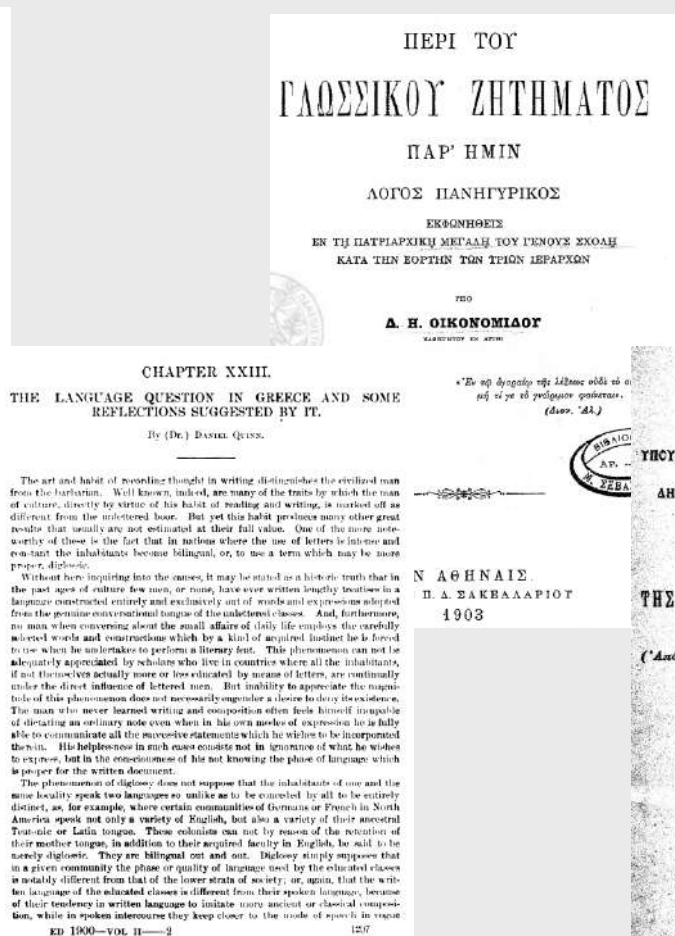
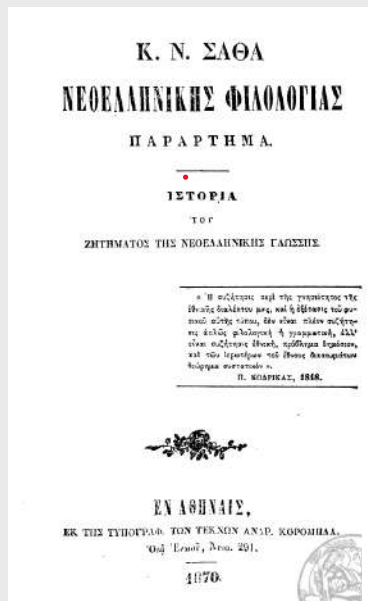
1870

1901

1903

1919

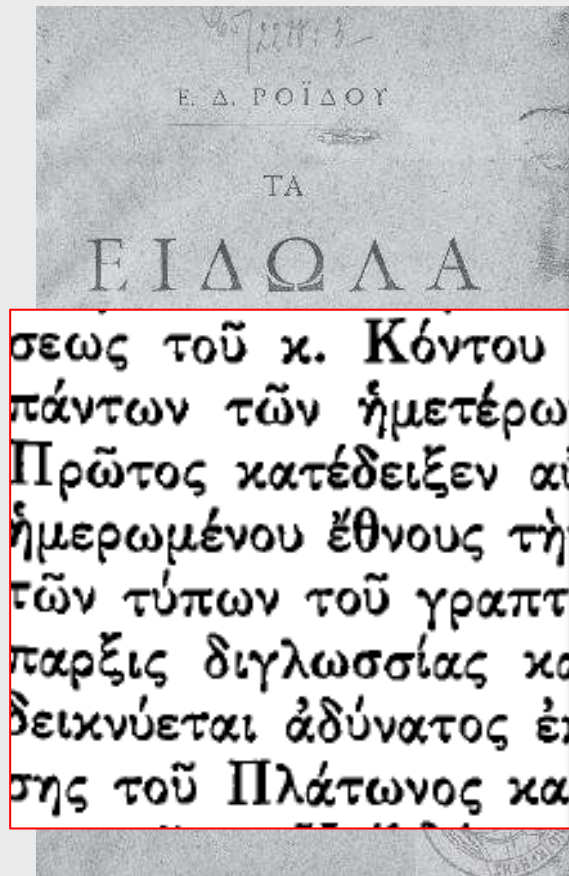
1925/7



Typologies: Ροΐδης (1893)

Εμμανουήλ Δ. Ροΐδης, *Τα είδωλα: Γλωσσική μελέτη*, in *Άπαντα Δ'*, Ερμής, Αθήνα 1978, pp. 93-363 [first edition: έκδοσις Εστίας, εν Αθήναις 1893].

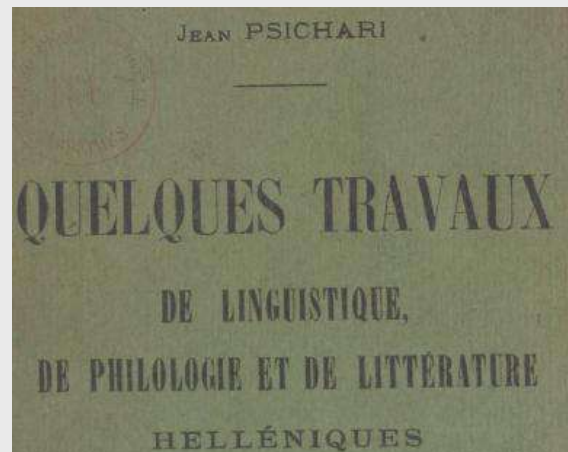
ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Ζ'



Confusion about language and style among all our scholars. Sp. Trikoupis was the first to point this out: that in the language of no civilized nation is there a difference between the forms of written and spoken speech. That the existence of bilingualism in the time of Pericles is proven impossible by the uniformity between the language of Plato and that of the people as portrayed by Aristophanes.

Typologies: Ψυχάρης (1895)

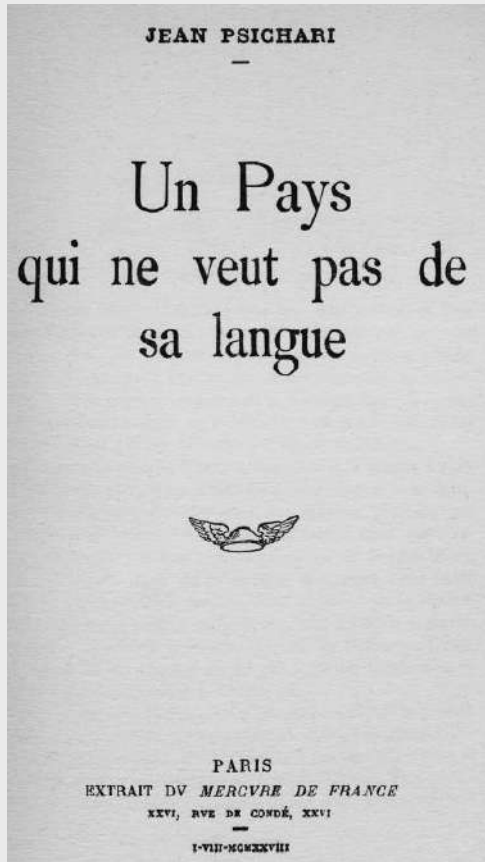
Jean Psichari, « Les idoles », *Revue critique* XXIX, 1895, pp. 281-293.



ficielle. Il y a malheureusement, entre ces *diglossies* diverses et la *diglossie* grecque, une différence toute petite, mais toute essentielle : c'est que ce sont là des *diglossies* normales, ayant suivi leur évolution naturelle et non point des *diglossies* artificielles et voulues. Nulle part on n'a *ressuscité* ὄδωρ pour l'enseigner et pour l'écrire à la place de νερό. Cela ne se voit qu'en Grèce. La comparaison d'une *diglossie* grecque avec celle des au-

Typologies: Ψυχάρης (1928)

Jean Psichari, *Un pays qui ne veut pas de sa langue*, *Mercure de France* 26, 1928.



- He denies the existence of diglossia in Ancient Greece. He does not consider Atticism to be a precedent of MG diglossia.
- « La diglossie véritable, la dévastatrice de l'Hellénisme, commence en réalité au IV^e siècle de notre ère à Byzance, avec Constantin le Grand ».
- « La diglossie italienne et la diglossie française sont jeux d'enfant à côté de ce que nous avons à Byzance ».

Typologies: Krumbacher (1902/1905)

K. Krumbacher, *Το πρόβλημα της νεωτέρας γραφομένης ελληνικής ...*, τύποις Π. Δ. Σακελλαρίου, εν Αθήναις 1905 [*Das Problem der Neugriechischen Schriftsprache*, 1902].

— 114 —

Der vergleichende Ueberblick über analoge Erscheinungen in anderen Völkern könnte noch weiter ausgedehnt werden. In R

Τὸ βλέμμα τοῦ ἐρευνῶντος νὰ ἀνεύρῃ ἀνάλογα φαινόμενα παρ' ἄλλοις λαοῖς ἡδύνατο νὰ ἐκταθῇ ἀκόμη εὐρύτερον. Ἐν Ῥουμανίᾳ π. χ. ἐνεφανίσθησαν ἐντελῶς ὅμοιαι πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ (1860) κλασσικίζουσά τις μὲν τὴν ρουμανικὴν γραφομένην ἡ εὐρωπαϊκὴν τοιαύτην ἡ ἑβραϊκὴν στοιχείων καὶ νὰ ὁμοιωθῇ ὁμοίως διὰ τὸ ρουμανικὸν ἡ ἑλληνικὴ πλάνη. Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ κινήματα. Πρό τινος ἐποχῆς ἡ μόνη καλὴ Ἱταλὶς (Trecento) καὶ ἐπὶ ἡ σλαβικὴ εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ταύτην γλῶσσαν προφῆτης βοῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

Καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ νορβηγικὸν γλωσσικὸν ζήτημα ἐπεκα-

formen, von denen nur die eine literarisch durchgebildet ist, andere nicht. Ebensovienig passt natürlich der von Griechen gewachte Vergleich ihres sprachlichen Dualismus mit dem Gegensatz zwischen Schrifthochdeutsch und Niederdeutsch oder Vlāmisch oder gar zwischen Schriftdeutsch und süddeutschen Dialekten oder irgend welchen lokalen und familiären A

He compares the Greek language question with the Norwegian one, and Greek diglossia with the difference between 'written High German' and 'Low German'; he argues that the attempted analogies do not hold.

λέσθησαν οἱ νεώτεροι Ἕλληνες εἰς τὴν περὶ τῆς γλώσσης ἔριν ὡς ἐπιχείρημα κατὰ τῆς δημώδους γλώσσης. Βεβαίως οὐχὶ ὁρθῶς· διότι ἐν ταῖς προσπάθειαις τῶν Νορβηγῶν, νὰ ἀντικαταστήσωσι τὸν φυσικὸν λόγον τῆς Νορβηγίας ἢ νορβηγικὴν τινα διάλεκτον, πρόκειται περὶ δύο ὁμοίων γλωσσικῶν μορφῶν, ἀπεικῶς, ἢ δὲ ἐτέρα οὐχί. ὁρθῶς τολμῶσιν οἱ Ἕλλησιν ἀπὸς τὴν ἀντίθεσιν τῆς γερμανικῆς γλώσσης (ὁρεινῆς Γερμανίας) καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τῆς βορείας ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης ἢ καὶ τῆς γλώσσης καὶ τῶν διαλέκτων τῆς βορείας ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης. ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ τοπικῶς περιωρισμένῳ ἢ οἰκιακῶν ἐκφράσεων (16). Καὶ ἡ τῆς μέσης Ῥωσσίας (grossrussische) γραφομένη γλῶσσα, ἢ καὶ αὐτὴ συμπαράσῳρη, ἰδίως εἰς στερεοτύπους φράσεις, καὶ τινα στοιχεῖα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς σλαβικῆς γλώσσης, ἔχει οὐσιωδῶς τοιαύτην σχέσιν πρὸς τὴν γλῶσσαν τῆς μεσημβρινῆς καὶ τὴν τῆς δυτικῆς Ῥωσσίας, ἢ σχέσιν ἔχει ἡ γραφομένη γλῶσσα τῆς ὁρεινῆς Γερμανίας πρὸς τὰς διαλέκτους τῆς πεδινῆς Γερμανίας, καὶ δὲν δύναται ἐπομένως οὐδ' αὐτὴ νὰ συγκριθῇ πρὸς τὴν ἐν Ἑλλάδι διγλωσσίαν.

verhält
inige alte
Weiss-
Schrift-
ebenfalls

Typologies: Karl Brugmann (1906/1907)

Karl Brugman[n], *Γραφή και δημοτική και το γλωσσικό ζήτημα στην Ελλάδα*, Αθήνα 1907, pp. 23-24 [“Schrift- und Volks-sprache und die ‘Sprachfrage’ der heutigen Griechen”, 1906].

KARL BRUGMAN

He rejects the analogies with Swiss German and the German-German linguistic situation: “In those places [...] no educated person looks down upon or disdainfully rejects their vernacular”.

— 24 —

δέν κοιτάζει καταφρονητικά κι' ἀκατάδεχτα τὴ δημοτικὴ του· στὴν Ἑλβετία μάλιστα ἂν μοναχὰ στὰ σαλόνια, παρὰ καὶ σὲ πολι-

Ναί, δὲ λέω, μολονότι κι' ἐκεῖ τῶν παιδιῶν τὰ γράμματα, φωμένοι τὴν ἀγαποῦν, ὅμως τὴ γραφτὴ τὴ γλῶσσα τῶν ροῖ τὴν ἀνωγερμανικὴ. Γιατί; ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλβετίας καὶ τοῦ ἀφιλονείκητο κύρος, κι' εἶναι κίλης καὶ πολὺτιμης διανο- ρυλὲς ὅσες τὸν παραδέχτηκαν

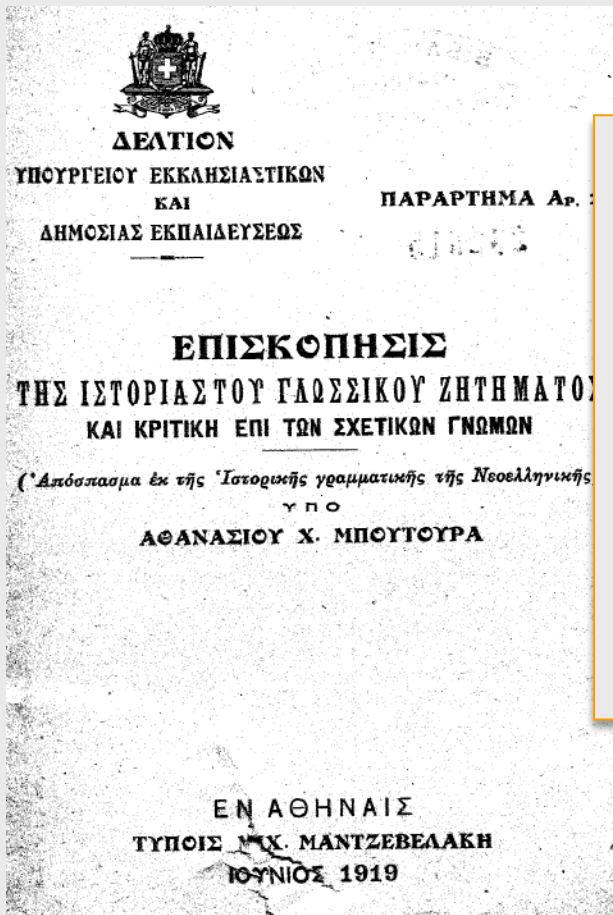
Οἱ Συντηρητικοὶ δέχονται παραλληλισμὸν πολιτισμένων λαῶν, καὶ θινὰ δίκιο. Ὡς τόσο, ψοῦνε σὲ παραδείγματ' Ἑλβετίας, γιὰ νὰ δὲ κοινοῦ καλοῦ κάπια τὸ μὴ μπορεῖ νὰ σταθεῖ. Ὁ μένει στὴν ἄκρη. Σ' αὐτὸ τοῦ μου κυρίως τὸ Μεκλεμπουργκ — κανεὶς μορφωμένος

ὡς γραφτὴ τις ὠφελεῖ ἀδιάκοπα μὲ τὸν ἴδιο τρόπο. Ἀνίσως δέν εἶταν ἔτσι, ἂν ἡ σημερινὴ ἀνωγερμανικὴ εἶταν περιορισμένη ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἑλβετικοῦ ἅς ποῦμε νομοῦ καὶ μόλις τώρα πρόβαλλε ὡς γλῶσσα λογοτεχνικῆ, τότες ὁ κόσμος θὰν τοὺς παρακινεῖσε δυνατὰ νὰν τὴν ξαπολύσουν καὶ νὰ γράφουν ἄλλεμανικὰ, καὶ δέν ἔχει λόγον τὴ συμβουλὴ θὰν τὴν ἀκούγαν. Ἑλληνικὴ ὅμως γραφτὴ δέν εἶναι ἀνάλογα ἐπίσημη καὶ γειτονικῶν πολιτισμένων κρατῶν μάλιστα, πρὶν κηρυχθεῖ ἀπαραίτητη, πρέπει δὲ πρῶτα νὰ δείξει ἴσως περγαμηνὰ ὡς γλῶσσα σημερινοῦ πολιτισμοῦ!

ΑΘΗΝΑ
1907

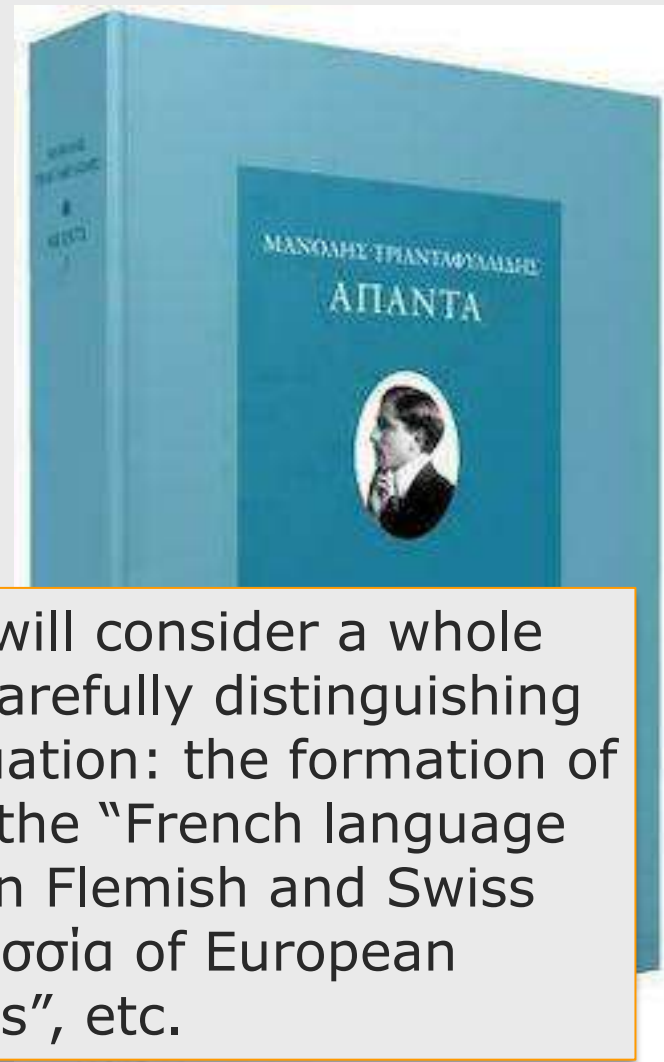
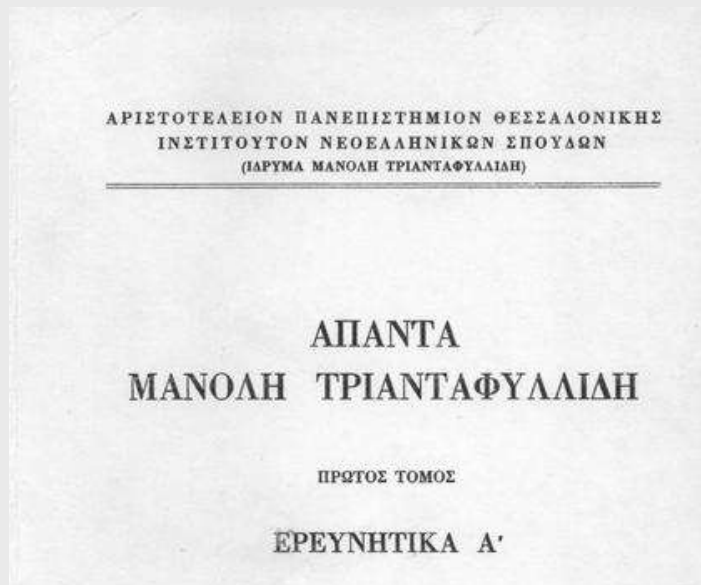
Typologies: A. X. Μπούτουρας (1919)

Αθανάσιος Χ. Μπούτουρας, *Επισκόπησις της ιστορίας του γλωσσικού ζητήματος και κριτική επί των σχετικών γνώμων*, τύποις Μιχ. Μαντζεβελάκη, εν Αθήναις 1919, p. 44.



dissimilar cases: Norwegian and Danish, because they are two contemporary forms of language, 'even though only one has a literary tradition'; German and Flemish, because 'this is a case of a common [standard] language and a dialect. This is not the case of katharevousa, which is a patchwork from different eras'.

Typologies: Μανόλης Τριανταφυλλίδης



Manolis Triantafyllidis will consider a whole constellation of cases, carefully distinguishing them from the Greek situation: the formation of the German language, the “French language question”, διγλωσσία in Flemish and Swiss schools, the “διγλωσσία of European languages”, etc.

Typologies: An exception to exceptionalism

Βλαστός Πέτρος, 1935. *Η ελληνική και μερικές άλλες παράλληλες διγλωσσίες*. Αθήνα: Εστία, pp. 8, 13, passim.

Βιάζομαι όμως να το πω πως ο ελληνισμός δεν είναι ο μονος αμαρτωλός που έπεσε στο γλωσσικό το κρίμα. Η λογοτεχνική διγλωσσία δεν είναι μοναχικό φαινόμενο· το ενάντιο ξαπλώνεται απ' όλες τις μεριές, και μπορούμε να ξεσηκώσουμε διάφορες μορφές της γλωσσικής αρώστιας στους περισσότερους τόπους που γνώρισαν ανθρωπισμό. Δεν πρέπει ν' απορήσει κανείς γι' αφτό· η φεγγοβολή που στεφανώνει κάθε ξεπερασμένο πολιτισμό, η τελετουργική α



Literary διγλωσσία is not a phenomenon unique [to Greece].

The earliest example of literary διπροσωπία is found in Hesiod.

μακριά
Μόλις
λογίας
κι αμέσως ανταμώνουμε το πρώτο παράδειγμα της
λογοτεχνικής διπροσωπίας. Εννοώ τον Ησίοδο. Η

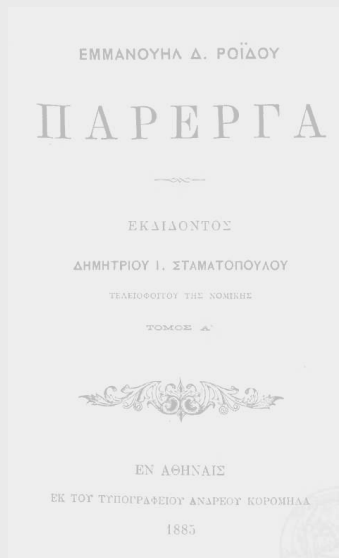
Typologies: Γ. Ν. Χατζιδάκις

Γεωργίου Ν. Χατζιδάκι, «Περί του γλωσσικού ζητήματος εν Ελλάδι» (1890), in *Γλωσσολογικαί Μελέται Α΄*, εκ του Τυπογραφείου Π. Δ. Σακελλαρίου, εν Αθήναις 1901, p. 240.

Thus developed the so-called Atticism, which in truth signifies διγλωσσία of a type that can be termed *historical* as opposed to διγλωσσία that might be called *contemporary [synchronic]*. The *historical* type arose from the fact that the educated segment of the nation attempted to speak and write as certain Greeks had spoken and written many centuries earlier, i.e., using an older phase of the language, while the majority of the uneducated population spoke in the contemporary form of the language. *Contemporary* διγλωσσία, on the other hand, arises naturally everywhere and always from the fact that people pay attention to language differently depending on context: a priest speaks differently from a fisherman, a general from a coachman, and so on. Such διγλωσσία also existed in the city of Athens, even in its finest times, as the general populace did not speak in the same manner as the great Plato. This difference was not limited only to syntax and vocabulary but extended even to grammar.

B. 1959: The late discovery of 'diglossia'

- A. 1885: The early discovery of 'diglossia'.
Diglossia and the Greek Language Question
- B. 1959: The late discovery of 'diglossia'.
Diglossia in Sociolinguistics.**
- C. Conclusions. A destructive approach

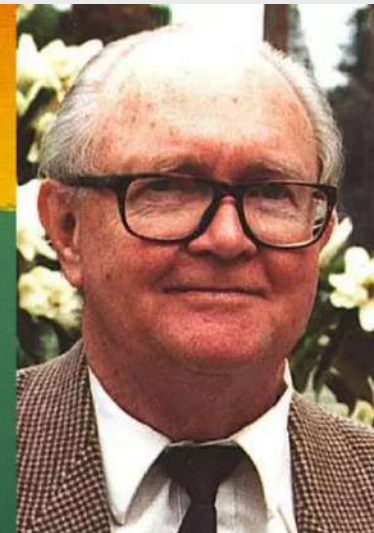


“Diglossia”

C. A. Ferguson, Diglossia, *Word* 15 (1959): 325-40.

Charles A. Ferguson (1921-1998)

- ▶ A Stanford University based Professor of Linguistics
- ▶ Noted for his works and article on “diglossia”
- ▶ More of a Linguist than a sociologists in comparison to Joshua Fishman



Ferguson: A list of cases, not a typology

C. A. Ferguson, Diglossia, *Word* 15 (1959): 325-40.

		H is called	L is called
Arabic	Classical (=H)	<i>'al-fuṣḥā</i>	<i>'al-ʿāmmiyyah</i> , <i>'ad-dārij</i>
	Egyptian (=L)	<i>'il-faṣiḥ</i> , <i>'in-naḥawī</i>	<i>'il-ʿammiyya</i>
Sw. German	Stand. German (=H)	<i>Schriftsprache</i>	<i>Hoochtüütsch</i>
	Swiss (=L)	<i>[Schweizer] Dialekt</i> , <i>Schweizerdeutsch</i>	<i>Schwyzertüütsch</i>
H. Creole	French (=H)	<i>français</i>	<i>créole haïtien</i>
Greek	H and L	<i>katharévusa</i>	<i>dhimotiki</i>

καθαρεύουσα

δημοτική

Ferguson's definition

- » *DIGLOSSIA is 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 conversation.*

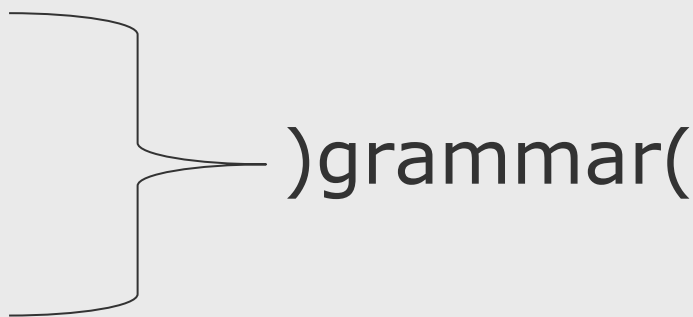
«Ferguson's 3 rubrics»

» **Diglossia** narrowly defined:

1. Two distinct varieties of the same language are used in the same community: H(igh) – L(ow) variety;
2. A specialization of function for H – L. H and L complement each other;
3. H is never used in everyday conversation, for casual or informal speech, small talk, etc.

diglossia $\neq$ standard + dialect

«Ferguson's 9 rubrics»

1. different function/**domains**
(πεδία χρήσης)
 2. prestige (κοινωνική αξιολόγηση)
 3. literary heritage (γραμματεία)
 4. mode of acquisition (τρόπος εκμάθησης)
 5. standardization (τυποποίηση)
 6. stability (σταθερότητα)
 7. phonology
 8. morphology
 9. vocabulary
- 
-)grammar(

The spread of 'diglossia'

Language in Society 21, 611–674. Printed in the United States of America

Diglossia: A bibliographic review¹

ALAN HUDSON

*Department of Linguistics
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, NM 87131-1196*

ABSTRACT

The bibliography following the body of this paper contains a total of 1,092 entries on the subject of diglossia. Entries dealing with diglossia in the classical sense of Ferguson (1959) and in the sense of functional compartmentalization of distinct languages are represented approximately equally. Scholarly publication in the area of diglossia continues unabated as indicated by the fact that approximately one-half of the entries in the bibliography were published between 1983 and 1992. However, there remains a need for a comprehensive integration, comparative analysis, and socioevolutionary interpretation of diglossia research. (Bilingualism, diglossia, functional variation, literary languages, registers, standard languages, standardization)

The bibliography that follows in these pages is offered to the readers of *Language in Society* as a research tool for the comparative and evolutionary study of diglossia. In the words of Ferguson (1959:340), the study of diglossia "is of clear value in understanding processes of linguistic change and presents interesting challenges to some of the assumptions of synchronic linguistics."² Additionally, and more broadly, it "promises material of great interest to social scientists in general, especially if a general frame of reference can be worked out for analysis of the use of one or more varieties of language within a speech community" (Ferguson 1959:340).

Ferguson's manifest intent in his original statement about diglossia was to characterize the situation in the Arabic-speaking world, and several other situations that resembled it, "in the hopes that here we would have discovered one possible element in a general typology of socio-linguistic situations" (Ferguson 1963a:163). The purpose of such a typology, clearly, was not merely to provide a convenient yet arbitrary system for cataloguing sociolinguistic situations, but rather to induce movement "toward a more general theory of language in society" (Ferguson 1991:232), in which "the relations between linguistic structure, language use, and language attitudes on the one hand and phenomena of social organization and communicative functions on the

© 1992 Cambridge University Press 0047-4045/92 \$5.00 + .00

611

1992

≈ 1,100 entries

Library and Information Sources in Linguistics 23

Diglossia

A comprehensive bibliography,
1960–1990, and supplements

Mauro Fernández

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY

1993

≈ 3,000 entries

The spread of 'diglossia'

The image shows a Google Scholar search interface. The top search bar contains the word 'diglossia'. Below it, a second search bar shows 'diglossie', which is circled in red. To the left of the second search bar, the text 'About 21,700 results (0.05 sec)' is also circled in red. The left sidebar contains filters for 'Articles', 'Any time', 'Since 2024', 'Since 2023', 'Since 2020', 'Custom range...', 'Sort by relevance', 'Sort by date', 'Any type', 'Review articles', 'include patents', 'include citations', and 'Create alert'. The main content area displays three search results. The first result is titled '[HTML] à propos de la notion de diglossie.' by A Tabouret-Keller, published in 'Langage et société' in 2006. The second result is titled 'La diglossie comme conflit: l'exemple occitan' by P Gardy and R Lafont, published in 'Langages' in 1981. The third result is titled '[PDF] Plurilinguisme et diglossie en Tunisie' by S Mejjri, M Said, and I Sfar, published in 'Synergies Tunisie' in 2009. Each result includes a brief abstract and links for 'Save', 'Cite', 'Cited by', 'Related articles', and 'All versions'.

Google Scholar diglossia

Articles

Any time

Since 2024

Since 2023

Since 2020

Custom range...

Sort by relevance

Sort by date

Any type

Review articles

☐ include patents

☒ include citations

☒ Create alert

Google Scholar diglossie

About 21,700 results (0.05 sec)

Tip: Search for English results only. You can specify your search language in Scholar Settings.

[HTML] à propos de la notion de diglossie.

A Tabouret-Keller - Langage et société, 2006 - cairn.info

Deux aspects de l'application des qualifications « haute » et « basse » aux situations de diglossie sont abordés : les changements de sens qui les ont affectées en association à la ...

☆ Save Cite Cited by 70 Related articles All 11 versions

La diglossie comme conflit: l'exemple occitan

P Gardy, R Lafont - Langages, 1981 - JSTOR

... diglossie telle que l'ont établie FERGUSON, Fishman et leurs disciples. Sans remettre en cause les éléments de base de cette théorie, les recherches sur la diglossie ... de la diglossie, en ...

☆ Save Cite Cited by 242 Related articles All 4 versions

[PDF] Plurilinguisme et diglossie en Tunisie

S Mejjri, M Said, I Sfar - Synergies Tunisie, 2009 - gerflint.fr

Si l'histoire de la Tunisie est marquée par la diversité des peuples et des cultures qui s'y sont succédés, son présent n'en est pas moins marqué par une ouverture sur l'autre proche ou ...

☆ Save Cite Cited by 70 Related articles All 4 versions

Reappropriation: Modern literature on Greek diglossia

Fred W. Householder, "Greek diglossia," In: *Report of the Thirteenth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies*, ed. Elisabeth D. Woodworth and Robert J. DiPietro, Georgetown University Press, Washington, DC 1962, pp. 109-132; (with the assistance of K. Kazazis) *Greek Triglossia*, Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington, IN 1974.

Kostas Kazazis, "Sunday Greek," In: *Papers from the Fourth Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society*, The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 1968, pp. 130-140; "A superficially unusual feature of Greek diglossia," In: *Papers from the Twelfth Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society*, ed. Salikoko S. Mufwene, Carol A. Walker and Sanford B. Steever, Chicago Linguistic Society, Chicago, IL 1976, pp. 369-375.

E. Petrounias, "Modern Greek diglossia and its sociocultural implications," *Linguistic Communications* 2, 1970, 117-157; "The Modern Greek language and diglossia," In: *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina*, τ. 1: *The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, ed. Speros Vryonis, Undena Publications, Malibu 1978, pp. 193-220.

Dimitri Sotiropoulos, "Diglossia and the national language question in Modern Greece," *Linguistics* 197, 1977, pp. 5-31; "The social roots of Modern Greek diglossia," *Language Problems and Language Planning* 6(1), 1982, pp. 1-28.

Peter Hawkins, "Greek diglossia and variation theory," *General Linguistics* 19(4), 1979, pp. 169-187; "Diglossia revisited," *Language and Communication* 3, 1983, pp. 219-232.

Reappropriation: Modern literature on Greek diglossia

Georges Drettas, « La diglossie: Un pelerinage aux sources, » *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 76(1), 1981, pp. 61-98. « Les mots savants ont une histoire ..., » *La Linguistique* 22(1), 1986, pp. 137-142.

G. Babinotis, "A linguistic approach to the 'Language Question' in Greece," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 5, 1979, pp. 1-16.

P. Daltas, "The concept of diglossia from a variationist point of view with reference to Greek," *Archivum Linguisticum* 11, 1980, pp. 65-88.

Irene Philippaki Warburton, "Greek diglossia and some aspects of the phonology of common Modern Greek," *Journal of Linguistics* 16, 1980, pp. 45-54.

Joseph E. Pentheroudakis, "(Some of) the pragmatics of diglossia: Evidence from Modern Greek literature," *Folia Slavica* 4(2-3), 1981, pp. 352-356.

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

Margaret Alexiou, "Diglossia in Greece," In: *Standard Languages Spoken and Written*, ed. W. Haas, Manchester Univ. Press, Manchester 1982, pp. 156-192.

Peter Mackridge, *The Modern Greek Language: A Descriptive Analysis of Standard Modern Greek*, Oxford University Press, London 1985, ἰδιαιτέρα pp. 1-14, 338-360; "Katharevousa (c. 1800-1974): An obituary for an Official Language," In: *Background to Contemporary Greece*, ed. Marion Sarafis και Martin Eve, Merlin Press, London 1990, pp. 25-51.

Reappropriation: Modern literature on Greek diglossia

D. M. Landsman, "The Greeks' sense of language and the 1976 linguistic reforms: Illusions and disappointments," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 13, 1989, pp. 159-182; *Theories of Diglossia, Linguistic Variation and Speaker Attitudes, with Special Reference to Modern Developments in Modern Greek*, διδακτορική διατριβή, University of Cambridge 1989.

Evanthia Tsiouris, *Modern Greek: A study of diglossia*, διδακτορική διατριβή, Univ. of Exeter 1989.

Elli Doukanari, "Greek diglossia to Greek dimorphia: A new dilemma for linguists and teachers," In: *Linguistics and Language Pedagogy: The State of the Art (Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1991)*, ed. James E. Alatis, Georgetown Univ. Press, Washington D.C. 1991, pp. 509-527.

Margaret Kofod, "The influence of Katharevousa on the phonology of Modern Greek," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 16, 1992, pp. 84-109.

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

...

Anna Frangoudaki, "Greek societal bilingualism of more than a century", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 157, 2002, pp. 101-107.

Diglossia still existing?

It was a highly controversial topic in the 19th and 20th centuries, and was finally resolved in 1976 when Demotic was made the official language. The language phenomenon in question, which also occurs elsewhere in the world, is called diglossia.



Wikipedia

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek_language_quest...](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek_language_question)

Greek language question - Wikipedia

Language in Society 21, 365-381. Printed in the United States of America

**Diglossia and the present language situation in Greece:
A sociological approach to the interpretation of
diglossia and some hypotheses on
today's linguistic reality¹**

ANNA FRANGOUDAKI

Greek diglossia, described as a particularly problematic issue of great complexity (Seed 1987), has formally ceased to exist since the language reform voted unanimously by the Greek Parliament in 1976. Nevertheless, the language situation today, more than 15 years after the reform, is confused. On the basis of the linguistic data available, scholars disagree, some arguing that diglossia has ceased to exist (Mackridge 1985), whereas others consider that it is still prevalent in Greek society (Alexiou 1982; Browning 1982; Seed 1987).

© 1992 Cambridge University Press 0047-4045/92 \$5.00 + .00

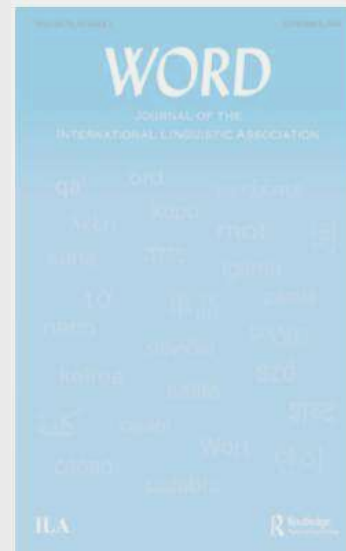
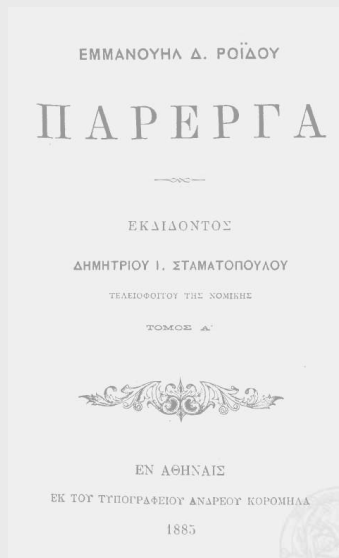
diglossia = ?

- ▶ «διγλωσσία» (= ? bilingualism)
- ▶ «διμορφία»,
- ▶ «διφυΐα»,
- ▶ «διπλογλωσσία»,
- ▶ «κοινωνική διγλωσσία»

Καρβούνης Χρήστος, 2023. *Κοινωνική διγλωσσία και γλωσσική ιδεολογία: Συμβολή στην ιστορία της κοινής νεοελληνικής (1783 – 1941)*. Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, pp. 472-480.

C. Conclusions

- A. 1885: The early discovery of 'diglossia'.
Diglossia and the Greek Language Question
- B. 1959: The late discovery of 'diglossia'.
Diglossia in Sociolinguistics
- C. Conclusions. A de(con)structive approach



A de(con)structive approach



- » Rather than being a sociolinguistic model describing an actual language situation, diglossia should be interpreted as a **perceptual model**—essentially, an oversimplified understanding of the continuum of language variation. This oversimplification facilitates ideological contests. It has been the common presupposition of the Greek Language Question.
- » The problem with diglossia lies at its core: the postulation of a “**bipolar opposition**” (Ferguson 1991), which obscures much of linguistic variability.

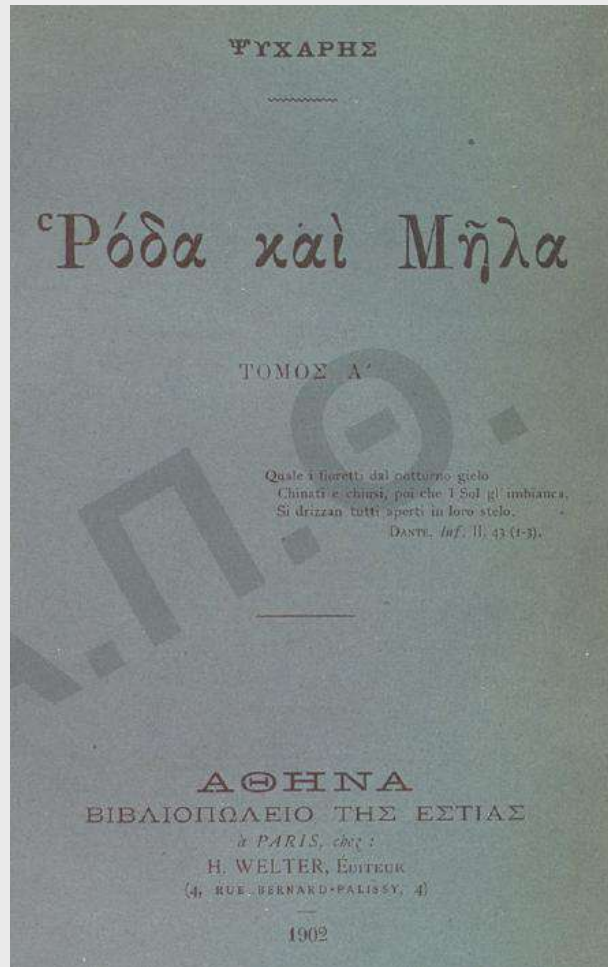
Ferguson Charles A., 1991. Diglossia revisited. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 10.1: 214-234.

Thank you!



Typologies: Ψυχάρης (1902)

Ψυχάρης, *Ρόδα και μήλα Α'*, Βιβλιοπωλείο της Εστίας, Αθήνα 1902, pp. 154-155.



Ξέρω τί θὰ μὲ πῆτε· δὲν ἔγραψαν πάντα μήτε σ' ὅλους τοὺς τόπους τῇ γλώσσᾳ ποῦ μιλοῦσαν¹. Εἶναι βέβαιον. Μάλιστα στὰνατολικά μέρη φαίνεται μιὰ κάποια διγλωσσία νὰ εἶναι νόμος ἱστορικός. Στὴν Καλκούττα καὶ στὸ Μπέναρς, ἀκόμη καὶ σήμερα, τυπώνονται φημερίδες σασκριτικές· κανεῖς ὅμως δὲ μιλεῖ σασκριτικά. Στὴν Κίνα ἡ γλώσσα τοῦ λαοῦ δὲ γράφηκε ποτές. Οἱ Ἀραβες ἄλλη γλώσσα μιλοῦν καὶ ἄλλη γράφουν. Ἔτσι καὶ μεῖς. Ἀλλοὺς πάλι τοὺς ἀρέ-

They didn't always write in the language they spoke, nor did they do so everywhere. This is certain. In fact, in the eastern regions, some form of bilingualism seems to be almost a natural law. In Calcutta and Benares, even today, newspapers are printed in Sanskrit; yet no one speaks Sanskrit. In China, the language of the people was never written. Arabs speak one language and write in another. And so it is with us as well.