



FACHLITERATUR
EDITION ROMIOSINI
ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ



ICGL12 | 12th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON GREEK LINGUISTICS
16 – 19 SEPTEMBER 2015
FREIE UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN, CEMOG

Proceedings of the ICGL12

vol. 1

The International Conference on Greek Linguistics is a biennial meeting on the study and analysis of Greek (Ancient, Medieval and Modern), placing particular emphasis on the later stages of the language.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ICGL12
ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ ICGL12

**Thanasis Georgakopoulos, Theodossia-Soula Pavlidou, Miltos Pechlivanos,
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**PROCEEDINGS OF THE 12TH INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON GREEK LINGUISTICS**

**ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ 12^{ΟΥ} ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ
ΓΛΩΣΣΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ**

VOL. 1



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Vertrieb und Gesamtherstellung: Epubli (www.epubli.de)
Satz und Layout: Rea Papamichail / Center für Digitale Systeme, Freie Universität Berlin
Gesetzt aus Minion Pro
Umschlaggestaltung: Thanasis Georgiou, Yorgos Konstantinou
Umschlagillustration: Yorgos Konstantinou

ISBN 978-3-946142-34-8
Printed in Germany

Online-Bibliothek der Edition Romiosini:
www.edition-romiosini.de

*Στη μνήμη του Gaberell Drachman (†10.9.2014)
και της Αγγελικής Μαλικούτη-Drachman (†4.5.2015)
για την τεράστια προσφορά τους στην ελληνική γλωσσολογία
και την αγάπη τους για την ελληνική γλώσσα*

ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ ΕΚΔΟΤΩΝ

Το 12ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας (International Conference on Greek Linguistics/ICGL12) πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Κέντρο Νέου Ελληνισμού του Ελεύθερου Πανεπιστημίου του Βερολίνου (Centrum Modernes Griechenland, Freie Universität Berlin) στις 16-19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2015 με τη συμμετοχή περίπου τετρακοσίων συνέδρων απ' όλον τον κόσμο.

Την Επιστημονική Επιτροπή του ICGL12 στελέχωσαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου, Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος, Άρτεμις Αλεξιάδου, Δώρα Αλεξοπούλου, Γιάννης Ανδρουτσόπουλος, Αμαλία Αρβανίτη, Σταύρος Ασημακόπουλος, Αλεξάνδρα Γεωργακοπούλου, Κλεάνθης Γκρώμαν, Σαβίνα Ιατρίδου, Mark Janse, Brian Joseph, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Ναπολέον Κάτσος, Ευαγγελία Κορδώνη, Αμαλία Μόζερ, Ελένη Μπουτουλούση, Κική Νικηφορίδου, Αγγελική Ράλλη, Άννα Ρούσσο, Αθηνά Σιούπη, Σταύρος Σκοπετέας, Κατερίνα Στάθη, Μελίτα Σταύρου, Αρχόντω Τερζή, Νίνα Τοπιντζή, Ιάνθη Τσιμπλή και Σταυρούλα Τσιπλάκου.

Την Οργανωτική Επιτροπή του ICGL12 στελέχωσαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Κώστας Κοσμάς, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου και Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος.

Οι δύο τόμοι των πρακτικών του συνεδρίου είναι προϊόν της εργασίας της Εκδοτικής Επιτροπής στην οποία συμμετείχαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου, Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος, Άρτεμις Αλεξιάδου, Γιάννης Ανδρουτσόπουλος, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Σταύρος Σκοπετέας και Κατερίνα Στάθη.

Παρότι στο συνέδριο οι ανακοινώσεις είχαν ταξινομηθεί σύμφωνα με θεματικούς άξονες, τα κείμενα των ανακοινώσεων παρατίθενται σε αλφαβητική σειρά, σύμφωνα με το λατινικό αλφάβητο· εξαίρεση αποτελούν οι εναρκτήριες ομιλίες, οι οποίες βρίσκονται στην αρχή του πρώτου τόμου.

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“LEARN GRAMMAR”:
SEXIST LANGUAGE AND IDEOLOGY
IN A CORPUS OF GREEK PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

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Περίληψη

Στην παρούσα μελέτη αναλύονται φαινόμενα γλωσσικού σεξισμού σε ένα σώμα εγγράφων της Ελληνικής δημόσιας διοίκησης. Στόχος είναι η ανάδειξη σχέσεων ισχύος και κυριαρχίας οι οποίες αντανακλώνται και διατηρούνται στον δημόσιο λόγο στην Ελλάδα μέσω σεξιστικών γλωσσικών χρήσεων. Εξετάζουμε δείγμα 949 διοικητικών εγγράφων σε χρήση σε δήμους, περιφέρειες και υπουργεία. Τα ευρήματά μας τεκμηριώνουν την προτεραιότητα ή/και την αποκλειστική χρήση του αρσενικού γραμματικού γένους ακόμα και όταν το κείμενο αναφέρεται ή απευθύνεται αποκλειστικά σε γυναίκες. Αυτό έχει σαν αποτέλεσμα την αποφυγή της άμεσης αναφοράς και τη μη ορατότητα των γυναικών για το σύνολο των κοινωνικών και επαγγελματικών ταυτοτήτων που περιλαμβάνονται στη βάση δεδομένων μας και συνδέεται με αντίστοιχες επιλογές σε θεσμικά περιβάλλοντα, όπως το κοινοβουλευτικό.

Keywords: gender, language sexism, public documents, grammatical standards

1. Introduction: How much grammar do we need to know?

The following conversation took place during the 2nd parliamentary sitting for the election of the President of the Greek Democracy on December, 2014. MPs are called

via the procedure of the roll-call vote to either state the name of their chosen candidate or their presence in the procedure which equals to a negative vote. The Chair, Danis Tzamtzis invites a Syriza MP, Afroditi Stambouli, to respond to the call:

(1¹)

Participants:

Chair: Danis Tzamtzis ΔΤζ /DTz (New Democracy)

Markos Bolaris - ΜπΜ/ΒΜ (independent MP)

Afrodite Stambouli - ΣΑ /SA (SYRIZA)

1. DTz: Stambouli Afroditi
- 2. SA: Pre[sent-FEM²]=
3. DTz: [Present-MASC]
4. SA: = write down Your Honor. [You have changed the sex], [to all of us]
5. DTz: [Bolaris Markos]
6. BM: [Present-MASC]
- 7. DTz: Learn grammar. Bolaris Markos.
8. BM: Present-MASC

Stambouli responds by means of the feminine form of the participle, i.e. she states ‘present-FEM’, which corresponds to a negative vote (turn 2). She goes on to request the recording of the feminine form, in turn 4, which overlaps with Tzamtzis’ repair via repetition of the masculine form of the participle (turn 3: present-MASC). His repair consists of hypercorrection with regards to the male/masculine dominance, as a ‘grammatical standard’ that has been established in Modern Greek. Based on the perceived exclusive use of the generic masculine, even when females are addressed, Tzamtzis via repetition repairs the statements of all women MPs who choose “Present-feminine” in the rest of the voting process. In this particular episode, when Stambouli’s challenges him for “having changed the gender/sex” of all women MPs (turn 4), Tzamtzis, with a bald-on-record directive, orders his interlocutor to ‘learn grammar’

1 Transcription symbols used for excerpt 8

= latching

[] simultaneous speech

2 Abbreviations: ACC: accusative, FEM: feminine, GEN: genitive case, MASC: masculine, MASC/FEM: either masculine or feminine, NEUTER: neuter, PL: plural, SG: singular.

(turn 7), portraying her as incompetent as far as the proper use of the Greek language is concerned (Georgalidou 2015, 2016).

We consider this episode as indicative of the confusion as to the proper/ grammatical use of gender and the inconsistency in the correspondence of the gender/sex of persons of reference and gender morphology of lexical items referring to women. The call for ‘grammaticality’ and instances of hypercorrection³ that result in the pragmatically dysfunctional use of basically masculine word forms, both in the excerpt and in the bulk of the official public documents discussed henceforth, attest to the ongoing debate concerning standardness in Greece. The lack of representation of women via feminine forms and gender agreement in the feminine, whenever women are addressed or referred to, lies at the heart of this debate. What is more, language reform that was advocated in the second wave of feminist linguistics has yet to be discussed in the Greek socio-political context, in which puristic tendencies as to the generic use of the masculine are compatible with the dominant ideological beliefs with regards to gender roles that are in social circulation in Greece.

Based on the issues raised in the analysis of excerpt 1, the present study consists of an analysis of sexist language phenomena in a corpus of Greek public documents (PDs). It aims to highlight the gender power role relationships that are reflected as well as sustained in the broader Greek socio-ideological context through the use of sexist language. More specifically, it aims to explore, among others, the extent to which the public documents under analysis, are seen as representative of dominant ideological beliefs with regards to gender roles that are in social circulation in the Greek context.

Language sexism is seen as the tendency to speak of people as cultural stereotypes of their gender and is mostly conveyed through treating words/ language choices that refer to women as marked. At the same time, unmarked words are those that primarily refer to men or generically to both men and women. In this way, women are either ignored, rendered invisible, defined narrowly or depreciated through language choices (Henley, 1987; Weatherall, 2002: 13). Our analysis of the phenomenon was conducted in two stages: a) qualitative discourse analysis of selected documents that explicitly refer to and/or address groups of citizens with specific attributes and b) quantitative through the software ATLAS.ti. Our findings document the foregrounding and/or the dominant use of the male/masculine gender -even when females

3 i.e. an extreme case of applying a perceived grammatical standard pertaining to prestigious varieties that ends up in dysfunctional discourse (Labov 1972).

are exclusively addressed in the PDs- which, in turn, results in the lack of direct reference and visibility of females for the total of the social and professional identities included in our dataset.

2. Greek grammatical gender and public discourse

Every Greek noun belongs to one of three gender classes, namely the masculine, the feminine and the neuter. Gender classes do not necessarily correspond to male, female or inanimate referents. Nevertheless, most nouns denoting humans are in the masculine form when referring to male and the feminine when referring to female persons. The majority of nouns in the singular form of the nominative case can be assigned to one of the three genders based on the ending.

A category of nouns that is of particular interest to this study are the so called “professional nouns”, i.e. nouns denoting occupation or other attributes of the persons they refer to. The feminine form of the majority of those nouns is considered a derivative of the male form, either via a. feminine endings (δάσκαλος ‘teacher-MASC’-δασκάλα ‘teacher-FEM’) or b. the feminine suffixes –tria (-τρια), -tra (-τρα), -issa (-ισσα), -ina (-ινα) and –ida (-ιδα) (Holton et al. 2004: 241). A third category consists of nouns of the so-called “common gender”, i.e. nouns which follow the declension patterns of the masculine (ο/η εισαγγελέας / δικηγόρος / πρύτανης ‘the-MASC/the-FEM district attorney / lawyer / rector-MASC/FEM’) (Holton et al. 2004: 23). The sex of the person(s) denoted is determined by modifiers (articles, adjectives e.t.c.). When the sex of the persons referred to is unknown, or a group of both males and females is addressed or referred to, nouns, pronouns and modifiers/determiners appear in the masculine form, or, in other words, in the dominant grammatical gender (το “ισχυρό γένος”).

Despite the fact that feminine endings or suffixes are available in the Greek morphology, the so called “common” or “inclusive” gender is the preferred choice of the speakers of Greek, especially when professions of higher social status are concerned (ο/η γιατρός / the-MASC/the-FEM doctor-MASC/FEM instead of η γιατρ-ίνα / η γιάτρ-ισσα / the-FEM doctor-FEM). However, for professions of lesser social status (such as ο κομμωτής / η κομμώτρια / the-MASC hairdresser-MASC / the-FEM hairdresser-FEM, ο καθαριστής / η καθαρίστρια / the-MASC cleaner-MASC / the-FEM cleaner-FEM), exclusive forms of feminine and masculine morphology for the respective sexes are quite often available. Preference for this morphological pattern is compatible with

the higher status acquired by high varieties and formal registers of mostly archaic origin in Modern Greek, as opposed to derivatives pertaining to Dhimitiki. The fact that women have entered professions of higher social status and traditionally male professional domains in the recent years partially explains this tendency. However, the distribution of the above mentioned forms in different registers, genres and communicative events has not been systematically examined.

The standardized preference for the default use of the male/masculine gender when mixed groups are addressed, as well as preference for the so called “common” gender morphological patterns result in abundant examples, at least in the domain of public administration, of referring to or addressing female persons by means of masculine noun phrases. The aim of this paper is to discuss this tendency not only as a sedimented form of sexism but, what is more, as a source of confusion on the part of both authors and speakers with regards to the male/masculine gender dominance and the resulting production of dysfunctional discourse. The first example, coming from the domain of Parliamentary Discourse, is absolutely indicative of the above mentioned instability as to the grammatical use of gender.

3. Language sexism within 2nd & 3rd wave feminist linguistics

Sexist language has been the focus of the so called 2nd Wave Feminist Linguistics dealing primarily with sedimented forms of sexism embedded within the morphology of the language system itself (Mills 2003). Despite justified criticism relating to a) the essentialization of gender differences, b) the perception of women as a homogenized group and c) the less than sufficient analysis of verbal choices and the construction of multiple identities in specific conversational and institutional contexts, 2nd WFL has greatly contributed to the recognition of sexist language as a social problem calling for political action.

In the Greek context, research on issues of representation of genders in Greek discourse started in the 1980s (Pavlidou, 1985; 2002; 2006; Makri-Tsilipakou, 1989 and more recently Alvanoudi, 2014; Pavlidou et al., 2015). They all mark the predominant use of the masculine in Greek discourse, since masculine nouns denoting humans in Greek are twice as many as the feminine ones (Pavlidou, Alvanoudi and Karafoti, 2004). To this end, various proposals with regards to non-sexist language use were published. One of them is the *Guide* of non-sexist language use in Greek public dis-

course, published by the non-governmental organisation *Union of Greek Women Scientists* (Tsokalidou, 1996). Almost twenty years later, in 2012, under pressure from the European Social Fund, the Ministry of Interior and Administrative Reconstruction via the General Secretariat for Gender Equality invited proposals for the elaboration of a *Guide for the Use of Non-sexist Language in Public Documents*. The Guide is the first formal attempt on the part of the Greek state to plan feminist language reform in administrative documents and the current study is part of this endeavour (see also Lampropoulou & Georgalidou 2017 and references therein).

3rd Wave Feminist Linguistics focus on the construction of meaning and variable gender (or other) identities within the local context of the interaction. It highlights indirect forms of verbal sexism, such as entailments and presuppositions, humor and irony, discourse prefaced by disclaimers and hesitation and sees gendering as a process rather than a state of being (Mills 2003). As much as language sexism can be considered a global category, it is first and foremost constructed via texts and interactions and is therefore only retrievable within specific linguistic choices and the way those are perceived by interlocutors and audiences within discourse. The local level of communication therefore, is the critical domain in both the linguistic construction and the meta-linguistic analysis of sexism.

Nevertheless, Mills (2003) insightfully highlights the fact that 3rd WFL finds it difficult to refer to global, structural and systematic forms of discrimination and to the fact that locally expressed styles are authorized with reference to factors outside the local context. In this line of analysis, linguistic forms that conform to the male/masculine dominance stereotype are treated as unmarked, whereas those that deviate from the normative omission of the feminine gender, when referring to groups of persons of unspecified sex (or even only-female) are treated as marked. Long established preferences such as these, authorize discrimination and coincide with the dominance of males in the Greek public sphere. Greek Public Documents therefore, offer opportunities to study sedimented forms of language sexism also attested in face-threatening oral discourse (Georgalidou 2015, 2016).

4. Public Documents (PD): Quantitative analysis

Public documents constitute an important aspect of the public arena, as they encompass a wide range of administrative tasks/ functions and they refer to and/ or address

different groups of citizens and stakeholders who share various social and/ or demographic features. Our sample consists of 949 public documents that are in current use in a) city councils, b) prefectures and c) ministries. Our sample was first selected randomly; then stratified according to document types and finally selected proportionately so that a representative amount of documents are analyzed according to the size of the population of the said municipality/ prefecture/ ministry. We first conducted a qualitative discourse analysis of selected documents and then a quantitative analysis of the whole dataset through Atlas.ti.

We looked for the following criteria in our coding of sexist language:

- Exclusive use of the male/masculine gender
- The foregrounding of the male/masculine gender and the marking of the feminine by means of “/fem ending”
- The use of neutral vocabularies as far as gender is concerned
- The use of sexist stereotypes
- Inconsistent choices on the part of the authors

As we can see in figure 1 on the next page, 56.3% of the documents make absolutely no reference to female addressees. Another 6.6% so include references to females via the addition of the relevant grammatical ending, but this was sporadic. 13.4% of the documents make exclusive or parallel use of neutral vocabularies. Sexist stereotypes by means of defamatory vocabularies were really marginal in the total of the documents examined. In 33% of the documents, reference to both male and female recipients and addresses was systematic. However, while masculine forms were fully used, the female was included as a grammatical ending consisting of three letters added at the end of the masculine professional noun. Finally, in the total of the documents (100%) the full masculine form preceded the female ending.

Our findings are compatible with the findings of a research project at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (Pavlidou et al. 2015) as to the increasing use of neutral nouns as far as the gender of the persons of reference is concerned (ο λαός/the people, η ηγεσία/the leadership, το κοινό/the public, τα μέλη/the members, το άτομο/the person e.t.c.). Additionally, as we are going to show in the next section, the overall frame constructed by the discourse choices of the Greek administration, and the PDs in particular, also contextualize the dominant use of the male/masculine gender. Even in documents using non-gendered forms of reference, this is not always done systema-

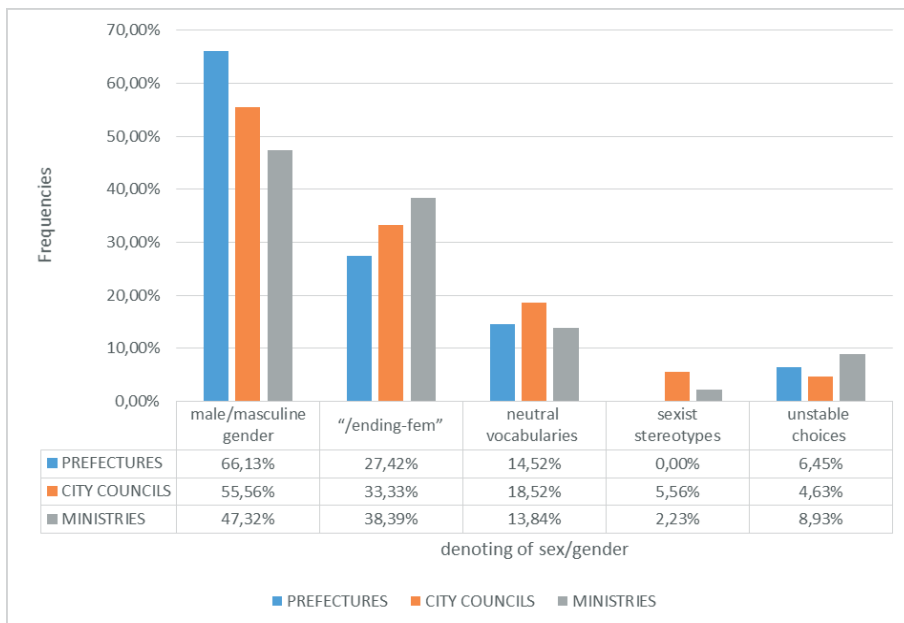


Figure 1 | Graph with comparative incidence of the phenomena of sexism per public sector type

tically. Inconsistency in the use of neutral forms and/or in the inclusion of feminine endings (/fem) therefore, disambiguates the dominant choice of authors to use full masculine forms exclusively. Hypercorrection, also attested in formal oral discourse (excerpt 1), is another phenomenon that further establishes this tendency.

5. Qualitative analysis of the data: The gender of Greek administration

Our qualitative analysis focuses on the linguistic and textual choices of the authors of the PDs. We examine the morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects of language used in the PDs as well as the pragmatic parameters of textual organization. 10% of our data base, i.e. 100 selected documents were analyzed qualitatively, so that different institutions and document types would be represented.

5.1. Morphology/Syntax

Male/masculine morphology is the dominant choice for nouns denoting occupation or other attributes of the persons addressed in the discourse of Greek administration: οι μαθητές /the students-MASC, οι καθηγητές /the teachers-MASC instead of οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες /the students-MASC and the students-FEM, οι καθηγητές και οι καθηγήτριες /the teachers-MASC and the teachers-FEM. The only exclusive use of the feminine gender concerns pregnant women and the profession of midwives. Also, nouns of the so called “common” or “inclusive” gender are systematically used: πρόεδρος /chairman-MASC/FEM, γιατρός /doctor-MASC/FEM, δικαστής /judge-MASC/FEM, εισαγγελέας /district attorney-MASC/FEM, πρόσφυγας /refugee-MASC/FEM e.t.c.. The fact that feminine morphology for this category is not always available further establishes the use of the generic masculine as the norm. Also, even when feminine derivatives have been established and their use is unmarked, nouns of masculine declension are preferred, as in the following example: ο/η εργοδότης /the-MASC/the-FEM employer-MASC/FEM instead of η εργοδότρια /the-FEM employer-FEM, ο/η πρέσβης /the-MASC/the-FEM ambassador instead of η πρέσβειρα /the ambassadress.

However, modifiers of the noun phrase, i.e. articles, adjectives, as well as pronouns, agree with the nouns almost exclusively in the masculine gender thus marking noun forms as masculine. What is more, nouns of masculine declension are used even when feminine derivatives exist (ο/η εργοδότης, η εργοδότρια, ο/η πρέσβης, η πρέσβειρα). The authors’ intention to use nouns referring to persons as masculine is also established by the choice of the masculine forms of other “professional nouns” used in the rest of the document. As we see in the subsequent examples, modifiers and pronouns analyzed in this context follow similar patterns, thus disambiguating the authors’ intention to use masculine morphology systematically:

- (2) ‘των Ρομά Ελλήνων και αλλοδαπών’ The-GEN-MASC/FEM-PL Roma Greek-GEN-MASC-PL and foreign-GEN-MASC/FEM-PL
‘of the Greek and foreign Roma people’
- (3) ‘ο αμέσως επόμενος διαθέτος υπάλληλος’
the-MASC immediately next-MASC available-MASC employee-MASC/FEM
‘the next available employee’

- (4) ‘με άλλους ειδικούς ιατρούς’
with other-MASC specialized-MASC doctors-MASC/FEM
‘with other specialized doctors’
- (5) ‘όσοι είναι εκδιδόμενα πρόσωπα’
those-MASC who are prostitutes-NEUTER
‘those who are prostitutes’
- (6) ‘έναν έμπιστο συνάδελφο’
a-MASC trustworthy-MASC colleague-MASC/FEM
‘a trustworthy colleague’
- (7) ‘του εκκαθαριστικού του σημειώματος’
the-GEN statement-GEN his account-GEN
‘of his statement of account’
- (8) ‘για όλους όσοι’
for all-MASC who-MASC
‘for all those who’

As far as the syntactic analysis of the texts is concerned, two trends have been attested concerning word-order and morpho-syntactic agreement:

- 100% foregrounding of the noun or modifier of male/masculine gender
- Noun-phrase constituents’ agreement in the masculine.

5.2. *Semantics*

The vast majority of “professional” nouns repeatedly appearing in the public documents under scrutiny are attested as masculine as becomes obvious in the syntactic (gender agreement within NPs) and pragmatic (generic reference/ anaphora) analysis of the texts. Nouns addressing persons, or mixed groups of persons, or even women only, address women by means of naming men. Such choices consolidate the historically shaped preference of Greek speakers for masculine forms, thus rendering women recipients of administrative actions invisible. One exception is the following:

- (9) «[...] ενός ιατρού, ελλείπει δε αυτού μιας νοσηλεύτριας»
 a-GEN-MASC-SG doctor-GEN-MASC/FEM-SG, in the absence of he-GEN-
 MASC-SG a-GEN-FEM-SG nurse-GEN-FEM-SG
 ‘[...] of a doctor ((male)), otherwise of a nurse ((female))’

Despite the fact that the generic use of the male and masculine forms has been attested in the majority of PDs in our database, in this excerpt, the category ‘doctor’, via article agreement, is defined as comprising male members, whereas the category ‘nurse’ is female exclusive. The unequal distribution of social status of doctors and nurses coincides with the less than equal social status of men and women. This constitutes a social rather than a linguistic arrangement as far as power role relationships are concerned.

5.3. *Pragmatics*

Textual analysis of the vast majority of PDs attests to the overall contextualization of “professional” nouns as male/masculine. Not only is direct reference to women systematically avoided, but this can be done at the expense of meaning-making thus producing extreme and odd semantic and pragmatic outcomes. One –out of many- examples is an excerpt from a Guide of the Greek Police on how to deal with violent incidents within families when reported to the local police (Attachment13518_egxeiridio.pdf). According to it, the police have to appoint women officers as investigators, since, the victims are, predominantly, women and children.

- (10) ‘Η εξέταση να πραγματοποιείται -κατά το δυνατόν- από έναν ή δύο Αστυνομικούς του ιδίου φύλου με το θύμα.’
 ‘The investigation should –whenever possible- be undertaken by one-MASC or two officers-MASC/FEM of the same sex as the victim.’

Even though the word ‘police-officer’ is of common gender morphology, the numeral ‘one’ is in the masculine, thus defining police-officers as male. If the instruction is to be taken literally, then police-men will be examining victims that would also be male, since both parties involved should be of the same sex. Accordingly, all the candidate instructors in the following press release are male, even the ones who are supposed to be teaching traditional embroidery (δτ για εκπαιδευτές.odt, Municipality of Rhodes).

- (11) ‘Συνολικά 65 διαφορετικές ειδικότητες εκπαιδευτών ζητούνται. Ενδεικτικά, αναφέρονται: εκπαιδευτές Ρωσικής, Βουλγάρικης, Εβραϊκής, Τούρκικης, Αλβανικής, Αγγλικής, Ιταλικής, Γερμανικής Ελληνικής γλώσσας, ιατροί, φαρμακοποιοί, κατασκευαστές παραδοσιακών οργάνων, κηροπλαστικής, κεραμικής, κοπτικής ραπτικής, λογιστικής, νοσηλευτών, μαγειρικής, μηχανολόγους ηλεκτρολόγους, συντήρηση σκαφών, [...], παραδοσιακό κέντημα, [...]’

‘This call is for 65 different domains of instructors-MASC. Indicatively, we list: instrucrors-MASC of Russian, Bulgarian, Hebrew, Turkish, Albanian, Italian, German, Greek, doctors-MASC/FEM, pharmacists-MASC/FEM, constructors-MASC of traditional musical instruments, accountancy, nurses-MASC, cooking, mechanic-electricians-MASC/FEM, boat maintenance, traditional embroidery [...]’

The excerpts in example (12) come from a Guide conducted by the General Secretariat for Gender Equality aiming at the avoidance of and the dealing with sexual harassment in the workplace (DAPHNE III, 2007-2013, 204_odigos_0710.pdf). They were chosen for both breaching common sense and the linguistic intuitions of native speakers, thus producing questionable pragmatic outcomes. Hypercorrection towards the generic use of masculine forms in this text comprises an extreme case of applying a perceived grammatical standard.

- (12) ‘Αυτό το φυλλάδιο στοχεύει στις εργαζόμενες γυναίκες, στους εκπρόσωπους των εργαζομένων και στους εργοδότες. [...]

Κάντε το απρόσμενο: Ονομάστε τη συμπεριφορά. Ο,τιδήποτε μόλις έκανε πείτε το και γίνετε συγκεκριμένοι.

Να είστε σοβαροί, άμεσοι και να μιλάτε απερίφραστα.

Βρείτε έναν μάρτυρα συμπεριφοράς

Ενημερώστε έναν έμπιστο συνάδελφο και προσπαθήστε να διασφαλίσετε ότι είναι αυτόπτης ή αυτήκοος μάρτυρας σε κάποια κατάσταση όπου παρενοχλείστε σεξουαλικά. [...]

‘This booklet addresses working women, employee-MASC representatives-MASC and employers-MASC. [...]

Do the unexpected: Name the behaviour. Whatever he just did, say it and be specific-MASC.

Be serious-MASC, direct-MASC and speak unequivocally.

Find an eye-witness-MASC.

Inform a-MASC trustworthy-MASC colleague-MASC and try to make sure that ((he)) is eye- or ear-witness-MASC in a situation in which you are being sexually harassed. [...]

The excerpt exhibits confusion as to what “grammar” is, as well as an established tendency in formal public discourse towards linguistic conservatism. By addressing women victims of sexual harassment in the work place as if they were men, by prompting them to confide in male witnesses and by using the masculine form for both employees and employers, a text designed to help women deal with forms of sexism makes use of sexist language, even if this is not the intention of its authors.

6. Discussion: How much “grammar” do we need to know after all?

Our findings document the foregrounding and/or the exclusive use of the male/masculine gender -even when females are exclusively addressed or referred to in the PDs- which, in turn, results in the lack of direct reference and visibility of females for the total of the social and professional identities included in our dataset. Even when the so-called common gender nouns appear to be in use, disambiguation as to the authors’ intention to refer to both men and women via the male gender is established in the use of modifiers of masculine morphology attesting that this is not much of a “common” gender after all. What is more, we have spotted instances of hypercorrection towards the use of masculine forms even in documents addressing/referring to women exclusively. This observation reflects a confusion on the part of the authors with regards to a ‘grammatical standard’ that has been established in Modern Greek. The excerpt of parliamentary discourse analyzed also points to this fact, highlighting confusion as to what linguistic “correctness” might be.

We would therefore argue that the routine preference for male gender forms found in our data is meant to be associated with ‘correctness’, ‘standardness’ and formality, thus, maintaining both a linguistic and social inequality. Formal public discourse and PDs reflect the ideological role of language in that not only perpetuates power role relationships between the two genders but, at the same time, helps sustain and enforce the power men have historically held in this particular domain of life, namely the public arena (Weatherall 2002: 14, Spender 1980). Thus, public documents under scrutiny prove to be representative of dominant ideological beliefs with regards to gender roles

that are in social circulation in the Greek context. As a result, public documents conducted in the context of Greek administration not only reproduce but also reinforce sexism as a social reality (Pavlidou 2002).

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