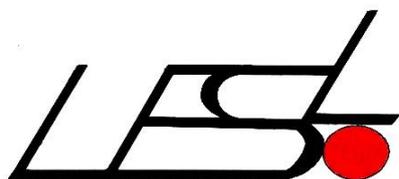


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PROGRAM & ABSTRACTS
ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ & ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΕΙΣ



On Obscenity as a window into Balkan grammar: Evidence from the 2015 Macedonian *Bombi*

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The 2015 *Bombi* (Prizma 2015) — transcripts of wiretapped conversations — provide us with an uncensored corpus of the Macedonian speech of the political elite connected with the then-ruling party VMRO-DPMNE (see Friedman 2017 for additional details). Unlike the Watergate Tapes (Nixon 1974), whose publication documented the corruption of U.S. president Richard M. Nixon and were crucial in ending his presidency, the published *Bombi* — whose role in ending the corrupt rule of Nikola Gruevski in Macedonia can be compared to that of the Watergate Tapes vis-à-vis Nixon — did not omit obscenities. Equivalent expressions in the published versions of the Watergate Tapes were all labeled “[expletive deleted]”, and given the technology of the time, sound files were not available to the public. In the *Bombi*, however, most of the obscenities and vulgarities are completely spelled out, e.g., *дупи, г’золижач, гомно, гомнојадци, кој ти го ебе, заебе, копиле/копиље[sic!], кур, курац, курчи, куртони, лиже г’зове, одјебе, пичка, пизда, пиздарија, попизди, посран, преебе, шупак*, etc., as well as abusive terms such as *будала, гад, гадурa, говедo, ѓубре, идиот, куп месо, лигле, лигуш, мајмун, морон, морончиња, свиња дебела*, etc. Although the *Bombi* transcripts do not always fully spell out the e-word, the k-word, and the p-word, the uncensored sound files are available on line, and so the exact lexical and grammatical form can always be determined. The *Bombi*, therefore, offer an unprecedented window into the abusive language of a Macedonian political elite, which in turn makes it possible to document the relative conservatism of certain obscenities. In this paper, I examine the obscenities involving the verb *ебе* with ‘mother’ as the direct object. Of special interest are three parameters: 1) the marking of definiteness on the direct object, 2) the presence or absence of object reduplication, and 3) verbal categories (tense-aspect-mood and person). In terms of gender, 14 of the speakers using *ебе* + ‘mother’ are male and one, Gordana Jankuloska, is female. She was also the most powerful woman in Gruevski’s cabinet (Minister for Internal Affairs, 2006-2015).

Of the 45 occurrences of *ебе* + ‘mother’ (i.e., approximately once every 6 2/3 pages), the most common form of the direct object is definite *мајката* [23]. The next most common form is the Serbism or archaism *матер* [7], which is used by 4 different speakers, followed by *мамето* [5], then *мајка* [3] and *мамицата* [3], *маме* [2], and finally *мамата* [1] and (dialectal) accusative *мајку* [1]. In terms of formal tense and person, 1s present [25] is by far the most common. The next most frequent, but considerably rarer, is 1s past [6], followed by 1p present [5], then imperative [4], 3s present [2], 3p present [2], and a single 1p past [1]. Of the 34 present tenses, however, most are preceded by a modal marker: *да* [18], *ќе* [10], or *нек* [2] (standard *нека*). Of particular significance is the fact that the past tense is always synthetic aorist (1s *ебав*). Since this verb is

imperfective, the consistent use of the aorist represents a rare survival of the imperfective aorist in the usage of educated, urban Macedonians, for whom the imperfective aorist is otherwise obsolete (Friedman 1993). The possessive or ethical dative associated with ‘mother’ is usually masculine *зс му* [30], but occasionally *зр им* [8], reflexive *си* [5] or *зс ти* [1]. There is also 1 occurrence without a dative, which is an expression of annoyance or deprecation.

While ‘mother’ is definite in 32 of the 45 usages, direct-object reduplication occurs in only 16 sentences, and in 4 of these, ‘mother’ is indefinite, although in 3 of those examples the phrase is *мајка му*, which can be taken as *definitiva tantum*. It appears that the collocation of *ебе* + ‘mother’ preserves an older stage of object reduplication. Object fronting, which is a typical topicalization strategy, is the most common trigger of object reduplication in constructions of the type *ебе* + ‘mother’. This is consistent with the Balkan languages where object reduplication is more restricted than it is in Modern Macedonian, e.g. Albanian and Greek, and OV order (with its pragmatic implications) is one of the most likely triggers. Thus, it appears that just as the imperfective aorist *ебав*, etc. is an archaism, so, too, the occurrence of object reduplication in Macedonian expressions of the type *ебе* + ‘mother’ reflects an earlier situation. The occurrences of object reduplication with postposed dative possessives (as opposed to ethical datives tied to the verb phrase) as well as with half the examples using the future marker can be seen as indicative of the pathways followed by the spread of object reduplication as it became more frequent and finally regularized in Modern Macedonian.

When used with ‘mother,’ *ебе* is always an unprefixated imperfective. Although *ебе* does occur in its literal meaning in the corpus — in the context of conspiracy to have rape committed — when used with ‘mother’ and similar objects, e.g. *племе*, the meaning is always metaphorical. In the past and future, the meaning usually involves doing something bad or something bad happening. In the imperative, interrogative and marked optative (*нек*), the meaning is dismissive. The most common occurrences, however, are expressions of anger or annoyance with *да* or a plain present. Completely absent from the *Bombi* is the use of *ебе* + ‘mother’ as an expression of surprise or admiration such as can be found in Balkan languages in general. Similarly, *ебе* + ‘mother’ in this corpus is always directed at a 3rd person, or, on rare occasion, at the speaker himself as an expression of dismay. It is never directed at the addressee. This is due to the fact that the corpus consists of telephone conversations among co-conspirators. It is also worth noting that not a single *л*-form of *ебе* occurs in association with ‘mother.’ The evidence from other Slavic languages, e.g. Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian, is that the resultative past participle of *еб-*, which developed an optative meaning at the end of the Common Slavic period (cf. Friedman 2012) and is equivalent to the Macedonian *л*-form of *ебе*, was the form of choice, as it still is in Serbian and Russian (cf. Isačenko 1964). Moreover, even in Bulgarian, expressions such as *ебал съм ти майката* are common either as emphatics or expressions of annoyance or dismissiveness. The complete absence of *л*-forms of *ебе* from the *Bombi* may just be an accident of context, but it probably indicates a different development in Macedonian. Both Macedonian and Bulgarian can use

the imperfective aorist, an option not available to Russian and not generally found in Serbian.

The lack of reduplication in Macedonian *ebe* + ‘mother’ unless it is fronted or marked with a dative possessive pronoun, plus three out of six future usages (of which one uses *mamep*, which is never reduplicated) is amorphosyntactic archaism. This gives us a window into the pathways of the spread of direct object reduplication in Macedonian. While these pathways are to be expected, *ebe* + ‘mother’ provides modern evidence that would otherwise be lacking. Particularly interesting is the occurrence of direct object reduplication with unpossessed, indefinite *mame* (Bomba 3, Conversation 1). Such a construction would not, as far as I can tell, occur in any other Balkan language, where ‘mother’ either has to be definite (or determinate, e.g. [Geg] Albanian *Kam me ia qi atë nonë*), or else followed by a dative possessive.

In sum, just as the text of the *Bombi* tell us much about political corruption, so, too, the language in the *Bombi* tells us much about colloquial Macedonian today, and about other Balkan languages in comparison. Thus, while Gruevski and his circle have done tremendous damage to Macedonian society, as documented in the *Bombi*, they have, albeit unintentionally, done linguists a tremendous service.

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**Υβριδικές ταυτότητες
σε μαθητικά γραπτά μεταναστών μαθητών/τριών στην Ελλάδα:
Η διαχείριση ρατσιστικών περιγραφών**

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Δεδομένης της καθολικής καθιέρωσης του έθνους-κράτους ως βασικού τρόπου θεσμικής συγκρότησης μιας χώρας, οι πολιτισμικές και γλωσσικές μείξεις αποφεύγονται και η διατήρηση της ομοιογένειας είναι το διαρκές και επίμονο ζητούμενο. Εκκινώντας από την παραδοχή αυτή, στο επίκεντρο της παρούσας μελέτης βρίσκεται ο ρατσισμός ως ένας από τους βασικούς τρόπους επίτευξης της εθνικής ομοιογένειας. Έχοντας στη διάθεσή μας μαθητικά γραπτά από μετανάστες μαθητές/τριες στην Ελλάδα, θα διερευνήσουμε τον τρόπο με τον οποίο οι μαθητές/τριες του υλικού μας διαχειρίζονται την περιγραφή των ρατσιστικών φαινομένων που υπέστησαν προκειμένου να οικοδομήσουν τις ταυτότητές τους. Το υλικό μας αποτελείται από 284 εκθέσεις από 6 δημοτικά, 4 γυμνάσια και 8 λύκεια της ευρύτερης περιοχής της Πελοποννήσου. Οι μαθητές/τριες που συνέγραψαν τις εκθέσεις αυτές ήταν δίγλωσσοι μετανάστες ποικίλης (κυρίως αλβανικής) καταγωγής.

Το ευρύτερο θεωρητικό πλαίσιο στο οποίο εντάσσεται η μελέτη μας είναι αυτό της Κριτικής Ανάλυσης του Λόγου η οποία διερευνά τον τρόπο (ανα)παραγωγής, μέσω του λόγου, κοινωνικών ανισοτήτων. Επιπλέον, αναδεικνύει τις μορφές αντίστασης προς τη φυσικοποιημένη διαίωση της κοινωνικής ανισότητας μέσω του λόγου. Ένα από τα σημαντικότερα ερευνητικά πεδία της Κριτικής Ανάλυσης του Λόγου είναι αυτό που διερευνά τη σχέση του μακρο-επιπέδου, το οποίο αφορά τους κυρίαρχους λόγους (discourses) μέσα από τους οποίους επιχειρείται η αναπαράσταση και η οργάνωση της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας (βλ. Fairclough 2003), με το μικρο-επίπεδο, στο οποίο συγκαταλέγονται οι ποικίλες (γλωσσικές, επικοινωνιακές, σημειολογικές κλπ.) τοποθετήσεις των ατόμων προς τους λόγους του μακρο-επιπέδου (βλ. van Dijk 2008).

Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, βασική θέση της προσέγγισης που ακολουθούμε για την ανάλυση των μαθητικών κειμένων του υλικού μας, είναι ότι οι μετανάστες μαθητές/τριες, μέσα από τις ποικίλες γλωσσικές και επικοινωνιακές επιλογές στις οποίες προβαίνουν, διαμορφώνουν τις τοποθετήσεις τους σε σχέση με τις αφομοιωτικές ομογενοποιητικές επιδιώξεις του κυρίαρχου ξενοφοβικού εθνικού λόγου. Για την ανάλυση των τοποθετήσεων των μεταναστών μαθητών/τριών θα αξιοποιήσουμε το μοντέλο των τριών διλημματικών διακρίσεων του Bamberg (2011) σε συνδυασμό με την έννοια της απειλής του προσώπου από τη θεωρία της ευγένειας των Brown & Levinson (1987) και αυτής της μιμητικής διακωμώδησης (mimicry) όπως προτάθηκε από τον θεωρητικό των μεταποικιακών σπουδών H. Bhabha (1994/2004).

Θα υποστηρίξουμε ότι μέσω της περιγραφής των ρατσιστικών φαινομένων που εντοπίσαμε στα γραπτά τους, οι μετανάστες μαθητές/τριες τοποθετούνται ως προς τον λόγο της εθνικής ξενοφοβικής ομοιογένειας προβάλλοντας τους

εαυτούς τους ως θύματα ρατσιστικών συμπεριφορών που παράγονται από τον λόγο αυτό. Ταυτοχρόνως, η επιλογή τους να αναφερθούν στα 'πάθη'-τους τους αναδεικνύει σε θύτες. Με τη συνδυαστική αυτή προβολή του εαυτού τους ως θύμα και ως θύτη θεωρούμε ότι οι μετανάστες μαθητές/τριες του υλικού μας κατασκευάζουν υβριδικές ταυτότητες αντίστασης.

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Συγκρουσιακά γλωσσικά τοπία: Η περίπτωση της Μυτιλήνης

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Η μελέτη του γλωσσικού τοπίου, ως νέος κλάδος της κοινωνιογλωσσολογίας, έχει ασχοληθεί αρκετά με την εξέταση του συνόλου των στοιχείων του γραπτού λόγου που είναι ορατά στο δημόσιο χώρο σε τόπους και χρόνους «αναταραχής» (βλ. Kitis & Milani 2015, Barni & Bagna 2016, Stroud 2016, Canakis 2017), ωστόσο το πώς καταστάσεις έντονης κινητικότητας πληθυσμών σε διαφορετικούς τόπους επηρεάζουν τα γλωσσικά τοπία έχει μελετηθεί λιγότερο.

Η ανακοίνωση αυτή επιχειρεί να εξετάσει τους σημειωτικούς τρόπους με τους οποίους η παρουσία προσφυγικών πληθυσμών ξεκινά (και εξακολουθεί) να εγγράφεται στο γλωσσικό τοπίο της Μυτιλήνης, τόσο από τους ίδιους τους νέους αυτούς πληθυσμούς όσο και από τους μονιμότερους, σε μια περίοδο τοπικών και παγκοσμίων εντάσεων. Για το σκοπό αυτό αναλύονται, μέσα από μια εθνογραφική προσέγγιση, δεδομένα που συλλέγονται από το 2015 έως και το καλοκαίρι του 2018 στην πόλη της Μυτιλήνης –σημείο κομβικό στην έντονη, αναγκαστική προσφυγική κινητικότητα αυτής της χρονικής περιόδου.

Η διάχυση "νέων" γλωσσών και αλφαβήτων σε εμπορικά και ενημερωτικά σήματα αλλά και μια νέα ορατότητα σχετικών με το προσφυγικό ανησυχιών σε γκράφιτι και πολιτικές αφίσες μπορεί να αποτελέσει σημαντικό σημείο εστίασης για να συζητηθεί το πώς ο χώρος κατασκευάζεται συμβολικά (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006) και μετατρέπεται σε τόπο μέσα από τις σχέσεις των ίδιων των πληθυσμών που τον βιώνουν αλλά και των ταυτοτήτων που συγκροτούνται και συγκρούονται στα γλωσσικά τοπία.

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A sociolinguistic approach of Agiasos Greek: Language attitudes of people aged 20 to 40

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This paper draws on doctoral research in progress on the variety of Modern Greek spoken in Agiasos, Lesvos. The purpose is to evaluate the language attitudes of younger generations of speakers towards what is undeniably one of the most characteristic regional varieties on Lesvos, taking into consideration factors such as gender, age, and educational level of informants. The reason for focusing on Agiasos Greek is that it manifests significant deviation not only from standard Modern Greek but also from the other regional varieties of the island of Lesvos (cf. Ralli 2017; Papazachariou 2018). The main focus is on the younger generations, in particular the 20-40 age groups as their role is crucial for investigating language maintenance/death. According to Holmes (1992) young people are the fastest to shift languages. The working hypothesis stems from the sociolinguistic reality, which is characterized by the high prestige of Modern Greek koine and the low prestige of regional varieties at large (Archakis & Kondyli 2004; Baslis 2005; Papazachariou et al. 2018). However, language attitudes reveal ratings not only for the language varieties themselves but also for the speakers of these varieties and the social groups they belong to. The importance of studying language attitudes lies in the fact that attitudes affect the linguistic behavior and the social life of the speakers (Papazachariou et al. 2018). In this first stage of the survey, I will present some examples of language choice, focusing on “domain” that is clearly supported by three important social factors: the participants, the setting, and the topics (Fishman 1979).

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Indexing chronotopes: Chronicling the humanitarian crisis in the linguistic landscape of Mytilene

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Despite the unprecedented visibility of Lesbos in world news as a result of the humanitarian crisis following the war in Syria, little is known about its multilayered and dynamic LL (cf. Canakis 2016; Christoulaki 2017). Moreover, although it is not uncommon for LL research to focus on social strife and resistance as aspects of changing notions of citizenship (Kitis & Milani 2015; Canakis & Kersten-Pejanić 2016; Stroud 2016; Canakis 2018), less is known about the effects of forced mobility on the LL. In this paper, I am approaching the LL of Mytilene, as an arena where the presence of newcomers is dynamically inscribed both by themselves and by locals.

Focusing on ethnographically collected data as diverse as top-down administrative and commercial signs aimed at a changing demographic basis and market, respectively, and bottom-up graffitied signs by refugees and locals supporting (or opposing) their cause, I examine the LL as a forum where different voices (and interests) join forces to create and, given time, consolidate a new reality –while in so doing, indexical relations between time/space, language, and agency (Blommaert 2013) are significantly changed in this mid-sized border town.

Data collected over the last decade shall be mined with a focus on indexicality vis-à-vis chronotopes in the LL (Blommaert 2015, 2017; Blommaert & De Fina 2017). Drawing on earlier observations about how LL signs come to stand in an indexical relation to the space they occupy at a certain point in time (Canakis 2012, 2016, 2017, 2018; Canakis & Kersten-Pejanić 2016), I shall show how LL signs, no matter how durable materially speaking, are inextricably tied to chronotopes. In fact, one may even argue for a kind of commensurability which may be called “mutual indexing” and alludes to higher orders of indexicality (Silverstein 2003).

Chronicling the humanitarian crisis through the LL in Mytilene over time affords rare insights into an ongoing process of change: the change from a largely monolingual or bilingual LL in Greek and English to a radically polyglot LL where Greek and English coexist more often and elbow each other in an environment which now features at least Turkish, Arabic, and Farsi; indeed, it closely monitors the change from a midsize, rather inward-looking semi-urban space into a decidedly international melting pot whose complexity defies its size and where discourses spray-canned on walls may, but certainly need not, be imported: for Mytilene, the epicenter of an influx of populations in European space at large, is, at this juncture, in a position to create and export discourses without the mediation of Greek institutions in the capital. In the chronotope I am focusing on, Mytilene is the undisputed capital of the humanitarian crisis, as framed by socioeconomic and political discourses at a global level (even if this presupposes ignoring many other crises which do not affect Europe directly).

In other words, the writing on the walls of Mytilene is as much a product of its time of production as the chronotope in which it appears is shaped by its very presence there –and this is a tall indexical order.

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Roundtable discussion

Ethnographic data in formal- and socio-linguistic approaches to language

Discussants: *Angeliki Alvanoudi*, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
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Amy Dahlstrom, University of Chicago
Brian Joseph, Ohio State University
Lia Litosseliti, City, University of London
Dimitris Papazachariou, University of Patras
Stavroula Tsiplakou, Open University of Cyprus

Moderator: *Costas Canakis*, University of the Aegean

Although talking of ethnographic linguistics today inevitably brings to mind work in a certain tradition of sociolinguistics, often indistinct from anthropological linguistics, this has not always been the case. American structuralism, in its heyday, was inextricably linked with ethnographic data collection –indeed, a lot of work in Americanist linguistics counts as linguistic ethnography. In a way, the empiricism of American structuralism may be viewed as commensurate with the ethnographic methodology it largely presupposed.

Given that a lot of the work produced in that framework was formal in nature, the later criticism of American empiricism, primarily in the framework of and in juxtaposition to Chomskyan Generative Grammar, slowly but steadily resulted in the dissociation of formal linguistics from ethnographic work (as a corollary of the dissociation of linguistic inquiry from naturally occurring data). Generative mentalism came to be understood as a privileged way of approaching linguistic form and, by default, empiricism was largely left outside the purview of mainstream linguistics for several decades.

Undoubtedly, empiricism was alive and well within sociolinguistics and anthro-linguistics as developed and carried out by Labov, Hymes, etc. from 1960 onwards. But it is certainly no coincidence that linguistics based on ethnographic data became emblematic of non-formal linguistics, if only by mere association as preferential methodological choice of the other camp (and, no less, as indexical of “tradition” vs “modernity”).

Interestingly, even within pragmatics, which was a constant presence with significant (if “countercultural”) contributions in the 1960s and 1970s (with several major book-length publications in the early 1980s), introspection was largely encouraged and naturally occurring, ethnographically collected, data solidified as an index of (non-formal) social approaches to language. It was not before the late 1980s or early 1990s that work in pragmatics started to engage in dialogue with work in sociolinguistics (resulting in what is now sociopragmatics, mostly in Europe). And yet, it would take at least another decade before pragmatics research without naturally occurring data or, at least, the benefit of corpora, became less common (when not frowned upon).

Meanwhile, in the 1980s and 1990s, when Cognitive Linguistics emerged as a competing formal model (quickly spreading from California to Northern Europe and beyond), some notions developed by American structuralism were revisited and got a new lease on life. Among these, metaphor and metonymy were key in the process of reevaluating naturally occurring data as a prerequisite for linguistic analysis. Although in CogLing this practically meant use of corpora which were, by that time, significantly developed, it also cast doubt to the credo of non-empiricism at large. Moreover, although CogLing still does not primarily engage with ethnographically collected linguistic data, its critical take on issues of categorization, its insistence on meaning as pragmatic –indeed encyclopedic– and as the driving force behind grammar, as well as the position it claims for figurative language within an overall theory of language has had a peculiar effect: even if did not bring CogLing closer to sociolinguistics, it quite certainly left so-called “mainstream linguistics” as the only strand of linguistics not systematically engaging with naturally occurring data.

This probably solidified the link between “mainstream” *qua* “formal” and “Chomskyan” and underscored their difference from “non-formal” *qua* “sociopragmatic” or “anthropological linguistics”. Meanwhile, sociolinguistics, especially since it started being in close dialogue with (in fact, hardly distinguishable from) some strands of pragmatics, progressively veered away from questionnaires and structured interviews and started favoring semi-structured interviews and/or participant observation.

A proliferation of approaches (and journals) within sociolinguistics since the 1990s and an emphasis on its intersection with discourse- and conversation analysis resulted in a boom of published work which emphasized diversity, while the realities of the global era have fostered new theoretical tools –notably *superdiversity*– over the last decade.

In this intellectual climate, ethnographic data still appears quite solidly indexical of non-formal linguistic research in the collective unconscious. And yet, the work of some of the very participants in this roundtable belies this rough-and-ready alignment.

It is my hope that the preceding thoughts, which necessarily reflect my own intellectual trajectory and experience as a researcher, will serve as a starting point for fruitful discussion among us. Some of the points we could address are

- What counts as a “formal” treatment? Could we all agree?
- What does it mean to be doing formal work with ethnographic data?
- What are the challenges of ethnographic data for socio- and anthrolinguistic approaches?
- Examples from our own research experience?
- How possible is it to expect osmosis between formal and non-formal theories, given agreement on what constitutes acceptable data?
- ...
- ...

PARTICIPANTS

Angeliki Alvanoudi is a Lecturer at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and an Adjunct Lecturer in Linguistics at James Cook University, Australia. Her research focuses on language and gender, grammar and interaction, and language contact. She has written the books *Grammatical gender in interaction: Cultural and cognitive aspects* (Brill, 2014), and *Modern Greek in diaspora: An Australian perspective* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

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Costas Canakis is Professor of Sociolinguistics and director of the Laboratory for Ethnographic Studies on Language (LESoL). After graduating with a BA in English from the University of Athens (1990, summa cum laude) he earned a PhD in Linguistics as a Fulbright & Century Scholar at the University of Chicago (1995) and taught at Princeton University and the Universities of Athens and Thessaloniki, before joining the faculty of the Department of Social Anthropology and History at the University of the Aegean, on Lesbos. His interests lie at the intersection of sociolinguistics, pragmatics, cognitive linguistics, and anthro-linguistics, as evidenced by his monograph *Introduction to Pragmatics: Cognitive and Social Aspects of Language Use* (in Greek, Eikostos

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Daphne Nicoletta Christoulaki received her BA in sociology from Panteion University and her MA in gender & sexuality studies from the University of the Aegean. Her master's thesis focused on the linguistic landscape of Mytilene, Lesbos. Her current research interests focus on ethnographic linguistics and linguistic landscape studies. She is copy editor for *Aegean Working Papers in Ethnographic Linguistics*.

Amy Dahlstrom received her PhD at the University of California, Berkeley and is an Associate Professor of Linguistics at the University of Chicago. Her research focuses on the Algonquian family of North American indigenous languages, especially Meskwaki (Fox) and Plains Cree, examining issues of morphology, syntax, information structure, and discourse relations, with data drawn both from traditional elicitation with speakers and from textual analysis. (Meskwaki is unusual among North American languages in having a large corpus of texts from the early 20th century, written in the Great Lakes syllabary and mostly untranslated.) Ethnographic research based upon the work with texts includes papers such as 'Owls and cannibals revisited: Traces of windigo features in Meskwaki texts.' (2003); linguistic research relevant to ethnographic issues includes 'An overview of Meskwaki evidentiality' (in press). As a separate interest, since 2016 Dahlstrom has taught a course on the linguistic landscape of Chicago. The course involves taking students on field trips to 'superdiverse' and other neighborhoods of Chicago, where the students document the linguistic landscape with digital photos, plus discussion of readings not only from the young field of linguistic landscapes but also from semiotics, multilingualism, language variation, and the ethnography of foodways.

Victor A. Friedman is Andrew W. Mellon Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Chicago and Honorary Associate at La Trobe University. He is a foreign member of the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Academy of Sciences of Albania, the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Kosova, Matica Srpska, and has been awarded the "1300 Years of Bulgaria" jubilee medal. He has thrice been awarded the Golden Plaque from Sts. Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje, from which he also holds the degree of Doctor Honoris Causa. In 2009 he received the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages' Annual Award for Outstanding Contributions to Scholarship. In 2014 he received the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies' Annual Award for Outstanding Contributions to Scholarship. In 2017 he was awarded the Blaže Koneski medal for contributions to the study of Macedonia. During the Yugoslav Wars of Succession, he worked for the United Nations as a senior policy and

political analyst in Macedonia and consulted for other international organizations. He has conducted field work in the Balkans and the Caucasus for more than 40 years, and his research has been supported by Guggenheim, Fulbright-Hays, NEH, ACLS, IREX, and other fellowships. His publications include *The Grammatical Categories of the Macedonian Indicative* (1977, 2nd, edition 2014), *Turkish in Macedonia and Beyond* (2003), *Studies in Albanian and Other Balkan Languages* (2004), *Očerki lakskogo jazyka* [Studies on the Lak language] (2011), and *Makedonistički Studii* [Macedonian studies] (2 vols., 2011, 2015) as well as more than 300 scholarly articles. His book *Romani in Macedonia and the Balkans* is due to be published next year. His main research interests are grammatical categories and sociolinguistic issues related to contact, standardization, ideology, and identity in the languages of the Balkans and the Caucasus.

Brian D. Joseph is Distinguished University Professor of Linguistics and The Kenneth E. Naylor Professor of South Slavic Languages and Linguistics at Ohio State University where he has been since 1979, after receiving his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1978 and spending a year as a Killam Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Alberta. His interests are quite broad, but are focused first and foremost on the study of language change, especially in regard to the Greek language throughout all of its historical phases, from Mycenaean up through Modern Greek, including its prehistory and how it fits into the Indo-European language family and also its more recent significant contact with its neighboring languages in the Balkans. But Brian's interests run also to other languages, especially Sanskrit and Albanian, and to other areas within linguistics, including both morphological theory and the embedding of language into social structures. More recently, he has been working on issues of language sustainability, looking both at what has gone into making the Greek language relatively robust in its diasporic setting in southern Albania and at what we can determine about linguistic –and concomitantly ethnic– viability in ancient times in the eastern Mediterranean.

Irene Kouniarelli is a PhD student at the Department of Social Anthropology and History of the University of the Aegean, in Mytilene, working on a dissertation entitled “A sociolinguistic approach of the regional variety of Modern Greek in Agiasos, Lesvos: Language attitudes of people aged 20 to 40.” She has been recently awarded a scholarship by the State Scholarships Foundation (IKY). She holds a Master’s Degree in Language Education and Language Communication from the Department of French Language and Literature at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (MA thesis: “A sociolinguistic approach of the regional variety of Modern Greek in Lesvos: Language attitudes in the areas of Agiasos and Plomari”). She also holds a BA in Italian Language and Literature from Aristotle University. She has worked as a teacher in Lifelong Learning Centers, in Public Secondary Education and in Private Schools. She has also been a private research partner for the Hellenic Statistical Authority.

Lia Litosseliti is Associate Dean International at City, University of London (where she has also been teaching Linguistics for the past 15 years). Her research

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