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LITERARY ASPECTS OF THE GREEK DEMOTIC MOVEMENT

Dimotiki is the language connected to folk tradition and the great legacy of folk art, but after the 1821 Revolution a literary instrument, corresponding to the needs of Neo-Greek letters, didn't exist yet. The Demotic literary language was gradually shaped thanks to the works of the Heptanese poets, to the 1880s poetic generation and mainly to the 1890s generation of symbolist poets who were all propagators of demoticism and brought the language of the Romantic poets from the Heptanese School to new artistic and aesthetic heights. Fiction literature (with poetry in the first place), public medias and education literature (with primer textbooks like "The High Mountains") turn out to be those supportive towers in the battle for language reformation, without which the conquests of demoticism would have been unthinkable.

Keywords: Greek diglossia, demotic movement, poetic modernism, primer textbook "The High Mountains"

1. INTRODUCTION

It is a well-known fact that the existence of Greek diglossia lasted for almost twenty centuries, whereas the 'language question' (γλωσσικό ζήτημα) was a key issue for the Greek educational system and the socio-political life for 143 years. In 1834 after the foundation of the modern Greek state the cultivated imitation of Ancient Greek or *katharevousa* was proclaimed to be an official state language and it is not until 1976 that Demotic Greek or *dimotiki* rose to the status of the one and only fully-fledged literary means of communication in the field of public administration and in all the major spheres of spiritual life².

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² Upon the proposal of the Minister G. Rallis, the Karamanlis government instituted Demotic Greek at all levels of education and for all state functions [Government Gazette 100/A'/30-4-1976, Law 309, Article 2: "Language of instruction ... and of General Education is from the school year 1976-1977 the Modern Greek. As Modern Greek language is considered the Demotic language, formed as a pan-Hellenic expressive instrument by the Greek people and by the fiction writers of the Nation,

In contemporary linguistics diglossia (διγλωσσία < δι- prefix, signifying ‘two’ + γλώσσα, ‘language’ + -ία, prefix with attributive meaning, denoting ‘a state when two languages are being spoken’) is a term applied to describe a language situation in which two dialects or two languages are used in a single language community. Among the classic examples of diglossia is the use of Latin in the early Middle Ages (when the high variant is represented by an older form of the same language), Chinese local varieties in relation to Mandarin as the official literary standard, the linguistic situation in Arabic speaking countries, and, of course, katharevousa and dimotiki.

The actual affirmation of the term is related to the name of Charles Ferguson who in 1959 gave his classical definition for diglossia (Ferguson 1959):

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 section of the community for ordinary conversation.

2. LITERARY ASPECTS OF THE GREEK DEMOTIC MOVEMENT

2.1. Short history of Greek diglossia

Greek diglossia refers to the category where the language spoken in a certain area evolves as time passes while at the same time there is an attitude to imitate an earlier (more archaic) linguistic form preserved in written texts, which is regarded as “more scholarly” and “classical” (Τριανταφυλλίδης 1963: 491). Greek diglossia officially came into existence during the Hellenistic period in 1st c. A.D., at the time when the Alexandrian men of letters decided that to consolidate the connection between the present and the glorious past of the Greek culture from the 5th c. B.C., language forms from this earlier period should be imitated. The so-called Atticism dominated the texts of the Hellenistic period, and subsequently influenced even the Byzantine scholars. Linguists like Georgios Hadzidakis (1848-1941) (and not only) trace back the history of Greek diglossia back to the ancient presocratic times when some writers already pointed the existing difference between the Greek language used in prose and in poetry, with an emphasis on “the older” and “more respectable” (Μπαμπινιώτης 2017: 168) sounding of the lyrical creations.

distancing itself from colloquialism, dialectal idioms and extremities”, my translation; ΦΕΚ 100/Α’/30-4-1976, Νόμος 309, Άρθρο 2: «Γλώσσα διδασκαλίας της Γενικής Εκπαιδύσεως είναι από του σχολικού έτους 1976-1977 η Νεοελληνική. Ως Νεοελληνική γλώσσα νοείται η διαμορφωθείσα ως πανελλήνιον εκφραστικόν όργανον υπό του Ελληνικού λαού και των δοκίμων συγγραφέων του Έθνους Δημοτική, συντεταγμένη άνευ ιδιωματισμών και ακροτήτων»]].

During the Greek Enlightenment the idea of the ‘middle road’ (μέση οδός) was formed as a compromise between the extreme Atticism and Demotic Greek. The concept belonged to Adamandios Korais (1748-1833) and got a language expression through the invention of *katharevousa*, i.e., a language purified from vernacular linguistic forms and borrowings (especially Turkish and Slavic, but also Italian and French) that was faithful to the scholastic literary traditions.

With the creation of the Modern Greek state in 1821 in the overall cultural development of Greece occurred a turn towards conservatism which affected the different spheres of science and arts. At the schools and at the Athens University (founded in 1837) dominated *katharevousa* (Данова & Хриσταкуδис 2003: 171). The language of the Romantic authors from the First Athenian School abounds with archaisms and symbols, imitating antique models and embodying national grandeur through the theme of Byzantium. In this sense the literature of this period is closely related to the formation of the Megali (lit. Great) Idea (Μεγάλη ιδέα) as a national doctrine and its subsequent affirmation in the political and spiritual life of the Kingdom. The cultural and linguistic traditionalism of the Romantic authors from the First Athenian School conflicted with the spiritual atmosphere prevailing in the works of the authors from the Ionian Islands (or the so called Heptanese School).

2.2. Greek diglossia and the role of the Heptanese School

The founder of the Heptanese School was Dionysios Solomos (1798-1857). His poetic genius is intrinsically related to the specific climate which outlined the zone of the seven Ionian Islands as a world that differed from the scholastic and conservative post-liberation Greece from the first decades after the 1821 Revolution. The lyrical work of Solomos is in fact a brilliant synthesis of the national traditions with the most democratic tendencies in the European cultural life. Hence his immense significance for Modern Greek literature. And if the first demarcation line between the ‘traditional’ and the ‘modern’ in Greek public life is related to the dichotomy *katharevousa-dimotiki*, the second specific marker refers to the name of the great Ionian poet, who laid the foundations of Neo-Greek poetry and confirmed the deep connection of the measured speech with the vernacular national language (Καραντώνης 1990: 121). This amalgam between the synchronous reception of the ‘modern’ European literary trends (Romanticism, Parnassism, Symbolism, etc.) in Greek letters and the ‘democratic’ with regards to the linguistic form used in Greek poetry after 1821 (i.e. the choice of the vernacular language variant with ‘low’ prestige – *dimotiki* – as the language of contemporary verse) is a key feature of the so-called **poetic demoticism** which defines the image of that early historical period of Neo-Greek fiction when the language of literature crystallized with a perfect Demotic sounding.

The starting point for Neo-Greek literature is the 1821 Revolution, but besides that the reality of diglossia also became a corner stone for the history of Modern Greek poetry – it is a reality in which the past and the present, the ancient and the contemporary language, scholastic attitudes and demoticism confronted each other (Καραντώνης 1990: 114). G. Babiniotis points as a “birth date” of dimotiki (or the Greek language in its last, modern phase of development) the year of 1818 (Μπαμπινιώτης 2002: 474). At that time folk songs, thanks to the vernacular language used in them, turned into “one of the most brilliant arguments about the ancient origins of the new Hellenism” (Δημαράς 1987: 266). Their dissemination in Europe through the collection of folk poems, published in 1824 and prefaced by Claude Charles Fauriel (1772-1844), contributed to the popularization of the vernacular language form.

2.3. “My journey” of Psycharis and the demotic movement

During the governance of Charilaos Trikoupis (1832-1896) in the late 19th c. demoticism was not considered yet a movement with clearly stated strategy. However, distinct views on the language question, which have their roots in the pre-revolutionary language disputes, already existed and they even reached a level of solid theoretical conceptualization in that period.

There is a view that the movement of demoticism acquired that characteristic much later. That is, when the questions related to its initial goals – the affirmation of dimotiki as a language of the literature – were combined with those related to education, which happened in the first decades of the 20th century. Rena Stavridi-Patrikiou, however, proposes to seek the starting point for its formation much earlier – in the last years of the triumphal rule of Trikoupis, and points as its birth date the year of 1888, when I. Psycharis (1854-1929) published his essay “My journey”. The theoretical proposals, expressed in Psycharis’ study, interconnected with the late 19th c. socio-political concepts. Exactly this symbiosis “allows the text to become a manifesto, the movement to be shaped as such, to systematize its ideas and to obtain ideological autonomy” (Σταυρίδη-Πατρικίου 2000: 488).

2.4. Symbolism and the demotic movement

At the turn of the last two centuries in the field of Greek literature Symbolism flourished, marking permanently the fates of Neo-Greek poetry during a long period of time. A decade before Stefanos Stefanou (1868-1944) published the first ever symbolist collection of poems in Greek literature, named “The dreaming of the roses” (1892), the generation of the 1880s poets (also known as the New or Second Athenian School), including the names of G. Drosinis, N. Kambas and K. Palamas, sought already to renew the language and themes of poetry, bringing it into closer contact with the topics of everyday life and choosing definitively dimotiki as the language of literature. The spiritual gates of Greece to Europe

were opened by the first demotic poet writers, led by Palamas, who published his first symbolist works alongside Cavafy in the early 1890s. This period of Greek cultural renewal coincided with the years when Symbolism and more generally the idea of creating a pure, musical poetry went beyond France and radiated its glamour everywhere. Among the first generation of Greek symbolist poets found themselves Konstantinos Hadzopoulos (1868-1920), Ioannis Gryparis (1872-1942), Lambros Porfyas (1878-1932), Miltiadis Malakasis (1869-1943), Apostolos Melahrinos (1883-1952), Zaharias Papandoniou (1877-1940), etc. – “all their poetic attempts were carried out in the characteristic atmosphere of that period, marked by the quest to change the poetic code, eradicate the narration, enhance the emotional and musical suggestion” (Καραντώνης 1990: 134).

Undoubtedly, Greek poets from the 1890s generation faced the responsible task not only to respond to the artistic requirements of Symbolism, which came to crown with refinement and sophistication the French language (a language with long-term literary development), but also to refurbish *dimotiki* and to attain its perfect literary sound. Parnassism and Symbolism helped poetic demoticism gain an aesthetic focus and had a profoundly fruitful impact on the evolution of the poetic form – something that had not been achieved during Greek Romanticism.

Greek Symbolism goes beyond the boundaries of a literary current that came to replace the old poetic code with a new sensitivity – it permanently rearranged the literary strata and traced the way of Greek literary uniqueness. It became a brilliant example of how the powerful aesthetic impulses, initiated in Western Europe, were culturally transformed in the context of the late 19th c. Greek literary life. The figure of Z. Papandoniou, one of the remarkable symbolist writers from the 1890s poetic generation, directly links the literary aspects of the poetic demoticism to its vast pedagogic impact. Papandoniou is the bold and talented writer, poet, illustrator, politician, journalist who in 1938 on the occasion of his election as an academician chose to deliver in *dimotiki* his inaugural speech, dedicated to Domenikos Theotokopoulos. For the first time *dimotiki* could be heard in the hall of the Athens Academy.

From 1915 onwards, against the backdrop of war-torn Europe and amid the tragic circumstances of the intra-national division of Greece during those years³, poetic demoticism reached, through the generations of poets associated (directly or indirectly) with Palamas, its peak of development. It had exhausted its potentials and could not offer a new field of expression to the young. On the one hand, after 1915, new-fangled poets wouldn't write verses reminiscent of

³ The Greek historiography uses the term “National Schism” (Εθνικός Διχασμός) to describe the series of events from the 1914-1917 period, related to the conflict between the Prime Minister E. Venizelos and the Greek King Konstantinos I, which led to the creation of a separate state with center the city of Thessaloniki, where the liberal government of E. Venizelos resided. The disagreements between the two camps predetermined the deep division that occurred in Greek society, the consequences of which were felt until 1974, when monarchy was finally abolished in Greece.

those of Palamas or Gryparis, on the other hand, those who sought such creative identification, tended now more towards academic conservatism and creative schematism (Καραντώνης 1965: 23).

2.5. Education reforms and the primer textbook “The High Mountains”

The positions of dimoticism significantly changed after the historical changes and the coming to power of E. Venizelos. In the period 1917-1920, within the framework of the educational reforms carried out by the liberals and in line with the requirements for accessible knowledge in a language well-understood by the major part of the people, thirteen primer books were written.⁴ Remarkable for the history of pedagogy in Greece is the primer book based on the children’s novel “The High Mountains” («Τα Ψηλά Βουνά») by Z. Papandoniou, telling about the mountain adventures of a group of children. It was published in December 1918 as a reading book for the 3rd grade in line with the Venizelian Language Education Reform from 1917. In its time, the reader caused sharp reactions and not surprisingly in 1920 it was withdrawn like the other primer books related to the Education Reform. Z. Papandoniou as a prominent figure of the 1890s symbolist movement, was an author of collection of poems as well. Some of his best-loved ones are the “War songs” («Πολεμικά τραγούδια») (published in 1898 and inspired by the 1897 war that triggered the 1890s wave of symbolist writings in Greek literature), “Rhythms in prose” («Πεζοί ρυθμοί») (1923) (a book representative of the hybrid genre of poems in prose), etc.

Among the most zealous critics of Papandoniou’s reader are G. Hadzidakis and Andreas Skias (1861-1922). G. Hadzidakis was at that time a professor at the Athens University and among his most prominent students was Manolis Triandafillidis (1883-1959) at that time a Senior Superintendent of Primary Education and an active member of the so-called Educational Group (Εκπαιδευτικός Όμιλος). A fervent antidemotician, G. Hadzidakis strongly condemned the language and style of the reading book and insinuated it propagated bolshevism, antipatriotism, antitheism. In his book “Let there be light. Demoticism in primary schools” («Γενηθήτω φῶς. Ὁ μαλλιαρισμὸς εἰς τὰ δημοτικά σχολεῖα» (1920)) he disapproved of the language, the grammar, the variety of grammatical types, the idioms, of many words, that he considered foreign, and even of Papandoniou’s illustrations. According to Hadzidakis the texts of the reading books should have been written by educators with long teaching experience and “not by the first random person”.

The reader “The High Mountains” was introduced back as a primer book in later years. Some of its most important polytonic editions date from 1918 (1st

⁴ «εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ὁμιλουμένην (δημοτικὴν) γλῶσσαν, ἀπηλλαγμένην παντὸς ἀρχαϊσμοῦ ἢ ἰδιωτισμοῦ. [...] ἀπλᾶ καὶ σαφῆ κατὰ τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ τὸ ὕφος» (Νόμος 1332/1918) [“in the common spoken (dimotiki) language, free of all archaism or colloquialisms. [...] simple and clear in language and style” (Law 1332/1918), my translation].

edition), 1919 (2nd edition), 1920 (3rd edition). With its 1929 and 1933 editions it was reintroduced as part of Venizelos' education reforms and in 1974 it was reprinted for the Metapolitefsi elementary schools for a short time until it was substituted by Angelica Varella's book. In recent years monotonic and internet editions of the textbook have appeared as well. In 2018 as a wikisource it is available as [Τα ψηλά βουνά](#) el.wikisource or as a digital reprint of the original uncensored book by Z. Papandoniou "The High Mountains", with text appearing in the monotonic system and editing based on modern grammar, spelling and syntax at [@pslvn.blogspot.com](#) (2016 Εκδόσεις Διεύθυνσης Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης Ηρακλείου, επιμ. Γιώργος Π. Μαρκατάτος).

A review, written by B. Grigoris in the renowned newspaper "To Vima" («Το Βήμα») on the occasion of the the 39th edition of the reading book, made by the Estia publishing house (Εκδόσεις της Εστίας) in 2011, outlines the significance of the primer book for the history of modern Greek education.⁵ It mentions that in the preface to the revised edition N. D. Triandafillopoulos praised greatly the value of this first of its kind primer textbook declaring that what should have been said for the nowadays reading books was said long time ago about "The High Mountains". The vastly disputed book had a fate, filled with many twists and turns – it was subjected to public burning, initiated by the antidemotacist governments after 1920, and was condemned sharply in public even by progressive intellectuals such as Galateia Kazantzakis (1881-1962) who considered that: "the book of the State is insensible and lifeless. They threw away as useless these two concepts, God, and the Nation, which alone could give him [the State-my remark] the higher spirit of creation that it lacks"⁶.

Considered as one of the greatest Greek children's books in the Demotic language, "The High Mountains" has not only been reprinted many times, but it is also truly appreciated by many renowned linguists. The book tells the story of a group of 26 children who with their parents' permission, when they finish the last grade of Greek school, decide to go on vacation alone for about two months in the mountains of Evrytania. There, "amidst the beauties of nature, learning the stories of the people they meet, they build a community that celebrates team spirit, solidarity and mutual respect, they learn to overcome life's difficulties through cooperation and respect for each other, always with humor and no heavy-handed teachings" (Γρηγόρης 2011).

The author of the preface to the 2011 Estia edition N. D. Triandafillopoulos condemns the criticism, accusations, and slander that the primer received by

⁵ <https://www.tovima.gr/2011/07/19/books-ideas/ta-psila-boyna-se-epanekdosi/>, 20.01.2023.

⁶ «γιατί το βιβλίο του Κράτους είναι αναίσθητο και άψυχο. Παραπέταξαν ως άχρηστες τις δυο έννοιες αυτές, το Θεό και το Έθνος, που μόνο μπορούσαν να του δώσουν την ανώτερη πνοή δημιουργίας που του λείπει», <https://www.tovima.gr/2011/07/19/books-ideas/ta-psila-boyna-se-epanekdosi/>, 20.01.2023.

pointing out that its only intention was to bring into the classrooms and into the souls of its nine-year-old readers the rustling of pines and firs, the song of water and the joy of a different life without a trace of rigidity and didacticism.

The withdrawal of all the primary books from the curriculum following the failure of Venizelos in the November 1920 elections, is considered only a temporary setback for the demotic movement, because in the period 1924-1926 new progress was made in the democratization of educational institutions through the activity of the group Educational Circle, whose founders Dimitris Glinos (1882-1943), Alexandros Delmuzios (1880-1956) and Manolis Triandafillidis held responsible posts in the Ministry of Education. They were influenced by left-liberal and socialist ideas and after 1917 participated actively in the educational reforms of the Venizelos' governments, which led to the limitation of illiteracy and helped cultural achievements become the property of all the greater part of the Greek society (Данова & Христакудис 2003: 248).

It is not quite accurate to consider that immediately after 1922 and the Asia Minor catastrophe demoticism "is left hanging in the air" and "is forgotten both as a poetic experience, and as an aesthetic ideal, and as a point of view towards the Greek life" (Καραντώνης 1965: 23). It is obvious that by being constantly connected with the problems of education and the institutionalization of Demotic Greek as an official state language, demoticism could not simply be "forgotten". The fight against dimotiki continued through the activity of the conservative circle of teachers, grouped around the magazine "Hermes" («Ερμής»), who spoke contemptuously about the movement of demoticism and considered it an instrument of the communist propaganda. The liberal circles in Greece did not give up their efforts to defend dimotiki. The educational reforms carried out by them (1917-1920, 1928-1932), apart from emphasizing the primacy of the vernacular language, linked the language question to the accessibility and practical nature of primary and secondary education knowledge. Efforts were focused as well on spreading dimotiki in higher education institutions, whose number increased significantly (Данова & Христакудис 2003: 249). The official resolution of the Greek language question came in 1976, when upon the proposal of the minister of education G. Ralis the government of K. Karamanlis adopted a law, institutionalizing dimotiki as the official language of the state.

3. CONCLUSION

Dimotiki is the language connected to folk tradition and the great legacy of folk art, but after the 1821 Revolution a literary instrument corresponding to the needs of Neo-Greek letters didn't exist. The Demotic literary language was gradually shaped thanks to the works of the Heptanese poets, to the 1880s poetic generation (G. Drossinis, Nikos Kambas, Kostis Palamas) and mainly to the 1890s generation of symbolist poets who were all followers of demoticism

and brought the language of the Romantic poets from the Heptanese School to new artistic and aesthetic heights, giving it the full right to challenge the domination of katharevousa, institutionalized through state-power mechanisms. The last quarter of the 19th c. is the exact moment when the language question evolved from a purely linguistic controversy into a reaction towards the whole archaic tradition, calling for the return of literature, art, politics, and social life to their modern democratic Greek roots. The defense of the right to existence and development of the vernacular form of the Greek language, opposed to the official state katharevousa language, was eloquent of the power of words in an increasingly material world, in which, according to the famous Greek poet and Nobel Prize laureate Odysseas Elytis, dominates the supremacy of numbers. Nevertheless, that state management is not poesy and Elytis considered only the poetic space to possess immunity against the “the quantitative esteem of the values”⁷, it is namely the fiction literature (with poetry in the first place), public medias and education literature, which turn out to be those supportive towers in the battle for language reformation, without which the conquests of demoticism would have been unthinkable.

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⁷ But then, what becomes of Poetry? What does it represent in such a society? This is what I reply: poetry is the only place where the power of numbers proves to be nothing. Your decision this year to honor, in my person, the poetry of a small country, reveals the relationship of harmony linking it to the concept of gratuitous art, the only concept that opposes nowadays the all-powerful position acquired by the quantitative esteem of values. [https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1979/elytis/lecture/], 20.01.2023.

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Φωτεινή Χριστακούδη-Κωνσταντινίδου
Πανεπιστήμιο της Σόφιας «Άγιος Κλήμης της Αχρίδας», Σλαβικές Σπουδές

ΛΟΓΟΤΕΧΝΙΚΕΣ ΠΤΥΧΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΟΥ ΚΙΝΗΜΑΤΟΣ

Περίληψη

Ο δημοτικισμός δεν αντιπροσωπεύει μόνο ένα αυστηρό φιλολογικό ή ποιητικό κίνημα, αλλά μια τεράστια πνευματική και ηθική εξέγερση που προκαλείται από τις ανάγκες της ελληνικής δημόσιας και καλλιτεχνικής ζωής με ποικίλες πολιτιστικές και αισθητικές εκδηλώσεις. Η δημοτική είναι η γλώσσα της λαϊκής παράδοσης συνδεδεμένη με τις ζωντανές λαϊκές ρίζες. Στα τέλη του 19ου αι. όμως δεν υπήρχε λογοτεχνικό όργανο που να ανταποκρίνεται ολοκληρωμένα στις ανάγκες του πεζού και του έμμετρου λόγου. Σταδιακά, η γλώσσα της λογοτεχνίας διαμορφώθηκε από την Επτανησιακή Σχολή, από την ποιητική γενιά του 1880 (Γ. Δροσίνης, Ν. Καμπάς, Κ. Παλαμάς) και κυρίως από την γενιά των ποιητών συμβολιστών της δεκαετίας του 1890 που ήταν όλοι οπαδοί του δημοτικισμού. Οι Έλληνες συμβολιστές έφεραν τη γλώσσα των ρομαντικών ποιητών της Επτανησιακής Σχολής σε νέα καλλιτεχνικά και αισθητικά ύψη, δίνοντάς της το δικαίωμα να αμφισβητήσει την κυριαρχία της καθαρεύουσας, θεσμοθετημένης μέσω των μηχανισμών της κρατικής εξουσίας. Η λογοτεχνία (με την ποίηση στην πρώτη θέση), τα ΜΜΕ και η εκπαιδευτική λογοτεχνία είναι εκείνοι οι υποστηρικτικοί πύργοι στη μάχη για τη γλωσσική μεταρρύθμιση χωρίς τους οποίους οι κατακτήσεις του δημοτικισμού θα ήταν αδιανόητες. Οι θέσεις του δημοτικισμού άλλαξαν σημαντικά μετά τις ιστορικές αλλαγές και την άνοδο στην εξουσία του Ε. Βενιζέλου. Στην περίοδο 1917-1920, στο πλαίσιο των εκπαιδευτικών μεταρρυθμίσεων που πραγματοποιήθηκαν από τους φιλελεύθερους και σύμφωνα με τις απαιτήσεις για προσιτή εκπαίδευση σε μια γλώσσα κατανοητή από το μεγαλύτερο μέρος του λαού, κυκλοφόρησαν δεκατρία αναγνωστικά. Αξιοσημείωτο για την ιστορία της παιδαγωγικής της Ελλάδας είναι το αναγνωστικό που βασίζεται στο παιδικό μυθιστόρημα «Τα Ψηλά Βουνά» του Ζ. Παπαντωνίου, το οποίο εκδόθηκε το 1918.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: Ελληνική διγλωσσία, δημοτικό κίνημα, ποιητικός μοντερνισμός, αναγνωστικό «Τα Ψηλά βουνά»