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Evgenia Mouresioti[1]
Leiden University
Marina Terkourafi[2]
Leiden University

OTHERING THROUGH SPELLING: GREEK NATIVE SPEAKERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD GREEKLISH AND ENGREEK IN DIGITALLY-MEDIATED COMMUNICATION

This paper focuses on two 'hybrid' scriptal systems common in Greek digitally mediated communication (DMC), Greeklish (typing Greek words in the Roman script) and Engreek (writing English words and phrases in Greek characters). What attitudes do Greek native speakers hold towards these two hybrid phenomena? Do they evaluate them in a similar way or differently and if so, why? We adapted the Matched Guise technique to visual stimuli and used it to elicit attitudes toward Greeklish in two platforms where it is commonly used (emails and SMS messages) and toward Engreek in two different platforms where it predominates (WhatsApp and Instagram). Additionally, we used a questionnaire to elicit attitudes more directly. This mixed-methods approach revealed a negative stance towards Greeklish and a more positive/neutral one towards Engreek. We consider possible reasons for the different evaluations of these two hybrid ways of mixing Greek and English in Greek DMC.

Keywords: Greeklish, Engreek, Digitally Mediated Communication, attitudes, coronavirus pandemic

1. INTRODUCTION

Without a doubt, English and English-derived forms today constitute an integral part of both online and face-to-face communication among speakers of many other languages who do not speak English natively. Greek is no exception. The constant use and mixing of the two languages, Greek and English, has resulted

[1] e.mouresioti@hum.leidenuniv.nl
[2] m.terkourafi@hum.leidenuniv.nl

in the creation of alternative ways of writing, especially within the context of digitally mediated communication (DMC). The dynamic interrelationship between Greek and English manifests itself in three ways in Greek text-based DMC; first, in the use of unassimilated English words and phrases in Greek messages, what we may call 'visual code-switching'. In this case, both English and Greek are written in their respective scripts, as shown in (1):

(1) "Έχω babysitting απ' το πρωί" (= I'm babysitting all day)

A second way is by typing Greek words in the Roman script, a practice more commonly known as Greeklish, as in (2):

(2) "Kaname banio kai tora pame na fame kati" (= We took a shower and now we're going to get something to eat")

Finally, a third indication of the dynamic interrelationship between the two languages is the more recent practice of writing English words and phrases in Greek characters, a practice referred to as "Hellenized English" (Androutsopoulos 2020: 3) or Engreek (Spilioti 2014: 436). This is illustrated in (3) below:

(3) "Σόρρυ δεν μπορούσα να τα ανοίξω γιατί ήμουν σε κολ με δουλειά" (= Sorry, I wasn't able to check my messages because I was on a work call")

Compared with visual code-switching, the cases exemplified in (2) and (3) are considered more hybrid, since both Greek and English are respectively written in a script which is different from the one conventionally associated with each of them. These two cases are the focus of this paper.

In both cases, a non-canonical script is used and the variation occurs at the level of orthography. What attitudes do Greek native speakers hold towards these two hybrid phenomena? Do they evaluate them in a similar way or differently and if so, why? To find out, we adapted the Matched Guise technique to visual stimuli and used it to elicit attitudes toward Greeklish in two platforms where it is commonly used (emails and SMS messages) as well as toward Engreek in two different platforms where Engreek predominates in turn (WhatsApp and Instagram). Additionally, a questionnaire was used to elicit attitudes more directly. The aforementioned mixed-methods studies revealed a negative stance towards Greeklish, and a more positive/neutral one towards Engreek. The paper closes with a brief consideration of possible reasons for the different evaluations of these two hybrid ways of mixing Greek and English in Greek DMC.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON GREEKLISH

2.1. The emergence of Roman-alphabeted Greek (Greeklish)

The first computer systems operated on the American Code for Information Interchange (ASCII code), which was based on the Roman script (Danet & Herring 2007: 9) and supported, beyond the basic Roman characters, some punctuation marks, and a few digits and symbols (Tseliga 2007: 118). As a result, during the 1980's, Greek-speaking computer users in Greece and abroad had no option but to use the Roman script to represent Greek, resulting in the emergence of Roman-alphabeted Greek or Greeklish (Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou 2007: 144; Androutsopoulos 2009: 224). Later on, as the Unicode Worldwide Character Standard was developed, a wider variety of scripts and languages, including Greek, could be supported (Tseliga 2007: 118; John 2013: 327). Nevertheless, the switch from typing in Roman characters to typing in Greek did not happen overnight. Not everyone had access to the aforementioned character-encoding system and, given that some technological constraints persisted, users continued to use the Roman alphabet well into the 1990's (Androutsopoulos 2009: 224). As with the first personal computers, the Greek script was not initially supported in most mobile phone devices, compelling Greek mobile phone users to use the pre-installed Roman script to type their SMS messages (Laghos et al. 2012: 2).

2.2. Transliteration patterns

The most prominent feature of Greeklish is the great degree of spelling variation it displays, namely the fact that vowels and consonants of the Greek script, or combinations of these, such as digraphs and diphthongs, can be represented with two or even more different Roman characters (Androutsopoulos 1998: 51–52). This diversity is associated with the absence of a commonly accepted transliteration pattern, allowing individuals to compose their messages in idiosyncratic ways (Androutsopoulos 2000: 75). Androutsopoulos (1998: 52) identifies two main transliteration patterns, a phonetically-based one and an orthographically-based one. The first one is based on correspondences between Greek phonemes and Roman characters (Androutsopoulos 2009: 232), only some of which coincide with official transliteration systems, such as the ELOT-standard, or academic ones, such as the standard of classical philology and/or linguistics (Androutsopoulos 1998: 52). Since this sound-based pattern aims to represent Greek phonetically (Chalamandaris et al. 2006: 1226), it simplifies Greek historical orthography to a considerable extent, especially as far as vowel sounds are concerned; for instance, the six different grapheme (combinations) <ι, η, υ, ει, οι, υι>, which stand for Modern Greek /i/, are all represented by the Roman symbol [i] in this pattern, which we will refer to as Greeklish-ph[onetic] (Androutsopoulos 1998: 53; 2009: 232).

On the contrary, the orthographic transliteration pattern, which we will refer to as Greeklish-o[rthographic], is based on correspondences between Greek and Roman graphemes, thus preserving the orthographic image of the word (Androutsopoulos 1998: 53). This pattern is further subdivided into the visual and the keyboard-based pattern. In the visual pattern, the goal is to render Greek graphemes using Roman characters or numbers that are visually similar to them as much as possible. For instance, the grapheme <ω>, which corresponds to the phoneme /o/, can be represented by the similar-looking Roman character <w>. If no such Roman character exists, Greek graphemes are represented by similar-looking numerals; the grapheme <θ>, for instance, which stands for the sound [θ], is transliterated using the number 8 (Androutsopoulos 2009: 232). As far as the keyboard-based sub-pattern is concerned, users type on the Roman-based keyboard as if typing on a Greek one (Tseliga 2003: 71); thus, the Greek grapheme <υ>, which corresponds to the phoneme /i/, is represented by the Roman character <y>.

Users do not follow any of the above patterns or sub-patterns consistently. Rather, they tend to mix them interchangeably within a single message (Androutsopoulos 1998: 55), confirming that Greeklish is a culture-bound phenomenon which opposes standardization and embraces creative uses of spelling (Tseliga 2007: 137). Linguistic as well as extralinguistic factors play a crucial role in users' transliteration choices. The grammatical function of the word or morpheme and the phonological environment, which are closely linked to the phonetic transliteration pattern, belong to the former, while gender, educational background, occupation as well as the relationship between sender and receiver belong to the latter (Androutsopoulos 1998: 55–58).

2.3. Greeklish usage

The first studies regarding Greeklish appeared in the late 1990's. Androutsopoulos (1998) was the first to document its use in email correspondence, later concluding that Greeklish had become the norm among email users residing in Greece and abroad (Androutsopoulos 2000). However, the domination of Greeklish in emails, which was also documented by other studies (Tseliga 2002, 2003), did not last long. Spilioti (2007) found that Greeklish was used to a very limited extent by young/adolescent mobile phone users when typing their messages. Apart from these two media, Greeklish has also been documented in a variety of platforms, including chat rooms (Moustaka et al. 2010; Koutsogiannis, 2015), forums (Moustaka et al. 2010), Facebook (Lees et al. 2017), e-chat IRC exchanges (Goutsos 2005), and YouTube comments (Laghos et al. 2012). Koutsogiannis (2015) observed that young people used Greeklish, especially in chat rooms and on Facebook, considerably more than in their SMS messages,

suggesting that preferences for the use of the Roman vs. the Greek script to type Greek may be medium-specific.

Notably, Greeklish is strongly associated with Greek diaspora communities. It has been documented in email exchanges between Greeks residing in the U.K. (Georgakopoulou 1997), and in online chat communication between adolescents/young adults and second/third generation immigrant children and students in Germany (Androutsopoulos & Hinnenkamp 2001). Moreover, it is frequently found in online chat (Themistocleous 2009, 2010, 2013) and on Facebook exchanges among Greek Cypriots residing in Cyprus and abroad in order to represent Cypriot Greek, which is phonologically different from Standard Modern Greek (Sophocleous & Themistocleous 2014).

2.4. Attitudes to Greeklish

Several studies have investigated attitudes towards Greeklish (Androutsopoulos 2000; Tseliga 2002, 2003; Spilioti 2007; Moustaka et al. 2010; Koutsogiannis 2015; Lees et al. 2017; Xydopoulos et al. 2019). Generally, these studies found that participants regarded Greeklish as faster and easier to type, as well as a challenging, useful and attractive linguistic innovation. However, Greeklish, especially the phonetic transliteration pattern, was also considered to be a convenient cover up for users' spelling mistakes, which may explain some participants' negative attitudes towards it (Androutsopoulos 2000, 2009; Tseliga 2002) as well as an association with a lower educational level (Koutsogiannis 2015). These attitudes were mainly held by older participants (Androutsopoulos 2000) and also echoed in the societal treatment study of Koutsogiannis and Mitsikopoulou (2007).

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON ENGREEK

3.1. The emergence of Greek-alphabeted English (Engreek)

While Greeklish is an older phenomenon, Engreek, i.e. the practice of representing English with Greek characters, has gained prominence within the context of Greek DMC only recently, which also explains the relative scarcity of previous research on Engreek.

Unlike Greeklish, which concerns messages in their entirety, Engreek typically concerns English words or phrases typed in Greek in isolation. A second difference is that Engreek did not emerge because of technological constraints but rather created by users themselves. Androutsopoulos (2020) refers to the practice of choosing a non-canonical script to represent a language in ways which are neither socially expected nor technology-driven as "trans-scripting". When it comes to Greek DMC, trans-scripting is not limited to English. In response to various events in the news, recently, a wave of Greek-alphabeted French also appeared in Greek social media. Example (4) illustrates this:

(4) ΠΑΡΛΕ ΒΟΥ ΦΡΑΝΣΕ; (= “DO YOU SPEAK FRENCH?”)

Finally, although Engreek is gaining popularity in various social media environments, it has so far not been documented in emails, unlike Greeklish, which appeared there first.

The opposition between these two hybrid ways of typing Greek and English respectively is supported by statements found online. In the online dictionary slang.gr, Engreek is defined as an “online language, the opposite of Greeklish”, while a Facebook page called “Engreek” has been created with the aim of opposing it to Greeklish and the ideological values associated with the latter.

3.2. Trans-scripting and respelling patterns

As with Greeklish, the ways in which English is graphemically represented using Greek characters are highly heterogeneous. More precisely, English words and phrases may undergo either a visual or a phonetic respelling. The former is based on visual similarities between the Greek graphemes and the shape of the Roman characters; for instance, in “afternoon” the double English grapheme {o} is not respelled using the Greek digraph {ου}, which corresponds to [u]. Instead, the English word is respelled as “αφτερνοον”, in which the two English graphemes are replaced by their Greek counterparts based on visual similarity. Conversely, phonetic respelling is sound-based and closer to what the Greek lexical items would sound like in the Roman script (Spilioti 2019: 4). For instance, the adjective “live” is respelled as “λαιβ” using Greek graphemes that correspond to the sounds in the English word. This pattern is more frequent and shows a great degree of variation, since users tend to represent the sounds in their own distinct and mixed ways.

3.3. Engreek usage

Investigating respellings of English lexical items in the Greek script across multiple social networking pages, Spilioti (2014, 2019, 2020) found that Engreek was used in meme captions and in YouTube video comments in order to target and make fun of certain public figures, such as Greek singers and politicians, who spoke “bad” or Greek-accented English. In such cases, Engreek serves as a means of representing a stylized voice, namely one of non-fluent speakers of English, and to produce fun and amusement by calling attention to the pronunciation of a certain word or phrase instead of its content (Spilioti 2019: 7). By using Engreek, users manage to dissociate themselves from the target of the mockery and all the negative traits that they represent (Spilioti 2019: 7), and to evaluate their voice as funny and ridiculous (Spilioti 2014: 440).

Phonetic respellings can also contribute to indexing lack of fluency in English. Apart from creating entertaining and playful spaces suitable for ridiculing those who speak English with a Greek accent, Engreek can also be used to judge others and their (deficient) language competence, and by extension their political beliefs and skills (Vladimirou & House 2018; Spilioti 2019, 2020). For instance, in YouTube videos showing former Greek Prime Minister Tsipras speaking English, the subtitles are written in Engreek to mock his lack of proficiency in English and therefore portray him as an incompetent political leader (Androutsopoulos 2020). Comments to similar YouTube videos and meme captions written in Engreek can even represent words which were never actually uttered by the person whose voice is being represented (Spilioti 2019: 7; 2020: 9). In addition to targeting people who speak English with a Greek accent, Engreek is used to highlight other Greek cultural stereotypes. For instance, in comments exchanged between friends on a Facebook post, Engreek is used to point out the targeted individual's lack of organization, a trait stereotypically associated with Greeks (Spilioti 2014: 441).

While previous studies have focused on Engreek's multiple functions and contexts of use, little attention has been paid to the attitudes of Greek native speakers towards this non-canonical way of writing English. What few observations can be found are impressionistic and little research has been carried out in this respect. According to the online dictionary slang.gr, Engreek is fun and cool. Similarly, in the questionnaire survey conducted by Lees et al. (2017), secondary school students claimed that Engreek in Facebook exchanges is a fun way of writing which helps users avoid spelling mistakes, pronounce English words correctly and remember their pronunciation too. In the same study, writing English using Greek characters was regarded as a time-saving process, since it doesn't require switching the keyboard from one script to the other. The second study reported below, which focuses on Engreek, is the first to experimentally investigate the attitudes of Greek native speakers toward Engreek, in order to compare them to their attitudes vis-à-vis Greeklish.

4. METHODOLOGY[3]

4.1. Research design

In the aforementioned studies, participants' attitudes toward Greeklish and Engreek were elicited either directly through interviews or questionnaires, which explicitly ask participants to express their opinion on the topic under investigation, or by applying a societal treatment approach, which analyzes language data already available in the public domain. Since we aimed to obtain a more comprehensive picture of Greek native speakers' attitudes to Greeklish and Engreek, we opted

[3] The full set of materials used in this study and the Appendices can be found at: https://doi.org/10.34894/FBWXZ9

for a combination of direct (questionnaire) and indirect (matched guise task) approaches. The Matched Guise Technique, originally developed by Lambert et al. (1960) to examine how speech variation affects stereotyping members of different ethnolinguistic groups (Lambert 1967: 93), was first adapted to study attitudes to scriptal variation by Spitzmüller (2012); in Mouresioti and Terkourafi (2021), rather than listening to the same extract spoken in different language varieties or accents, participants saw the same text in different spellings and were asked to evaluate the author on various dimensions. One of the main benefits of the MGT is that it allows a great degree of transparency to listeners' "private emotional and conceptual reactions" (Lambert et al. 1965: 90). Participants do not evaluate directly a particular way of using language, but rather the personality of a person using it. In this way, the linguistic trigger of these evaluations can remain hidden, keeping participant reactions as sincere and spontaneous as possible (Solís Obiols 2002: 2).

4.2. Materials

4.2.1. Stimuli

Our first study investigated the use of Greeklish in emails and SMS messages in order to reach generalizable conclusions regarding attitudes to Greeklish that are not specific to one or the other platform. Original email and SMS messages were retrieved from exchanges between the first author and her friends. Three emails and three SMS messages, each written by a different person, were selected to be used as stimuli. In the emails, the sender provided the recipient with some information about a city that the former had visited in the past. In the SMS texts, the sender suggested making plans together with the recipient.

Since all of the messages had originally been written in the Greek script, they were rendered in Roman characters in the two transliteration patterns introduced in section 2.2, creating three manipulations or "guises": Greek, Greeklish-ph(onetic) and Greeklish-o(rthographic). The three emails and SMS messages were edited to be comparable in content, text length and the number of selected Romanized characters occurring across their three guises, whereas in all other respects (punctuation, abbreviations used) they were not any different from the originals. The number of words in each message was kept constant at between 35 and 40 words. Moreover, graphemes and grapheme combinations which are rendered differently in the two transliteration patterns were controlled in order to occur with equal frequency across the three emails and across the three SMS messages (see Table 1).

Greek graphemes	Greeklish-Ph (Source)	Greeklish-O (Source)	Occurrences per email	Occurrences per SMS
η	i (Androutsopoulos 2009)	h (Androutsopoulos 1998)	6	4
υ	i (Androutsopoulos 2009)	y (Androutsopoulos 1998)	3	2
ω	o (Androutsopoulos 2009)	w (Tseliga 2003)	4	4
αι	e (Androutsopoulos 1998)	ai (Androutsopoulos 1998)	3	3
ει	i (Androutsopoulos 2009)	ei (Androutsopoulos 2009)	6	4
οι	i (Androutsopoulos 2009)	oi (Androutsopoulos 2009)	1	-
ου	u Androutsopoulos (2009)	oy Androutsopoulos (2009)	-	2
β	v (Androutsopoulos 2009)	b (Androutsopoulos 2009)	1	1
μπ	b Androutsopoulos (1998)	mp Androutsopoulos (1998)	-	1
χ	h (Tseliga 2003)	x (Androutsopoulos 2009)	3	-

Table 1. Critical Greek graphemes with corresponding transliteration according to the phonetic or orthographic pattern and frequency of occurrence of each grapheme in the email and SMS stimuli

To enhance the ecological validity of our results, the email messages were presented as a screenshot of an email user's computer screen and the SMS messages as a screenshot of a mobile phone. An example of an email message in the three guises followed by an English translation is shown in figures 1a-1d, followed by an example of an SMS message in figures 2a-2d (for the full list of stimuli, see Appendix A).

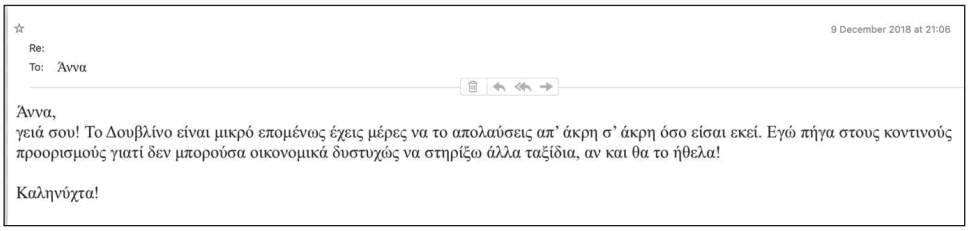


Figure 1a. Email example: Greek guise

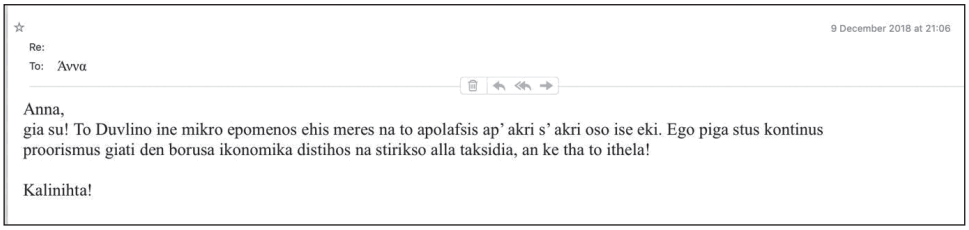


Figure 1b. Email example: Greeklish-ph guise

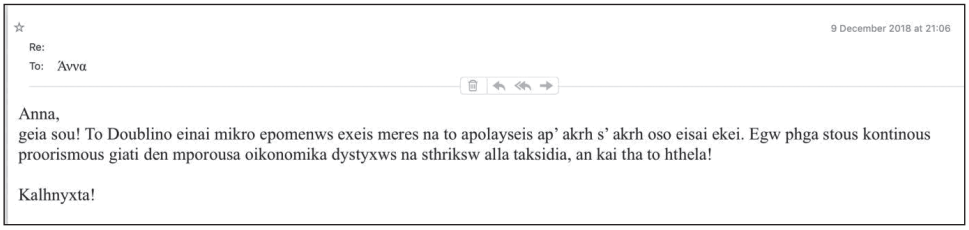
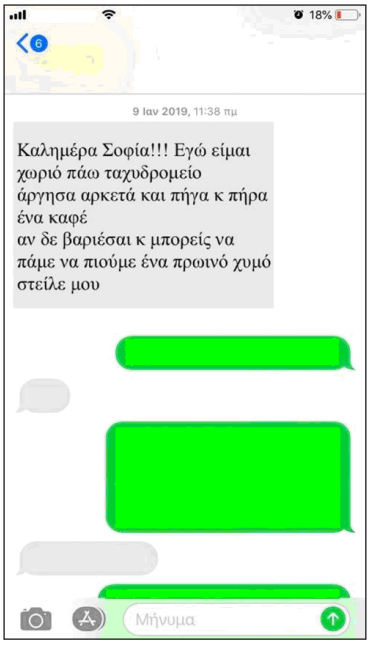


Figure 1c. Email example: Greeklish-o guise

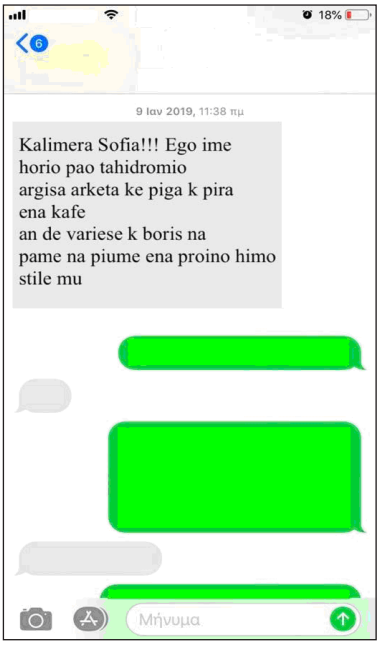
Figure 1d. Email example: English translation (not seen by the participants)

Figure 2a **Figure 2b**



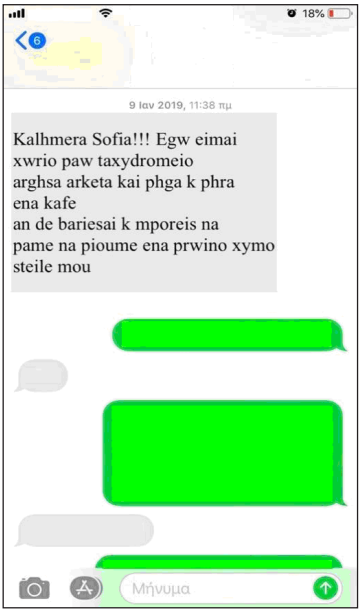
SMS example: Greek guise

Figure 2c

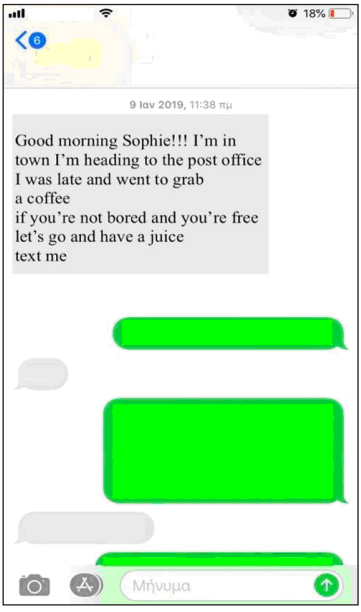


SMS example: Greeklish-ph guise

Figure 2d



SMS example: Greeklish-o guise



SMS example: English translation
(not seen by the participants)

After reading the three emails and three SMS messages in only one of their guises each, participants were asked to estimate on a 6-point Likert scale the degree to which the authors of the messages possessed a number of traits drawn from a pool of adjectives previously used in studies on English and further refined through a pilot study conducted prior to the main experiment. The findings of this pilot study and previous studies were combined to yield the final list of adjectives used. The eight adjectives selected jointly reflect the dimensions of *superiority*, *attractiveness* and *dynamism* (Zahn & Hoper 1985) (see Table 2).

Dimension	Greek term used	English equivalent
Superiority	καλλιεργημένος/η	cultivated
	υπερόπτης	arrogant
Attractiveness	συμπαθητικός/ή	likeable
	απότομος/η	curt
Dynamism	βιαστικός/ή	hasty
	εξωστρεφής	outgoing
	συντηρητικός/ή	conservative
	τεμπέλης/α	lazy

Table 2. Greek adjectives used in the matched guise task

4.3. Participants

Sixty participants (12M: 48F), recruited using snowball sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf 1981), filled out the online survey.

4.4. Procedure

4.4.1. Matched guise rating task

The three emails and three SMS messages used as stimuli were presented in three guises each (Greek, Greeklish-ph and Greeklish-o) resulting in 18 guises. To eliminate fatigue, a block design was used and the 18 guises were distributed equally over six blocks consisting of three emails and three SMS messages each. In three of the blocks, the email messages appeared first, while in the other three, the SMS messages appeared first. Within each block, the three emails appeared with a different spelling each and in a randomized order; for instance, if the first email was written in Greeklish-ph, the second one was written in Greek and the third in Greeklish-o; same with the SMS messages. Each participant saw only one block and, in particular, three emails of different content and in a different guise each and three SMS messages of different content and in a different guise each. Since the topic was kept stable across the emails (travel) and across the

SMS messages (making plans), any differences in participants' ratings could be attributed to the different spelling used rather than the content. All six blocks were designed using Qualtrics (https://www.qualtrics.com/) and were then embedded within one single survey which was distributed electronically. A limit had been set on response counts, so each email and SMS guise was seen by 20 participants only and no participant saw an email or SMS in more than one of its guises.

After giving informed consent, participants saw a message in one of the three guises and were asked to write down their first impressions about its author. On the following page, while the message remained on the screen, the rating scales for the eight adjectives (Table 2) ranging from 1: not at all (*καθόλου*) to 6: very much (*πάρα πολύ*) appeared, so that respondents could complete the author evaluation task while still seeing the message. Having completed the rating task, participants were asked to speculate about the gender and age of the message's author, as well as to indicate whether they themselves had any difficulty reading the message. Lastly, they could optionally state if they found anything strange in the message they had just read.

4.4.2. Questionnaire

The second part of the survey consisted of a questionnaire with open and closed questions. Contrary to the matched guise task, which elicited participants' attitudes indirectly, the second part aimed to elicit information about participants' demographic background, their email and SMS usage, their preferences concerning script use in these two media, and their attitudes toward Greeklish directly (Appendix B). At the end of this questionnaire, respondents were asked again to point out if they found anything strange in the messages they had read in the first part. The whole survey took approximately 25 minutes to complete.

5. RESULTS

5.1. Matched guise task results

5.1.1. Author traits

As mentioned in section 4.2.2, participants were asked to evaluate the email and SMS authors on eight traits representing the dimensions of superiority ("cultivated" and "arrogant"), attractiveness ("likeable" and "curt"), and dynamism ("hasty", "outgoing", "conservative" and "lazy"). Table 3 shows the mean values for participant evaluations of the authors of all emails and SMS in the three guises. The biggest divergence lies in the evaluations for "cultivated": authors using the Greek script were considered to be highly cultivated compared to users of Greeklish in both platforms. Specifically, authors using phonetic Greeklish were regarded as the least cultivated, those using orthographic Greeklish as

rather cultivated, whereas those opting for the Greek script were regarded as the most cultivated. Other differences concern the likeability and hastiness of those using phonetic Greeklish, who were evaluated as less likeable and more hasty regardless of platform, as well as the laziness of the SMS authors. The latter finding might have to do with the more informal style of the SMS messages, which were originally exchanged between close friends and made use of abbreviations, such as "κ" for και = 'and'.

1 = not at all - 6 = very much	Greek		Greeklish-O		Greeklish-Ph	
	Email	SMS	Email	SMS	Email	SMS
cultivated	**4.7** (4.3-5.1)	**3.7** (3.5-3.9)	**3.7** (2.9-4.4)	**3.2** (3.0-3.5)	**2.8** (2.1-3.5)	**2.5** (2.3-2.9)
arrogant	1.8 (1.4-2.3)	1.7 (1.6-1.9)	1.6 (1.4-1.9)	1.5 (1.1-1.9)	1.8 (1.5-2.2)	1.9 (1.6-2.2)
likeable	4.2 (4.1-4.5)	4.2 (4.0-4.8)	4.0 (3.2-4.4)	4.0 (3.6-4.3)	**3.5** (3.1-4.2)	**3.7** (2.9-4.6)
curt	2.0 (1.7-2.4)	2.2 (1.7-2.6)	1.9 (1.6-2.4)	2.2 (2.0-2.5)	2.3 (2.2-2.6)	2.6 (2.1-3.2)
hasty	2.5 (1.8-3.2)	3.3 (2.0-4.0)	2.7 (2.1-3.7)	3.7 (3.3-4.1)	**3.5** (3.0-4.1)	**3.8** (3.4-4.2)
outgoing	3.7 (3.4-4.2)	4.3 (3.9-4.9)	3.9 (3.6-4.2)	4.1 (3.8-4.4)	3.7 (3.1-4.3)	4.0 (3.6-4.8)
conservative	2.4 (1.9-2.7)	1.9 (1.8-2.2)	2.0 (1.9-2.2)	2.0 (1.9-2.1)	2.0 (1.9-2.2)	2.0 (2.0-2.1)
lazy	1.6 (1.5-1.9)	2.2 (1.6-2.7)	2.2 (2.0-2.4)	2.6 (2.0-3.0)	2.8 (2.3-3.3)	3.1 (2.5-3.7)

Table 3. Mean values for participants' evaluations of authors using the Greek, orthographic Greeklish, and phonetic Greeklish transliteration patterns in emails and SMS (mean range shown in parenthesis; 1 = not at all – 6 = very much)

5.1.2. Authors' assumed gender and age

Following the authors' evaluation on the eight traits, participants were asked to speculate about their gender and age. Overall, those using phonetic Greeklish were assumed to be younger men irrespective of platform (Table 4), a finding which may mirror stereotypes of young men as more technically minded and less observant of standard language norms.

Authors hypothesized to be…	Greek		Greeklish-O		Greeklish-Ph	
	Email	SMS	Email	SMS	Email	SMS
Women	**63.3**	**75**	**56.7**	**65**	40	51.7
Men	37.7	25	43.3	35	**60**	**48.3**
Aged 18-25	13.3	18.6	36.7	30	**51.7**	**38.3**
Aged 26-35	**60**	**39**	**50**	**38.3**	35	26.7
Aged 36-50	26.7	20.3	11.7	21.7	8.3	21.7
Aged > 50	-	22	1.7	10	5	13.3

Table 4. Authors' assumed gender and age using the Greek, orthographic Greeklish, and phonetic Greeklish transliteration patterns in emails and SMS (percent responses)

5.1.3. Message readability

Lastly, participants were asked to assess the readability of the messages, ranging from "very easy" to "very difficult". Table 5 shows the percent participant responses broken down by participant age. Unsurprisingly, messages typed in Greek were "very easy" to read for the majority of respondents in all age groups. On the contrary, messages typed in Greeklish were considered to be more difficult to read, especially when shifting from orthographic to phonetic Greeklish, and this difficulty reportedly increased with participant age. SMS messages in phonetic Greeklish, in particular, were thought to be "rather difficult" to read by most of the participants over 50.

Summing up, the quantitative analysis of participant responses to the matched guise part of the survey reflects rather negative attitudes towards messages typed in Greeklish. This negativity is particularly evident in judgements of their authors as less "cultivated" as well as in the perceived (low) readability of the corresponding messages. These judgements are particularly extreme in the case of phonetic Greeklish, while differences between the email and SMS platforms can be attributed to the informality of SMS as a medium.

5.2. Participants' qualitative comments

In their qualitative comments, elicited both before and immediately after the matched guise task, many respondents indicated that they found using Greeklish in emails weird. Overall, phonetic Greeklish was judged more negatively compared to orthographic Greeklish, with participants commenting on the author's poor level of Greek and of Greek spelling. Some even stressed that they found Greeklish-ph "annoying", "tiring", and a distraction, or, as in the case of a young male respondent, a signal that of the author's (middle) age, since, according to him, Greeklish is not common among younger people, especially in emails.

5.3. Directly elicited attitudes towards Greeklish

In the second part of the study, a questionnaire was used to elicit attitudes toward Greeklish directly (Appendix B). this not only helped us obtain background information about the respondents (Questions 1-7), it also provided insights into their own email/SMS usage (Questions 8-19). In their majority, participants reported using the Greek script for their emails and SMS messages and evaluated Greeklish rather negatively. Asked to justify their choice of script (Questions 13 and 14), they responded that they find Greeklish hard to read, write, and comprehend. They also found Greeklish less formal compared to Greek, time-consuming, and less efficient for communication purposes. One respondent pointed out that Greeklish signals laziness and, in the case of older generations, an unwillingness to alter an already established way of writing. Comments that "we"/"Greeks" should write in Greek on a daily basis, and that the Roman script corrupts and impoverishes the Greek language, reflected further normative attitudes toward the Greek script.

6. ENGREEK

6.1. Materials

6.1.1. Stimuli

Our second study focused on the use of Engreek in WhatsApp and Instagram messages in order to investigate attitudes to Engreek irrespective of platform. Naturally occurring WhatsApp and Instagram messages were retrieved from exchanges between the first author and her friends, and three WhatsApp and three Instagram messages, each written by a different person, were selected as stimuli. All of them had originally been written in the Greek script and included one single word in Engreek. The lexical item in Engreek was rendered in its Greek equivalent term and the English original term, resulting in three manipulations or "guises": Greek equivalent word, Engreek and English original word.

Unlike in our first study, the messages in our second study were not comparable in content, text length, and the number of selected Engreek characters across their three guises. However, attention was paid to the words that occurred in Engreek in each message, with integrated loanwords (e.g., pizza) and words that are conventionalized in Greek (e.g., covid) being excluded. Similar to the Greeklish study, the WhatsApp and Instagram messages were presented as a screenshot of a WhatsApp and Instagram user's mobile phone respectively (see figures 4a-4d and 5a-5d; for the full list of stimuli, see Appendix D).

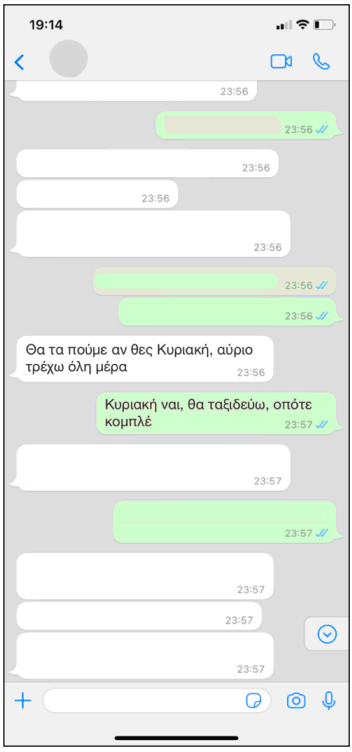


Figure 4a
WhatsApp example: Greek guise

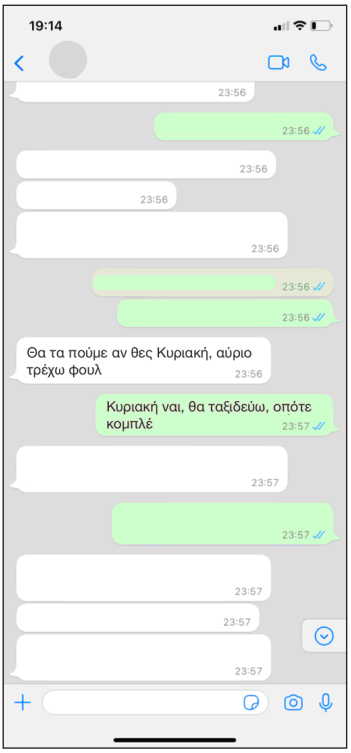


Figure 4b
WhatsApp example: Engreek guise

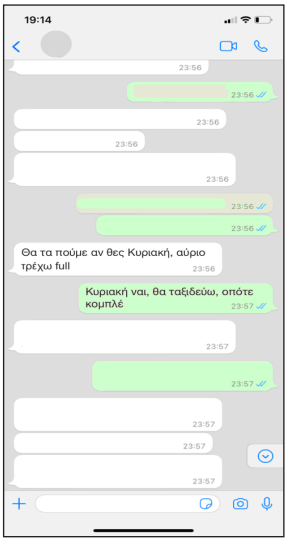


Figure 4c
WhatsApp example: English guise

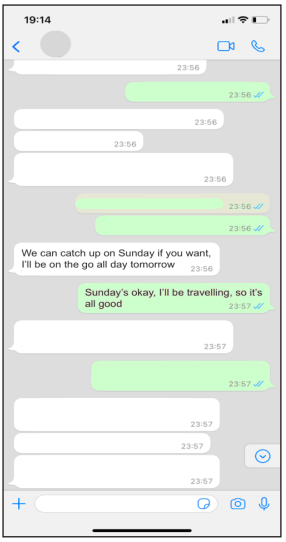


Figure 4d
WhatsApp example: English translation (not seen by the participants)

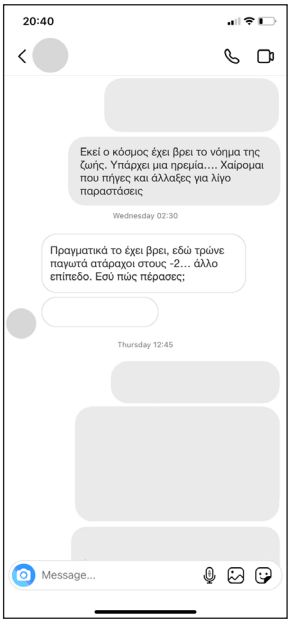


Figure 5a
Instagram example: Greek guise

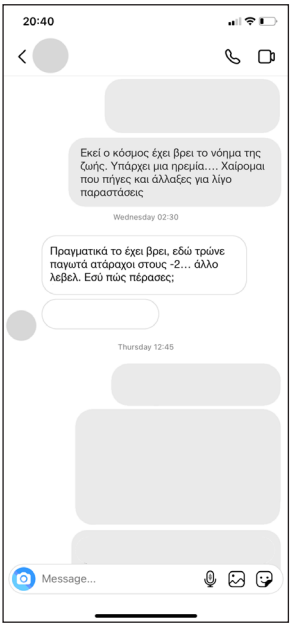


Figure 5b
Instagram example: Engreek guise

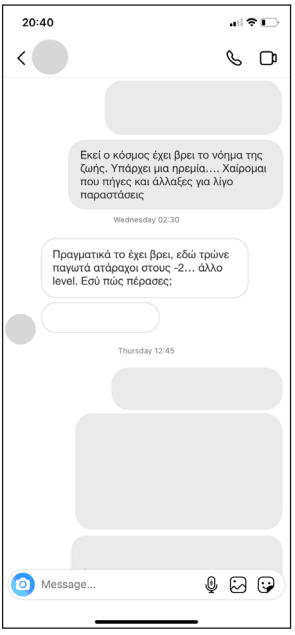


Figure 5c
Instagram example: English guise

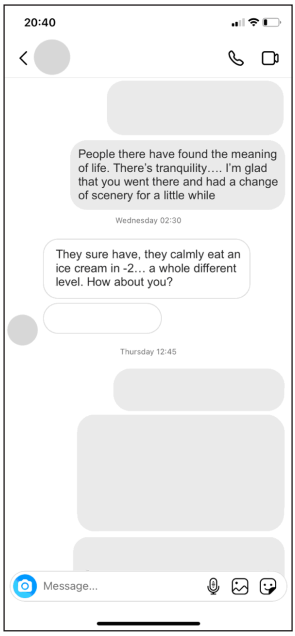


Figure 5d
Instagram example: English translation (not seen by the participants)

6.1.2. Rating task design

Participants' attitudes to Engreek were first elicited indirectly by means of a rating task similar to the one used in the Greeklish study (see 4.4.1).

6.2. Participants

Thirty participants (6M: 24F), recruited using snowball sampling, completed the online survey.

6.3. Procedure

6.3.1. Matched guise rating task

The three WhatsApp and three Instagram messages used as stimuli were presented with a lexical item in one of three guises (Greek, Engreek and English) for a total of 18 guises and, to limit fatigue, a block design was used. Each block consisted of six messages in a randomized order and with the lexical items in a different spelling each; for instance, if the first message was from WhatsApp and included the lexical item in Engreek, the second message would be from Instagram and include the lexical item's Greek equivalent term, while the third would be from WhatsApp and include the English original term; and so on (Appendix D). Each participant saw only one block, with 10 participants seeing each block and

no participant seeing a WhatsApp or Instagram message with the same lexical item in more than one of its guises. The survey was distributed online via Qualtrics and a rating task similar to the one in the Greeklish study (see 4.4.1) was used.

6.3.2. Questionnaire

Following the rating task, a questionnaire, as in the Greeklish study, was administered, this time focusing on respondents' Engreek usage in WhatsApp and Instagram messages (Appendix D).

7. RESULTS

7.1. Matched guise task results

7.1.1. Author trait evaluations

As before, participants first rated the WhatsApp and Instagram authors on eight adjectives reflecting superiority ("cultivated", "arrogant"), attractiveness ("likeable", "curt") and dynamism ("hasty", "outgoing", "conservative", "lazy"). Table 5 shows the mean values for these evaluations. No remarkable differences among the messages in their different guises were revealed based on these judgements, suggesting that Engreek is considered as good as the Greek equivalent and the English original term with no negative attitudes held towards it. The only divergence concerns evaluations for "lazy": authors opting for Engreek were judged as more lazy compared to those using the Greek or original English term, while WhatsApp users were overall rated more highly than Instagram users on all traits, more likely because of the platform rather than the guise used.

1=not at all - 6=very much	Greek equivalent		Engreek		English original	
	WhatsApp	Instagram	WhatsApp	Instagram	WhatsApp	Instagram
cultivated	4.5 (4.3-4.8)	3.6 (3.5-3.7)	4.0 (3.8-4.2)	3.5 (2.8-4.0)	4.0 (3.7-4.5)	3.8 (3.5-4.1)
arrogant	3.9 (3.7-4.3)	3.6 (3.3-4.1)	3.6 (3.3-3.7)	3.7 (3.3-3.9)	3.7 (3.1-4.6)	4.0 (3.9-4.2)
likable	3.8 (3.7-4.0)	3.3 (2.9-3.6)	3.5 (3.4-3.8)	3.6 (3.4-3.9)	3.5 (3.0-4.4)	3.9 (3.6-4.2)
curt	2.0 (1.6-2.5)	2.1 (1.9-2.5)	1.8 (1.1-2.3)	1.7 (1.0-2.4)	1.6 (1.4-2.0)	2.0 (1.8-2.3)
hasty	2.8 (1.5-4.7)	1.9 (1.4-2.1)	2.8 (1.9-4.5)	2.2 (2.0-2.4)	3.0 (1.8-4.6)	1.8 (1.3-2.4)
outgoing	2.1 (1.8-2.3)	1.8 (1.1-2.7)	2.2 (1.6-3.1)	2.0 (1.6-2.5)	1.8 (1.3-2.5)	2.3 (1.7-3.1)
conservative	1.8 (1.3-2.3)	1.9 (1.2-3.0)	1.9 (1.4-2.7)	1.9 (1.6-2.3)	2.1 (1.5-2.7)	2.0 (1.6-2.2)
lazy	1.4 (1.3-1.6)	1.7 (1.3-2.2)	**1.9** (1.7-2.2)	**1.8** (1.8-1.9)	1.4 (1.0-1.9)	1.9 (1.5-2.2)

Table 5. Mean values for participants' evaluations of authors using Greek, Engreek, and English in WhatsApp and Instagram messages (mean range shown in parenthesis)

7.1.2. Authors' assumed gender and age

After evaluating the authors on the eight adjectives, participants were asked to speculate about their gender and age (table 6). Noticeable here is the estimated age of the authors of messages containing Engreek, who were generally assumed to be younger, suggesting that Engreek is indexical primarily of young age.

Authors hypothesized to be…	Greek equivalent		Engreek		English original term	
	WhatsApp	Instagram	WhatsApp	Instagram	WhatsApp	Instagram
Women	56,7	40	60	53,3	53,3	30
Men Other	33,3 10	53,3 6,7	40 -	33,3 13,3	40 6,7	63,3 6,7
Aged 18-25	-	20	36,7	63,3	40	33,3
Aged 26-35	60	63,3	50	26,7	40	46,7
Aged 36-50	36,7	16,7	13,3	10	20	16,7
Aged >50	3,3	-	-	-	-	3,3

Table 6. Authors' assumed gender and age using Greek, Engreek, and English in WhatsApp and Instagram messages (percent responses)

7.1.3. Message readability

Regarding the readability of the messages, no striking differences were again observed, with messages containing Engreek found as easy to read as those with the Greek equivalent and the original English term (Table 7).

To conclude, the matched guise part of the study revealed that attitudes toward Engreek are generally rather positive/neutral; using Engreek did not result in negative attitudes towards authors using it (who are generally assumed to be young), and Engreek was considered as good and easy to read as the corresponding Greek and the original English term. The qualitative analysis presented next supports these findings.

7.2. Participants' qualitative comments and their directly elicited attitudes toward Engreek

In their optional qualitative comments, elicited both before and immediately after the matched guise part of the study, as well as through the questionnaire that followed (Appendix E), participants again evaluated Engreek in a mostly neutral/positive way. Specifically, writing English words with Greek characters is considered a common habit nowadays, in line with participants' own increasing use of Engreek as reported by them. Furthermore, Engreek is considered to be

fun and easily understood as well as faster and more convenient for the author. Interestingly, messages containing Engreek and English original terms were attributed to being a cool and relaxed young person and not necessarily indicative of one's educational level; rather they are simply how people communicate nowadays.

8. CONCLUSIONS

We report on two studies using a modified Matched Guise Technique and a questionnaire to elicit, both indirectly and directly, attitudes toward Greeklish and Engreek among adult Greek native speakers today. In the study on Greeklish, participants saw emails and SMS messages written in Greek, orthographic Greeklish, and phonetic Greeklish, while in the study on Engreek, respondents saw WhatsApp and Instagram messages which contained one lexical item in either Greek, Engreek, and English. Our results revealed some significant divergences in attitudes toward these two non-canonical scriptal choices. To begin with, the very limited use of Greeklish today[4] is in stark contrast to the increasing use of Engreek documented in the second study. These usage trends are not unrelated to participants' attitudes towards the two hybrid phenomena: whereas Greeklish was evaluated primarily negatively as a remnant of the past and a corruption of the Greek language, Engreek was evaluated more neutrally, even positively, as a widespread, fun, and transparent means of writing which facilitates communication. On an individual level, Greeklish is highly associated with a low educational level and poor knowledge of Greek orthography, whereas Engreek carries no such associations. Instead, it signals younger age and a laid back attitude, considered indicative of cool and relaxed individuals. Regarding the significance of these hybrid phenomena for the future of Greek, annoyance and alarm seem to be directed toward Greeklish only, with Engreek viewed not as a threat but rather as a tool for constructing own's own (scriptal) identity as a young and cool person, who can draw on multiple resources to make their speech more fun.

These attitudes are further not unrelated to the different audiences to whom each type of scriptal choice is accessible: Greeklish makes Greek accessible to learners, including the Greek diaspora abroad and immigrants in Greece, therefore to various outgroups. On the contrary, Engreek is only accessible to an ingroup, namely to those who are already literate in and can read Greek. Unlike Greeklish, the purpose of Engreek is not to make the language accessible to those who cannot read and/or write it, but to comment on another user's usage (representations of former PM's spoken English) or spice up the user's own usage

[4] One exception to this trend is the use of Greeklish when writing to non-native speakers of Greek, which was not specifically investigated in our study.

of English. In both of the aforementioned cases, no questions of Greek language competence can be raised about the user of Engreek in the same way as they can be raised for the user of Greeklish.

Our studies are of course not devoid of limitations. The small number of participants, especially in the Engreek study, calls for replication with larger and more diverse samples. Additionally, the effect of the message content on attitudes should be investigated. Although we tried to keep this comparable in each of the two studies, participants' author evaluations may well have been influenced by it. Lastly, the effect of the platform should not be underestimated: while Greeklish was judged more harshly, its use in the relatively more formal platform of emailing, where higher registers can be expected, may have influenced this judgement, while Engreek being presently limited to less formal communication platforms may be protected from these judgements precisely because of this.

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Ευγενία Μουρεσιώτη
Leiden University Center of Linguistics, Faculty of Humanities

Μαρίνα Τερκουράφη
Leiden University Center of Linguistics, Faculty of Humanities

ΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΩΣΗ ΜΕΣΩ SPELLING: Η ΣΤΑΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΦΥΣΙΚΩΝ ΟΜΙΛΗΤΩΝ ΑΠΕΝΑΝΤΙ ΣΤΟ GREEKLISH ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ENGREEK ΣΤΗΝ ΨΗΦΙΑΚΑ-ΜΕΣΟΛΑΒΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ

Περίληψη

Τα τελευταία 20 χρόνια οι συζητήσεις αναφορικά με την επίδραση της αγγλικής στην ελληνική γλώσσα έχουν επικεντρωθεί κυρίως σε δύο φαινόμενα: στα Greeklish, τη χρήση λατινικών χαρακτήρων για τη γραφή της ελληνικής στην ψηφιακή επικοινωνία, αλλά και τη χρήση αγγλικών λέξεων-δανείων στην καθημερινή επικοινωνία. Στην παρούσα μελέτη, αντιπαραβάλλουμε δύο φαινόμενα που σχετίζονται με την αλληλεπίδραση αγγλικής και ελληνικής ως προς τη γραφή: τα Λατινοελληνικά (Greeklish) και τα Ελληνοαγγλικά (Engreek: το να γράφει κανείς τη λέξη lockdown ως λοκνταουν). Σε αντίθεση με προηγούμενες μελέτες που εξέτασαν παρόμοιες στάσεις ομιλητών με τη χρήση ερωτηματολογίων ή συνεντεύξεων, στην παρούσα έρευνα αξιοποιούμε μια μέθοδο

που στοχεύει στην εκμαίευση απόψεων των συμμετεχόντων με έμμεσο τρόπο, χωρίς να αντιλαμβάνονται τι είναι αυτό το οποίο αξιολογούν. Για το σκοπό αυτό, προσαρμόσαμε τη Μέθοδο Εναρμονισμένων Αμφιέσεων «ΜΕΑ» σε γραπτό λόγο: αντί να ακούσουν το ίδιο δείγμα προφορικού λόγου σε διαφορετικές γλωσσικές ποικιλίες ή προφορές, οι συμμετέχοντες διάβασαν το ίδιο κείμενο αποδομένο με διαφορετικούς τρόπους γραφής και κλήθηκαν να αξιολογήσουν τον συντάκτη του κειμένου ως προς ποικίλα χαρακτηριστικά. Τα δεδομένα συγκεντρώθηκαν από άτομα διαφορετικών δημογραφικών γνωρισμάτων μέσω μιας διαδικτυακής έρευνας που συνδύασε έμμεση (ΜΕΑ) και άμεση (ερωτηματολόγιο) μεθοδολογία. Τα αποτελέσματα δείχνουν ότι οι στάσεις των φυσικών ομιλητών της ελληνικής απέναντι στα υπό εξέταση φαινόμενα επηρεάζονται από το περικείμενο και το είδος του κειμένου. Προτείνουμε ότι τεχνολογικοί, δημογραφικοί, καθώς και ιδεολογικοί παράγοντες επηρεάζουν ως ένα βαθμό τις στάσεις αυτές.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: Λατινοελληνικά, Ελληνοαγγλικά, ψηφιακή επικοινωνία, γλωσσικές στάσεις, μέθοδος εναρμονισμένων αμφιέσεων