

Some Sociolinguistic Features of Modern Greek as Spoken in Montreal

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RÉSUMÉ

Il y a deux aspects du comportement linguistique qui sont très importants du point de vue social: la fonction du langage dans l'établissement des relations sociales et le rôle joué par le langage pour communiquer des informations sur le locuteur (Labov, 1966). On examine ces deux aspects appliqués à des locuteurs Grecs qui habitent à Montréal.

Le vocabulaire du Grec montréalais diffère de celui du Grec moderne standard en ce qu'il inclut un grand nombre d'emprunts à l'anglais. Ces emprunts sont examinés quant à leurs structures. Certains de ces emprunts sont *nativisés*, c'est-à-dire qu'ils s'insèrent dans le système inflectionnel du Grec; ce sont les *hybrides*. On essaie de montrer comment l'usage de ces hybrides est conditionné par certains facteurs socio-économiques et par le contexte linguistique de Montréal.

ABSTRACT

Two aspects of language behavior are very important from a social point of view: the fonction of language in establishing social relationships and the role played by language in conveying information about the speaker (Labov, 1966). These two aspects are examined as they relate to Greek-Canadian speakers of Modern Greek living in Montreal.

The vocabulary of Montreal Greek is partly different from that of Standard Modern Greek in that it includes a large number of borrowings from English. These borrowings are examined in terms of their structure; and one type of loanwords consisting of English words which are *nativized*, that is which enter the inflectional system of Greek, is described. They are referred to as *hybrids*. An effort is made to, show how the use of these hybrids is conditioned by socio-economic factors and linguistic context.

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♦→ This article has been published for the first time in Vol. 1, no 2, Autumn, 1983 of *Études helléniques / Hellenic Studies*.

Introduction

Language contact occurs when two monoglot speakers of two different languages i.e. Greek and English, have to and/or desire to communicate verbally with each other. Then, either one speaker learns the other's language and becomes a 'subordinate bilingual' (Paradis, 1978: 165) while the other remains monoglot, or both of them become subordinate bilinguals. A third case would invoke lack of verbal communication because both speakers are monoglots and they have to employ 'sign language' in order to communicate.

In Canada as well as in the whole of North America the English speaker remains a monoglot while the immigrant has to achieve bilingualism at least at a primitive level. Such contact between two languages gives rise to linguistic interference phenomena at all linguistic levels. The degree of interference is dependent upon many linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, including the degree of the speaker's commitment to one language or the other (Seaman, 1972: 19).

It seems that there have been three major works dealing in general with the Greek language in the United States. No such study has been conducted in Canada. Lontos (1926) gave a list of lexical items, almost all of them loanwords from English, which were used by the Greeks in New York City at that time. Thirty years later Macris (1955) based his study on Lontos's work and wrote a dissertation on English loanwords in New York City Greek. He was mainly concerned with "the adaptation of English loanwords to the round system of Greek". In 1972 Seaman wrote on Modern Greek and American English in contact. He examined this contact at all linguistic levels and arrived at general conclusions with reference to the Modern Greek language spoken in the United States. It is of interest to note that the first two studies were undertaken by first generation Greek-Americans (Lontos; Macris) whereas the third study was conducted by a non-Greek scholar.

Our study was an attempt to investigate and describe some of the characteristics of the Modern Greek language as it is spoken in Montreal. This variety of Modern Greek has been the result of the more general issue of 'languages in contact', as this issue has been defined by Weinreich:

Two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same persons. The language using individuals are thus the locus of the contact" (Weinreich, 1953: 1).

The primary aim of this research was to examine the genesis of new lexical items - referred to as *hybrid forms* - which appear in Greek as a result of

contact with English. Also possible differentiations in the usage of hybrid forms vis-à-vis four major sociolinguistic variables were examined. Furthermore, an attempt was made to examine some of the attitudes towards the existence of such English-Greek morphological mixtures in the vocabulary of Greeks living in Montreal.

A Brief Description of the Hybrid Forms

In adjusting to their new linguistic and cultural environment the Greek immigrants have at least two different resources when faced with a new cultural concept or item to be named: (1) they utilize words from their own language to describe the new milieu (intra-linguistic adjustment), and (2) they turn to English as their source (inter-linguistic modification). The second is typical of the vast majority of the immigrants (Seaman, 1972, pp. 176-7).

The use of "nativized" loanwords, the hybrids, is a special case of the second resource noted by Seaman.

Hybrid forms are a kind of word mixture, the phonology of which is Greek; the morphology consists of features from the two languages, English words, though, being the morphological bases to which Greek affixes are attached. For instance, the English word 'carpet' becomes the hybrid form *karpēt-o*, *-o* being a neuter noun ending in Greek.

Hybrid forms can belong to one of the following lexical categories: nouns, adjectives or verbs¹. Here are some examples:

Nouns: *bank-a*, *bil-i*, *ghiardh-a* equivalent to the English 'bank', 'bill', 'yard'.

Adjectives: *ekspiri-os*, *salababits-is*, *biz-i*, *hap-i*, equivalent to the English 'experienced', 'son-of-a-bitch like', 'busy', 'happy'.

Verbs: *muv-aro*, *pres-aro*, *map-izo*, *brek-aro* equivalent to the English 'to move', 'to press', 'to mop', 'to have a break'.

Nouns are the most likely to become hybridized, as our collection of more than 350 hybrid forms has shown, English adverbs and prepositions can never be hybridized, that is, borrowed and morphologically modified to fit the Greek system, probably because an adverb in Greek is the nominative case of the neuter form of the adjective in the plural *-a* form which doesn't exist in English. Prepositions, on the other hand, do not carry inflectional morphemes in Greek.

As far as gender is concerned, hybrid forms are classified either as neuter, feminine or masculine according to the semantic relation that exists with the equivalent Standard Greek words. For instance the English word ‘car’ is formed as a hybrid by adding the neuter Greek ending *-o*: giving the hybrid form *karo* (*n.*) because the Standard Greek word is neuter in *-o*: *aftokinito* (*n.*). Also to the hybrid form *marketa* from the English word ‘market’, the feminine ending *-a* is added, because the Standard Greek word for ‘market’ is feminine in *-a*: *aghora* (*f.*).

Hybrid forms are widely used in the Montreal Greek community. Some words are common to the whole community, for instance *ghiardha* ‘yard’ and *karpeto* ‘carpet’. Other hybrid forms reflect the occupation of the speakers. Those ‘occupational’ hybrids like *stitsi* ‘stitch’ and *masini* ‘machine’ gradually enter the hybrid vocabulary of the entire Greek community.

Method

Based on personal observations and on a pilot study concerning the hybrid vocabulary among the Greeks in Montreal (Maniakas, 1981), 32 hybrid forms were finally selected to represent the general usage of the words made by the members of the Greek community in Montreal. These words were chosen so that each of them could be translated into Standard Greek. Care was taken to avoid hybrids which have no counterparts in Standard Greek like *hamburgas*, *handokadhiko*, ‘hamburger maker’ and ‘hot dog stand’ respectively.

The 32 hybrid forms which were selected to be examined in this research are given in Appendix I. The selection was made after observing everyday language situations between Greeks from various ages, socio-economic classes and from both sexes.

Concentrating on the problem-target of this research, three major hypotheses were formulated taking into account the relevant parameters of the Greek language in Montreal. These hypotheses postulated that:

1. The lower the social class (income and education being the most crucial variables for this social classification), the higher the degree of hybrid use.
2. The earlier the immigrants arrived, the more the hybridization of English words; or, the older the immigrants, the more hybrid forms used.
3. Male immigrants – irrespectively of age and education – use hybrid forms more often while female ones tend to be more careful speakers than male ones, sociolinguistically speaking.

The English language among Greek-Canadians, as well as among other linguistic communities, still has a great prestige². This prestige attached to the English language is possibly transferred to the hybrid forms since English words are the base of the hybrid forms. That is, in their effort to speak the prestigious English language, Greek immigrants and mainly the older and less educated ones, realize their lack of necessary knowledge of English language structure and English vocabulary. So, they hellenicize English words preserving in a way a part of the prestige of English: instead of using English words like 'market' and 'bank', they prefer hybridizing them: *marketa* and *banka* respectively. Other speakers, usually younger and more educated, who are careful and try to speak 'correct' Greek, often express negative opinions toward hybrids and try to avoid them. Among these careful speakers are women.

Furthermore the written form of speech is generally considered more formal than the oral form of speech. When a person speaks he is not as careful as he is when he writes. It appears, then, logical to assume that this may be the case with the "hybrid speech" of the Greek population living in and around Montreal.

Based on the findings of previous research along similar lines (Denison, 1970; 1971; Fishman, 1967; Lambert, 1967b; Trudgill, 1974) age, education-occupation, and sex of the subjects were used as the independent variables of this study — the dependent variable being the number of hybrid words used throughout the experimental procedure.

The Sample

In order to study the use of hybrid forms, the speech of 24 Greek immigrant women and 24 Greek immigrant men living in the Montreal area was examined. According to their year of arrival to Canada, their present age, their level of education, and the type of their occupation (obtained via self-reports), all 48 Subjects were classified into one of the following three categories: 1) Class A; 2) Class B; and 3) Class C. More so, based on their age, two sub-groups of 24 individuals each (12 males and 12 females) were formed: a) *The Older Immigrants*, that is those who came to Montreal during the late 60's-early 70's and are today between 33-50 years old; and b) *The Younger Immigrants*, those who either were born in Montreal to Greek parents between 1955-65, or were brought to Montreal at the age of five or younger. The main distinction between those two groups was the way in

which they had acquired and/or learned Greek and English³.

As the diagram below shows, Class A and Class C consisted exclusively of *Older Immigrants* whereas, for the purpose of this study, Class B consisted of individuals from Younger Immigrants sub-group.

8 males and 8 females

Older Immigrants	Class A	Class B	Class C
	Level of education: primary school Occupation: Small Business Owners, majority working in restaurants and - most women - in clothing factories		Level of education University and College Graduates Occupation: Mainly, Professionals
Younger Immigrants		Level of education: High school graduates, College and University students Occupation: Those that are in the labor market work in white collar jobs	

The Instrument

The *Interview Modules* developed by Labov (1981) were used as the basic material of this study for collecting all relevant data. In describing these modules, Labov has pointed that,

The conversational module is a group of questions focusing on a particular topic: i.e., children's games, premonitions, the danger of death, aspirations etc. The generalized set of such modules represents a conversational resource on which the interviewer draws in construction an interview schedule. (Labov, 1981, p. 9).

These interviews consist of question-answer procedures, aiming at obtaining the desired forms of speech. For this study the aim was to elicit borrowings and particularly hybrid forms.

Many questions within a particular module have been shaped after employing – and thus testing – them in previous sociolinguistic studies (Maniakas, 1981 and 1982).

There are three criteria to be considered for the construction of the questions of these modules:

(a) Generalized foci of interest

From a range of topics those of greatest interest to the majority of the members of the specific speech community have been isolated. For example school, marriage, language.

(b) Format of the questions

Formulating questions is a crucial aspect. Questions must be given in a colloquial style⁴ which may be further modified to fit the particular style of the interviewee and the current lexicon of the speech community. Also questions should take less than 8 seconds to deliver, otherwise they might sound complicated.

(c) Feedback

Formulation of the questions had to be from an outsider's point of view initially, as in: "Are there any churches around?". Then the question is transformed into one that looks to the particular issues of interest. In other words, the interviewer starts with a natural, general conversation and then, gradually, focuses on the interviewee him/herself.

The following modules proved to be more productive in the sense that they elicited more hybrid forms than other modules

Module 1: Demography – Personal information

Module 2: Family

Module 3: Marriage

Module 4: School

Module 5: Fights – Problems in the neighbourhood

Module 5A: Race

Module 6: Peer-groups

Module 7: Games

Module 8: Language

In each of the modules (1-8) utilized in this research certain hybrid forms were expected to be produced by each interviewee during the conversation. For instance, in module 1. Demography – Personal Information, the following hybrid forms were expected: *kombania*, *muvaro*, *karo*, *marketa*, *boksi*, *stofa*, *basi*.

Almost all of the hybrid forms could be elicited through more than a single module. Furthermore, the three major factors found to influence speech behavior (Hymes, 1967; Gumperz, 1968), that is the participants, the topic of the discussion, and the setting or context of discussion were all carefully controlled.

Each Subject was interviewed individually and the occurrences or non-occurrences of the selected hybrid forms (32) were calculated. Each Subject was observed for his/her linguistic behavior concerning the 32 hybrid forms while, at the same time, the usage of either one of three alternatives for each hybrid form was examined and calculated – namely an equivalent word "in Greek", "in English" or no word at all ("nil"). In addition, an overall mean of individual scores for each item used, in the interview, was determined. All data obtained was statistically analyzed, correlation co-efficients calculated, and the chi square test was used to determine the level of statistical significance.

Results

Table 1 shows the mean scores of hybrid forms produced per class A, B, and class C. The mean score for class A (16.81) is considerably higher than the respective means for class B (6.06) and Class C (10.43). This finding seems to support the first hypothesis of the study that, the lower the social class (as measured by Education and Occupation) the more frequent the usage of hybrid forms. As the interviews have shown, Class B individuals had a mean score of 14.5 years of schooling compared to 6.2 for Class A and to

10.6 years of schooling for Class C (Appendix II). It should be pointed out, however, that this is a combined (education-occupation) effect on the usage of hybrid forms since, due to the pronounced heterogeneity of the individuals consisting Class C, no separate effect could have been determined within the overall framework and the limitations of the study.

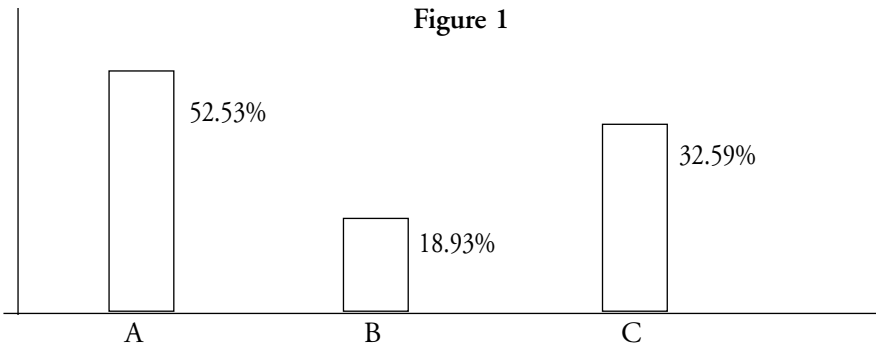
Furthermore, the results shown in Table 1 also seem to support our second hypothesis regarding age related differences: the older the Greek immigrant the more the hybrid forms used. In fact, a statistically significant difference at the 0.1 level was obtained when comparing the mean score of the hybrid forms elicited by Class A (Older Immigrant) and Class B (Younger Immigrant).

Table 1
Hybrids per class*

Class	Hybrids		English		Greek		Nil	
	Aver.	%	Aver.	%	Aver.	%	Aver.	%
A	16.81	52.53	0.06	0.18	9.25	28.90	5,87	18.34
B	6.06	18.93	2.81	8.78	14.56	45.50	8.56	26.75
C	10.43	32.59	0.93	2.90	14.12	44.12	6.50	20.31

chi-square=10.326 significance level =0.1 N = 48

- The percentages are given in a two decimal approximation. Due to this rounding effect one cannot get 100% indications when adding up all percentage figures in a row.



What about Class C where we get the average 10.43 on the same Table 1? The variable of Education-Occupation may be the reason for this average intermediate between those of Classes A and B. Since Class C consisted of subjects who were older than subjects from Class B and who had higher income than subjects from Class A, the reason for the mean 10.43 which lies between those of Class A and Class B (A = 16.81 C = 10.43 B = 6.06) may be the combination of two factors:

- I. an effort among subjects with higher income to speak more carefully than subjects from Class A;
- II. association with educated people within Class C.

Discussion

Alternatives to Hybrid Forms

Looking at Table 1 we see the average production of hybrid forms as well as of the other three alternatives, namely 'in English', 'in Greek' or 'nil'.

Class A had the highest percentage of hybrid forms (52.53%) and gave the lowest percentage for 'nil': 18.34%. Similarly the percentage for alternative words 'in Greek': 28.90% was the lowest among the three Classes as well as the tiny percentage for the alternative 'in English' which was just 0.18 %, the lowest among the three Classes. As mentioned before, subjects from Class A used more hybrid forms than the other two did. The vocabulary of standard Greek words (equivalent to the hybrids examined here) tends to diminish. Due to various reasons presented below, (Conclusions) Class A subjects seemed to use either hybrids (52.53%) or far less Greek words (28.90%) or no word at all. Their Greek vocabulary has been enriched with hellenicized English words - the hybrid forms - which everybody in Class A uses fluently and naturally when speaking Greek.

Class B, which had the lowest percentage of hybrid forms, gave the highest percentage of 'nil': 8.56%. However, the use of Greek words proved to be high: 45.50%. Younger immigrants from Class B felt uncomfortable with the hybrid forms and tried to avoid them. In their effort to avoid the hybrids they preferred to use a paraphrase in standard Greek than to use a hybrid form, *i.e. to meros pouvanis lefta* 'the place where you put money' *instead of* either *banka or trapeza* - hybrid and standard Greek respectively for 'bank'. Sometimes they used a specific structure: kano + infinitive of the verb in

English. For example: *kano move* instead of the hybrid form *muvaro* = ‘to move’⁵. They also used more English words than the two other Classes. As subjects from Class B told me in the interview sessions, they feel more secure with English than with Greek. They preferred to use English words equivalent to possible hybrids or paraphrases in standard Greek instead of using a hybrid or risking a possibly wrong Greek word as they might not be sure of its meaning.

Class C lies between Classes A and B as far as ‘nil’ and hybrid forms production are concerned. The percentage for Greek words, though, (44.12%) was very close to the one of Class B: 45.50%. Class C subjects - financially homogeneous - showed a tendency to use almost as many Greek alternatives to hybrids as Class B subjects did. A possible explanation for this would be the existence of educated subjects in Class C who biased the results towards those of Class B. Educated subjects seemed to be more sensitive about hybrid forms than less educated or uneducated subjects. The percentage 32.59% referring to total hybrid forms production by Class C lies between those of Classes A and B, and closer to the percentage of Class B. This again shows that hybrids have less prestige among more educated speakers.

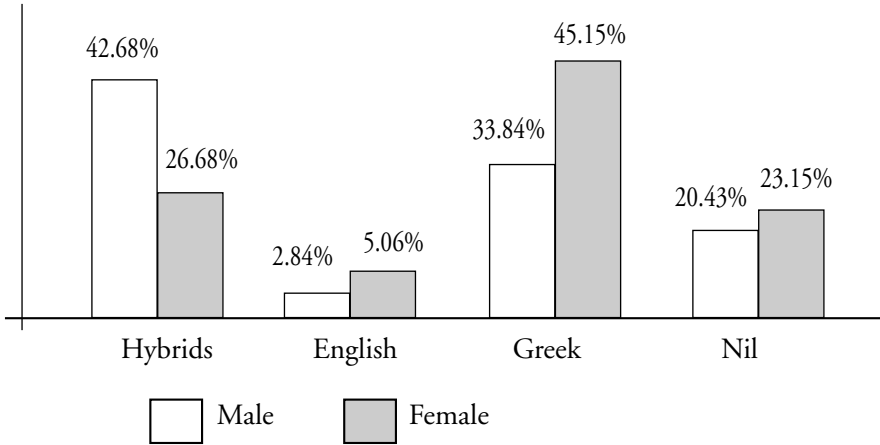
Hybrid Forms Production Per Sex

Looking at Table 2. *Hybrid forms per Sex*, we see that the average of hybrid forms used according to Sex irrespective of Class was 13.66 for the male subjects while it was only 8.54 for the female subjects. The difference of 5.12 speaks of itself.

Table 2
Hybrid Forms per Sex

Sex	Aver.	%	Aver.	%	Aver.	%	Aver.	%
M	13.66	42.68	0.91	2.84	10.83	33.84	6.54	20.43
F	8.54	26.68	1.62	5.06	14.45	45.15	7.41	23.15
Dif.	5.12	16.00	0.71	2.22	3.62	11.31	0.87	2.72

Figure 2



This finding seems to support the third hypothesis of the Study which argued that,

"Male immigrants - irrespectively of Age and Education-Occupation - use more often hybrid forms, while female ones tend to be more careful speakers than male ones, sociolinguistically speaking".

Hybrid Forms Production per Class and Sex

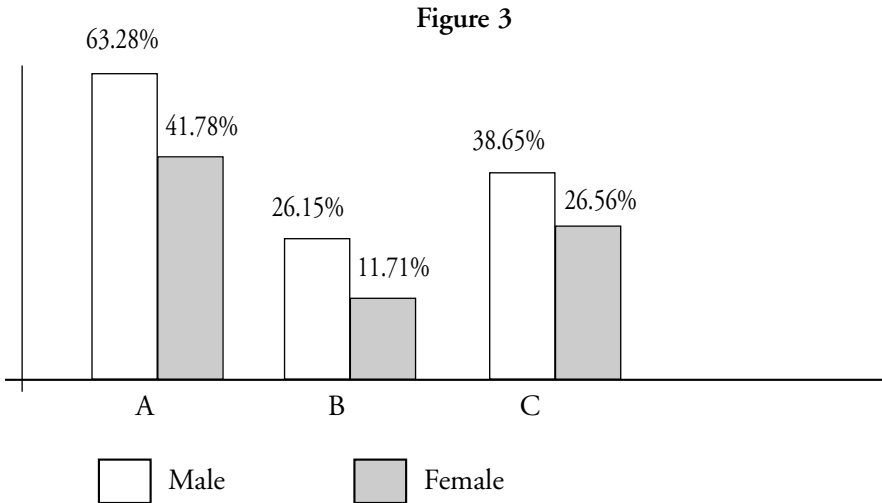
In Table 3 we have an overall presentation of the correlation of the hybrid forms with Sex and Class.

Table 3
Hybrid Forms per class and Sex

Class & Sex	Hybrids		Engl.		Greek		Nil	
	Aver.	%	Aver.	%	Aver.	%	Aver.	%
FA	13.37	41.78	0.12	0.37	11.75	36.71	6.75	21.09
MA	20.25	63.28	0.00	0.00	6.75	21.09	5.00	15.62
FB	3.75	11.71	3.12	9.75	17.25	53.90	8.00	25.00
MB	8.37	26.15	2.50	7.81	11.87	37.09	9.12	28.50
FC	8.50	26.56	1.62	5.06	14.37	44.90	7.50	23.43
MC	12.37	38.65	0.25	0.78	13.87	43.34	5.50	17.18

We note that all male subjects in each Class produced more hybrid forms than female subjects. So we get:

FA:	13.37	MA:	20.25
FB:	3.75	MB:	8.37
FC:	8.50	MC:	12.37
Mean:	F = 8.54	M =	13.66



Looking at Figure 3 referring to Table 3 we note the following: among the male subjects, those from Class A showed a higher degree (20.25) in the usage of hybrid forms than male subjects from Classes B (8.37) and C (12.37). Males of Class C, sub-Class MC (12.37) came second in the scale of hybrid forms used. This finding supports the fact that there are subjects in Class C who are influenced by the ‘elite’ academics but are not totally assimilated as far as their linguistic behaviour is concerned. These are the ‘nouveaux riches’ who sprang from Class A.

Sub-Class MB (8.37) falls far behind MA (20.25), as to hybrid used. MB subjects were the most careful speakers among all the three male sub-Classes. They felt uneasy about the way the ‘old Greeks’ hellenicized certain English words in their effort to communicate with their compatriots. It is quite a paradox that even though male subjects from sub-Class MB were aware of the non-acceptability of hybrid forms, they did use them in an average of 8.37

out of the 32 lexical items studied. As subject MB 6 told me in his interview: "...my cousins and our neighbours speak 'like that' all time...it's so funny, but it's unavoidable... I'm being bombarded constantly with such words".

Table 3 and Figure 3 show a remarkable difference in the percentage of hybrids used by female and male subjects within each Class. Sub-Class FA subjects produced the most hybrid forms among female speakers (41.7%). FB subjects gave the lower number of hybrid forms used (1.71%) and somewhere between FA and FB lies sub-Class FC= 26.56%.

Findings for sub-Class MA, MB and MC also support the hypothesis of this study. Of all the three male sub-Classes, MA, which was the lowest one (variables Education-Occupation), appeared to use more hybrid forms than the other two.

MA= 63.28% MB= 26.15% MC= 38.65%

Hence, combining hypotheses H 1 and H 3 one can see that male speakers from Class A were more productive of hybrid forms. It appears that male speakers, in general, tend to accept hybrids as well-formed Greek words.

Alternative to Hybrid Forms

One can see in Table 2 the difference in the degree of occurrence of alternatives to hybrids, namely 'in English', 'in Greek' and 'nil'. Female subjects irrespective of Age and Education-Occupation produced on an average almost twice as many words in English as the male subjects:

'English': M= 2.84% F= 5.06%

This result is a consequence of data from the female subjects of Class B and Class C which biased, in a way, the average for all the female subjects (cf. Table 3). By producing on an average the largest number of English alternatives to the hybrid forms, females from Classes B and C influenced the overall production of all female subjects.

One could claim a similar phenomenon for the data dealing with the production of words 'in Greek' (Table 2). That is, female subjects from Class B and Class A, by producing on an average a high degree of words in Greek (cf. Table 3), biased the results towards the finding we see in Table 2.

'Greek'= M: 34.84% F: 45.15%

However, all female subjects irrespective of the Age and Education-Occupation variables produced more alternatives in Greek than male subjects did. In general, female speakers prefer to use English or, to a greater extent, Greek words rather than hybrids.

This claim can be true only if one is to accept the position that the use of standard Greek or English words instead of hybrids is a sign of the carefulness exhibited by the female subjects in this study.

The third alternative to each one of the observed hybrid forms is the 'nil', that is no word at all given. Looking at Table 2 and Figure 2 we can see that the difference between male and female subjects concerning the alternative 'nil' was 2.72% more 'nil' occurrences for the female subjects.

'nil' = M: 20.43% F: 23.15%

It is of importance to note (Table 3) that women of Classes A and C demonstrated higher percentages than men in the 'nil' category. In Class B the situation is reversed: women showed a lower percentage of 'nil' than men. It could mean that women of that Class are better educated in English and in Greek than the men of their Class.

Attitudes towards English and Hybrid Forms

As we have seen before, younger immigrants showed a preference to use English to any other language they may speak, usually Greek and/or French. On answering Question 7, Module 8 on 'Language': "Some of your words were an English-Greek mixture. Can you tell me why this happens and how?" subjects from Class B in their majority recognized the fact that their Greek is a bit strange and not appropriate. It seems that this might have been one of the reasons for their preference for English which they master very well. Other speakers were more tolerant. The following excerpts from the interviews with male speakers from Class A make vivid their feelings towards hybrid forms. Subject MA 3 said in answer to question 7 above.

MA 3: " ... listen, friend, this happens ail over the world. In the homeland we say kontrolaro 'to control' *and parkaro* 'to park'!! Are these Greek or not? Everybody uses them, though",

TM: "Here in Canada there are many more, aren't there?"

MA 3: "No, I don't believe it! I think they are the same ones" (!) A

variety-shop owner, MA 3 tomes from a small place in Greece and has been living in Montreal for 20 years now.

Another subject mentioned:

MA 6: "... of course, I'm 100% sure the word *stofa* (hybrid for 'stove') is Greek!! what do you think it is?..."

TM: What about *kuzina*? (standard Greek for 'stove')

MA 6: "Well, this is Greek, too, but *stofa* is different. May be in Greece they have different *stofes* (pl. of *stofa*) and they are called *kuzines*... Who knows?..."

Conclusions

The above excerpts point to a major result of languages in contact: there is a semantic adjustment in the vocabulary of the minority language. In most cases when two languages come in contact, two cultures are in contact and cultural innovations come to be mirrored in the lexicon. For instance, we have the case of the standard Greek word *kuzina* and the hybrid form *stofa*. Most probably because in Europe the burners of the stoves do not have a coiled shape but are flat and solid, the Greeks in Montreal assume them to be different kitchen appliances. So they call *stofes* the stoves in Canada and *kuzines* the ones in Greece. Similarly, the word *mopa* = the 'mop' was born as a result of the idiosyncratic sense of this very object. The dominant language – in our case English – plays its role: it influences to a great extent the subdominant language – Modern Greek in our case – particularly its vocabulary. The longer the immigrant resides in Montreal, the easier he accepts new hybrid forms. He considers them to be an important part of his vocabulary, which is actually true.

A number of important questions arise: "Are hybrid forms replacing little by little the standard Greek vocabulary in Montreal?" "Is standard Greek on the verge of becoming forgotten?" The data analysed in this article points towards a positive answer for both the above questions. Also there seems to be a sort of prestige which is being attached to the hybrid forms⁶. By using them in formal conversations, in newspaper announcements and in radio broadcasted messages, hybrid forms are unconsciously considered standard Greek words. The majority of Greeks feel secure when using some of the common hybrids. They understand each other perfectly, they can communicate precisely and almost always unambiguously⁷.

An effort was made to show that there is a differentiation among Greeks in Montreal as far as their use of hybrid forms is concerned. Data analyses indicate that use of hybrids is inversely proportional to the use of standard Greek words, that the younger the immigrant the more he prefers to speak in English and to avoid both Greek and hybrid forms. Also there is a quite obvious correlation between the Education - Occupation variable and the production of hybrids. In addition female speakers proved to be the careful speakers supporting in that case the results of previous similar sociolinguistic studies.

The analysis of the above data showed that there is an indication of a strong tendency among subjects from Class B (younger immigrants) to be integrated into the broader Canadian society. On the contrary, Class A subjects want to preserve their 'Greekness' at any cost and transfer it to their children. Somewhere between these two Classes one can place Class C, the members of which revealed a more open-minded disposition than the other two Classes. Due to the fact that they associate with people from other ethnic groups – not living in the ghetto – they feel obliged to follow the main cultural stream of Canada. As MC 7 put it: "We cannot help being Canadians of Greek origin, not Greek permanent visitors to Canada".

The impact of the various Greek language schools on the satisfaction – integration – assimilation process of Greek Canadians and especially youngsters in the province of Quebec requires lots of research. Epigrammatically one can say that Greek language afternoon schools make a great effort to keep alive the standard Greek language among young immigrant children. Through the Greek language all the cultural inheritance of Greece together with the Orthodox Christian faith will be preserved for a longer time.

Moreover, if the standard Greek language largely or even completely loses its traditional status in Canada, this doesn't mean that the variety of Greek in Montreal enriched with hybrid forms is not considered Greek. I have mentioned before the new sense that is attributed to the term 'Greekness'. One may argue that the Greeks in Montreal, the Greek-Canadians and the Canadians of Greek origin preserve their idiosyncratic Greekness. Linguistic change among ethnolinguistic minorities are in the form of the melting pot and parallel linguistic assimilation – implying the loss of subordinate mother tongues – or as in the case of Greek in Canada in the form of linguistic accommodation - implying change or compromise but not necessarily loss of a mother tongue. We are probably heading towards more changes in the

Greek language but I am optimistic that the Greek language is going to thrive for the next decade.

NOTES

1. Similar hybridization phenomena occur in almost all minority languages when they come in contact with the official language of any country. Here are some examples from relevant references (Dias, Lathrop and Rosa (1977), Vasilikos (1973), Anderson, A.B. (1976) as well as personal discussions of this issue with people of Ukranian and Italian origin.

Luso-American	English	Standard Portuguese
tiquete	'ticket'	boleto
basqueta	'basket'	cesto
closeta	'closet'	armario
grosaria	'grocer's'	mercearia
marqueta	'market'	supermercado
W. German Greek	German	Mod. Greek
firma	'firma'	eteria
kontrato	'kontrakt'	simvoleo
preparizo	'preparieren'	etimazo
faro	'fahren'	taksidhevo
kelneros	'Kellner'	servitoros
Ukranian-Canadian	English	Ukranian
aeroplan	'aeroplane'	litak
astronavt	astronaut'	kosmonavt
baisik	'bicycle'	velosiped
Italian-Canadian	English	Italian
storo,	'store'	negozio
joba	'job'	lavoro
turnare	'to turn'	voltare
basketa	'basket'	cesto
tiketo	'ticket'	biglietto

2. "Bien que le français soit la langue de la majorité au Québec, l'anglais a toujours été associé à un prestige, aussi bien dans les milieux francophone et anglophone que dans les autres communautés linguistiques". (Daoust, 1982, pp. 16).

3. Language acquisition is considered as an informal creative language construction process, implying no conscious learning of grammar rules. On the other hand, language learning is thought of as a process occurring in formal context with testing of consciously learned grammar rules.
4. For instance, a very important issue in my research was the usage of either the 2nd person singular (informal speech) or the 2nd person plural (formal speech) of both verbs and pronouns when addressing questions to my subjects.
5. In Standard Greek there are many verbs having the morphological characteristics of the hybrid form *muv-aro, stop-aro* 'to stop', *sok-aro* 'to shock'.

The Greek verbal suffix *-aro* is quite productive. It goes back to the Byzantine times and was formed from Italian infinitives in *-are*. (Triantafyllides, 1952).

6. Hybrid forms are very popular. For instance, one can hear on the radio (CFMB August 8, 1983) a City Councillor saying naturally the following sentence among others:

"O demos prepri na stelni *ta bilia* ke *ta forms jia ta taksis* sta englezika...
(The City must send 'the bills' and the 'tax forms' in English...)

Or, you can read in newspapers:

"**Apartima** 4 ½, **me sofa ke friza**. Pola *extra*. Ste Bloomfield. Tel. _____"
(A 4½ apartment, with stove and fridge. Many extras. On Bloomfield. Tel._____).

"Police: *Frutaria-ghrosaria se sopin-senter*".

(For sale: Fruit-grocery shop in a shopping center).

7. It is "almost always unambiguously" because there exists a possible ambiguity in some hybrid forms. For instance:

tiketo can be either 1. 'a bus, railroad or air ticket' or 2. 'a summons issued for a traffic or parking violation'. *bili* can be either 1. 'a written statement, a law' or 2. 'a statement of money owed for goods or services supplied'.

APPENDIX I

The hybrid forms used for the research

1. marketa (f.)	'market'	aghora
2. bosis (m.)	'boss'	afentiko
3. karpeto (n.)	'carpet'	hali
4. televizio (n.)	'television'	tileorasi

5. ghiardha (f.)	'yard'	avli
6. flori (n.)	'floor'	patoma
7. kasi (n.)	'cash'	metrita, lefta
8. tseki (n.)	'check'	epitaghi
9. eleveta (f.)	'elevator'	asanser
10. banka (f.)	'bark'	trapeza
11. boksi (n.)	'box'	kuti
12. karo (n.)	'car'	aftokinito
13. basi (n.)	'bus'	leoforio
14. bili (n.)	'bill'	loghariazmos
15. masini (n.)	'machine'	mihani (-ma)
16. steki (n.)	'steak'	brizola
17. bildi (n.)	'building'	ktirio
18. deliveri (n.)	'delivery'	dhianomi
19. bizi (adj.)	'busy'	apasholimenos
20. pei (n.)	'payment'	misthos
21. muvaro (v.)	'to move'	metakomizo
22. kliner (m./f.)	'cleaner'	katharistis
23. stofa (f.)	'stove'	kuzina
24. blu (adj.)	'blue'	ble
25. vakesio (n.)	'vacation'	dhiakopes
26. apart(i)ma (n.)	'apartment'	dhiamerizma
27. goverma (n.)	'government'	kivernisi
28. kombania (f.)	'company'	eteria
29. faktori (n.)	'factory'	erghostasio
30. saina (f.)	'sign'	tabela, epighrafi
31. tiketo (n.)	'ticket'	isitirio
32. restora (n.)	'restaurant'	estiatorio

(n.) = neuter

(f.) = feminine

(m.) = masculine

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