

**SOCIOLINGUISTIC FEATURES OF MODERN GREEK  
AS IT IS SPOKEN IN MONTREAL**

by

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ABSTRACT

SOME SOCIOLINGUISTIC FEATURES OF MODERN GREEK  
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Two aspects of language behavior are very important from a social point of view: the function of language in establishing social relationships and the role played by language in conveying information about the speaker (Labov, 1966). I am examining these two aspects 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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RÉSUMÉ

QUELQUES CARACTÉRISTIQUES SOCIOLINGUISTIQUES  
DU GREC MODERNE UTILISÉ À MONTRÉAL.

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). J'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 leur structure . Certains de ces emprunts sont nativisés, c'est-à-dire qu'ils s'insèrent dans le système inflectionnel du Grec; ce sont les hybrides. J'essaie de montrer comment l'usage des ces hybrides est conditionné par certains facteurs socio-économiques et par le contexte linguistique de Montréal.

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## INTRODUCTION

This study is 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 is a result of the more general issue of 'languages in contact', as it is 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).

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) and the other remains monoglot, or both of them become subordinate bilinguals. A third case would involve 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

a 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).

To my knowledge there are three major works dealing in general with the Greek language in the United States and none 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 sound 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. Those three works were done the first two by first generation Greek-American academics (Lontos and Macris) and the third one by an American academic.

In this study my primary aim is to examine the genesis



of new lexical items --referred to as hybrid forms -- which appear in Greek as a result of the contact with English. Also a possible differentiation in the usage of hybrid forms according to four major socio-linguistic variables will be examined. Furthermore, an attempt will be done to examine some of the attitudes towards the existence of such English-Greek morphological mixtures in the vocabulary of the Greeks living in Montreal.

## CHAPTER 1

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.1. HISTORICAL RETROSPECTIVE. The Greeks began to arrive in Quebec at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1900 there were about 300 persons of Greek origin in the province of Quebec, in 1906 about 1000 persons and around 1910 the first Greek Orthodox church was built and the first Greek language school was established. In 1951 there were more than 3000 Greeks living in Montreal and ten years later their number was over 20,000. Today Greeks believe that they must be around 70,000 in the city. The Greek consulate thinks that in 1980 there were about 50,000 persons of Greek origin. The Royal Police says that, in addition, there must be 2,000 or 2,500 "illegal" Greeks, living and working in Montreal.

Looking at the Census of Canada for 1981 we see that the actual number of Greeks in Quebec is 49,420 of which around 48,000 live in the area of Montreal. However, these numbers of the Census do not always correspond to the real situation, because there are always residents who are

absent during the Census taking period. Also, second generation Greek-Canadians do not always answer properly the questions referring to parents' place of origin probably for reasons of vanity. This, of course, biases in a way the Canada Census data concerning the actual number of Greek-Canadian residents in the Montreal area.

In the city, the section designated as the Park Avenue, Park Extension area with the main arteries, St. Laurent Boulevard and Park Avenue has served as the launching stage for many waves of European immigrants. As each group gains a better understanding of the new world and greater affluence, its members move north, ultimately crossing the C.P.R. tracks and settling in Park Extension. From there the second or third generation disperses to all points of the metropolis. The most outstanding example of such a movement is that undertaken by Montreal's Jewish population.

The Park Avenue and Park Extension area is today largely inhabited by Greeks and Italians and an increasingly large number of Chinese. Recent surveys conducted by the Conseil du Travail, the Montreal Council of Social Agencies and other committees have shown this area to be one of Montreal's most economically depressed. Income, unemployment, health, housing and education are all below

the metropolitan norms. Because many of the residents are unskilled, unemployment is high: in 1961 it reached 5.7% while in the total metropolitan zone it was 3.2%. Many families were dependent on welfare for survival. Of course the situation nowadays is much improved, without being though the best possible for immigrants.

Education statistics compiled by the Urban Social Re-Development Project in 1976 indicated that only 50.1% of the population of the area between the ages of 15 and 18 attend school, and that some 74% of those between 15 and 24 attend no type of school at all. School Principals reported that language was the main problem faced by immigrant students. The curriculum was exactly the same as that used in the schools of the wealthier areas of the city. But this area has always had more problems, economic and demographic influencing to a certain extent the language ability of the students in the area. One of these problems is that even though in Park Extension, for instance, both parents often work, there are no lunch-room facilities or day-care centres to help students organize their time outside the classroom in a more productive way. Students often waste their time and neglect their homework.

Usually people refer to the Park Avenue and Park

Extension area as the "Greek ghetto". Park Avenue and Park Extension are more than a ghetto. Rather, they form a series of "villages". The immigrant finds comfort and protection by living within an area inhabited by those from the original village, province or island of his homeland. Each of these "villages" is socially independent from the other with a minimum of intercommunication. While the superficial aspects of the affluence of society create an illusion of progress and improvement, life is still built around the culture and the customs of a past age and of a different society (Gavaki, 1977 pp.36).

The Greek immigrants usually rent apartments in duplexes or buy big triplexes and modify them into apartments, a sort of primitive condominiums. During the last five to seven years many Greeks have started moving to the western suburbs of Montreal, in Ville St.Laurent, Pierrefonds or to the South Shore. It is true, though, that those who were able to move were very motivated and/or really lucky to gain the means to attempt such a "revolution" and break the "wall" of their ghetto: when some Greek families leave their old place in the ghetto it means that they abandon their cultural centre. Their links with the Greek community become loose and their participation in the Greek culture is weakened.

There in the Park Avenue and Park Extension area, they have their cafes, restaurants, barber-shops, churches, schools. They read the newspapers and speak to their neighbors, always in Greek. Their culture is preserved fully and the centre of their culture has always been the church. This is so because of religious, social and educational factors. And the base for these relationships is obviously the Greek language as it is used in the city of Montreal.

In Montreal the Greek language is alive and this is consonant with the following: there are four weekly magazines, four monthly ones, one fortnightly published in Montreal, as well as all the newspapers and periodicals imported from Greece. The Greeks have 240 hours of broadcasting per week (CFMB, CINQ-MF, CHCR) eight churches, four branches of a bank (National Bank of Greece). There exist also seventy-two associations, the major one being the Hellenic Community of Montreal. The Community is the sponsor and organizer of schools, libraries, social services and many other similar institutions.

As far as integration is concerned, the pressures for Greeks to become assimilated into North American life and the ethnic ambivalence of second generation Greek-North

Americans are considerably stronger in the U.S.A. than in Canada. It appears that third generation Greek-Americans have been more assimilated than third generation Greek--Canadians (Vlachos, 1968). The existence of Greek associations in Montreal suggests that their role is primarily the continuation of cultural distinctiveness of the Greek group. Associations foster not only a certain "resistance potential" to the assimilationist forces of the larger society but preserve also the cultural pattern of organization of the group. However, associations are not a barrier to the socio-economic adaptation of the immigrants. In fact, they help immigrants cope with the environment by reducing their alienation and "cultural shock".(NOTE 1) Participation in Canadian life increases as the immigrant becomes more and more secure financially. This participation must be examined in accordance with fluency in English. The more fluent the immigrant is in English, the more he is willing to become assimilated and integrated in the broader community. And that is so because language training assumes pivotal importance on the determination income (NOTE 2) in particular and occupational achievement in general. Language ability has also been found to relate to community participation. Leaders of the Hellenic

Community as well as of other associations prove to be capable of speaking good English and/or French besides their Greek, of course (Tzanakis, 1978).



1.2. WHAT IS THE PROBLEM? The linguistic situation encountered by immigrants in Montreal is more complex than it appears to be. Even though French and English are widely used in the city, there are certain areas which can be considered unilingual: one language is predominant in the whole area, that being either English or French or an immigrant language, i.e. Greek, Italian, Portuguese. On the other hand, some areas are more or less trilingual or multilingual. The predominantly Greek area of Park Avenue and Park extension is in a way a unilingual area where, though, instead of either English or French, the Greek language is spoken --and usually loud enough to be heard very clearly. The Greek language used to make and still makes Greeks feel at home.

When the Greeks came to Montreal in the peak of immigration from Greece (1960's), they didn't think it was important to learn English, because many Greek people when leaving for Montreal believed they were going to the fourth largest city of Greece. They had probably arranged ahead of time to work in a Greek restaurant or in a factory together with other Greeks who had come to Montreal before they did. Obviously they didn't bother learning a foreign language since everything around them was going to be Greek:

jobs, friends, shops, churches. And if something was not going to be Greek, they could easily modify it to resemble Greek. Upon arrival they faced a situation which wasn't pleasant at all: they found that they had to learn the languages of the city, English and French.

At that time, however, English was the language most often employed in public in the down town area during day-time (Domingue, 1978). The Greek immigrants accepted the general view that in North America, English was 'the language' to make money with.(NOTE 3) So the Greek entrepreneurs learned English only, and just enough to understand and be understood in everyday conversations with 'foreign' (=not Greek!) customers.

The issue of the feelings of Greeks towards the French language as well as immigrant languages other than Greek is very interesting to investigate. Let's have a short look at the recent history of the immigrant situation.

Until 1969 Greek Orthodox children were not accepted in the Commission des Écoles Catholiques de Montréal (C.E.C.M.) according to the "système de l'éducation confessionnelle". They had to attend the schools of the anglophone Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (P.S.B.G.M.). Also hospitals used to be private and "confessionnels". All

non-catholics had to go to the protestant hospitals (Xenopoulos, 1981). Consequently the Greeks didn't like the 'Frenchies'. Besides, French as a language had no value for business in that period (1960-70). Even Francophones in the city had to speak English in order to get a job. As we see in Daoust (1982, pp. 16-17):

"Le groupe anglophone occupant le premier plan de la scène économique, la communauté anglophone et la langue anglaise en tirent du prestige au sein des autres groupes".

This whole situation created in those days severe socio-cultural problems between Greeks and French-Canadians. In the present time this situation is rapidly changing towards a reevaluation of the importance of the French language in the city and in the province in general (Maniakas, 1982).

Greeks have a general tendency to hellenicize, to adopt and make Greek something that isn't. As for language, Greeks hellenicize certain linguistic elements taken from English and make them their own. The Greeks of this city in everyday situations make use of a variety of Modern Greek specific to Montreal. Montreal Greek and Standard Greek are rather different at almost all linguistic levels (NOTE 4) but particularly at the lexical level. One reason for this difference is the pervasive influence of English on Greek.

The lexicon of the variety of Greek spoken in Montreal demonstrates much of this influence. In this thesis I will examine a group of new words that form part of the lexicon of Montreal Greek and discuss their differential usage by the members of the community. This group of new words consists of:

A. Loanwords,

both "nativized" words, that is English loans with Greek inflectional ending referred to here as hybrids, (see below for a description) and "foreign" words, non-nativized ones (NOTE 5):

nativized : masini 'machine'

karpeto 'carpet'

non-nativized : bas 'bus'

tsek 'check'

B. Loan translations,

that is words and expressions translated literally from English into Greek:

qhrapse kato 'write down, note'

write down

perno piso 'call back, telephone'

call back

Both these examples are exact translations of English verbal phrases which, though, make no sense in Standard Greek.

C. Semantic loans.

The use of Greek words with a change and/or extension of meaning. For instance:

boks(i) (n.) = 'boxing' in Standard Greek and in Montreal Greek

= 'box' (container) in Montreal Greek only.

stamba (f.) = 'a seal', 'an office stamp' in Standard Greek

= 'a postage stamp' in Montreal Greek only.

In this thesis I will concentrate on the study of the

loanwords, particularly the 'hybrids' as defined above and on their usage which appears to vary according to speakers and situations.

1.2.1. 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 mixtures the phonology of which is Greek, and 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 karpet-o, -o being a neuter noun ending in Greek.

Hybrid forms can belong to one of the following lexical categories: nouns, adjectives or verbs. (NOTE 6) 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 : muu-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 my collection of more than 350 hybrid forms shows. English adverbs and prepositions can never be hybridized, that is borrowed and morphologically modified to fit in the Greek system, probably because an adverb in Greek is the nominative case of the neuter form of the adjective in plural --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.

Based on personal observations and also on a pilot study concerning the hybrid vocabulary I selected forty hybrid forms to represent the general usage of the words made by the Greek community. From these forty words I had to eliminate eight which were not produced by more than nine subjects out of a total of forty eight. Thirty-two hybrids were consequently examined. These thirty-two 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. I came to a final decision after I had held a pilot study of the test (see Guided Interviews and the Questionnaire in 2.2.1. and 2.2.2.)

1.3. HYPOTHESES In this thesis the impact of the socio-economic environment of Montreal on the creation and mainly the usage of the vocabulary of Modern Greek as it is spoken in this city is examined. It is hoped that this study will shed some light on the aspects of languages in contact. My part-time job as a teacher of Modern Greek at the Greek Schools in Montreal helped me a lot towards a deeper understanding of the sociolinguistic reality of the two generations of Greek immigrants that live in this city.

Concentrating on the problem-target of this research itself, one could make the following hypotheses considering the condition of the Modern Greek language in Montreal. These four major hypotheses were formulated after conducting a preliminary observation (Maniakas, 1981):

H 1. The lower the social class (income and education being the most crucial variables for this social classification), the higher the degree of hybrids use.

H 2. The earlier the immigrants arrived, the more the hybridization of English words or: the older the immigrants, the more the hybrid forms used.

As I said before (section 1.2.) the English language among Greek-Canadians as well as among other linguistic communities has a great prestige. (NOTE 7) 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 the 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. Those 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. This is the reason for the following hypothesis:

H 3. Male immigrants--irrespectively of age and education-- use more often hybrid forms, while female ones tend to be more careful speakers than male ones, sociolinguistically speaking.

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. Consequently I hypothesized the following:

H 4. All Greek-Canadian immigrants irrespectively of age, education-occupation and sex use more hybrid forms in their oral speech than in their written language.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Here a distinction should be made between the adults and the youngsters. Adults, having made a gigantic step from the homeland to Montreal, have withdrawn into the ghetto. They face a world that is drastically different from anything in their previous experience: relations between the sexes, ideals and way of life. They try to hold on to those aspects of their lives which are the most stable--the values and norms of societies they have left behind. Doctor K. Benerakis of the Montreal Health Institute has described this condition as "cultural paranoia", a disorder afflicting an entire community. Reports from the Allan Memorial Hospital indicate that an unusually high proportion of patients passing through their emergency clinic are older Greek immigrants from the Park Avenue and Park Extension areas who are unable to cope with pressure from both within and without (Gavaki, 1977).
2. Determination income is defined as the annual income per capita that is sufficient for somebody to proceed from his present socio-economic class to the immediately higher one. Language training plays an important role for the determination income to be obtained.
3. "L'anglicisation des immigrants apparaît comme un facteur de renforcement de la communauté anglophone et d'affaiblissement du groupe francophone". (Daoust, 1982, pp. 15-16).
4. Standard Greek is defined here as the language spoken in Greece today. This language consists of elements of Dhimotiki as well as a very small percentage of Katharevousa elements. In this thesis I use the term 'Standard Greek' when a distinction from Montreal Greek is required.

5. Non-nativized loanwords do not follow the Greek rules of morphology. They follow, though, the Greek rules of phonology. For instance, the English word 'check' becomes the loanword tsek, and not cek since in the Greek phonetic system there is no phoneme /c/. (see Appendix I.).
  
6. 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.

<u>Luso-American</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Standard Portuguese</u>
tiquete	'ticket'	boleto
basqueta	'basket'	cesto
closeta	'closet'	armario
grosaria	'grocer's'	mercearia
marqueta	'market'	supermercado

<u>W. German Greek</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>Mod. Greek</u>
firma	'firma'	eteria
kontrato	'kontrakt'	simvoleo
preparizo	'preparieren'	etimazo
faro	'fahren'	taksidhevo
kelneros	'Kellner'	servitoros

<u>Ukranian-Canadian</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Ukranian</u>
aeroplan	'aeroplane'	litak
astronavi	'astronaut'	kosmonavi
baisik	'bicycle'	velosiped

<u>Italian-Canadian</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Italian</u>
storo	'store'	negozio
joba	'job'	lavoro
turnare	'to turn'	vultare
basketa	'basket'	cesto
tiketo	'ticket'	biglietto

7. "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).

## CHAPTER 2

## METHODOLOGY

2.1. VARIABLES AND SUBJECTS. In order to study the use of hybrid forms and to verify the hypotheses stated before, the speech of a number of Greek immigrants living in Montreal was examined. The socio-economic variables which were correlated to the usage of hybrid forms were: age, education-occupation and sex. These variables were selected in accordance with the results of relevant studies (Denison, (1970 and 1971), Fishman, (1967), Lambert, (1967b), Trudgill, (1974)).

2.1.1. AGE. Two main groups of people were considered:

A. Greek-Canadians who came to Montreal during the peak of the immigration from Greece (Patterson, 1976:13). Those people who are now around 33-50 years old came to Montreal in the sixties and beginning of seventies at the age of 19-24. I call this group the older immigrants.

B. Greek-Canadians who are now 17-28 years of age. These subjects were either born in Canada between 1955-65 or

brought here at the age of 5 or younger. I call this group the younger immigrants.

The main distinction between the members of these two groups is the way in which they acquired and/or learned Greek and English. (NOTE 1) For the older immigrants, Greek was acquired as their mother tongue and learned as the official language of Greece. English was never taught (or almost never) at school as a second language. On the contrary, it was acquired on arrival in Quebec in everyday contacts. Greek has been the main language used at home and at work.

On the other hand, for the younger immigrants, Greek was acquired elementarily in everyday situations as a minority, non-prestigious language and was poorly learned as a second language at school. English is the language both acquired and learned, and used almost all the time. French comes in powerfully enough and tries to take the place of English among immigrants in both age groups. Success, though, with Greeks is very limited according to Xenopoulos (1981, pp.4-6).

2.1.2. EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION. In the Greek community of Montreal as well as in the whole of Greece the



majority of the people who study want to work in the very field in which they have received their training. For them education must always lead to a 'better' occupation. Greeks never study for the sake of studying, they do whatever studies they do as an investment. Education and occupation are, then, closely related and a careful correlation of them can lead us to relevant classification.

As far as older immigrants are concerned we can say that most of them have only the basic elementary six years education at best (see Appendix III). In Montreal they are running small businesses like restaurants, cafes, fast-food stands and the like. Some of them have taxis and the majority of them --mainly women-- work in factories. A small number of them are nowadays unemployed or they work unofficially at a very low hourly rate. We may classify these people as CLASS A.

Of the older immigrants, however, a few came to Canada educated, having received University degrees (B.A.'s, B.Sc.'s, M.A.'s e.t.c.). They came here for further studies and/or careers. They emigrated mainly because of shortage of work in their homeland and unsatisfactory salaries. These people constitute, of course, a minority and an elite. They are lawyers, physicians, accountants, professors,

teachers, public service workers and the like.

Some people from Class A, when capable financially to leave the ghetto, strive to integrate into the elite minority group and start associating with the educated high class professionals. They try to impress the medical doctors, University professors, and to imitate their way of life and their speech. These are the "nouveaux riches" people: proprietors, big businessmen, landlords. The linguistic behavior of these subjects reveals some interesting aspects. I call CLASS C this elite minority group.

People of the younger generation have, relatively to group A, a higher education and consequently greater expectations. Looking at Class C, younger people visualize it as their own future social class, which they want to belong to. They are either still students (last year of high school, college or university) or have graduated and have white collar jobs. These younger subjects may come from any kind of family belonging to either CLASS A or CLASS C. These younger people constitute CLASS B.

2.1.3. SEX. Private observations and a pilot study of female and male speakers before my research led me to

examine the variation in the use of hybrids due to Sex. It has been found in other relevant sociolinguistic studies (for instance, Jakobson, 1960, Hymes, 1962 and 1970, Labov, 1970) that there is differentiation in language usage and language acquisition according to this variable. It has been found also that female speakers often exhibit more careful speech than male ones.

2.1.4. SUBJECTS Data were collected from N=48 persons, 16 per Class (A,B,C) and 8 persons were taken from each sex, in each one of the three Classes. Subjects were selected according to the three variables given before: Age, Education-Occupation, Sex. The number of the subjects for each Class and each group had to be controlled and be equally distributed. (see Appendix III 'Who is who').

2.2. DATA COLLECTION In order to collect data for my research, that is samples of both oral and written forms of speech, I followed the methodology given here.

2.2.1. GUIDED INTERVIEWS. These consistute the corpus of the oral data, which represent spoken language in a formal situation. All interviews were taped.

There were two reasons for which the tape recording technique was employed: to create a formal situation for the interviews and to be able afterwards to analyze my data. (NOTE 2) All my interviews were approximately an hour long each. I wanted to examine the usage of hybrid forms in a similar level of formality with each subject. It seemed to me that it was more practical to make an observation in a formal rather than in an informal situation.

I worked according to the Interview Modules initiated by Labov (1981) who says 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 I wanted 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 style, (NOTE 3) 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 I transformed the question into one that looked to the particular issues of interest. In other words, I started with a natural, general conversation and then gradually I focused 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 5 A : Race  
Module 6 : Peer-groups  
Module 7 : Games  
Module 8 : Language

In each one of the modules (1-8) utilized in this research I was expecting certain hybrid forms to be produced by the interviewee during the conversation. For instance, in Module 1. Demography-personal information, I was looking for these hybrid forms to be produced:

<u>kombania</u>	<u>boksi</u>
<u>muvaro</u>	<u>stofa</u>
<u>karo</u>	<u>basi</u>
<u>marketa</u>	

Almost all of the hybrid forms could be elicited through more than a single Module. For instance, the hybrid marketa was elicited in Modules 1, 2, and 8. After my interviews, occurrences or non-occurrences of the selected hybrid forms were calculated. At the same time, the usage of either one of three alternatives for each hybrid form -- namely an

equivalent word 'in Greek', 'in English' or no word at all ('nil')-- was examined and calculated.

2.2.2. QUESTIONNAIRES. Besides the main body of data which was gathered through Guided Interviews, questionnaires were given to the subjects in order to collect samples of written form of speech. At the same time purely sociological information was gathered concerning each individual subject.

The questionnaires were given in Greek. All subjects were also asked to translate a short English passage into Greek. Eleven of the thirty-two words examined in the Modules were included in that passage under their English guise. The object of this exercise was to see whether these words would be translated into Greek as standard Greek words or as hybrids forms. There was also a short passage in Modern Greek to be translated into English. This text included the Greek equivalents of the eleven hybrids selected. The purpose of this second passage in Greek was to examine whether the subjects knew the corresponding standard Greek words or whether they only knew the hybrid forms. For instance, in the English passage there were the words elevator and market. When translating the English

passage subjects produced the hybrid forms eleveta and marketa respectively. By using the Greek passage I wanted to find out if these subjects who used the hybrid forms knew Standard Greek equivalents: asanser and aghora respectively.

The success in the collection of the necessary data and in their analysis proves in a way the right selection of the methodological technique followed in this research.

2.3. ANALYSIS OF DATA. The measurements were done simply by calculating the occurrences / non-occurrences of the thirty-two hybrid forms of which eleven were also in the written part of the test. Each subject was observed for his/her linguistic behavior concerning the 32 hybrid forms examined in the tests. After having calculated the occurrences/ non-occurrences of hybrid forms in both the oral and the written part of the test for each subject as well as his/her usage of words either in English, in Greek or nothing at all, I came to an overall calculation of the relevant averages of occurrence for each item. This was done by dividing the occurrences or non-occurrences in each column by the number of subjects-speakers.

Afterwards a percentage calculation of these averages was done in order to make more vivid the differences of the



averages in each item. The percentages are given in a two decimal approximation. Due to this rounding effect one cannot get 100 % indications when adding all the partial percentages in each row. Calculation of chi square tests and of the level of significance of the data were made. (NOTE 4)

Reports of each subject interviewed were done in order to gather information concerning the education, occupation, age and sex of each individual subject (see Appendix I).

2.4. COMMENTS ON METHODOLOGY There are quite many sociolinguists -- among them Hymes (1967) and Gumperz (1968) -- who make the point that in every speech community there exists a variety of repertoires, of alternate means of expression. There are quite a lot of factors which influence speech behavior. Three major ones are the participants, the topic and the setting or context. In this research those three factors were controlled as if being variables. The topics of discussion between the two interlocutors --the interviewer and the interviewee-- were the same. One of the two participants was always the same, that is myself. And the setting or context, in other words the linguistic situation was always a formal one. By controlling these three factors-variables influencing speech

behavior, one can accept the position of the data, being rather significant and reliable. The only thing which might influence the external validity of this research is the small number of subjects compared to other sociological studies.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. 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.
2. I considered in this research among other principles the following "methodological axiom":  
"Face-to-face interviews are the only means of obtaining the volume and the quality of recorded speech that is needed for quantitative linguistic analysis" (Labov, 1981, pp.2-4).
3. 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.
4. Social scientists generally use a probability level of 0.5 or less when reporting "statistically significant" findings. The results of the chi square tests on the data indicated no statistically significant difference based on the variable Sex. The conclusiveness of the data is limited by the relatively to other purely sociological studies small size of the sample (N=48).

CHAPTER 3

THE USE OF HYBRID FORMS

3.1. HYBRID FORMS PRODUCTION PER CLASS Table 1 shows the averages of hybrid forms produced per Class A, B and C. There were 32 hybrid forms tested in total for each subject, (N= 48), 16 subjects in each Class. For Class A we get the average 16.81 for total hybrids produced per speaker which is quite higher than the averages of Classes B and C: 6.06 and 10.43 respectively. This finding comes to justify my hypothesis H.1:

"the lower the social class (variable Education - Occupation), the higher the degree of hybrid forms used".

When we examine Class A we note that the average of schooling is 6.2 years (see Appendix III) that is, according to the Greek schooling system, elementary school completed and two months of the first grade of High School. If we contrast this schooling average with the ones of Class B and Class C we see that there is a significant difference: for Class B the average for schooling is 14.5 years, and for Class C it is almost 10.6 years (see Appendix III).

Trying to correlate the variable Education by itself with the use of hybrid forms in each of the three Classes A, B, C, might have led us nowhere because only Class A and Class B are homogeneous as far as Education is concerned. As described above Class C consists of both educated and less educated subjects. Due to this given we could say that there is an indication that the variable Occupation affects the degree of hybrid forms used by subjects of Classes A and C. However, due to the rather small number of subjects in this research, one cannot conclude which of these two variables --namely Education and Occupation-- has the greater impact on the production of hybrid forms.

The results shown by Table 1 also justify my second hypothesis H 2.

"the older the immigrant, the more the hybrid forms used".

Since one of the main differences between Class A and Class B is the one of the actual age of the subjects, the difference in the average number of hybrids used is justified. A statistical analysis of these findings shows that this difference is significant at the 0.1 level.

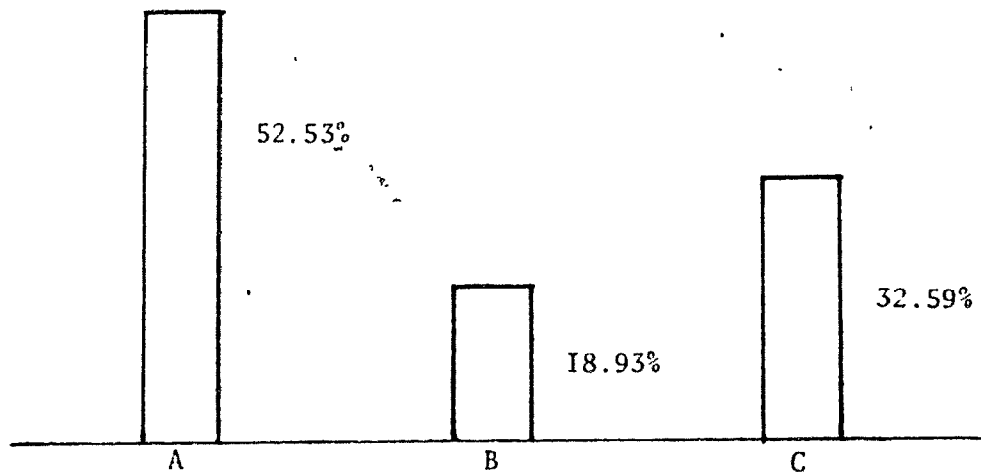
TABLE 1.

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

FIGURE I



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 consists of subjects who are older than subjects from Class B and who have 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.

3.1.1. 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 has 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 % is the lowest among the three Classes as well as the tiny percentage for the alternative 'in English' which is just 0.18 %, the lowest among the three Classes. As it was mentioned before, subjects from Class A use more hybrid forms than the other two do. And this supports my first hypothesis H 1. The vocabulary of standard Greek words (equivalent to the hybrids examined here) tends to diminish. Due to various reasons presented further down

(Conclusions) Class A subjects seem to use either hybrids (52.53 %) or far less Greek words (28.90 %) or no word at all, always for this study. Their Greek vocabulary has been enriched in a way with hellenicized English words --the hybrid forms-- which everybody in Class A uses fluently and naturally when speaking Greek.

Class B which has the lowest percentage of hybrid forms gave the highest percentage of 'nil': 8.56%. However, the use of Greek words in the test proved to be high: 45.50 %. Younger immigrants from Class B feel uncomfortable with the hybrid forms and try to avoid them. In their effort to avoid the hybrids they prefer to use a paraphrase in standard Greek than to use a hybrid form, i.e. to meros pou vanis lefta 'the place where you put money' instead of either banka or trapeza --hybrid and standard Greek respectively for 'bank'. Sometimes they use a specific structure: kano + infinitive of the verb in English (see 5.3. Integration of Class B.). For example: kano move instead of the hybrid form muvaro ='to move'.(NOTE 1) They also use more English words than the two other Classes do. 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 may not be sure of its meaning.

Class C lies between Classes A and B as far as 'nil' and hybrid forms production is concerned. The percentage for Greek words, though, (44.12 %) is 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 reason for that would be the existence of educated subjects in Class C who biased the results towards those of Class B. Educated subjects (see Appendix III, 'Who is who?') seem 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 the ones of Classes A and B, and closer to the percentage of Class B. This again shows that hybrids have less prestige among the more educated speakers.

3.2. 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 is 13.66 for the male subjects while it is only 8.54 for the female

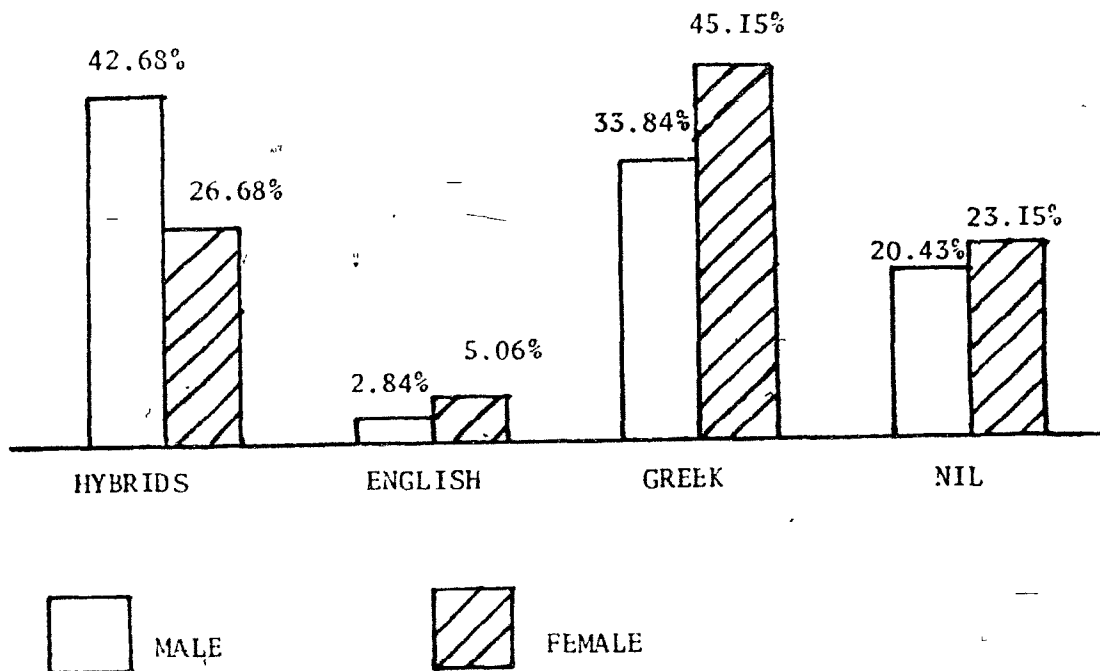
subjects. The difference  $13.66 - 8.54 = 5.12$  is quite significant statistically.

TABLE 2.

HYBRID FORMS PER SEX

	HYBRIDS		ENGLISH		GREEK		NIL	
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 comes to justify my third hypothesis:

"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".

3.3. 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:

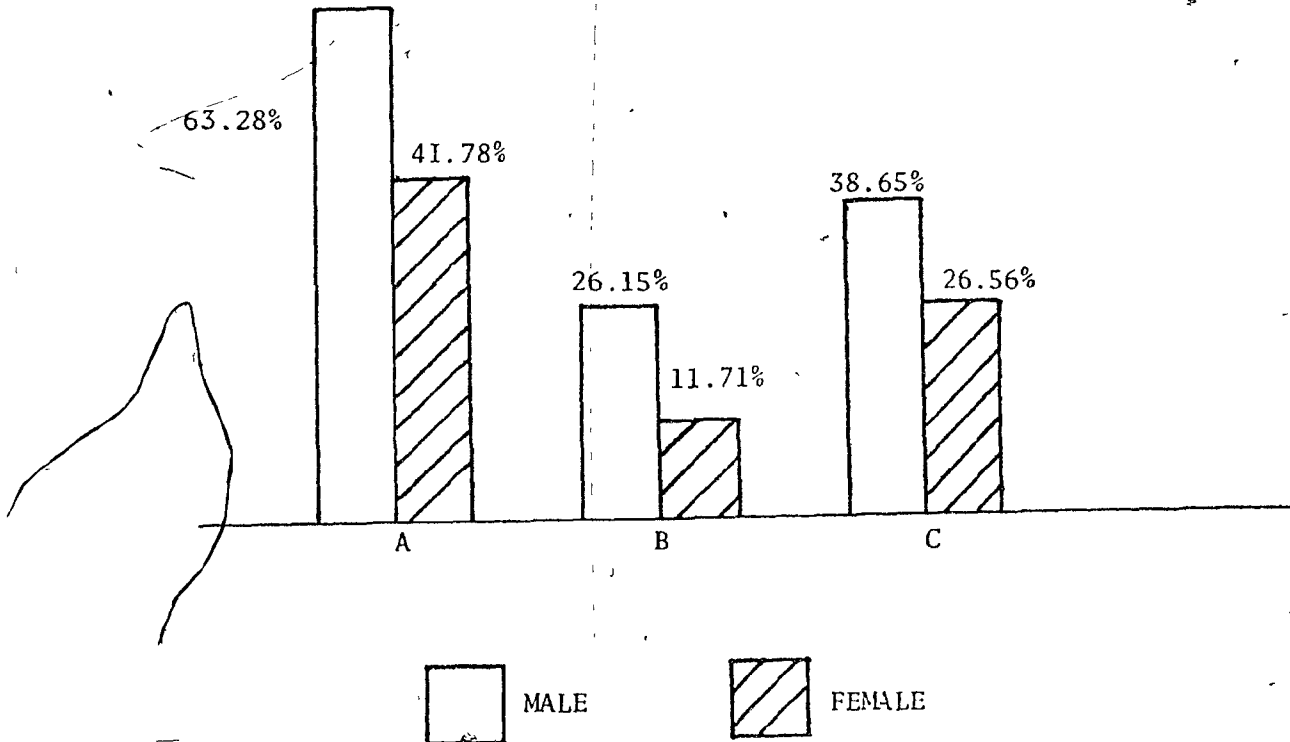
FA : 13.37 < MA : 20.25

FB : 3.75 < MB : 8.37

FC : 8.50 < MC : 12.37

Mean : F= 8.54 < M= 13.66

FIGURE 3.



Looking at Figure 3. referring to Table 3. we notice 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 hybrids used. MB subjects are the most careful speakers among all the three male sub-Classes. They feel 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 all the time they speak 'like that'...it's so funny but it is unavoidable for myself...I'm being bombarded all the time 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 (41.78 %). FB subjects gave the lowest number of hybrid forms used (11.71 %) and somewhere between FA and FB lies sub-Class PC = 26.56 %. Consequently, this finding also supports my first hypothesis.

H 1 repeated below, since Class A is considered as the lower social class according to the variable Education-Occupation.

"The lower the social class the higher the degree of hybrid forms used".

Findings for sub-Classes MA, MB and MC also support this hypothesis. Of all the three male sub-Classes, MA which is 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 are the ones to be more productive in hybrid forms. It appears that male speakers in general tend to accept hybrids as well-formed Greek words.

3.3.1. ALTERNATIVES TO HYBRID FORMS One can see on Table 2 the difference in the degree of occurrences of the 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 bias, 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 influence the overall production of all the 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 as it is shown furtherdown. In general, female speakers prefer to use English or, to a greater extent, Greek words rather than hybrids. This finding justifies indirectly my third hypothesis repeated here:

"Female subjects tend to be more careful speakers than male ones".

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. Additional evidence of the tendency of the females to avoid hybrids is their recourse to what I have called an "avoidance technique", that is the use of a paraphrase. For instance, the place where you put your money instead of either 'bank' or the hybrid banka or a possible wrong standard Greek word. This behavior is most probably caused by the fear to use a wrong Greek word and a reluctance to use a hybrid in a formal situation. The results of the avoidance of hybrids are recorded in the 'nil' category.

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' is 2.72% more 'nil' occurrences for the female subjects.

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

It is significant to note (Table 3) that women of Classes A and C demonstrate higher percentages than men in the 'nil' category. In Class B the situation is reversed: women show 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.



NOTES ON CHAPTER 3

1. 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).

CHAPTER 4

HYBRID FORMS IN THE WRITTEN PART OF THE TEST

4.1. HYBRID FORMS PER CLASS In the written part of the test, eleven hybrid forms were examined which were also among the 32 forms examined in the oral part of the test. (See Appendix I).

Table 4 gives the variation in the number of hybrid forms used in the written part of the test according to Classes A, B and C. For Class A we note that the average was 6.31 (for the 11 hybrid forms). For Class B it was 3.18 and for Class C it was 4.62.

TABLE 4

TOT. HYBRIDS, 'IN WRITTEN' AND 'IN ORAL' PER CLASS

	TOTAL HYBRIDS	WRITTEN	ORAL
	AVERAGE	AVERAGE	AVERAGE
All Classes	11.10	4.67	6.39
Class A	16.81	6.31	10.50
Class B	6.06	3.18	2.88
Class C	10.43	4.62	5.81

This piece of data comes in support of my first

hypothesis H 1. A correlation between averages of hybrid forms in the written and oral part of the test by Classes A and C reveals that: when there is high degree of hybrid forms usage in the oral part, there is also high degree of hybrid forms usage in the written part. And the opposite is true, as well.

Table 4 also contrasts the use of hybrid forms in the written part of the test with that to be found in the oral part of the test. The results for all Classes taken together support hypothesis H 4:

H 4. All Greek-Canadian immigrants irrespectively of age, education-occupation and sex use more hybrid forms in their oral speech than in their written language.

However, when the results are analyzed per Class, one notes that for Class B hypothesis H 4 is not justified, because Class B subjects produced less hybrid forms in the oral part of the test than they did in the written part. These results for Class B are biased by the female subjects as it is shown in Table 6.

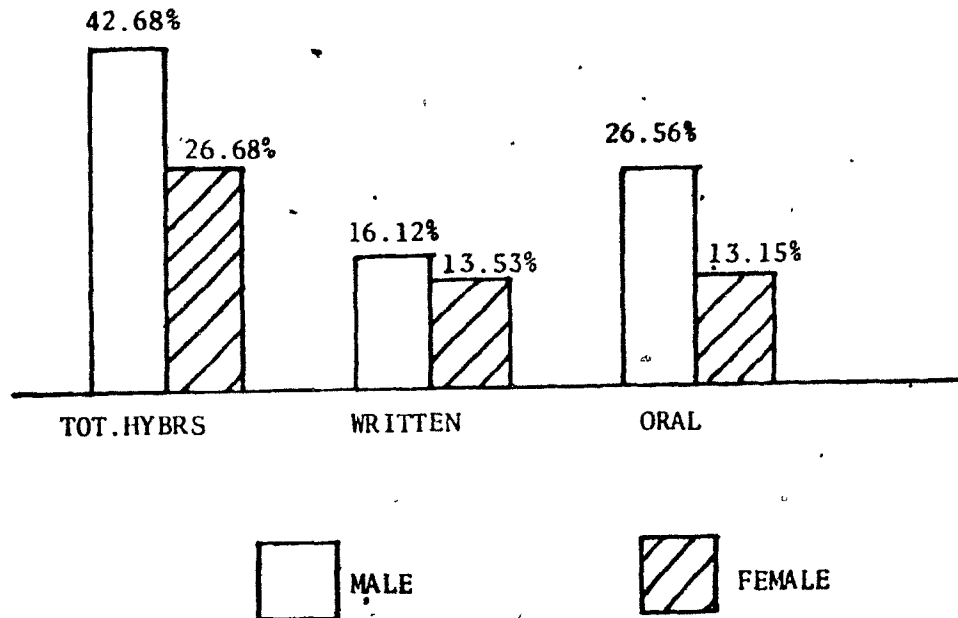
4.2. HYBRID FORMS PER SEX In Table 5 below I present the total hybrid forms together with the hybrid forms in the written part and in the oral part of the test. The only

variable considered in that table is Sex.

TABLE 5.

<u>TOTAL HYBRIDS, 'IN WRITTEN' AND ORALLY PER SEX</u>						
SEX	TOT. HYBRS		WRITTEN		ORAL	
	AVER.	%	AVER.	%	AVER.	%
M	13.66	42.68	5.16	16.12	8.50	26.56
F	8.54	26.68	4.33	13.53	4.21	13.15
DIF	5.12	16.00	0.83	2.59	4.29	13.41

FIGURE 5.



We see in Table 5 that male subjects relatively to female ones used more hybrid forms in both the oral part of the test and in the written part, though the difference in the written part is only 2.59.

For the male subjects the difference between hybrid forms in the oral part and in the written part is:

$$26.56 - 16.12 = 10.44\%$$

For the female subjects the difference between hybrid forms in written part and in the oral part is very small but it is also reversed:

$$13.53 - 13.15 = 0.38\%$$

We notice that male subjects used more hybrid forms orally than in their written speech. For them the difference between oral and written production of hybrids is as it was expected to be. In their written part of the test males appeared to be careful enough to produce 10.44% less hybrid forms than they did in their oral speech.

On the contrary, female subjects surprised the researcher: they produced 0.38% more hybrid forms in their written production than they did in their oral production. A possible reason for the above finding is the avoidance technique employed more among female subjects than by male ones. When speaking, Greek women tried --successfully

enough most of the times-- to avoid every possible non-prestigious hybrid form. In the written part, though, and more specifically in the translation from English into Greek, they could not resort to paraphrase, and, greatly influenced by the English vocabulary, they chose the easy way-out: they produced hybrid forms. Either because of hastiness or carelessness due to anxiety to answer correctly female subjects revealed a significant knowledge of the hybrid vocabulary, reaching sometimes that of male subjects (Table 5).

4.3. HYBRID FORMS PER CLASS AND SEX Hybrids in the written part of the test appear in a similar degree of occurrences as the one in the oral part (Table 3, Figure 3). Let us examine the production of hybrid forms in the written part of the test taking into consideration Sex and Class together. Sub-Class MA differs proportionally in its production of hybrid forms in both the written and the oral part of the test. Sub-Class MA produced on an average the highest degree of hybrid forms in the written part as it did in the oral part, too.

TABLE 6

HYBRIDS IN THE WRITTEN PART PER SEX AND CLASS

SEX & CLASS	TOT. HYBRIDS AVER.	WRITTEN PT. AVER.	ORAL PT. AVER.
FA	13.37	5.75	7.62
MA	20.25	7.12	13.13
FB	3.75	2.37	1.38
MB	8.37	4.00	4.37
FC	8.50	4.87	3.63
MC	12.37	4.37	8.00

We see (Table 6) that the difference in the means of sub-Class MB: 4.00 and sub-Class MC: 4.37 is very small: 0.37. A possible reason for this slight difference between the averages of MB and MC in the hybrids of the written part is the existence of some subjects in sub-Class MC, namely MC 1, MC 4, MC 5 and MC 6, who biased the results towards those of sub-Class MB (see Appendix III 'Who is Who?').

For the female subjects and their production of hybrid forms in the written part of the test we can note the following. Sub-Class FA (5.75) has got the highest degree from the three female sub-Classes as it was hypothesized.

And sub-Class FB (2.37) has given the lowest degree in the average of hybrid forms in the written part as well as in the oral part.

In the written part of the test (see Appendix I, 'Translation') subjects did not have much flexibility to use any of the three alternatives. More specifically they couldn't choose the alternative 'nil' since they felt they had to translate all the words of the two passages. Due to the fact that it was a two-way translation task (English into Greek and Greek into English), they tried their best to respond sufficiently and successfully to them.

4.4. HYBRID FORMS AND ALTERNATIVES We can examine the appearance of hybrid forms in the written part of the test together with the appearance of English words in both the written and the oral part of the test. In general, by looking at the results in Tables 2. and 3. we note that the more the hybrid forms used, the less the English equivalents used. In the translation from English into Greek there were only seven occurrences of non-nativized words 'in English'.



It is interesting to note that 2 of these 7 occurrences took place in FC subjects, another 2 in MB subjects and three in FB subjects. Also 5 out of these 7 occurrences were of the English word 'cash' which was not translated into standard Greek.

## CHAPTER 5

### ATTITUDES TOWARDS LANGUAGE

Having examined the data from both parts of the test, one can proceed with the discussion of certain attitudes towards language as they were presented by my subjects in this research.

5.1. ATTITUDES TOWARDS GREEK On answering questions 3-7 (Questionnaire, Appendix I), dealing with the usage of language(s) in everyday situations subjects revealed a variety of behaviors. In general female subjects from Class B showed the smallest tendency to use Greek. FB 3 said:

"I try to avoid Greek as much as I can. I speak (it) to my parents and older relatives only". The answers given by male subjects from Class B were in the same spirit. Even though all subjects from Class B wrote that they speak the three languages I had included in the questionnaire (Greek, English and French), when they came to answer specifically for Greek, they hesitated to admit that they speak it sufficiently enough to handle a conversation without code

switching and/or employing loanwords. For French they said that now they have to learn it, because the 'times have changed' dramatically.

Answering questions 5, 6 and 7 subjects from Class B said that they listen to Greek radio programmes only when there is someone else at home (i.e. parents, grandparents, older relatives) who has the radio on. Class B subjects --with the exception of FB 5-- never turn on the radio to listen to any Greek programmes. However, almost all of them have Greek music at home and they like it a lot. They don't care, though, too much about the lyrics or the titles of the songs they listen to.

Class B subjects used to go to Greek feasts, dances and other social gatherings when they were ten, twelve or may be fifteen years old. At present they admitted they don't feel like going even though they give moral support to the Greek associations in the city.

On the other hand, subjects from Class A categorically declared that they speak Greek all the time, and English only with the xenoi 'foreigners, non Greeks'. As far as French is concerned they seemed to grin and tended to hide a sort of uneasiness to answer such a question. Looking at answers to questions 5, 6 and 7 of the questionnaire subjects

from Class A were rather surprised especially by question 5: "Do you listen to any Greek radio programmes?" They considered a positive answer "yes, of course, definitely we do" to be obvious. These radio programmes are a basic element in the way of life of immigrants in Class A.

Older immigrants of Class C --the 'elite' group-- showed a tendency to avoid listening to Greek radio programmes. As major excuses they claimed to be very busy or indifferent to the existence of such radio programmes. Both Class A and Class C subjects not only listen to Greek music either on the radio or on records and tapes but they proved to be well up-to-date as far as modern Greek music is concerned.

On question 4 : "Do you read Greek? what do you usually read?" Class A subjects admitted that they read only Greek newspapers both the ones from Greece and the three Greek-Canadian ones. Two of them (MA 3 and MA 7) read every week a sports newspaper from Athens.

Answering question 7: "Do you attend any Greek feasts, dances or gatherings? How often? What do you think of them?" Class A subjects pointed out the importance of such Greek gatherings for the continuation of the "Greekness" of the Greek-Canadians. MA 3 said characteristically: "the youngsters do not go so often to Greek feasts as we used to

go at their age here in Canada. They prefer the discos". Female subjects from Class A agreed on the necessity for young Greek-Canadians to participate in Greek feasts, dances, gatherings. As FA 6 put it: "There they can meet 'good' Greek boys and girls to get married and avoid the 'others'..." (probably referring to non-Greeks).

5.2. 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' (see Appendix II): "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. And it seems to me that this is one of the reasons for their preference for English which they master very well. Other speakers are 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 all 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 comes from a small place in Greece and he 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?..."

The above excerpt points 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 equipments. So they call stofes the stoves in Canada and kuzines the ones in Greece. Similarly, the word mapa = 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 time 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.

(NOTE 1)

Some male subjects pointed out their ignorance and/or indifference concerning the existence and usage of hybrid forms. As subject MC 6 said:

"... it's fun to use such words!! It is, of course, something weird, but..."

However, subject MC 6 produced only two hybrid forms, both of them in the oral part of the test. They were the forms tseki 'check' and restora 'restaurant'.

5.3. INTEGRATION OF CLASS B. For both male and female subjects of Class B, I note that they want to be assimilated into the broader Canadian society as soon as possible.

As far as the use of hybrids is concerned it seems that the carefulness of FB subjects in their avoidance of hybrids influence to a certain extent the speech of MB subjects. MB subjects gradually may show a tendency to behave linguistically like FB subjects. A manifestation of this tendency is an effort on the part of the male speakers of Class B to display their fluency in English by using the construction:

kano 'to do' + infinitive of the verb in English.  
instead of using the relevant hybrid form. For example:

kano understand = katalaveno 'to understand'

kano explain = exiqho 'to explain'

kano move = metakomizo 'to move'

So trying to avoid the use of a hybrid form for example the hybrid verb muvaro 'to move', subjects from Class B used the structure kano move.

In order to use the above structure kano + infinitive of the verb in English, a sufficient knowledge of the English verbs, and consequently of the English language as well, is presupposed of the listener. Some of the English



verbs used in that structure are monosyllabic or bisyllabic i.e. 'to move', 'to explain', while the standard Greek equivalents to these verbs are polysyllabic verbs usually difficult to pronounce for non-native or semi-native speakers. One could claim morphological and syntactic simplicity to be the reason for the adoption of that syntactic pattern, but it might more reasonably be attributed to the speaker's greater fluency in English. It is an easy way in which to include English words into the normal structure of a Greek sentence.

When talking to Greeks who can speak English sufficiently well, MB subjects say that they are able to express themselves better in English than in Greek, even though they claim to speak Greek perfectly well.

Another indication of the desire to become assimilated into the Montreal community can be the following. When asked (Questionnaire, questions 11 and 12):

"Do you know of any Greeks who have changed their names?"

"Why do you think this happens? Would you ever change yours?"

subjects from Class B gave answers like the following:

FB 8 : "...sure Cathy is easier than 'Katerina'.... and it sounds better..."

FB 7 : "...I guess we're used to the English names now..."

FB 6 : "...the Greeks are ashamed for (sic) their Greek names..."

FB 4 : "...ine pio 'short' (they--English names--are shorter)... mine I turned into Helen from 'Heleni'..."

FB 2 : "...mas kanune accept pio easy... (they accept us more easily)..

MB 8 : "...ine pio English, you know, ochi toso eliniko opos 'Dhimitris'. (they are more English, you know, not so Greek like 'Dhimitris'=James).

MB 5 : "If it's too Greek you have to change it".

MB 4 : "...I guess it's 'xenomania' and maybe it makes things easier".

MB 1 : "...most of them are too long for North America..."

Answers like the above reveal somehow the whole attitude of the subjects in Class B towards identification with the Greek minority. They are willing to change their 'too Greek' names in order to be accepted more easily into the Canadian society. (NOTE 2)

On the other hand, examining the answers to the same questions 11-12 by subjects from Classes A and C we see an obvious negative reaction to the idea of changing one's name. Here are some answers:

PA 7 : "...I would never change my last name..."

MA 3 : "...It's a bad habit, you know. You become a little English person only in your name, though..."

MA 6 : "...mine is short. If it were long? No, I would still keep it, only in the U.S. they must change their names."

MA 7 : "It is the 2nd generation only that does it. Mainly for business reasons, trademarks and things like that."

FC 1 : "It's for practical reasons but it's not good for the Greeks".

FC 4 : "I don't think I would ever change my name. I don't want it Frankiko (French, from 'Francia')."

MC 1 : "It's a silly habit, that's what it is".

MC 4 : "...Greek names are too hard to pronounce. Still mine I would never change..."

Examining some of the ideas towards language usage and language usefulness given by young and old, male and female speakers from all the three Classes, one can say that the linguistic behavior of Greek immigrants, as well as the form of the language itself, is conditioned by various attitudes towards the languages in contact.

## CONCLUSION

The questions which arise are: "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 thesis point towards a positive answer for both the above questions.

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

"O demos prepi 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 1/2, me stofa ke friza. Pola extra. Ste Bloomfield. Tel. \_\_\_\_\_".

(A 4 1/2 apartment, with stove and fridge. Many extras. On Bloomfield. Tel. \_\_\_\_\_).

"Polite : Frutaria-ghrosaria se sopin-senter".

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

The above examples indicate a sort of prestige which is being attached to the hybrid forms. 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 unambiguously (NOTE 3).

I have tried 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 shows 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 reveal 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".

This statement reveals more or less one of the three general attitudes towards the notion 'Greekness' among the Greeks in Montreal and may be in the whole of Canada. The majority of older immigrants of Classes A and C, although they have been living in Montreal for an average of 18-20 years, keep their mind and soul back in their homeland. It is really very hard for them --if not impossible-- to advance through the three stages described by Gavaki (1977): the stage of satisfaction, then the integration and later on the assimilation stage. They normally in their overwhelming majority remain in the first stage. They admit they are satisfied with the life in Canada but they are willing to return to Greece under certain conditions. They are the Greeks who live in Canada because they had to leave Greece.

Some older immigrants are integrated into the broader Canadian society. They refer to themselves as Greek-Canadians connoting in a way the Canadian element as

part of their new ethnic identity. Those immigrants are integrated and gradually proceed to the assimilation stage. This stage is the one where most of the younger immigrants belong. Actually, they are children of older immigrants, themselves being Canadian citizens since birth or very young. Hence, the majority of younger immigrants refer to themselves as Canadians of Greek origin. One can claim then that there is a change in the term 'Greek' and in the notion 'Greekness'. And consequently one has to examine the sociolinguistic situation of Greeks (or Greek-Canadians) in Montreal from a new perspective.

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 ON CHAPTER 5

1. Labov, W. (1970) 'The Study of Language in its Social Context'. pp. 199-200. Labov is referring to Sturtevant (1947) who has proposed a general model of linguistic change showing the opposition of two forms, each favored by a particular social group.
2. "The changing of given names and surnames may be closely related to language change as a part of ethnic identity change. Name changing is not necessarily a deliberate attempt to obscure one's ethnic origin. Rather, it may be a practical attempt to alleviate the embarrassment over people of other ethnic origins not being able to pronounce a name typical of a particular ethnic group. Given names tend to change before surnames. Not infrequently in North America the changing of given names was the result of arbitrary action of immigration officials at the time of first immigration. Also, the name may be shortened for convenience, or the spelling may be changed for easy phonetic pronunciation by English-speakers". (Anderson, 1979:79).
3. 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'.

TRANSLITERATION SYMBOLS USED.

a	:	as in father
v	:	via
b	:	bank
gh	:	yard
dh	:	them
e	:	pet
z	:	zoo
d	:	danger
th	:	thin
i	:	pit
k	:	kick
l	:	lip
m	:	meet
n	:	now
ks	:	lacks
o	:	spot
p	:	dip
r	:	run
s	:	sigma
t	:	to
f	:	for
h	:	helix
ps	:	gaps
ts	:	cats (Greek has no /ç/ (=check) sound).

# APPENDIX I.

These are the hybrid forms I used for my 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.)	'bank'	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

The hybrid forms with the indication (\*) appeared in both the oral and the written parts of the research.

(n.) stands for 'neuter, (f.) for feminine and (m.) for masculine.

QUESTIONNAIRE

(English Translation)

1. Do you speak Greek? YES NO

Do you speak English? YES NO

Do you speak French? YES NO

Other languages \_\_\_\_\_

2. Where did you learn your Greek? (at home, at school, in Greece)

3. How often do you speak Greek? When? With whom?

4. Can you read Greek? What do you usually read?

5. Do you listen to any Greek programmes on the radio?

Which ones? How often? What do you think of them?

6. Do you have any Greek music at home? Tell me some singers, composers, some songs (=titles) you are familiar with.

7. Do you go to any Greek feasts? gatherings? How often?  
What do you think of them?

8. If you pray, in which language do you pray?

9. In which language do you count (calculate)?

10. In which language do you swear (blaspheme) or do you  
hear others swearing? Give me some such words.

11. Do you know of any Greeks who've changed their names?  
Give me some such names.

12. Why do you think that happens? Would you ever change  
your name?

TRANSLATION

Translation from English into Greek.

"...I really like my neighborhood. We have many markets in the street. In this store over you can pay cash or with checks. Today we bought a box of candies. My boss is coming from the bank right across the parking lot. We will take the elevator together to go to the 6th floor. I am very busy for 6 days a week. I have to clean the carpets in the whole building and clean the yard, too. When I go home I watch television for one or two hours..."

Translation from Greek into English.

Μετάφραση από τα Ελληνικά στα Αγγλικά

"...Τώρα αγόρασα ένα κουτί καραμέλλες από το μαγαζί. Με το αφεντικό μου πήγαμε στην τράπεζα και πήραμε 100 δολλάρια μετρητά και 30 επιταγές για 600 δολλάρια. Θα αγοράσω τηλεόραση.

Το αυτοκίνητο είναι στο χώρο στάθμευσης, δίπλα στην αυλή. Σε μία ώρα θα πάμε να δουλέψουμε στο τρίτο πάτωμα. Θα πάρουμε το ασανσέρ. Το κτίριο αυτό έχει πολλά χαλιά και καθρέπτες..."

"...Now I bought a box of candies from the store. With my boss we went to the bank and took (=withdrew) 100 dollars in cash and 30 checks for 600 dollars. I will buy a television. The car is in the parking lot, next to the yard. In one hour we will go to work on the third floor. We will take the elevator. This building has a lot of carpets and mirrors..."

## APPENDIX II.

## MODULE 1. DEMOGRAPHY-PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Well, let's see, your name is...
2. When were you born?
3. What is your present occupation?
  - 3.1. Does anybody else work in the family?
  - 3.2. What is/was the occupation of your father? your mother?
4. How many years of schooling do you have?
  - 4.1. What kind of job did you get when you stopped/finished school?
  - 4.2. For how long?
  - 4.3. What kind of job did you get afterwards?
5. Where were you born?
  - 5.1. Can you tell me about the place you come from?
  - 5.2. Why did you emigrate?
6. Where do you live now? What kind of place is it?
  - 6.1. Can you describe your room/living-room?
7. Are there any places around where one can relax, spend his leisure time?
  - 7.1. What do you do in your free time?
8. How far is down-town from here?
  - 8.1. Do you go shopping there? How do you go down-town?
9. In general, do you like your neighbourhood?

Either second person pronoun in singular /esi/ or in plural /esis/ was used according to the situation and the case studied. Normally, though, with older immigrants (groups A and C), the plural form was used.



## MODULE 2. FAMILY

1. Who else is in your family?
  - 1.1. Are you the youngest or the oldest?
2. When you were a kid --12-13 yrs. old-- how late could you stay out?
  - 2.1. What happened if you stayed out very late?
  - 2.2. Do you remember any stories with some friend(s) who got into troubles for staying out late?
3. Some say that "there is no need to beat the kids to make them behave". Do your folks agree? what do you think of it?
  - 3.1. Did your folks ever blame you for nothing? how did it happen?
4. When there are little kids and their parents want to go out what do they usually do? what do/did you do?
5. When your family has/had financial problems, would/did you do any kind of job to help? Tell me some jobs you might do.
  - 5.1. Do you know of any case that was like that?
6. Do/did your folks want you to "go high" to "become something"? What happened? do/did you agree?
  - 6.1. Up to which grade do/did they want you to continue at school?
7. Can/could you talk to your folks about sex, girlfriends or boyfriends, e.t.c.?

MODULE 3. MARRIAGE

1. (Only to married subjects) Where did you meet your wife/husband?
2. Do/did your parents have to agree with your decision in order to get married?
3. What do you think somebody has to pay attention to when he/she plans to get married?
4. Do you think you can marry to somebody from a different group (black, oriental...)?
  - 4.1. How would your folks face such a case?
5. Some people say that a girl should have 'experience' before she gets married. How do you feel about that?
6. Would you care to get married at church or at the City Hall (trial or religious marriage)? Why?
  - 6.1. What do/did your folks want to happen? Why?
7. Sometimes a girl gets pregnant before getting married. What do you think is right to be done then?
  - 7.1. Have you heard of such a case?
8. Do you believe in marriage? What do you think of it?

## MODULE 4. SCHOOL

1. Do/did you go to a neighbourhood school or elsewhere?  
How far is/was it from your house?

2. Do/did you have any teachers that are/were very tough?

2.1. Would they ever hit a student?

2.2. What was the worst thing you ever saw a teacher do to a student?

2.3. Or a student do to a teacher?

2.4. Did you ever get blamed for something you didn't do?

2.5. Did you ever have a teacher that was really fair? how was he/she?

2.6. Did the girls pass notes?

3. How were the days of the schoolyears?

3.1. Did you have any uniforms? short hair? were the girls wearing 'aprons'?

3.2. Do/did you have blacks at your school? other races or groups?

4. Did you ever smoke at school? Did they permit you to smoke? what were the orders like?

4.1. What stuff do/did the kids smoke at school?

MODULE 5. FIGHTS

1. Do/did you have any fights around here?
2. How do they usually start? what's a common reason?
  - 2.1. Do/did you ever have fights yourself? when, why?
3. Did you ever happen to be present at a great fight?  
Tell me, how did it happen?
  - 3.1. Did the police come in? was there any blood?
  - 3.2. Whose fault was it, indeed?
4. Do you think that the TV destroys the people's ideas?  
Does it teach them how to fight and quarrel?
5. Have you ever heard/seen women or girls fighting? how was it?
  - 5.1. Did you ever have a fight with a girl or a woman? what happened?

## MODULE 5.A RACE

1. When you were a kid, did you ever have any "foreigners" in the neighbourhood? or in the whole area?

1.1. Are there any blacks around? Jews? Chinese?

1.2. How do you get along with them?

1.3. Have you got any friends who are blacks, Jewish, Chinese?

2. Do you recall of any fights between Greeks and blacks/Jewish/other?

2.1. How did they start?

2.2. Who were the toughest group in the neighbourhood?

3. Do you know of any case where a Greek used to date a black or somebody from another group(race)?

3.1. What were his/her friends thinking of that?

3.2. What do you think is right: blacks to get married to blacks and whites to whites, or is intermarriage good?

4. Do you think there is a racial problem nowadays or not? why?

4.1. (If yes) Do you think there will always be one or not? why?

MODULE 6. PEER GROUPS

1. Is there a bunch of kids you (used to) hang around with?

2. Who's the leader in your group?

2.1. (If not) Who decides/ed what to do, where to go?...

2.2. (If yes) What kind of guy is your group's leader?

3. Who's the smartest kid in your group?

3.1 What does/did he/she do to be the smartest?

4. Whenever somebody moves into a new neighbourhood, is it easy to make friends or not?

4.1. Do you remember of any "dirty", "illegal" story you did say when you were small?

MODULE 7. GAMES

1. Do/did they play ball in your neighbourhood?
  - 1.1. Which ball games do/did you play? how do/did you play them?
2. How do you call this game where two kids try to hit another kid between them and that kid must catch the ball in the air?
3. Do you go to the stadium to watch soccer, baseball, basketball games?
  - 3.1. Do/did you play good soccer?
  - 3.2. Do/did you play it hard?
4. Is/was there a game you play/ed at night?
5. In general, which was your favourite game? why? how did you play it?
6. Do/did you do any sports?
  - 6.1. Do you jog or exercise now? what do you do?
7. (If not) Would you like to exercise? how? why?

## MODULE 8. LANGUAGE

1. Whenever you talk with your friends in English or in Greek, do the people understand that there is a "difference" in your accent?
2. How do you feel whenever they ask you: "where are you from?"
  - 2.1. When they tell you: "it seems to me you are Greek"?
  - 2.2. When they tell you: "is it true you're Greek? I couldn't tell!! You speak perfect English!!"
3. When you speak English or French, what do you care for mostly?
4. When do you speak Greek? when is there a need to speak Greek?
5. Do you know of any Greek who's changed his/her first name? his/her last name? Give me some examples.
  - 5.1. Why does this happen?
  - 5.2. Have you changed your name? why? (why not?)
  - 5.3. (If yes) How did you choose it?
6. The vocabulary I've put in these questions, was it easy? Did you understand them all?
7. Some of your words were of an English-Greek mixture. Can you tell me, why does this happen and how?



Tape No. \_\_\_\_\_

Date of report \_\_\_\_\_

I.V. No. \_\_\_\_\_

Interviewer \_\_\_\_\_

INTERVIEW    REPORT

1. Date of interview \_\_\_\_\_ Time \_\_\_\_\_ PM/AM

2. Subject Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ Apt. \_\_\_\_\_

Sex \_\_\_\_\_ Dress \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_ Appearance \_\_\_\_\_

Residence \_\_\_\_\_

Occ./schooling \_\_\_\_\_

Language \_\_\_\_\_

3. Place of interview \_\_\_\_\_

others present \_\_\_\_\_

(If subject's home) Type of housing \_\_\_\_\_

Books \_\_\_\_\_

Newspapers \_\_\_\_\_

Television \_\_\_\_\_

4. Interview Incomplete for any reason \_\_\_\_\_

Unusually good sections \_\_\_\_\_

5. Comments \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX III.

WHO IS WHO?

CLASS A

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>SCHOOLING</u>	<u>YRS. IN</u>	<u>CAN.</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
FA 1.	47	6	25		housewife
FA 2.	44	4	20		cleaner
FA 3.	40	7	18		operator
FA 4.	42	6	18		seamstress
FA 5.	40	6	20		cleaner
FA 6.	42	8	19		housewife
FA 7.	41	7	19		housewife
FA 8.	38	9	22		housewife
MEAN:	41.75	6.62	20.12		
MA 1.	45	5	22		market employee
MA 2.	45	5	23		shoemaker
MA 3.	44	6	20		variety-shop owner
MA 4.	42	6	19		factory worker
MA 5.	44	4	22		cleaner
MA 6.	43	6	22		market owner
MA 7.	42	6	20		janitor
MA 8.	36	9	15		waiter
MEAN:	42.62	5.87	20.37		

CLASS B

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>SCHOOLING</u>	<u>YRS. IN CAN.</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
FB 1.	23	16	23	graduate student
FB 2.	20	15	19	undergraduate student
FB 3.	19	14	19	college student
FB 4.	18	12	18	High school student
FB 5.	21	15	21	undergraduate student
FB 6.	18	13	18	dept. store employee
FB 7.	22	15	22	undergraduate student
FB 8.	26	12	23	bank employee
MEAN:	20.87	14.00	20.37	
MB 1.	18	12	16	college student
MB 2.	19	13	16	college student
MB 3.	28	16	28	free-lance reporter
MB 4.	27	17	27	musician
MB 5.	21	15	21	undergraduate student
MB 6.	25	17	25	graduate student
MB 7.	19	13	18	college student
MB 8.	22	17	22	undergraduate student
MEAN:	22.37	15.00	21.62	

## CLASS C

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>SCHOOLING</u>	<u>YRS. IN</u>	<u>CAN.</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
FC 1.	43	12	22		part-time teacher of Greek
FC 2.	41	9	20		day-care teacher
FC 3.	45	7	21		hairstresser
FC 4.	46	20	14		physician
FC 5.	40	12	23		housewife
FC 6.	39	8	18		housewife
FC 7.	38	6	18		bakery owner
FC 8.	42	6	23		restaurateur's wife
MEAN:	41.75	10.00	19.87		

MC 1.	43	9	21		realities broker
MC 2.	45	6	24		cleaning company
MC 3.	45	6	22		cleaning company
MC 4.	41	13	20		supermarket manager
MC 5.	39	15	16		electronics technician
MC 6.	47	22	16		psychiatrist
MC 7.	44	12	20		insurance broker
MC 8.	42	7	19		patisserie owner
MEAN:	43.25	11.25	19.75		

## MEANS PER CLASS

CLASS	AGE	SCHOOL.	YRS. IN CAN.
A	42.1	6.2	20.2
B	21.6	14.5	20.9
C	42.5	10.6	19.8

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC FEATURES

OF MONTREAL GREEK

*Maniavas*