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THE GREEK LANGUAGE IN THE DIASPORA

LA LANGUE GRECQUE EN DIASPORA

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La langue grecque en diaspora

Anastasios M. Tamis *

L'expatriation a été un thème constant dans l'histoire grecque depuis la chute de Constantinople en 1453[1] jusqu'en 1980, lorsque la Grèce a commencé à recevoir des migrants économiques et des réfugiés. Des communautés grecques ont été établies à travers le monde, même dans les lieux les plus reculés. Ce n'est que récemment, après 1974, que l'expérience migrante grecque est devenue, d'un point de vue socio-culturel et linguistique un élément central des recherches portant sur l'identité nationale et les études ethniques. Au cours de la longue période de leur établissement à l'étranger, les immigrants Grecs ont choisi de maintenir leur identité ethno-linguistique et religieuse, en créant des communautés et en mettant en place des écoles grecques. Malheureusement, depuis l'indépendance (1830), et jusqu'à récemment (1974), le gouvernement grec n'a établi aucune politique pour les Grecs de la diaspora.

En 2009, on estime qu'environ 70% des Grecs de la diaspora évalués à 4 500 000 personnes, résident dans des pays anglophones[2]. Dans tous ces pays, l'anglais a été transplanté au 18ème siècle et a acquis le statut de langue dominante. Alors que la plupart des habitants des pays anglophones sont aujourd'hui unilingues anglais, la majorité des premiers habitants de ces pays, à la fois autochtones et immigrants, ont été largement multilingues. A partir de 1880, de nouvelles perspectives de contacts linguistiques ont été créées à travers l'immigration par la création de nouvelles communautés linguistiques dans les pays anglophones. Environ 30% de Grecs de la diaspora, se trouvent dans différents pays européens -France, Allemagne, Pays Bas, Belgique, Ex Union Soviétique, etc.- ainsi qu'en Amérique Latine, en Afrique et en Asie. Dans tous ces pays le grec a été en contact avec diverses langues comme le français, l'allemand, l'espagnole, etc.[3].

Des immigrés Grecs ont commencé à peupler les pays anglophones[4] à partir de la fin du 19e siècle et surtout à partir du debut du 20e siècle. Dans le cas de l'Astralie et du Canada la grandes vague des immigrants Grecs s'est installée après la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale. Pendant toute cette période

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certaines politiques discriminatoires envers les minorités linguistiques ont été imposées dans presque tous les pays anglophones, au moins jusqu'au milieu des années 1960. Le grec s'est trouvé face à de solides langues (anglais, espagnol, allemand, français, néerlandais), ainsi qu'avec des nouvelles langues qui ont pris de l'importance à cause de l'économie(japonais, mandarin) et avec d'autres langues ethniques fortes d'immigrants (italien, slave, arabe). Le grec est restée une langue forte dans la diaspora en raison de son homogénéité, sa valeur socio-culturelle pour la définition de l'identité, l'organisation de réseaux communautaires et à cause d'une attitude positive dans les pays d'accueil au cours du dernier quart du 20e siècle. Au cours de cette période, les gouvernements grecs successifs «ont découvert» les Grecs de la diaspora comme homogeneis («ομογενείς»=du même clan) non pas sans une certaine confusion sémantique, en leur proposant une nouvelle structure de représentation au niveau mondial[5]. Les politiques linguistiques du gouvernement grec pour la diaspora ont également été systématiquement implantées et ont pris une certaine ampleur dans le cadre des programmes soutenus par l'Union européenne[6].

Dans le domaine de la recherche au niveau du contact linguistique[7], une importance de plus en plus grande est accordée à l'étude des langues des migrants, en particulier en Amérique du Nord et en Australie, comme en témoigne la bibliographie citée dans ce volume (voir l'article de Dixon et Aikhenvald). Les plus importantes études ont conclu que les langues des migrants, y compris le grec, sont dans un processus de déclin sous la pression constante d'un contact bilingue asymétrique et instable et en raison des limitations d'utilisation. Des études similaires en Europe[8], ont conclu que les langues des migrants sont condamnées par le contact avec la langue des pays d'accueil.

Il a été fait valoir, à juste titre, que dans une situation de contact des langues la plus simple forme possible d'influence linguistique est celle dans laquelle un seul élément est arraché d'une langue et utilisé dans le cadre d'une autre et que ce type d' "emprunt" linguistique présuppose une situation bilingue. Les dimensions et les limites des deux langues en contact incluent notamment un reaménagement structurel des langues des minorités ethniques ainsi que l'intéraction des modèles linguistiques. Le code des langues impliquées dans la situation de contact ne reste jamais stable. L'analyse contrastée, telle que celle contenue dans le présent volume (Janse, Kanarakis, Tamis), révèle des variations linguistiques de la norme de l'une ou de l'autre des deux langues (grec, turc, arabe et anglais), qui se produisent dans le discours de bilingues

en raison de leur familiarité avec plus d'une langue, même si les écarts caractérisent essentiellement la langue de la minorité, à savoir le grec. Ces variations linguistiques concernant le grec comme langue d'une minorité en Turquie, et / ou les pays anglophones, pourraient être justifiées, surtout chez les Grecs de 2ème, 3ème et 4ème génération, par le fait que la langue grecque est parlée dans un environnement où les pressions socio-culturelles et psychologiques travaillent contre elle. En théorie, l'influence des deux langues peut être réciproque, si chacune dispose du même prestige, mais en pratique c'est assez difficile, sauf si l'environnement économique impose l'utilisation de la langue de la minorité (Voir article Angouri).

Dans les articles présentés dans ce volume, il est demontré qu'il existe un certain degré d'échange mutuel d'influence linguistique (Janse, Kanarakis, Tamis), parce que le grec a créé ses propres domaines de prestige (les événements socio-culturels, communautaires, éducatifs et célébrations ecclésiastiques.La conclusion que l'on retire de l'analyse des articles présentés dans ce volume, c'est que, à moins qu'il existe une situation linguistique isobare, telle que la diglossie canadienne, il n'est pas possible qu'une personne soit d'un bilinguisme parfait. Ainsi, en situation de contact linguistique des changements importants se produisent dans les systèmes linguistiques du grec, dans les cas où les conditions ne permettent pas de garder les langues isolées.

Dans son article **Angouri** examine le phénomène de bilinguisme grec-anglais dans un environnement social et financier, en faisant valoir que les sociétés et les employés sont censés être mobiles au niveau mondial et travailler efficacement avec des collègues provenant de différentes origines. Elle réaffirme l'importance de l'anglais pour les affaires internationales, étant la langue de travail de beaucoup de sociétés, indépendamment de leur propriété. Toutefois, elle conclut que le milieu du travail ne peut pas fonctionner sur la base d'une seule langue et un certain nombre d'autres langues, y compris le grec, ont un rôle à jouer dans la vie quotidienne des travailleurs dans l' environnement de l'entreprise.

Dixon et Aikhenvald en se basant sur un projet de recherche actuellement en cours en Australie et en Argentine considèrent les langues en contact comme un mécanisme d'interaction culturelle et de communication inter-ethnique comparative. Dans leur étude ils font une revue critique et l'évaluation d'ensemble de la structure et l'utilisation du grec au sein des environnements sociolinguistiques de la diaspora grecque en Australie et en Argentine, en faisant le suivi et l'évaluation des mécanismes de changement dans des conditions et des influence diverses. Les auteurs présentent une

version concise et érudite de la bibliographie actuelle sur les langues en contact.

Janse enquête sur les effets du contact greco-turc de langues en Asie Mineure, en se concentrant sur le Cappadocien, un dialecte mixte gréco-turc parlé autrefois par les chrétiens grecs orthodoxes en Anatolie centrale.

On estime généralement que ce dialecte est mort dans les années 1960, jusqu'à ce que Mark Janse et Dimitris Papazachariou découvrent qu'un dialecte Cappadocien est toujours la première langue parlée par plusieurs centaines de personnes dans le nord et le centre de la Grèce. Janse estime que "Misti" est le seul dialecte Cappadocien qui est encore utilisé comme langue vernaculaire. Le Cappadocien est un dialecte grec médiéval archaïque qui a été turquicisé progressivement après les invasions ottomanes et seljuks au onzième siècle.

Kanarakis soutient que les transferts inter-linguistiques sont un phénomène naturel, universel, et non accidentel, quels qu'en soient les motifs. Son article met l'accent sur la situation linguistique diachronique en raison du contact inter-linguistique entre le grec et l'anglais en Australie, en examinant à la fois les transferts directs et indirects, ainsi que leur impact sur différents niveaux de langue, illustrés par une variété d'exemples écrits et oraux.

Tanis examine la langue de contact en situation de classe avec les élèves d'anglais langue maternelle étudiant le grec. Il donne des précisions sur des mesures incitatives qui pourraient motiver les élèves de grec ainsi que les étudiants d'anglais, en évoquant divers aspects du grec, y compris sa souplesse, la fléxion de ses mots, ses préfixes et suffixes (les diminutifs, les suffixes des agents, les suffixes patronymiques, le grand nombre de mots composés et, éventuellement, de former de nouveaux mots composés) et la façon dont ceux-ci ont été transférées à l'anglais.

Tamis dans son article présente une étude sociolinguistique sur l'état de la langue grecque en Australie telle qu'elle est parlée par les immigrants Grecs et leurs enfants. L'accent est mis sur l'analyse du comportement linguistique des Grecs d'Australie attribué au contact avec l'anglais et à d'autres influences liées à l'environment social et lingustique. L'article examine les phénomènes non-standards des différents types des transferts inter-langues en fonction de leur incidence et leurs causes en corrélation avec des facteurs sociaux, linguistiques et psychologiques afin de déterminer le degré de l'assimilation linguistique.

Une conclusion tirée des articles de ce volume est que le grec a de l'avenir

dans la diaspora, malgré la menace constante subie à la suite de ses contacts avec des langues puissantes, dominantes et culturellement enrichies. Les liens ethniques dans la diaspora hellénique sont bien préservés et, dans certains cas, voire renforcés, quoique peut-être de manière subtile. Même dans les pays d'Amérique Latine où le maintien de la langue grecque a été gravement affaibli, la culture grecque et la vitalité ethnique restent fortes. D'autre part, la Grèce est un pays qui, à la suite de l'immigration massive d'au moins plus d' un million de migrants économiques Européens, Asiatiques et Africains (1980-2009) ne peut plus prétendre être un pays linguistiquement homogène. En outre, la détermination du centre national ainsi que de la République de Chypre, d'étendre leur développement socio-économique et politique pour embrasser la vaste et robuste diaspora hellénique, offrant à leurs membres des droits de vote et une part de pouvoir et d'autorité dans la mère patrie, exige également des politiques linguistiques bien définies sur le plan intérieur comme à l'étranger. Le maintien de la diaspora grecque devrait être reconnu comme étant dans l'intérêt public de la Grèce et de Chypre et comme l'outil important pour assurer la liaison de la Métropole avec l'hellénisme au niveau mondial et vice versa.

Les articles de ce volume mettent en évidence l'idée que des recherches scientifiques sur le grec parlé à l'extérieur de la Grèce devraient procurer un fondement pour la reconnaissance des variétés du grec comme ethnolects (Tamis, 1986) ou même des dialectes régionaux globaux à part entière; par une contribution avec des arguments à faire dissiper les attitudes populaires persistantes comme celle qui considére les variétés non-standards des parlers comme étant déficients ou inférieurs plutôt que tout simplement différents.

NOTES

1. Voir Α. Βακαλόπουλος (1973), *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού 1669-1812*, Τόμος Δ′, Θεσσαλονίκη. Α. Βακαλόπουλος (2000), *Νέα Ελληνική Ιστορία* (1204-1985), Βάνιας, Θεσσαλονίκη.
2. En 2008, selon diverses sources (bibliographie, données statistiques et matériel d'archives), le nombre des immigrants Grecs dans les pays aglophones était estimé à 3, 150, 000, comme suit: Etats-Unis, 2, 100, 00, Australie, 506, 000, Grande Bretagne, 310, 000, Canada, 240, 000, Afrique du Sud, 40, 000 et Nouvelle Zelande, 4, 000. Pour un rapport plus détaillé sur les statistiques de la diaspora grecque voir: I. K. Hassiotis, Olga Katsiardis-Herring and Eurydice Ambatzis (eds.) (2006), *The Greeks in Diaspora (15th – 20th century),* Greek Parliament,

Athens (en grec); Th. Saloutos (1964), *The Greeks in United States*, Harvard University Press; A. M. Tamis (2005), *The Greeks in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, I. K. Χασιώτης (1993), *Σύντομη Επισκόπηση της Ελληνικής Διασποράς*, Βάνιας, Θεσσαλονίκη; Peter Chimbos (1980), The Canadian Odyssey, The Greek Experience in Canada, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart.

3. Voir S. Romaine, *Languages in Australia*, CUP, 1991:19ff. Elle illustre la marginalisation des langues et des cultures des États européens qui pourrait être vue comme une forme de 'colonialisme interne'. «Dans la plupart d'entre eux existent des minorités (à la fois autochtones indigènes et non autochtones indigènes), dont les langues n'ont pas les mêmes droits que ceux accordés aux langues officielles…».
4. À l'exception de la métropole, Le Royaume Uni, tous les autres pays anglophones étaient des colonies britanniques où manque le concept de l'Etat-nation et par conséquent la langue du colonisateur est devenue à la fois prestigieuse et essentielle.
5. Le Conseil Mondial des Grecs à l'Étranger (Συμβούλιο Απόδημου Ελληνισμού-ΣΑΕ) a été établi en 1995 et la protection systématique des Grecs de la diaspora est devenue partie intégrante de la Constitution grecque.
6. On fait référence au Programme «Paideia Omogenon» (Programme pour l'Éducation des Grecs à l' Étranger) sous la responsabilité de EDIAMME, Université de Crète, qui était un des quatre programmes largement orientés vers la langue, financés en grande partie par l'Union Européenne.
7. Deux langues ou plus sont en contact, si elles sont connues et utilisées de façon alternative par la même personne. Le terme 'langue en contact' a été utilisé pour la première fois par W. von Humboldt en 1836 et Edgar Sturtevant en 1917.
8. Voir notamment les travaux de Afendras, E. A., *Stability of a bilingual situation and Arumanian bilingualism*, *Canadian Linguistic Association*, Toronto, 1969 (Arumanian), Femiglietti, M., "Bilingualism in an Italo-Albanian community and a didactic suggestion", *Passegna Italiana di Linguistica Applicata*, V. 7, 1975: 2-3, (Italo-Albanian), Clyne, M. G., "German and English working pidgins", *Congress on Pidgins and Creoles*, Honolulu, 1975 (German), Riffer-Macek, D., *Some marginalia of Language Contact*, Zagreb, 1976 (Slavic languages), Rubattel, C., "Studies on language contact", *Etudes de Linguistique Appliquée*, V. 21: 20-32, 1976 (Italian, French, German, Rumanian in Switzerland), Bakos, F., *Rumanian Elements in the Hungarian Lexicon and some Problems of Linguistic Borrowing*, Budapest, 1977 (Rumanian), Tedeschi, G., "Language and cultures in contact: The language problem in Hypponax", *Incontri Linguistici*, V. 4, 2: 225-233, 1978 (Greco-Italian).

The Greek Language in the Diaspora

Anastasios M. Tamis *

Expatriation has been a consistent theme in Greek history since the years immediately after the Fall of Constantinople (1453)[1] until 1980, when Greece began receiving economic migrants and refugees. Greek-speaking communities and clusters of Greek presence were established throughout the world, even in the most remote places. Only recently (post-1974), Greek settlement experience from a socio-cultural and linguistic perspective became a focal point in research for national identity and ethnic studies. During the long periods of settlement in foreign lands, Greeks chose to maintain their ethno-linguistic and religious identity, establishing communities and Greek schools. Unfortunately, since Independence (1830), and until recently (1974), Greece did not possess, at government level, any language policy for the Greeks of the diaspora.

In 2009, it is estimated that approximately 70% of the Greeks in the diaspora estimated to 4 500 000 people, reside in the English speaking counties.[2] In all of those countries English had been transplanted in the 18th century and assumed the status of dominant language. Whilst most people in Anglophone nations are English monolinguals, the majority of these countries' original inhabitants, both indigenous and migrant, were largely multilinguals. Beginning from 1880, new perspectives of language contact situation have arisen through immigration as new language communities have been established in Anglophone nations. The remaining 30% of the diaspora Greeks have settled in Europe (Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Scandinavian countries, Former Soviet Union), where Greek has been in contact with the languages of the nation-states[3], in Latin America, where Greek has been in contact with the Iberian languages, in Africa and South Eastern Asia where Greek has been competing with colonial languages and extremely diverse local dialects.

Greek immigrants began settling these English-speaking nations[4] in large waves during the last 130 years, particularly in Canada, the USA, Australia, New Zealand, Britain and South Africa. Throughout this period, certain

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oppressive policies towards linguistic minorities were imposed almost in all Anglophone nations for a long period of time, at least until the mid 1960s. Greek began to compete in status and in the number of speakers in these countries with robust colonial languages (Spanish, German, French, Dutch), with neo-trade languages (Japanese, Indonesian, Mandarin) and with other strong ethnic languages (i.e. Italian, Slavic, Arabic) as well as with refugee languages (i.e. Vietnamese). Greek remained a strong language in the Diaspora as a result of its homogeneity, its socio-cultural value in the definition of identity, the organised community networks and the prevailing receptive attitudes in the host countries during the last quarter of the 20th century. In the course of this period, successive Greek governments "discovered" the Greeks in Diaspora as "ομογενείς" (homogeneis = of the same clan) not without much semantic confusion, creating a new structure for their representation.[5] Greek government policies regarding the Greek language in Diaspora were also systematically implemented gaining momentum among the members of the Greek communities and attracting support of the European Union.[6]

In the field of research into language contact[7], increasing prominence is being given to the study of immigrant languages, particularly in North America and Australia as the relevant bibliography attests (see Dixon and Aikhenvald in this volume). The more substantial studies concluded that immigrant languages, including Greek, are in the process of decay under the constant pressure of an asymmetrical and unstable bilingual contact and because of limitations of use. Similar studies in Europe[8] concluded that immigrant languages are doomed through contact with the host language.

It has been correctly argued that in a language contact situation the simplest possible form of linguistic influence is that in which a single item is plucked out of one language and used in the context of another and that this kind of linguistic 'borrowing' presupposes a bilingual situation. The dimensions and limitations of two languages in contact include a rearrangement of pattern in the structured domains of the ethnic languages as well as an interaction of linguistic patterns, whilst the code of the languages involved in the contact situation never remains stable at any point in time. The contrastive analysis such as that contained in this volume (Janse, Kanarakis, Tamis) reveals linguistic variations from the norm of either language (Greek, Turkish, Arabic and English), which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, although the deviations will basically characterize the minority language, namely Greek. These linguistic variations

concerning Greek as a minority language in Turkey, and/or the Anglophone countries could be justified, among mainly 2nd, 3rd and 4th generation of Greeks, by the fact that Greek is spoken in an environment where socio-cultural and psychological pressures tend to work against it. In theory, the influence of two different languages can be mutual, if each has its own area of prestige, however in practice this is rather difficult with the exception of the economic environment, where substantial financial losses as a result of monolingual attitudes may trigger or induce the usage of the minority language (Angouri).

In the papers presented in this volume, it is shown that there is some degree of mutual exchange of linguistic influence (Janse, Kanarakis, Tamis), not only because Greek has created its own areas of prestige (socio-cultural events, community functions, educational and ecclesiastic celebrations), but mainly because it is impossible for the non-Greek born bilingual to keep his/her languages completely apart. The prevailing conclusion from the analysis of the papers presented in this volume is that, unless there is an isobar language situation, such as Canadian diglossia, it is not possible to have two separate speakers in one person. Thus, in language contact situation significant changes occur in the linguistic systems of Greek when the condition of keeping the languages apart is not met.

In her article **Angouri** views the phenomenon of Greek-English bilingualism in a financial-social environment arguing that corporate companies and employees are expected to be globally mobile and to work efficiently and effectively with colleagues from different national backgrounds. She reaffirms the importance of English for international business being the working language of many corporate companies irrespectively of their ownership. However, she concludes that workplace cannot operate on the basis of one language only and a number of other languages, including Greek, have a role to play in the daily life of employees in corporate environments.

Dixon and Aikhenvald, using as a basis, a research project currently in progress in Australia and Argentina, discuss language contact as a mechanism of comparative cultural interaction and inter-ethnic communication. Their study critically overviews and assesses the structure and use of Greek in Diaspora in the Australian and Argentinean sociolinguistic environments, monitoring and evaluating the mechanisms of change under differential conditions and sources of influence. The authors provide a concise and erudite version of the current language contact bibliography.

Janse investigates the Greek-Turkish language contact in Asia Minor, concentrating upon Cappadocian, a Greek-Turkish mixed language formerly spoken by Greek Orthodox Christians in Central Anatolia. It was generally believed that Cappadocian died out in the 1960s, until Mark Janse and Dimitris Papazachariou discovered that a Cappadocian dialect is still spoken as a first language by several hundreds of people in Northern and Central Greece. Janse believes that *"Misti"* is the only Cappadocian dialect that is still used as a vernacular. Cappadocian is an archaic Medieval Greek dialect which became increasingly turkicized after the Seljuk and Ottoman invasions from the eleventh century onwards.

Kanarakis supports the view that cross-linguistic transfers are a natural, universal phenomenon and not accidental, whatever the motives. His paper focuses on the diachronic linguistic situation due to cross-linguistic contact between Greek and Australian English, that is, the impact of the latter on Greek in the ethnolectic context of Australia and that of Greek (both Standard Modern and Ancient) on Australian English. He examines both direct and indirect transfers, as well as their impact on different levels of language (phonological, morphological, lexical), illustrated by a variety of relevant oral and written examples.

Tanis examines language contact in class situation with students of English language background acquiring Greek. He elaborates on language incentives that could motivate students of Greek as well as students of English, discussing various aspects of Greek, including its flexibility, its word inflexion, its prefixes and suffixes (diminutive words, the agent suffixes, the patronymic suffixes, the great number of the compound words and possibly of forming new compound words) and the way that these have been transferred to English. He investigates a number of teaching mechanisms related to language contact phenomena from a language acquisition perspective.

Tamis reports a sociolinguistic study of the state of Greek language in Australia as spoken by native-speaking Greek immigrants and their children. Emphasis is given to the analysis of the linguistic behaviour of these Greek Australians which is attributed to contact with English and to other environmental, social and linguistic influences. The paper discusses the non-standard phenomena in various types of inter-lingual transferences in terms of their incidence and causes and, in correlation with social, linguistic and psychological factors in order to determine the extent of language assimilation, attrition, the content, context and medium of the language-event.

An outcome emerging from the contributions of this volume is that Greek has a future in the Diaspora, despite being under constant threat as a result of its contact with powerful and culturally enriched dominant languages. Ethnic ties in the Hellenic Diaspora are well preserved and in certain cases even strengthened, though perhaps in subtle ways. Even in Latin American countries where Greek language maintenance has severely weakened, Greek culture and ethnic vitality remains strong. On the other hand, Greece is a country which, following the massive immigration of at least over one million European, Asian and African economic migrants (1980-2009), can no longer aspire to be a linguistically homogeneous country. Furthermore, the determination of the Hellenic national center and of the Republic of Cyprus to extend their socio-economic and political boundaries to embrace the vast and robust Hellenic Diaspora, offering their members voting rights and a share in home power and authority, also necessitates well-defined language policies both in the domestic front, as well as abroad. The maintenance of Greek in Diaspora should be recognized as being in the public interest of Greece and Cyprus and as the important tool for bonding the Metropolis with global Hellenism and *vice versa*.

The articles presented in this volume also depict the notion that inductive investigations of Greek spoken outside Greece should provide a foundation for recognising diasporic varieties of Greek as *ethnolects*, or even global, regional dialects in their own right arguably alleviating persistent popular attitudes to non-standard varieties of speaking as deficient, or inferior, rather than just different.

NOTES

1. See in particular the volume of Α. Βακαλόπουλος (1973), *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού 1669-1812*, Τόμος Δ′, Θεσσαλονίκη. Α. Βακαλόπουλος (2000), *Νέα Ελληνική Ιστορία* (1204-1985), Βάνιας, Θεσσαλονίκη.
2. In 2008, according to different sources (bibliography, statistical data and archival material), the number of Greek settlers in English speaking countries is estimated to 3,150,000, as follows: USA, 2,100,000, Australia, 506,000, United Kingdom, 310,000, Canada, 240,000, South Africa, 40,000 and New Zealand, 4000. For a more detailed account on the statistics of the Geek Diaspora see: Ioannis K. Hassiotis, Olga Katsiardis-Herring and Eurydice Ambatzis (eds.) (2006), *The Greeks in Diaspora (15th – 20th century),* Greek Parliament, Athens (in greek); Th. Saloutos (1964), *The Greeks in United States*, Harvard University Press; A. M.

Tamis (2005), *The Greeks in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Ιωάννης Κ. Χασιώτης (1993), *Σύντομη Επισκόπηση της Ελληνικής Διασποράς*, Βάνιας, Θεσσαλονίκη; Peter Chimbos, 1980), *The Canadian Odyssey*, *The Greek Experience in Canada*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart.

3. See S. Romaine, *Languages in Australia*, CUP, 1991:19ff. She illustrates the marginalization of the languages and cultures of the European sates which could be seen as a form of 'internal colonialism': "In most of them there are minorities (both indigenous and non-indigenous), whose languages do not have the same rights as those granted to the official languages…"
4. With the exception of the metropolis UK, all other Anglophone countries were British colonial territories lacking the concept of the nation-state notion and thus the coloniser's language became both prestigious and essential.
5. The *World Council for Greeks Abroad* (Συμβούλιο Απόδημου Ελληνισμού-ΣΑΕ) was established in 1995 and the systematic protection of the Greeks in Diaspora became an integral part of the Greek Constitution.
6. Reference is made here to the *Program "Paideia Omogenon"* (Program for the Education of Greeks Abroad) undertaken by the EDIAMME, University of Crete, which was one of the four broad language oriented Programs, supported by the European Union.
7. Two or more languages are in contact, if they are known and used alternatively by the same persons. The term 'language contact' was used first by W. von Humboldt in 1836 and Edgar Sturtevant in 1917.
8. See in particular the works of Afendras, E. A., *Stability of a bilingual situation and Arumanian bilingualism*, *Canadian Linguistic Association*, Toronto, 1969 (Arumanian), Femiglietti, M., "Bilingualism in an Italo-Albanian community and a didactic suggestion", *Passegna Italiana di Linguistica Applicata*, V. 7, 1975: 2-3, (Italo-Albanian), Clyne, M. G., "German and English working pidgins", *Congress on Pidgins and Creoles*, Honolulu, 1975 (German), Riffer-Macek, D., *Some marginalia of Language Contact*, Zagreb, 1976 (Slavic languages), Rubattel, C., "Studies on language contact", *Etudes de Linguistique Appliquée*, V. 21: 20-32, 1976 (Italian, French, German, Rumanian in Switzerland), Bakos, F., *Rumanian Elements in the Hungarian Lexicon and some Problems of Linguistic Borrowing*, Budapest, 1977 (Rumanian), Tedeschi, G., "Language and cultures in contact: The language problem in Hypponax", *Incontri Linguistici*, V. 4, 2: 225-233, 1978 (Greco-Italian).

Perspectives On Cross-Linguistic Transference: Greek And English In Multicultural Australia

George Kanarakis *

RÉSUMÉ

Les linguistes acceptent que les langues en contact ne soient pas complètement pures et dépourvues des formes de transferts linguistiques, des aspects caractéristiques distinctifs et des constructions. Les transferts inter-linguistiques sont un phénomène naturel, universel et non accidentel, quelqu'en soient les motifs. Au cours des deux dernières décennies cette interaction linguistique est devenue une question centrale de la linguistique appliquée, fournissant une aide précieuse à la planification et l'organisation de l'enseignement et de l'apprentissage de la langue étrangère et seconde. Cet article met l'accent sur la situation linguistique diachronique dûe au contact inter-linguistique entre le grec et l'anglais australien, c'est-à-dire l'impact de l'anglais australien sur le grec et celui du grec sur l'anglais australien dans le contexte de l'Australie. Afin de présenter un tableau plus complet des transferts, cet article examine les transferts à la fois directs et indirects ainsi que leur impact sur diférents niveaux de langue, illustrés par une variété d'exemples oraux et écrits.

ABSTRACT

Linguists accept that no languages in contact are completely pure and free of transferred language forms, features and constructions. Cross-linguistic transfers are a natural, universal phenomenon and not accidental, whatever the motives. In the past two decades this linguistic interaction has become a central issue in applied linguistics, providing valuable assistance with the planning and organising of foreign and second language teaching/learning. This paper focuses on the diachronic linguistic situation due to the cross-linguistic contact between Greek and Australian English, that is, the impact of Australian English upon Greek in the immigrant context of Australia and that of Greek upon Australian English. To present a more comprehensive picture of transference, this paper examines both direct and indirect transfers, as well as their impact on different levels of language, illustrated by a variety of oral and written examples

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Recent demographic profile of Australia and Australian Hellenism

Australia, apart from its indigenous people, is a country of immigrants. The Australian resident population on 4 December 2008 was estimated to be 21,522,662 (ABS 2008b: 1). In the latest census (2006) the people of Australia reported more than 270 different ancestries, with many claiming two (ABS 2008a: 7), and almost 400 different languages (ABS 2007b: 1), while 16% of the population speak a language other than English at home (Cook 2006: 1), apart from about 145 indigenous languages still spoken by the 455,031 indigenous persons (ABS 2007c: 2; Australian State of the Environment Committee 2007: 2).

This census revealed the people of self-reported Greek origin to be 365,200 (1.8% of the total population) (ABS 2008a: 8), but in reality their number may increase to even around 400,000 if we consider those of Greek ancestry born in areas other than Greece (Cyprus, Turkey, Egypt, South Africa, etc.) who may have identified themselves on the basis of their country of birth. The total number of Greeks is a contentious issue, however. Claims of 650,000, 700,000 or even 800,000, frequently flaunted by politicians from Greece and members of Australia's Greek communities, are exaggerations.[1]

Compared with past years, the census revealed that the number of Greek-speaking individuals has declined significantly from 269,775 in 1996 to 263,075 in 2001 to 252,222 in 2006 (ABS 2007a: n.p.), yet Greek has remained the second most popular language other than English spoken at home in Australia, 1.3% of the entire population after Italian (1.6%).[2] Mainly due to the dramatic decline in the number of new Greek arrivals (187 persons in 1995-96, 142 in 1998-99 (see also Καναράκης 2000: 141 fn.38 and Καναράκης 2003: 72 fn.31), 145 in 2005-06 (Hadzimanolis 2007: 2), etc.), the increasing number of interethnic marriages and the dominance of English resulting in the diminution of Greek from an effective communicative tool to a feature of ethnic identity, the Modern Greek language is experiencing critical difficulties, socially and educationally, being taught at school to second and third generation children of Greek origin as a second and in some cases as a foreign language.

On the character of Australian English

Australian English is a national variation of British English[3] with a distinctive vocabulary and accent, which developed in Australia after its settlement by the British in 1788. The original influences derived from Cockney and Irish

English, since many convicts and settlers came from London and Ireland (Mitchell & Delbridge 1965a). The geographical isolation, the different environmental features, their feelings of social independence promoting reaction to the preservation of British cultural values, evident in the contrast between the Cultivated and Broad accents of Australian English and their increasing contact with the aborigines and immigrants gave rise to the development of a different culture resulting in separate modes of speech and writing. These factors introduced Aboriginal names of plants (*waratah*, *wilga*), animal names (*wallaby*, *wombat, dingo, kangaroo, koala, kookaburra*), and quite a few place names (*Woolloomooloo, Coonabarabran, Wee Waa*, etc.), but also *boomerang*, *billabong* (water hole), *corroboree* (a ceremonial dance), *cooee* (a loud call) etc., as well as over 10,000 lexical items of Australian English origin, many referring to the biogeography of Australia (*banksia* (tree), *brush* (dense vegetation), etc.), some established in the lexicon of international English such as *pavlova* (a dessert), several descriptive of life styles, and others colloquial including slang (*bathers* (swimming costume), *frock* (dress), *bush* (countryside), *dunny* (outside toilet), *drongo* (fool), *biggie* (big one), *crook* (unwell, irritable), *dinkum* (honest), hooroo (goodbye), galah (stupid person), *sheila* (woman, girlfriend), *cobber* (friend), etc.), or derivatives and compounds (*Pommyland* (England from *pommy* (English immigrant) + land), *outback*, *iron bark*, *ticket-of-leave*, *bush telegraph* (informal means of communication, gossip), *weekender* (holiday cottage), etc.), and even vivid idioms (*drag the chain* (hinder others by doing something slowly), *scarce as rocking horse manure* (non-existent), *starve the crows* (exclamation of astonishment), *five-finger discount* (shoplifting), *beyond the black stump* (very remote place), *she'll be right, mate* (don' t worry, everything will be OK) etc.).[4]

Many words considered pure Australian, in reality were started in England and exist alongside the earlier British meanings (*washer* (facecloth), *cockatoo* (a look-out), *identity* (a well-known person)), some of which are still used in British local dialects (*dinkum*, *cobber*, *tucker* (food), joker (person) etc. (Crystal 1988: 240)). Quite a few words reflecting the way of life, history and other aspects of Australian society, as well as the physical environment, have transferred into or re-entered the English of Britain (*bush* (stretch of land with bushy vegetation; countryside as opposed to towns), *sheila, larrikin* (a mischievous (but likable) young man), *digger* (Australian soldier), etc.) or others deriving from British English, are used in both countries (*miniskirt* (cf. the Australian diminutive *mini-budget*), s*kinhead*, etc. and colloquial words like *loo* (has replaced the Australian *dunny* and *dyke*), *knickers* etc.).

Furthermore, an increasing influence of American English on Australian English apparent since the sound films of the 1930s, intensified during World War II, has accelerated more recently, due to the presence of the USA as a cultural and political superpower and the loosening of ties between Britain and Australia (Maslen 1995:44; Peters 2001: 297-309). Examples of Americanisms are found in many aspects of its structure. On the **phonological level** we notice transfers on features of stress (pri**mar**ily instead of **pri**marily) or on the voicing of the inter-vocalic /t/ (*latter* and *ladder* become similar in pronunciation), on the **grammatical level**, though very few, on verb constructions (*to protest* and *to appeal (something)* instead of *to protest against* and *to appeal against (something)*, on the **graphemic level** (spelling) with an increasing preference for noun and verb endings (*-or* over *-our* (*color/colour*, *honor/honour*), *-m* over *-mme* (*program/programme*), *-e-* over *-ae/oe-* (*encyclopedia/encyclopaedia*, *maneuver/manoeuvre*, etc.), although the situation still remains fluid across states and age groups. Most American transfers are located on the **lexical level**: new **nouns** like *truck* (Br. E. lorry), *station wagon* (Br. E. estate car), *high school* (Br. E. secondary school), *freeway* (Br. E. highway), *billboard* (Br. E. hoarding), *baggage* (Br. E. luggage), *eggplant* (Br. E. aubergine), *zucchini* (Br. E. courgette); **adjectives** like *off campus*, *upfront*; **phrasal nouns** like *rip-off*, *teach-in*; **verbs** like *to trial*, *to oversight*; **phrasal verbs** like *to suss out*, *to psych up*; **prefixed verbs** like *de-escalate*; **sentence modifiers** like *healthwise*; and **truncated forms** like *hi-fi*, *hi-tech*, *sci-fi* and others (See also Taylor 1989: 239-244; Delbridge 1991: 75). Some of these words are parallels like *trail* and *track*, some are new objects with new names and some are pushing out existing Australian words (See also Taylor 1989: 239-244; Burridge & Mulder 1998: 280-284; Peters 2001: 297-309). There is nothing surprising about this, as Australian English, with the passage of time, will incorporate more words from its immigrants and other varieties of British and American English.

Although Australia is a vast island continent, it exhibits very little internal linguistic variation (Turner 1966: 163). Dialects have not developed in Australia, except a few regional lexical variations (*pixie* (small ice cream carton), *cantaloupe*, and *bathers* or *togs* in Victoria but *bucket*, *rockmelon* and *cozzie* in New South Wales, *stroller* (a child's push chair) and *peanut butter* in New South Wales but *pusher* and *peanut paste* in South Australia and Queensland, *port* in Queensland but *school bag* in New South Wales), and certain words with alternative pronunciation in certain geographical areas, such as *castle* usually pronounced /kæsl/ in Melbourne and parts of Queensland but /kasl/ in Sydney.

Phonologically, based on vowel and diphthong variables, three categories of the accent range appear in Australia, indicating a great deal of social variation: *Broad* (34%), most nationalistic ("Australian twang"), *General* (55%), the mainstream accent, and *Cultivated Australian* (11%), most conservative and close to educated British, influenced by Received Pronunciation (Mitchell & Delbridge 1965a: 19; Delbridge 1970: 19). *Broad* is the most different from British Received Pronunciation, spoken by more men than women and the other two (*Cultivated,* spoken more by women than men, and *General*) are progressively less so. Mitchell & Delbridge (1965b) added a fourth variety, *Modified* (less than 1%), a type more similar to Received Pronunciation than *Cultivated* and associated with the British upper classes.

Some main features of Australian English are:

1. The rising intonation pattern in statements within a sentence, making the non-Australian listener think that the sentence spoken is interrogative rather than affirmative.
2. The pronunciation principally of the vocalic nuclei /ei/ and /'u/ as /ai/ and /au/ respectively in Broad and General Australian, causing semantic deviation from Cultivated Australian and therefore misunderstanding to the foreign or immigrant ear (/lain/ (line) instead of /lein/ (lane)) or mere confusion, as in /tɔ dai/ (to die) instead of /tɔ dei/ (today); /gau/ a non-existent word instead of /g'u/ (go).
3. The tendency for strong nasalisation of the vowels or vocalic nuclei before nasal consonants (/m, n, ŋ/) in Broad Australian speech, as in *down* or in *bean*, *boom* and *bong*. Women seem to have a higher nasality ratio than men.
4. The slow and drawling tendency most notable among Broad accent speakers.
5. The tendency for word abbreviation (*uni* for university, *Tassie* for Tasmania, *Chrissie* for Christmas, *prezzie/pressie* for present (Chrissie pressie), *darl* for darling, *roo* for kangaroo, *Salvo* for Salvation Army member, *sickie* for day off from work due to illness, *mozzie* for mosquito, *Aussie* for Australian, *Oz* for Australia, *beg yours* for I beg your pardon, *this arvo* for this afternoon, etc.).

On the character of Greek

The Greek language, having the oldest written and oral traditions in Europe, for over 3400 years (Chadwick 1987: 8) and at least 4000 years respectively, is

the historically unifying language of Europe. Some scholars even talk of "Eurogreek". According to Alan Kirkness, the cliché that Greek (along with Latin) is a dead language "needs to be reconsidered".[5] Greek is also distinguished by an ongoing historical continuity and cohesion, despite the changes which have occurred (Browning 1969: 9). It plays a most significant role in the enrichment of other European languages, and through them of other languages. Other factors have been its early and in depth development by internationally celebrated Greek minds in the sciences and humanities, the Greeks' word-making creativity, as well as the cultural and purely linguistic prestige that Greek acquired out of the geographic context where it was spoken as a native language.

The Greek language became transnational (once during the Alexandrian and Roman times (Alexandrian or Hellenistic Koine) and later during the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods (12th-15th and 15th-18th centuries) to South Italy, the Balkans, South Russia, Georgia and further East, as well as areas of the Eastern Mediterranean (Kanarakis 2008[2]: 275-280)) as an oral or even written communication medium (in cultural matters, commerce, diplomacy and administration) among peoples frequently living far from each other and not having it as their mother tongue.

Greek became a base of accurate semantic expression, a steady point of reference and, therefore, a source of continuous direct and indirect influence on other languages without ever losing its vitality and plasticity or even breaking down into daughter languages, as happened with Demotic Latin into the Neolatin or Romance languages. Despite the small population which always used Greek as a mother tongue, its influx into Latin and more recent European languages, has been diachronic and multifaceted.

In older times Greek words and word stems entered mainly indirectly through Latin, French and other European languages, while in modern times, especially since the Renaissance and the Industrial Revolution, through newly structured words, using Greek word stems adopted in everyday communication, and in scholarly and scientific expression. This is why European education and science, as well as Western civilization in general, continue to utilise the linguistic and cultural qualities of the Greek language. The French linguists Bouffartigue and Delrieu, referring to their native language, point out that "the understanding of our language, the rediscovery of its essence – this is the usefulness of knowing the Greek word stems. The Greek stems give the French language its deepest support and, at the same time, they provide it with the highest ability for abstraction. Greece is a

distant source of our civilisation, and is alive in the words we say. It shapes our language every day" (1993: 9), while the British linguist David Crystal states: "But in many ways more important that the historical perspective is…to see the Classical languages continuing to be used as a dynamic source of new words of lexical creation…. What is so fascinating is to see how we still rely on Latin and Greek to talk about entities and events which are at the heart of modern life" (2001: 21).

The impact of Australian English on the Greek ethnolect in Australia

Although the English language in Australia, from the first European settlement (1788) spans only 200-plus years, the foundation of Antipodean Greek began just forty-one years later (1829),[6] and it is now established as an Australian ethnolect – a native language in an immigrant sociolinguistic situation spoken under the influence of the national language of the new country.

Greek and Australian English exhibit a dynamic ability to enrich each other on various language levels. Since no languages coming into constant contact with one another, manage to remain free of transferred language forms, features or constructions.[7] Thus cross-linguistic transference is a natural, universal phenomenon, and not accidental. Eventually the transfers no longer reflect language characteristics of individuals but steady, well established language qualities used by the majority of bilinguals and multilinguals in daily communication.

The degree of the transference process varies among bilingual Greek immigrants according to the level of their English and Greek mastery. Among Greek-born individuals, in general, the better their knowledge of Greek, the weaker the influence of Australian English appears when they communicate in Greek. In contrast, Australian-born Greeks and those whose knowledge of English is better, use more transfers from Australian English. Also, when individuals of Greek origin in Australia encounter transfers used by Greek speakers from other English-language countries, if these transfers belong exclusively to different national variations of the two main branches of English, they are not understood.[8]

From USA English: elevated (electric) train [the el] > *ελεβέτα*, quarter (25 cents) > *κοράκι*, [seating] hostess > *χοστέσα* (waitress in charge), short order cook (in restaurant) > *σόρορεκουκ*.

From Canadian English: hot dog cook > *χαντοκάς* > *χαντοκάδικο* (canteen for cooking hot dogs), Park Avenue (a road in Montreal) > *Παρκαβενέικα*, St Laurent (river) > *(το) σελόραν*, street car (tram in Toronto) > *στριτικάρι*.

Non-intelligibility can arise sometimes where the same word exists in national variations of English but is rendered differently in the oral and written communication of the Greek speakers in these English-language countries. Cf. hamburger > *χέμπρικα* in Canada, *χεμπούργκο* in the USA and *χαμπούργκα* in Australia.[9]

Non-intelligibility is also possible among members of the same ethnolect in the same country due to regional variations which are sometimes significant enough to cause confusion or misunderstanding. In Australia this has been observed among Greek speakers of rural versus urban environments (*μπλόκος* (< block) by the Greeks in the rural area of Mildura, Victoria, but *φάρμα* (< farm) by the Sydney and Melbourne Greeks), and among the Greeks of different urban centres, such as Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, etc. (zip > *ζίπα*, *η* in Sydney but *ζιπ, το*, in Melbourne) (Tamis 1986-87: 134).

The influence of Australian English on Greek in Australia is evident on two language levels, the phonological and especially the lexical.

Phonological level

a. Speech sounds

Usually second and third generation individuals, as well as some first generation ones with high proficiency in Australian English, tend to transfer phonological elements (mainly phones) into their Greek oral performance, causing the speaker an obvious accent. Such distinctive transferred sounds in the Greek ethnolect are the Greek voiceless stops /p, t, k/ with aspiration, as in English word initially, after a pause, before stressed vowels and sometimes in word final position. The tendency also occurs to pronounce the rolled (trill) /r / as a post-alveolar fricative (retroflex) /r/, the velar fricative /χ/ as a glottal fricative /h/, and in some cases the clear alveolar /l/ as a dark alveolar /ʎ/(/pʻas s/ (pasha), /tʻmba/ (somersault), /ekʻ£/ (there), instead of /pas s/, /tmba/, /ek£/. Also, /akr£δa/ (grasshopper), /h ni/ (inn), /eλp£δa/ (hope) instead of /akr £δa/, /χ ni/, /elp£δa/).

b. Intonation

Many second and third generation Greek Australians (especially women) tend to use intonation patterns of Australian English, particularly for certain

interrogative sentences known as wh- questions, where instead of using the standard rising Greek intonation pattern 2-3-3 they use the rising-falling Australian English pattern 2-3-1, sometimes with semantic implications.

Wh- questions:

Πού πας; (Where are you going?)

[Tendency for 2-3-1 instead of 2-3-3, semantically sounding stern and imperative].

Πώς σε λένε; (What is your name?)

[Tendency for 2-3-1 instead of 2-3-3, semantically as above].

Lexical level

These transfers are the most common, classified as independent unadjusted words, adjusted words ("hellenised" words) and loan translations.

a. Independent unadjusted transfers

These are noticed mainly in the ethnolect of Australian-born Greeks who are more proficient in English than Greek (*ντίγκο, το* (dingo – Australian wild dog), *λέιμπαϊ, το* (lay-by – retail item reserved by cash deposit), *στράϊκ, το* (strike), *σέιλ, το* (sale)).[10]

In this category we encounter at least two cases:

i. Phrase structures composed of the verb *κάνω* + an independent English noun or nominalised verb, most frequently unadjusted, although sometimes adjusted as well: *κάνω στράικ* (n.) (I go on strike), *κάνω σάουαρ* (n.) (I take a shower), *κάνω τράι* (v.) (I try), but also *κάνω τσόπισμα* [adjusted noun] (I chop onions, nuts, etc.).

ii. The phenomenon of *simplification* which characterises the English inflectional system, compared with the more synthetic Greek one, appearing especially in the formation of the genitive case of Greek surnames. For example *του κου Πετράκης, του κου Πετρόπουλος* after Mr Petrakis > of Mr Petrakis, Mr Petropoulos > of Mr Petropoulos, imitating the uninflected English noun system (Mr. Turner > of Mr Turner).

b. Adjusted transfers ("hellenised" words)

These are transferred Australian words morphologically adjusted to the Greek inflectional system by acquiring Greek endings ("hellenised words").

This category appears to be the largest and can be subdivided into three groups:

i. Transferred words which in Australian English end in a consonant or consonant cluster (non-comparable in Greek). These are added a Greek ending to form mainly nouns and verbs (Melbourne > *Μελβούρνη*, Adelaide > *Αδελαΐδα*, agent > *ατζέντης*, basket > *μπασκέτα* [> μπασκετούλα (diminutive)], sandwich > *σέμιτζα* [Broad Aust. English /s ˊ midz/], I drive > *ντραϊβάρω*[11]).

Additionally, one-syllable Australian English transferred nouns ending phonologically in a consonant or consonant cluster, in the process of adjustment to the Greek inflectional system become two-syllable nouns, most frequently neuter gender, with the ending *-ι* (pl. *-ια*), although sometimes feminine or masculine (bill > *μπίλ-ι*, cake > *κέκ-ι* [> *κεκάδικο* (shop making and/or selling cakes)], job > *ντζόμπ-ι*, flat > *φλάτ-ι* [> *φλατάκι* (diminutive)], jar > *τζάρ-ι* [> *τζαράκι* (diminutive)], steak > *στέκι- ι*, floor > *φλόρ- ι*, bus > *μπάσ-ι* [> *μπασιέρης*], although fan > φένα or block > μπλόκος).

Also, two or more syllable Australian English nouns ending in *n* drop it in their Greek adjustment (television > τελεβίζιο, immigration > *ιμιγκρέσιο*, station > *στέσιο).*

The Australian nouns, and English nouns in general, ending in *-er* /-ə/, because of lack of this ending in Greek, are usually adjusted by taking the Greek feminine gender noun ending *-a*, due to the phonological proximity of the Greek sound /a/ and the English /ə/, especially when it occurs word finally (blinker > *μπλίνκα*, heater > *χίτα*, stroller > *στρόλα*, freezer > *φρίζα*, but Peter > *Πίτας* (masc.), baker > *μπέκερης* (masc.).

ii. The transfers (nouns) are frequently substituted by Greek ones (one of the three Greek genders), acquired according to their corresponding nouns in SMG (accountant > *ακέοντας, ο* (λογιστής, ο), professor > *προφέσας, ο* > (καθηγητής, ο), bank > *μπάνκα, η* (*τράπεζα, η*), birthday > *μπερθντέγια, τα* (< *γενέθλια, τα*), Newtown (suburb of Sydney) > *Νιουτέικα, τα* (< Αρωνιάδικα τα, Κατσουλιάνικα, τα).

iii. Several "hellenised" transfers carry a double meaning, one for the Greek ethnolect in Australia and another for SMG:

Greek ethnolect in Australia	*Standard Modern Greek*	
stamp > *στάμπα*	stamp (for letters)	seal, imprint
boot > *μπούτι*	car trunk	thigh
deposit > *ντεπόζιτο*	down payment, bond	container for liquids
metre > *μήτρα*	parking metre	womb

c. Loan translations

These are words, phrases or even syntactic structures transferred from Australian English to the Greek ethnolect and used in word for word translation, frequently resulting in constructions like: write down > *γράψε κάτω* instead of *γράψε*, I am right > *είμαι σωστός* instead of *έχω δίκιο*, the money he put down > *το χρήμα που έβαλε κάτω* instead of *το χρήμα που κατέθεσε*, the girl turned red > *το κορίτσι γύρισε κόκκινη* instead of *το κορίτσι κοκκίνισε / ντράπηκε*.

In general, the three lexical categories are encountered on the oral level and sometimes in written texts, including Greek-language literary writings of Australia, quite frequently in light-hearted ones.[12] Occasionally this influence is so strong that the result is a mixture of both languages (*Greeklish*).

The impact of Greek on Australian English

Australian English exhibits a wide range of Greek influences, often unique, as well as characteristic of its own sociocultural and historical structure. The influences from both SMG and the Greek ethnolect in Australia are found in many fields, such as the scientific (botany, zoology, medicine, etc.), military, social, geographical, tourist, and immigration (Καναράκης, 2008[2]: 324-329).

Many of the transfers are *indirect* via British English, but also in recent times via USA English, while others are *direct* because of its straight cross-linguistic contact with the two aforementioned aspects of Greek.

Indirect transfers to Australian English, especially through British English, constitute material charged with cultural, social, political and ecclesiastical meanings and concepts, a fact which has played a role in its linguistic flexibility and lexical richness. Unfortunately some lexicographers sometimes erroneously credit transfers to the Latin language instead of to Greek. According to the lexicographer J.C. Smock "the relative contributions of Latin and Greek to the English vocabulary had come to be misunderstood

greatly to the disadvantage of Greek….most learned Latin words were taken from Greek and in the chief Latin authors were commonly used as alien words, in the best old manuscripts usually without transliteration. They were Latin in about the same sense that *blasé*, *contretemps*, and *nouveau riche* are English" (1931: xii).

Regarding *direct* transfers, two notable sources have been the long and quantitatively high immigration to this country and Australian tourism to Greece. They include words, mainly since the 1950s and 1960s, on everyday matters, such as foodstuffs and meals (*fet(t)a*, *filo/phyllo* (pastry), *kalamari*, *souvlaki*, *taramosalata*), beverages (*ouzo*, *retsina*), entertainent (*bouzouki*), handicraft (*flokati*), etc. There are also those received straight from the Greek of Greece but which have new meanings in Australian English, as well as those directly received to render names of plants, animals and phenomena exclusively Australian.

All this linguistic polymorphism of Greek influence covers the history of Australia as a nation, and it exhibits influences from the Greek ethnolect and SMG, as well as quite largely from Ancient Greek (words and word stems). In general, the Greek transfers to Australian English are encountered on the morphological and lexical levels.

Morphological level

a. Synthesis

Combination of Greek elements

μέλας + *λευκός* > melaleuca (Australian plant cultivated as an ornamental) [1814]

Combination of Greek with a non-Greek element

λύρα + bird > lyre-bird [1824]

Compound words whose components are linked with the connective vowel -o[13]

coal + -o- + *πόλις* > coalopolis (term attributed to the Australian coal mining city of Newcastle) [1891]

Combination of synthesis and suffixation

τένων + Lat. synovia/sinovia (liquid greasing the joints and tenons) + *-ίτις* > tenosynovitis (teno) [1984]

b. Derivation

Apart from *prefixation* and *suffixation* to form new words based on Greek transfers (*αντί-* in anticlockwise, *-ισμός* in truism, etc.), a process producing exclusively Australian English words from Greek ones is *abbreviation* [14] (*ευκάλυπτος* > eucalyptus (oil) > eucy or euky [1977], *έκσταση* >ecstasy (recreational drug) > eccy [early 21st c.] etc.).

Lexical level

Independent transfers

Australian English has received independent Greek words either directly from Greek or indirectly through other languages, both adjusted and unadjusted. An example of an adjusted direct Greek transfer is cleft-y/-ie or clift-y/-ie (< *κλέφτης* < *κλέπτης* < *κλέπτω*) [1918], brought by the Australian soldiers returning from World War I. Unadjusted direct transfers to Australian English especially after World War II, were mainly through Greek immigrants but also Australian tourists to Greece. Unadjusted transfers before the mid-twentieth century are mainly scientific terms (zoological, botanical, etc.). Additionally, several Greek names (anthroponyms, names of places, trees, plants, etc.) have enriched its lexicon. Such names have been given to Australian towns and topographic features (Olympus, Labyrinth, Scamander, etc.) and people (Daphne, Achilles, Hector, Diamantina, Theodore, etc.). An unadjusted transfer through other languages such as Latin is *acacia* (Australian family of trees [1903]) (< Latin acacia < most probably from Ancient Greek *ακακία* (harmlessness) < adj. Άκακος).

Semantic neologisms

Some neologisms of Greek origin are the terms *platypus*, *echidna* and *Eureka*. *Platypus* (flat-footed person) (< *πλατύπους* < *πλατύς* + *πους*) was transferred directly to Australian English to indicate the semi-aquatic burrowing monotreme mammal of Australia [1799]. *Echidna,* for another Australian monotreme mammal, was acquired by Australian English indirectly through Latin (echidna <Greek *έχιδνα* (< *έχις* (snake)). *Eureka*, Archimedes' famous exclamation, became the place name of a gold mine in Victoria [1853]. Since the second half of the twentieth century, this term is also associated with the republican movement in Australia.

Concluding remarks

The impact of Australian English on Greek in the ethnolectic context of Australia, and that of Greek (SMG and Ancient Greek) on Australian English over time, directly and indirectly, appears mainly in oral but sometimes in written communication, reflected on various language levels: phonological, morphological and lexical. This phenomenon of cross-linguistic transference – a natural and age-old process among languages in contact – as long as it is not the result of blind imitation, fashion or mindless "progressiveness", does not therefore destabilise or undermine the identity of a language. To the contrary it reveals an opening towards the cultures of other peoples, as well as a willingness for exchange of meanings, ideas and learning in general.

NOTES

1. Similarly estimates of the total Greek diaspora vary between 2,700,000 - 4,500,000 (Χασιώτης 1993: 168) to "7 million and more" (Νιώτης [2000]: 5, 21).
2. The third position is shared by Cantonese and Arabic (1.2% each). (ABS 2008a: 1, 2).
3. British English and American English constitute the two main English-language branches which, under particular sociopolitical, cultural and linguistic conditions eventually gave rise to new national variations with a new character. From American English derived the variations of the USA, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Canada etc. and from British English those of Australian, New Zealand, Nigerian, Singaporean, Indian "Englishes" etc. (See also Καναράκης 2008[2]: 106-125).
4. For comprehensive discussions on Australian English, see, among others, Collins & Blair (eds.) 1989; Delbridge 1991: 67-82 and Crystal 1995: 350-353.
5. For Kirkness' comment in *English Today* (49, 1997), see Crystal 2001: 22.
6. The first documented information relates to seven Hydriots transported to Sydney on 27 August 1829 by the British as convicts punished for "piracy" because they had attacked a British vessel carrying supplies to the Ottoman port of Alexandria (Gilchrist 1977: 1-7).
7. For the causes of transference, among others, see Clyne 1967: ch. IV.
8. Many of the transfers are encountered not only in Australia but also across the wider spectrum of the Greek ethnolects in other English-speaking countries, because of the common language ancestry of these national variations.

9. Obviously, non-intelligibility can be caused in Greek-language communication among Greek residents of English and non-English-language countries, since the transference on Greek, derives from two different languages. Cf. *φλέκτης* from Swedish *fläkt* /flekt/ with *φένα* from Australian English *fan*.
10. Unadjusted and adjusted transfers to Standard Modern Greek (SMG) are not unknown in both spoken and written communication, as from English: *χιούμορ, σλόγκαν*; from French: *ασανσέρ, ρεστωράν*; from Latin: *κάστρο, σκάλα*; from Italian: *καπέλο, όπερα*; from Hebrew or Aramaic: *αμήν*, *σεραφείμ*, *Μιχάλης*, and others.
11. The Modern Greek verbal derivational suffix {-άρω} links with non-Greek nominal stems or nouns from various languages including English in both British English and American English and in their daughter variations in SMG and the Greek ethnolects. For example, in SMG: *παρκάρω* (< French parquer), *σουτάρω* (< British English shoot), and in the Greek ethnolect of Australia: *σερφάρω* (< Australian English surf), etc.
12. For relevant literary texts, see Kanarakis' anthology (1985).
13. This pattern is quite common in SMG as well (Nominal Stem + -ο + Noun: τυρόπιτα, γιδοπρόβατα etc.).
14. The abbreviation process in colloquial Australian English word formation is very common (barbecue > barbie/barby, registration (of cars) > rego, etc.).

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Greek-Turkish Language Contact in Asia Minor

Mark Janse *

RÉSUME

Dans cet article, l'auteur s'attache à l'étude des variétés les plus lourdement «turquicisées» des dialectes grecs de la Cappadoce, à savoir, les dialectes Akso et Misti de la Cappadoce Centrale, les dialectes du sud-ouest de la Cappadoce Aravan, Ghúrzono et Fertek, et les dialectes du Sud de la Cappadoce Ulağaç et Semendere.

L'objet de cet article a été d'illustrer un cas extrême du phénomène des langues en contact, sur la base de nombreux éléments de preuve, tirés à la fois de sources primaires et secondaires.

ABSTRACT

In this paper, the author focus on the more heavily turkicized varieties, viz. the Central Cappadocian dialects of Aksó and Mistí, the Southwest Cappadocian dialects of Araván, Ghúrzono and Ferték, and the Southeast Cappadocian dialects of Ulağaç and Semendere.

The aim of the paper has been to illustrate an extreme case of language contact on the basis of more extensive evidence from both secondary and primary sources.

1. Background

Cappadocian is a Greek-Turkish mixed language formerly spoken by Greek Orthodox Christians in Cappadocia in the Turkish region of Central Anatolia until the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in accordance with the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne.[1]

Following Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Cappadocian is often referred to as Asia Minor Greek, but the latter designation should be used only as a cover term for all the native Greek dialects of Asia Minor, not just Cappadocian and its neighbours, Farasiot and Siliot (Janse 2009a: §1.4.1). At the time of the exchange, three different Asia Minor Greek dialects were spoken in Cappadocia: Cappadocian, Farasiot and Pontic. According to a 1924 census,

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44% of the Cappadocians (c. 17,530) spoke Cappadocian, 56% (c. 22,350) Turkish.[2] Most if not all of the Cappadocian speakers were bilingual in Turkish, some trilingual in Turkish and Greek, which was taught in several villages and spoken by men who went to work in Constantinople.[3]

The linguistic structure and sociolinguistic situation of Cappadocian before the exchange is described in great detail by Dawkins (1916), who conducted fieldwork *in situ* in the years 1909-1911.

At the time of Dawkins' fieldwork, the Cappadocian dialects varied considerably due to the level of interference from either Turkish or Greek. The Southeast Cappadocian dialects of Ulağaç and Semendere, for example, form a subgroup in which, in the words of Dawkins, "the Greek is in an extremely corrupt condition, and is bound shortly to disappear as a vernacular in favour of Turkish" (1916: 18).[4]

From a typological point of view, these dialects are closer to Turkish than to Greek, exhibiting as they do vowel harmony, agglutinative morphology and SOV-type word order. The Northeast Cappadocian dialects of Sinasós and Potámja, on the other hand, form another subgroup which, according to Dawkins, "[f]rom the dialect point of view […] is of less importance", because "the old dialect largely gives way to the common Greek" (1916: 27). The situation is comparable to, though by no means identical with, a creole continuum: at the one end we find a Greek-Turkish mixed language, typologically closer to Turkish than to Greek and hence "over the border of nongenetic development", at the other a Greek dialect "in the full genetic sense" (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 93f.).

The process of "deturkicization", to retain the parallel with the creole continuum, was accelerated by the population exchange. The Cappadocians were scattered all over Greece and rapidly shifted to Greek due to discrimination and oppression. Collaborators of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens were able to publish sketch grammars of the dialects of Aksó (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960), Anakú (Costakis 1964), Araván (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960) and Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951) and ethnographic studies of the villages of Anakú (Kostakis 1963) and Mistí (Kostakis 1977) based on fieldwork conducted in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s (for details see Janse 2009a: §1.2.3).

It was generally believed that Cappadocian died out in the 1960s,[5] until Mark Janse and Dimitris Papazachariou discovered that Cappadocian is still spoken as a first language by several hundreds of people in Northern and Central

Greece (Janse & Papazachariou, forthcoming). According to the present state of our knowledge, the dialect of Mistí is the only Cappadocian dialect that is still used as a vernacular, albeit mostly by middle- and old-aged people.[6]

Mistí is called "the most remarkable of all [the] villages" by Dawkins (1916: 19), because its inhabitants constituted a closed community who lived in isolation from both Greeks and Turks. At the time of the exchange, the Mistiots numbered 3,036 (Mourelos 1982: 228). Not surprisingly, their descendants in Greece still form a tight community, which may explain why their dialect has survived until the present day. The Mistiots have a strong sense of cultural identity, expressed in their annual Panhellenic meeting called *γavústima*, established in 1997.[7]

Mistiot had not been used in public until the *γavústima* of 2006, but the language remains seriously endangered or even moribund.

In this paper, I will concentrate on the more heavily turkicized varieties, viz. the Central Cappadocian dialects of Aksó and Mistí, the Southwest Cappadocian dialects of Araván, Ghúrzono and Ferték, and the Southeast Cappadocian dialects of Ulağaç and Semendere (for the dialect geography of Cappadocian see Janse 2009a: §1.4.3). Data from Mistí are taken from recent recordings, data from other dialects from Dawkins (1916) and the Greek sketch grammars mentioned above.

2. Phonology

The heavily turkicized Central and South Cappadocian dialects have undergone a remarkable process of phonetic and phonological convergence with Turkish. In addition to the Greek vowels /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/, these dialects also have the Turkish rounded front vowels /ö/, /ü/ and the unrounded back vowel /ï/, although these are often replaced by Greek vowels.[8]

These vowels appear in Turkish lexical loans as well as in derivational and inflectional suffixes of either Turkish or Greek origin, where they are often subject to vowel harmony. The Turkish verb düşünmek "think" is borrowed as *düšündű́zo* in Southwest Cappadocian and *düšündú* in Southeast Cappadocian on the basis of the Turkish simple past 3sg düşündü (Janse 2001). In Southeast Cappadocian (Ulağaç) the vowel harmony is found to extend to the inflections of the present 1pl *düšündű́m*, 3pl *düšündű́n*, in Northwest Cappadocian (Malakopí) to those of the perfective past (aorist) 2sg *düšű́ntsüs*, 3sg *düšű́ntsü*, 2pl *düšű́ntsüt* (Janse 2009: §2.4.1.4.2).[9]

Another example, with different vowel harmony, is *tšïγïrdïzo* (Araván) from Turkish çağırmak, perfective past çağırdı, "shout".[10]

Turkish *püskül* "tassel" is borrowed at Delmesó as *püscülű*, gen. *püscüljű* instead of *püscülí*, gen. *püscüljú*.

Three factors affect the pronunciation of particular consonants in certain environments due to Turkish interference, viz. aspiration, palatalization and voicing c.q. devoicing. The voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, /c/, /k/ and the voiceless affricates /ts/, /tš/ are often aspirated before vowels, not just in words of Turkish origin, but in Greek words as well (Janse 2009a: §2.2.1), e.g. *pú na pám* [pʰú na pʰám] (Mistiot) "where do we go?" Velar consonants are palatalized before front vowels in both Greek and Turkish. In many Cappadocian words of Turkish origin, the front vowels /ö/, /ü/ have shifted to back vowels while retaining the palatalization of the preceding consonants, e.g. Turkish *kütük* "log" → *cütűc* (Ulağaç) vs. *cutútš* (Mistiot). Palatal plosives have phonemic status in Cappadocian, as they are regularly found before back vowels in originally Greek words as well (Janse 2009a: §2.2.2), e.g. Mistiot *kóla* "drive! (present imperative 2sg)" vs. *cóla* "also". The palato-alveolar fricative /š/ and the palato-alveolar affricates /tš/, /dž/ occur in Turkish loans, but in some dialects also in words of Greek origin as a result of palatalization, e.g. *çér* "hand" → *šér* (Ferték), *ce* "and" → *tši* (Mistiot), *tí* "what?" → *tší* (Ghúrzono).[11]

The Greek dental fricatives /θ/, /ð/ have generally merged with the alveolar plosives /t/, /d/ or with the velar and palatal fricatives /x/, /j/ in Central in South Cappadocian, due to the fact that Turkish does not have such consonants, e.g. θ*eós* "God" → *teós* (Araván), *çeós* (Mistí); *ðóðeka* "twelve" → *dódeka* (Araván), *dójeka* (Aksó) (Janse 2009a: §2.4.2.6).[12]

The voiced plosives /b/, /d/, /g/ have phonemic status in Cappadocian and occur in Turkish loans as well as in words of Greek origin. The voicing of pre- and intervocalic plosives and fricatives is a Central Anatolian Turkish dialect feature which is found in Greek words as well, e.g. *to*, plural *ta* (definite article) → *do*, *da* (Ulağaç), *du*, *da* (Mistiot). As in Turkish, voiced plosives and voiced fricatives are devoiced in word-final position and often, though not consistently, revoiced before suffixes beginning with a vowel.

The pronunciation of the unvoiced velar plosive /k/ is another Central Anatolian Turkish dialect feature. In word-initial position, /k/ is voiced in some dialects and subsequently fricativized in others, e.g. Turkish kardaş "brother" → *gardáš* (Ulağaç) vs. γ*ardáš* (Mistiot).[13]

In Central Anatolian Turkish, post-vocalic and especially word-final /k/ are fricativized. The resultant unvoiced velar fricative /x/ is voiced to /γ/ in some dialects and often deleted, just like its Turkish counterpart ğ. In other dialects, /x/ becomes a voiced palatal fricative /j/ in intervocalic position, which is also frequently deleted. In still other dialects, /x/ remains an unvoiced velar fricative, even in intervocalic position. An example of this is Old Turkish uvşak "child" → Cappadocian *fšáx*, plural *fšaγa* (Sílata), *fšáxa* (Aksó), *fšéa* (Ulağaç).[14]

3. Morphology

Cappadocian morphology is characterized by heavy Turkish interference. Turkish has no grammatical gender and there are only a few reminescences of the original Greek gender distinctions left in Cappadocian. In Central and South Cappadocian, grammatical gender distinctions, if any, are found exclusively in the inflectional morphology of animate nouns belonging to the masculine and feminine classes.[15]

The definite article has no gender distinctions in South and only to a very limited extent in Central Cappadocian. Adjectives and other modifiers are always formally neuter, e.g. *itó du kaló néka* "that good wife", pl. *itá da kalá(n) da nétšis* (Mistí).

Most of the nouns, especially in South Cappadocian, have acquired agglutinative morphology using a single case suffix *-jú/-ju* for the genitive and a single number suffix *-ja* for the plural.[16]

The shift must have started in the genitive singular and nominative plural of masculine nouns in *-os*, where the apocope of unstresssed /i/, /u/ resulted in zero endings. In Southeast Cappadocian, the original nominative singular endings were reanalysed as being part of the stem. The following (partial) paradigms illustrate the various stages (Janse 2009a: §3.2.2.1):[17]

(1a) Delmesó	(1b) Ulağaç	(1c) Turkish
áθrop-os	*átropos-Ø*	*adam-Ø*
man-NOM.SG	man-N/A	man-NOM
aθróp-Ø (aθrop-jú)	*átropoz-ju (atrop-jú)*	adam-ın
man-GEN.(SG)	man-GEN	man-GEN
aθróp-Ø	*átropoz-ja-Ø*	*adam-lar-Ø*
man-NOM.PL	man-PL-N/A	man-PL-NOM
aθróp-Ø (aθrop-jú)	*átropoz-ja-ju (atrop-jú)*	adam-lar-ın
man-GEN.(SG)	man-PL-GEN	man-PL-GEN

The nominative of masculine nouns in *-os* (as well as in *-is*) is also used for the indefinite accusative on the analogy of the Turkish indefinite accusative, which is identical with the nominative (Janse 2004: 7ff.).

The Greek possessive pronouns have become possessive suffixes, as in Turkish. In many dialects, the rules of vowel harmony and intervocalic voicing apply (cf. §1). Compare the following paradigms and note the similarities between the Cappadocian and the Turkish suffixes (Janse 2009a: §3.4.2.2):

(2a)	Ulağaç	(2b) Turkish
1sg	*fšáγ-ïm*	uşağ-ım
	boy-POSS.1SG	boy-POSS.1SG
2sg	*fšáγ-ïs*	uşağ-ın
3sg	*fšáγ-ït*	uşağ-ı
1pl	*fšáγ-ïmas*	uşağ-ımız
2pl	*fšáγ-ïsas*	uşağ-iniz
3pl	*fšáγ-ïtne*	uşak-ları

Agglutinative morphology is also found in the Cappadocian verb. The inflection of the copula is entirely agglutinative in the dialects of Aksó, Ferték and Semendere, and based on the 3rd person singular, as in Turkish (Janse 2009: §3.6.4). The following paradigms from Semendere (present and imperfect) and Turkish (perfective past) illustrate the parallelism:

(3a)	Semendere	(3b)	Semendere	(3c)	Turkish
1sg	*ín-mi*		*í-tun-mi*		*i-di-m*
	be.PR-1SG		be-IPF.PAS-1SG		be-PF-1SG
2sg	*ín-si*		*í-tun-si*		*i-di-n*
3sg	*ín-Ø*		*í-tun-Ø*		*i-di-Ø*
1pl	*ín-misti*		*í-tun-misti*		*i-di-k*
2pl	*ín-sti*		*í-tun-sti*		*i-di-niz*
3pl	*ín-di*		*í-tun-di*		*i-di-ler*

The inflection of the passive imperfect is agglutinative in almost all the Cappadocian dialects, except in the 3rd person plural (Janse 2009a: §3.6.2.2). The following paradigm is from Aksó (*címe* “exist”), to which is added the perfective past of its Turkish near-equivalent (*olmak* “become”):

(4a)	Aksó	(4b) Turkish
1sg	*có-ton-me*	*ol-du-m*
	exist-IPF.PAS-1SG	become-PF-1SG
2sg	*có-ton-se*	*ol-du-n*
3sg	*có-ton-Ø*	*ol-du-Ø*
1pl	*có-ton-meste*	*ol-du-k*
2pl	*có-ton-ste*	*ol-du-nuz*
3pl	*có-tan-Ø*	*ol-du-lar*

Dawkins (1916: 144) records the occasional addition of the Turkish markers of the 1st and 2nd person plural to the Greek ones in the dialect of Semendere:[18]

(5a)	*cé-tun-misti-c*	(6a)	*í-tun-misti-c*
	exist-IPF.PAS-1PL-1PL		be-IPF.PAS-1PL-1PL
(5b)	*cé-tun-sti-niz*	(6b)	*í-tun-sti-niz*
	exist-IPF.PAS-2PL-2PL		be-IPF.PAS-2PL-2PL

Another remarkable example of heavy borrowing is the formation of the Cappadocian pluperfect and conditional on the basis of the imperfect of the copula, which is attached to the perfective past (Janse 2009a: §3.6.1.4). The inflection is still in vigorous use in Mistiot, as can be seen from the paradigm of the pluperfect (*érume*, perfective past *írta* "come"):[19]

(7a)	Mistiot	(7b) Turkish
1sg	*írt-a=dun-Ø*	*gel-di-m-di-Ø*
	come.PF-1SG-be.IPF.CL-3SG	come-PF-1SG-be.PF-3SG
2sg	*írt-is=tun-Ø*	*gel-di-n-di-Ø*
3sg	*írt-i=dun-Ø*	*gel-di-Ø-ydi-Ø*
1pl	*írt-am=dun-Ø*	*gel-di-k-ti-Ø*
2pl	*írt-it=tun-Ø*	*gel-di-niz-di-Ø*
3pl	*írt-an=dun-Ø*	*gel-di-ler-di-Ø*

Examples of convergence affecting the Cappadocian verb system are the disappearance of the Greek perfect, which has merged with the simple past (perfective), the neutralization of tense distinctions in the conditional and of aspectual distinctions in the imperative (Janse 2009a: §3.6). The imperatives in

the following example from Araván are formally perfective and imperfective respectively, whereas logically the aspects would have to be reversed:

(8)	*düsűn-s-e*	*ce*	*útša*	*lál-Ø*
	think-PF-IMP.2SG	and	thus	speak.PR-IMP.2SG
	"think and speak accordingly!"			

4. Word Order

Animacy and definiteness play an important role in Cappadocian grammar. As already mentioned, the nominative of masculine nouns in *-os* and *-is* is used for the indefinite accusative as well (cf. §2). The following example is from Northwest Cappadocian (Sílata):[20]

(9)	*ena áθrop-os*	*í-fer-en=me*
	a man-N/A.INDEF.SG	PAST-bring-IND.3SG=1SG.CL
	ena partšala-n-miš	*áθrop-os*
	a cut to pieces-PAS-PART	man-N/A.INDEF.SG
	"a man brought me a mangled man"	

The association of the nominative case with indefiniteness has resulted in the omission of the definite article in the nominative of animate masculine and feminine nouns. In the case of inanimate and formally neuter nouns, on the other hand, the definite article is used for both the nominative and the accusative, as they are (and have always been) formally identical, viz. *to (do)*, pl. *ta (da)* in both cases (Janse 2004: 12 ff.).

Definiteness also plays a major role in Cappadocian word order, which is determined by and large by considerations of information flow (Janse 2008). The unmarked order is SOV, as in Turkish. This is particularly evident if S and O are full (non-clitic) pronouns. In Greek, the non-clitic pronouns are always used for emphasis, but in Cappadocian they are also used non-emphatically, on the analogy of Turkish. Compare the following utterance from Ulağaç:[21]

(10a)	*itšá*	*emás*	*ná=mas=skotó-s-on*
	3PL.NCL	1PL.ACC.NCL	PRT=1PL.ACC.CL=kill-PF-SUBJ.3PL
	"they will *kill* us"		

It should be noted that the non-clitic pronoun *emás* is doubled by the clitic pronoun *mas*, which indicates that it is not new information (Janse 2008). The use of the non-clitic pronouns and the SOV order replicates the Turkish unmarked order:[22]

(10b) *onlar* *bizi* *öldür-ecek-ler*
3PL.NCL 1PL.NCL kill-FUT-3PL
"they will *kill* us"

The frequency of SOV as the unmarked order is particularly evident in the heavily turkicized Southeast Cappadocian dialects (Janse 2009a: §4.2.3.1). In these dialects, OSV is used when the object is a left-dislocated topic and the subject is focused and hence placed in the immediately preverbal position. The same order is used for exactly the same purposes in both Greek and Turkish. The following contrasting pair is from Ulağaç:[23]

(11a) [*do=peí*] [*do=vava-t*]$_i$ *çór-s-en=do*$_i$
[the=child.N/A] [the=father.N/A-POS.3SG] see-PF-IND.3SG=3SG.CL
"the boy saw his father"

(11b) [*do=peí*]$_i$ [*vava-t*] *çór-s-en=do*$_i$
[the=child.N/A] [father.N/A-POS.3SG] see-PF-IND.3SG=3SG.CL
"as for the boy, it was his *father* who saw him"

Interrogative words are placed in preverbal position, as in Turkish. Compare the word order in the following example from Mistiot to the one in (9a):

(12) *iší* *emé* *tín* *á=mi=pítš-is*
2SG.NOM.NCL 1SG.ACC.NCL what PRT=1SG.ACC.CL=do.PF-SUBJ.2SG
"*what* will you *do* for me?"

Indefinite and contrastive objects are placed in postverbal position in Cappadocian as in (9). SVO is also the normal order in Greek for this purpose and is also found in Central Anatolian Turkish (as opposed to Standard Turkish which uses SOV).

Cappadocian shares a number of SOV characteristics with Turkish.

Modifiers, including adjectives, demonstratives and relative clauses, invariably precede the noun. The word order found in the following examples from Ulağaç, with two prenominal genitive noun phrases, is impossible in Greek:[24]

(13a) [[[*itópatišax-jú*] [*koritš-jú-t*]] [*do=ándra*]]
[[[DEMking-GEN] [girl-GEN-POS.3SG]] [the=man.N/A]]
"the man of that king's daughter"

(13b) [[[*enadev-jú*] [*mana-jú-t*]] [*do=spít-Ø*]]
[[[anogre-GEN] [mother-GEN-3SG]] [the=house-N/A]]
"the house of an ogre's mother"

The position of the relative clause preceding the head noun is a very conspicuous Turkish feature (Janse 1999). The following proverb from Aksó has a left-dislocated topic with a prenominal relative clause, whereas the rest of the utterance has the unmarked SOV order:

(14) [*to=dé=kle-i* *to=fšáx*]$_i$ *mána-t* viží *dén=do*$_i$*=dín-Ø*
[REL=NEG=cry.PR-3SG the=child] mother-3SG breast NEG=3SG=give.PR-3SG
"a mother does not give the breast to a child that is not crying"

The following example from Ulağaç calques the Turkish word order completely. Note that the Cappadocian relative clause (15a) uses a finite verb and a seemingly extracted subject to replicate the Turkish relative participle (15b) (Janse 2009a: 4.2.4.3):

(15a) [*itó* [*da=lé-i* *da=lakurdú-ja*]] *ftí* *mé=kru-s*
[DEM [REL=say.PR-3SG the=word-PL]] ear NEG=apply.PR-2SG
"don't pay attention to the words that he [*itó*] is saying"

(15b) [*on-un* [söyle-diğ-i lakırdı-lar-ı]] *dikkat-eal-ma-Ø*
[]3SG-GEN [say-PART-3SG word-PL-ACC]] attention-DAT pay.IMP-NEG-2SG
"don't pay attention to the words of his [*onun*] saying"

The attachment of the copula to nominal predicates is another Turkish

feature. The clitic forms of the copula are used, viz. *-me* (*-mi*) etc. for the present (3a) and *-ton-me* (*-tun-mi*) for the imperfect (3b). The following paradigm from Semendere (quoted by Dawkins 1916: 148) is very interesting, especially in the plural where the 1st and 2nd persons seem to replicate the Turkish pluperfect in -mIş-tI as in (5) and (6):[25]

	(16a) Semendere	(16b) Turkish	(16c) Turkish
1sg	*kaló=tun-mi*	*güzel-di-m*	güzel-miş-ti-m
	good.SG=be.IPF-1SG	good-PF-1SG	good-PF-PF-1SG
2sg	*kaló=tun-si*	*güzel-di-n*	güzel-miş-ti-n
3sg	*kaló=tun-Ø*	*güzel-di-Ø*	güzel-miş-*ti-Ø*
1pl	*kalá=misti-c*	*güzel-di-k*	güzel-miş-ti-k
	good.PL-1PL-1PL	good-PF-1PL	good-PF-PF-1PL
2pl	*kalá=sti-niz*	*güzel-di-niz*	güzel-miş-ti-niz
3pl	*kalá=tan*	*güzel-di-ler*	güzel-miş-ti-ler

Note that the copula that is used to form the pluperfect (7a) and the conditional, and can be attached to a nominal predicate instead of to the finite verb as in the following example from Araván:

(18) *an=dé=se=e-pk-am* *níf=tun-Ø*
if=NEG=2SG.CL=PAST-make.PF-3PL bride=be.IPF-3SG
déška *ná=se=dók-o=itun-Ø* *s=etó* *to=palikári*
now PRT=2SG.CL-give.PF-1SG=be.IPF-3SG to=DEM the=boy
"if we hadn't made you a bride, I would give you now to that boy"

The copula is also attached to the negative particle *dé* on the analogy of the Turkish negative particle değil. The resulting combination is often used as a compound negative marker in Cappadocian as in the following example from Ulağaç:[26]

(19a) Ulağaç	(19b) Turkish
na=ért-o *dé=ne*	gel-eceğ-im değil-Ø
PRT=come.PF-1SG NEG=be.PR.CL.3SG	come-FUT-1SG NEG-3SG
"I will not come"	"I will not come"

The Turkish interrogative particle *mi* is normally attached to the verb and often subject to the rules of vowel harmony. The following examples are again from Ulağaç:

(20a) *na=ért-iz=mi*
PRT=come.PF.2SG=PRT
"will you come?"

(20b) *na=ért-um=mu*
PRT=come.PF.1PL=PRT
"will we come?"

It should be noted that the order of the copula and the interrogative particle may vary. The following expression is used in Turkish (21a) and then translated in Cappadocian (21b) in the same text from Aksó:

(21a) *in=mi=sin* *cin=mi=sin*
man=PRT-PR.2SG spirit.PRT-PR.2SG
"are you a man or are you spirit?"

(21b) *ín=ne=mi* džín=*ne=mi*
man=PR.CL.3SG=PRT spirit=PR.CL.3SG=PRT
"is he a man or is he a spirit?"

Cappadocian has retained the Greek prepositions, but adverbs used with prepositions are treated as postpositions on the analogy of Turkish as in the following example from Mistiot:

(22) *su=spít* *apés* *múlu-s-i*
to.the=house inside hide-PF-3SG
"he hid inside the house"

At Ulağaç, the prepositions are dropped altogether in such cases and the analogy is complete:

(23a) *é-m-i* *da=gonák-ja* *mésa*
PAST-go.PF-3SG the=house-PL inside
"[s]he went inside the houses"

(23b) *kriv-išt-e* *do*=jastűk *píso*
hide-PF.PAS-3SG the=cushion behind
"[s]he hid behind the cushion"

5. Lexicon

The Cappadocian lexicon is replete with Turkish loans, both lexical and grammatical (Janse 2009a: §5.2).[27] To quote just one example from the kinship vocabulary: the word for "father" is *vavás*, but the general address term is *táta* ← Turkish *ata* "father". Similarly, the word for "child" is *pe(j)í*, pl. *pe(j)á*, which is used alongside *fšáx*, pl. *fšéa* ← Old Turkish uvşak "child" (cf. footnote 14). Very remarkable is also the great number of verbal loans, e.g. *düšün-dű-zo* ← *dü*şün-mek "think", ara-dĭ-zo ← *ara-mak* "search", *ulu-dú-zo* ← *ulu-mak* "howl" (all from Aksó).[28] Finally, there are the many Turkish function words which have found their way in Cappadocian, e.g. the interrogative particle *mI* → *mi* (20a) / *mu* (20b), where even the vowel harmony is respected (both from Ulağaç), or conjunctions such as *tšúŋci* ← *çünki* "because", *xem* ← *hem* "and" (both from Araván).

Turkish derivational suffixes are frequently attached to Greek stems (Janse 2009: §5.3), e.g. *-lI* in *misti-lís*, the turkicized version of *mišóts* ← *mišótis* "Mistiot" (cf. footnote 6), but also *óima-lï* "bloody" ← *óima* "blood". Often the Greek and Turkish suffixes are used alongside: the word for "goodness" at Araván is both *kalo-šin* and *kalo-lúx*, where the former has the Greek suffix *-šín* ← *-síni* and the latter the Turkish equivalent *-lIk* (here with the appropriate vowel harmony). In other cases the Greek and Turkish suffixes are almost identical such as the Turkish deverbal suffix *-ma* which coincides with the Greek suffix *-ma*, hence Mistiot *γavus-tí-zu*, *γavús-ti-ma* ← Turkish kavuş-mak "meet", kavuş-ma "meeting" (cf. footnote 7). The combination of Greek and Turkish suffixes can be very extraordinary, e.g. astenar-lan-dĭ-zo "get sick", from *astenár* ← Byzantine Greek **as*θ*en-ár-ís* "sick (person)", the Turkish deadjectival suffix *-lEn*, and finally the deverbal suffix -dĭ-z- (with vowel harmony, as if from a Turkish verb **astenar-lan-mak*), deverbal noun *astenar-lán-dïz-ma* "sickness", and its counterpart kalo-lan-dĭ-zo "get well", *kalo-lán-dïz-ma* (both from Araván).

6. Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to illustrate an extreme case of language

contact referred to as "heavy borrowing" by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 215) on the basis of more extensive evidence from both secondary and primary sources. The data presented here shows how language contact can affect the affected language to the point of typological disruption and nongenetic development (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 94). The more turkicized Cappadocian dialects represented in this sample present such non-Greek features as vowel harmony, agglutinative morphology and SOV-type word order in addition to a number of other contact phenomena. The subgrouping of the Cappadocian dialects is seriously complicated by the nongenetic development of these dialects due to Turkish interference. The result is comparable to a creole continuum and raises the age-old question of the distinction between a language and a dialect. From a purely linguistic point of view, the Northern dialects remain Greek dialects in the full genetic sense, whereas the Central and especially the Southern dialects are typologically so much closer to Turkish that they have to be considered mixed languages. From a sociolinguistic point of view, the situation is no less complicated, because it raises questions of identity which cannot be answered here, but will be addressed elsewhere. The survival of Mistiot Cappadocian on Greek soil seems to suggest that the linguistic and sociolinguistic points of view might be reconcilable after all.

Abbreviations

1pl first person plural 1sg first person singular ACC accusative CL clitic COND conditional DEF definite DEM demonstrative FEM feminine GEN genitive IMP imperative IPF imperfective past IND indicative INDEF indefinite MASC masculine N/A nominative/ accusative NCL non-clitic NEG negative particle NOM nominative PART participle PAS passive PF perfective past PL plural POS possessive suffix PPF pluperfect PR present PRT clitic particle REL relative marker SG singular SUBJ subjunctive.

NOTES

1. For a linguistic history of Cappadocia see Janse (2002: 347ff.).
2. Figures extracted from Mourelos (1982), which match the number of Greek-speaking communities in Cappadocia given by Kitromilidis (1982: κζ΄), viz. 32 (22 Cappadocian, 6 Farasiot, 4 Pontic).

3. Greek Κωνσταντινούπολη [konstandinúpoli], "City of Constantine", generally referred to as η Πόλη [i póli], "the City". The Turkish name İstanbul is adapted from the Greek στην Πόλη [*stimbóli*], "to the City". In Cappadocian this became generally *somból*, occasionally *šimból* (Dawkins 1916: 636).
4. Even the names of the villages are Turkish: *ula ağaç* means "big tree", *semendere* "jasmine valley".
5. Cappadocian is listed as an "extinct language of Greece" which "has now died out since the 1960s under pressure from Standard Greek" in the 15th edition of the *Ethnologue* (Dallas: SIL International, 2005). Cappadocian is declared dead as well in Kontosopoulos' succinct but authoritative survey of Greek dialects (1981: 6).
6. Mistiot Cappadocian is called *mišótika* by its speakers, who refer to themselves as either *mišótes* or *mistilídes*. The latter is used only by elderly people who are bilingual in Turkish, *-lI* being a very productive Turkish suffix indicating, amongst other things, origin or possession.
7. Mistiot *γavústima*, a deverbal noun derived from *γavustízu* (from Turkish *kavuşmak*, perfective past *kavuştı*, deverbal noun *kavuşma* "meeting, reunion").
8. Turkish orthography {ö} /œ/, {ü} /y/, {ı} /ɯ/ , represented in Cappadocian by /ö/, /ü/, /ï/ respectively.
9. In Mistiot *düşünmek* appears as *dušundízu*, perfective past 2sg *dušúntsis*, 3sg *dušúntsi*, 2pl *dušúntsit*. Note that several Cappadocian dialects raise unstressed /e/, /o/ to /i/, /u/, whereas all the dialects delete unstressed /i/, /u/ in word-final and often also in word-medial position (*dušúntsis* ← *dušúndises*).
10. In Mistiot *çağırmak* appears as *tšiγurdízu*.
11. Compare Mistiot *tši* "and" vs. *ti* "what?"
12. In Mistiot, [ð] is an allophone of /t/ in intervocalic position, e.g. *tšíði* ← *kite* "is (present 3sg)".
13. The same alternation is found in words of Greek origin, e.g. *γaidúr* "ass" → *gaidúr* (Ulağaç) vs. *kaidúr* (Sílata).
14. More on Cappadocian *fšáx* and its plurals in Janse (forthcoming).
15. The grammatical distinction between animate and inanimate nouns is an innovation Cappadocian shares with Farasiot and Livisiot (Janse 2004: 7ff.).
16. These suffixes are derived from the inflection of neuter nouns, e.g. *mát* "eye", genitive (singular) *mat-jú*, (nominative/accusative) plural *mát-ja* (Janse 2009a: §3.2.1.1).
17. Genitive singular *aθróp* ← *aθrópu*, which explains the intermediate agglutinative form *aθrop-jú.* Nominative plural *aθróp* ← *áθropi*, with shifted accent.
18. Probably due to the resemblance of *-misti* with the Turkish pluperfect in *-mIş-tI* to

which the 1st and 2nd person plural markers *-k* and *-nIz* are added. The Semendere forms seem to replicate the Central Anatolian Turkish pluperfect in *-DI-mIş-tI*, e.g. *ol-du-muş-tu-k* → *cé-tun-mis-ti-c* (Janse 2009b).

19. The personal and copular suffixes can be reversed in Turkish (*gel-di-ydi-m* vs. *gel-di-m-di*), but not in Cappadocian. Note that the copula is a (n en)clitic, not a suffix, as it can be separated from the finite verb as in (18).
20. Note that the indefinite article *ena* is neuter in both cases (cf. §2)
21. Note that the demonstrative pronoun *itšá* is neuter, although it refers to male persons.
22. In the Turkish example, *onlar*, but not *bizi*, could be omitted in this particular context, whereas in the Cappadocian example both *itšá* and *emás*, but not *mas*, could be omitted.
23. Note the omission of the article in the animate nominative *vavát* in (11b). The left-dislocated topic *do peí* is separated by a boundary pause from the rest of the utterance (Janse 2008).
24. The use of the possessive *-t* in *koritš-jú-t* and *mana-jú-t* is also a Turkish feature.
25. On the basis of (5) and (6), one might have expected 1pl *kaló-tun-misti-c*, 2pl *kaló-tun-sti-niz.*
26. Note that (19b) is not Standard Turkish, where the personal markers are always suffixed to the negative particle *değil*, e.g. *gel-ecek-Ø değil-im*. (19b) is probably Central Anatolian Turkish, but note the analogy of (19a) with the formation of the pluperfect (7a).
27. Compare, from the examples quoted in the text, *düsűnse* (8), *partšalanmiš* (9), *patišaxjú* (13a), *devjú* (13b), *lakurdúja* (15a), *gonákja* (23a), *jastík* (23b).
28. For a more detailed description of morphological borrowing in Cappadocian see Janse (2001).

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Speaking Greek in Diaspora: language contact and language change

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente un projet de recherche socio - linguistique sur les langues en contact considérées comme mécanisme d'interaction culturelle et de communication inter-ethnique. L'étude concerne la langue grecque et les changements qu'elle subit comme langue minoritaire sous la pression de la langue dominante dans des environnements socio - culturels et géographiques différents, principalement en Australie et en Argentine. L'auteur fait une revue critique et une évaluation de la situation, de l'état de la structure et de l'usage du grec dans la diaspora au sein des environnements socio-linguistiques mentionnés plus haut; il fait aussi le suivi et l'évaluation des mécanismes de changement sous diverses conditions et sources d'influence. L'article fournit également le cadre théorique et une revue de la bibliographie existante sur les questions de transfert et de la linguistique contrastée.

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses a sociolinguistic project on language contact as a mechanism of cultural interaction and inter-ethnic communication. The focal points are the Greek language and the contact-induced changes in Greek, as a minority language under pressure from the dominant language in different socio-cultural and geographic environments, concentrating mainly on Australia and Argentina. This study critically overviews and assesses the structure and use of Greek in Diaspora in the aforementioned sociolinguistic environments, monitoring and evaluating the mechanisms of change under differential conditions and sources of influence. The paper also provides the theoretical perspective and a comprehensive book review on issues of transference and contrastive linguistics with emphasis on languages and dialects in contact. The article also identifies the effects of language contact in the areas of phonology, lexicon, morphology, syntax and pragmatic phenomena from a pluricentric perspective describing the methodological approaches and the mechanisms of analysis.

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1. Greek in Diaspora: what makes it special

The question of how languages influence each other is fundamental to our understanding of cultural interaction and inter-ethnic communication. Languages which are in contact – where a significant proportion of the speakers of one also have some competence in another – are likely gradually to become more like each other. This is known as convergence (see Aikhenvald 2006; Aikhenvald and Dixon 2001, and further references there). The most pervasive borrowing generally involves grammatical structures, and the organization of lexical and grammatical meanings. There can also be borrowing of lexical forms and – to a lesser degree – of grammatical forms. The extent of this varies from culture to culture, and is realised differently in different language situations. One of the most important issues is how what is essentially the same language can change in different ways in varied situations, under the influence of different neighbours and cultural milieu.

Investigating the outcomes and impact of language contact on minority languages in a variety of plurilingual situations in Diaspora provides a particularly fertile ground for unveiling the mechanisms of 'externally' and 'internally' motivated language change in progress. The Greek language, with its history of documentation of over 4000 years, and extensive spread in communities outside its traditional domain, is an obviously fruitful area for a study of how languages in contact evolve, survive and can be maintained.

There is an extensive body of research on language contact. And some truly outstanding results have been achieved in the area of contact-induced change in Greek - including the classic study by Dawkins (1916), plus Janse (2000), Joseph (2003), Trudgill (2004b), Tamis (1986, 1987, 1989) and also Seaman (1972), to name but a few. The geographical spread of Greek speakers is impressive: almost every country in the world has a Greek population, of varying sizes. We anticipate that the way they speak is affected by the major language of the place. But how? And does Greek spoken in Argentina differ from Greek spoken in Australia or South Africa? These questions are important for Greek linguists and also for any linguist interested in how languages in contact change. A comprehensive study of Greek in Diaspora is what linguists need, and need urgently.

Similarly to many immigrant languages, people living away from the language community start losing their language: the dominant language of the country becomes their main one. These varieties are sometimes called 'Heritage languages'. Existing studies include Heritage Russian (Pereltsvaig

2008, and references there; Kagan and Dillon 2001), Heritage Italian, Heritage Norwegian (Haugen 1989), Heritage Swedish and Heritage Czech (see Bettoni 1991, Milani 1996, Hjelde 1996, Klintborg 1999, Henzl 1981). But there is little done on Heritage Greek. Our project aims at filling this gap.

2. Introducing the project

A major aim of this project is ***an inductively based investigation of the structure and use of Greek in Diaspora***, with particular attention to the ways in which the language changes depending on the sociolinguistic environment it is in. We envisaged **two case studies** involving contrastive investigation of Greek in two areas: Australia, and South America. The expected results include two extensive systematic examinations of the impact of language contact on the two varieties of Greek, one in contact with English, and one with Spanish.

For general linguists interested in mechanisms of language change this implies **a *systematic investigation of the mechanisms of change under differential conditions and sources of influence.*** To put it simply: the results will enable us to understand which categories are more prone to borrowing or transfer in language contact, and which are more resistant. And we will be in a position to better understand the current situation of Greek as a Heritage language – that is, a minority language under pressure from the dominant language in the new country. This brings together various perspectives – including heritage languages in general, and specifically language endangerment and how to avoid losing a language. Why are languages the way they are? And what makes them different? Different contact patterns may provide a partial answer.

Languages reflect the sociolinguistic history of their speakers. A number of sociolinguistic parameters have an impact on the outcomes of language contact, interacting with preferences in contact-induced change in grammar and affecting typological diversity. Languages become similar following different pathways; and the net results of language contact are not the same. Intensive contact with a minority language tends to bring about the gradual convergence of languages, whereby the conceptual categories of one language are replicated in another. Borrowing a conceptual template rather than a morpheme brings about the enrichment of patterns in a target language (see Heine and Kuteva 2005, on the diffusion of conceptual patterns; cf. also the concept of metatypy in Ross 2001). Linguistic convergence does not always

result in the creation of identical grammars or in the straightforward projection of categories from one language into another (Aikhenvald 2006; Dixon 1997).

To understand how this happens, it is crucial to undertake an in-depth study of the differential impact of different substrata languages (both in forms and in conceptual patterns). Conceptual and methodological foundations for this have been laid in Aikhenvald (2002). Language contact studies and sociolinguistics owe their major advances to painstaking inductive based investigations of how one language is affected by another. Among these are Haugen's (1969) work on English-Norwegian interaction in America (1969), Silva-Corvalán's (1994) study of how English affected Spanish in Los Angeles and Clyne's (2003) work on bilingual interaction in the Australian context.

Studies in this direction have been attempted for a few pluricentric languages, such as Spanish spoken as majority, and as minority language in the four continents (Silva-Corvalán 1994, 1995; Clyne 2003, 2005); also see §3.4 below for a few paradigm examples. Partial studies of the development of dialects in different linguistic areas and sociolinguistic conditions have shed light onto the borrowability and stability of categories. A prime example is Albanian as spoken in Albania and the adjacent areas, which reflects the impact of Balkan areal features, and the Arvanitika Albanian, spoken in Greece, which does not reflect such impact (see Friedman 2003, 2006 and references therein; and Tsitsipis 1998). However, a systematic contrastive study of different contact situations affecting one language has never been undertaken. The project is highly significant in that it fills in this gap.

We cannot predict with full assurance which way a language will change. Nor can we postulate universal 'constraints' on language change. It appears to be true that 'as far as strictly linguistic possibilities go, any linguistic features can be transferred from any language to any other language' (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 14; also see Weinreich 1953).

We can, however, determine which changes are more likely – and which are less likely – to occur under particular circumstances. The same applies to 'borrowability' of linguistic features (cf. Thomason 2000). The project will help us understand the nature of linguistic factors facilitating diffusion of forms, and of patterns (see Aikhenvald 2006, Heath 1978, Moravcsik 1978, and Matras 2000) with an inductive base in a particular situation of contact between genetically related languages.

Languages with a common origin – and we recall that Greek, English, and

Spanish and Portuguese are members of three distinct branches of the Indo-European family – 'will pass through the same or strikingly similar phases': this 'parallelism in drift' (Sapir 1921: 171-2) accounts for additional similarities between related languages, even for those 'long disconnected'. That is, if languages are genetically related, we – as comparative linguists – expect them to develop similar structures, no matter whether they are in contact or not. And if genetically related languages are in contact, trying to prove that a shared feature is contact-induced, and not a 'chance' result of Sapir's parallelism in drift, may be a challenging task. A prime example of this is Pennsylvania German in contact with English (see Burridge 2006); also see Trudgill (2004b) on the interaction of Greek dialects. In such cases we have to account for a complex interaction between the 'internal' and the 'external' in language change, and the ways in which one may reinforce or help reactivate the other. This is why a study of contact-induced changes in Greek is of particular significance.

What makes Greek special? Greek has one of the longest histories of documentation. Its role in European civilization and culture cannot be underestimated. Greek plays a significant historical role as a language in which important texts of Christian scripture and of Western civilization were written and transmitted through the ages. Greek also enjoys an international prestige as a source language for the creation of new lexemes and as the fifth official language of the European Union (Tamis 1993, 2001). In recent years, Greek has come under scrutiny as part of the ever-growing interest in Europe as a broad linguistic area (see Heine and Kuteva 2006 and references therein). And Greek is both pluricentric (in Clyne's 2003 terms) and 'multidiasporic'. It has the status of an official language in two countries – Greece where it is currently spoken by about 11 million people, and Cyprus with 800,000 speakers (Mackridge 1985; Joseph 2003). There are over 5.5 million in 92 further countries across five continents, with Australia being the locus of the second largest concentration of Greeks (after the USA), with an estimated number of speakers nearing 600,000. In terms of sheer numbers, Greek is the second most powerful community language in Melbourne and Adelaide (after Italian), and third in Sydney (after Arabic and Cantonese) (Clyne 2005: 6; Clyne and Kipp 1999: 10-11; Clyne 2003: 6-25). South America is among the largest areas of concentration of Greek in contact with a non-Germanic language (approx. 50,000) (Tamis 2006: 445ff). This adds to the significance of investigating the ensuing language contact situations, and comparing their outcomes.

A major problem in the world today is successful communication and mutual understanding. Given that language is the universal vehicle of communication, the ways it is used and the way it changes affect communication. The ethos of a people is rooted in the language they use, the structure of its vocabulary and grammar and its discourse techniques. What counts as charismatic rhetoric for one group may appear empty bombast to another and vice versa. Full understanding of the different dynamics of varied communities, and their origins, is a major task. And it is particularly important for heterogeneous communities – such as multilingual and multicultural Australia – and for linguistic and cultural interchange between minorities, and the mainstream society. This makes the task of investigating the dynamics and development of Greek as a major immigrant language in Australia **highly significant**, for achieving the goal of understanding the region and the world as one of the aspects of the National Priority 'Safeguarding Australia'.

Further significance of documenting Greek as a community language in Australia comes from the fact that it is endangered: numerous authors note a high level of intergenerational discontinuity of Greek at least at tertiary studies level (Clyne 2003: 27, 44; Papademetre and Routolos 2001), although Tamis (2001 and 2009) diagnoses a strong language maintenance among 2nd and 3rd generation Greek Australian student. The issue of language maintenance and language survival can only be approached if one also addresses the linguistic impact of language obsolescence (in the spirit of Campbell and Muntzel 1989, Dixon 1991, Aikhenvald 2002: Chapter 11). Similar studies of 'language depletion' in a diasporic context compared to a full 'version' spoken in the original country have been attempted for a handful of languages – such as Spanish (Silva-Corvalán 1994), Russian (cf. Polinsky 1997), and even English (Trudgill 2002). Hardly anyone has analysed such phenomena in any Greek variety (the only brief study available is in Holmes et al. 2001).

Linguistic studies of Greek in contact go back a long way, the first major piece of work being the classic book by Dawkins (1916) – who provided a rather imaginative definition of the net result of how Turkish affected Cappadocian Greek: 'the body has remained Greek, but the soul has become Turkish' (p. 198). Despite the remarkably wide extent of Greek Diaspora, there have been very few in-depth studies of Greek varieties spoken away from Greece. The only book-length study is Seaman's (1972) instructive, but partial, discussion of Modern Greek in America. Sound foundations for an in-depth investigation of Greek in Australia have been laid in the pioneering study by Tamis (1986). Partial studies include Vasilopoulos (1995) and

Tsokalidou (1994) (who analysed patterns of code-switching in second-generation Greek migrants in Australia); see further discussion and references in Tamis (1987, 1988, 1991, 1993, 2001 and 2006a-d and references there).

An in-depth investigation of all aspects of Modern Greek in Australia (covering phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, discourse-pragmatic devices and lexicon) is an urgent priority. Greek dialects and their survival in Australia is an additional issue which warrants further examination (see Tamis 1989, on Cypriot Greek in Australia; also see Trudgill 2003, for an up-to-date classification). There are hardly any in-depth studies of contact-induced changes in South American Greek (see Tamis 2005 and 2006). Filling these gaps will have practical implications for language maintenance, and at the same time advance our understanding of how and why languages change in the ways they do.

This study is very timely. Recent years have shown an up-surge of interest in various issues related to mechanisms and parameters at work in bilingual interaction; in particular, Muysken (2000), brief overviews in Thomason (2000), plus Winford (2003), Myers-Scotton (2002) and Clyne (2003). The urgency of undertaking the proposed task is corroborated by the needs of the communities, both Australian and South American, seeking support for language maintenance. The increasing importance of Greek in the European scene (see Heine and Kuteva 2006, for its linguistic standing) adds to the urgency of investigating Greek in Diaspora.

What was the benefit Australia would derive from the project? In other words, why would the Australian Research Council support it? In multicultural Australia, one generation thinks in terms of the immigrant language and next generation in terms of English. By identifying these differences one may be able to reconcile them and overcome cultural misunderstandings. This project will provide a significant contribution to our knowledge of Greek, a major community language in Australia, and enhance our understanding of the dynamics of this important ethnic group, and of multicultural and multilingual Australia. The social benefit of this proposal is that it will help enhance cross-cultural understanding both within Australia, and outside it, by building links and investigating similarities and differences between Greek-speaking communities in Diaspora.

In addition, the project will enhance language maintenance in Greek-speaking communities in Australia, via the documentation of the

existing varieties and showing that they have features in their own right – in other words, we may witness the emergence of new dialects and new forms of speech (in the spirit of Trudgill 2004a). The project should also have further application to the multicultural and multilingual immigrant situation in Australia, and thus contribute to overcoming potential miscommunications due to different language backgrounds. It will enhance the Australian intellectual ambience and fortify Australia's reputation as a 'knowledge nation', contributing to the preservation of cultural and linguistic diversity within Australia, and beyond.

3. Identifying the effects of language contact

Our objective is to evaluate linguistic convergence at various levels, in different language contact situations. For each contact situation, we need to systematically analyse the amount of shared features, including phonetic and phonological properties, grammatical categories of various word classes, inter- and intra-clausal syntax, clause types, marking of grammatical relations, compounding and derivations, and categories associated with important cultural practices. If languages are in constant contact, with a steady bi- or multi-lingualism, one expects them to share certain concepts and grammatical features and constructions. We envisage investigations along two following strands:

I. Differential impact of a major language on the grammar(s) of the various minor languages it is in contact with, and in different contact situations (e.g. English, Spanish, Quechua, or Mandarin Chinese, as major languages). (An example, applied to Papua New Guinea languages, is in Lithgow 1989).

II. Diffusion of a category, or types of categories, construction type(s) or grammatical technique within an established diffusion area or an established language contact situation.

3.1 Some background

The question of how languages influence each other is fundamental to our understanding of cultural interaction and inter-ethnic communication. Languages which are in contact – where a significant proportion of the speakers of one also have some competence in another – are likely gradually to become more like each other. This is known as convergence (see Aikhenvald 2006; Aikhenvald and Dixon 2001).

The most pervasive borrowing generally involves grammatical and phonological **structures**, and the organization of lexical and grammatical **meanings** (Aikhenvald 2002; Heine and Kuteva 2005).

There can also be borrowing of **lexical** forms and - to a lesser degree - of **grammatical** forms. The extent of this varies from culture to culture (see Aikhenvald 2002), and is realised differently in different language situations. One of the most important issues is **how** essentially the same language can change in different ways in varied situations, under the influence of different neighbours and in different cultural milieu.

Investigating the outcomes and impact of language contact on minority languages in a variety of plurilingual situations in Diaspora provides a particularly fertile ground for unveiling the mechanisms of 'externally' and 'internally' motivated language change in progress. The Greek language, with its history of documentation over 4000 years, and extensive spread in communities outside its traditional domain, is an obviously fruitful area for a study of how languages in contact evolve, survive and can be maintained.

3.2 Disentangling the effects of language contact

If one language is significantly different from its proven genetic relatives, language contact is the 'usual suspect'. Cantonese (Matthews 2006) has features not found in most Sinitic languages. Since some of these features are found in genetically unrelated Miao-Yao languages spoken in the same area, such features are likely to be due to contact-induced change. And if two languages are (or have been) in contact and share certain features, we immediately suspect that these features have been transferred from one to the other.

Our suspicion will be strengthened if the two languages are genetically unrelated, and the features they share are typical of the family to which only one of them belongs. Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the 'Sino-sphere' tend to be more isolating, while those spoken in the 'Indo-sphere' tend to be more morphologically complex (Hashimoto 1986).

Similar principles apply to immigrant languages. If a language spoken by an immigrant minority differs from the language as spoken in the homeland, and the point of difference can be shown to be shared with the majority language rather than with any of the extant dialects, we suspect that they are due to contact-induced change. Prime examples come from Norwegian in America, Spanish in America, Pennsylvania German in Canada, and Greek (also see §3.4 below).

The intuition of the researcher if the homeland language is their native language plays a major role in the heuristic procedure of identifying 'foreign'-sounding material – a prime candidate for being contact-induced.

It is a serious error to judge the speech of any person as being a 'corrupt form' of some standard language system. Each speaker has their own language system, which is likely to be internally consistent and to have its own structures. These structures may vary in a principled way from the structures of the standard variety. What appears to be a mistake or infelicity may in fact be the result of influence from another language. An example of how speakers of some American Indian use evidential-like expressions found in their languages when speaking English is in Bunte and Kendall (1981: 5).

In such instances, intensive language contact results in discernible diffusion of patterns-phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic and especially pragmatic. This can, but does not have to be, accompanied by some diffusion of forms.

In most cases, contact-induced change affects only some aspects of the language. Take the Arabic of Nigeria. Its morphology, lexicon and phonology show that it is undoubtedly Semitic. Many of its syntactic structures and the semantics of numerous idioms are strikingly similar to the neighbouring Chadic languages. This does not make Nigerian Arabic 'unclassifiable'. Neither does it 'prove' that Nigerian Arabic is not a Semitic language anymore. It is simply the case that, as far as genetic classification goes, sharing forms and reconstructing forms is more important than sharing structures (see Owens 1996).

Along similar lines, Romanian remains recognizably Romance despite a Slavic 'layer' (Friedman 2006). Maltese remains Semitic, despite numerous forms and patterns of Italian descent (Tosco 1996; and see Borg 1994, on parallel development in Maltese, Cypriot Arabic and other Arabic dialects). In none of these cases has language contact affected the genetic affiliation of languages.

The impact of contact – or, in Swadesh (1951)'s words, 'diffusional cumulation' – is stronger and more central in some languages than in others. These languages are 'atypical' for their families. Modern Hebrew, Maltese and Nigerian Arabic have a clear non-Semitic 'feel' to them. As mentioned above, Dawkins (1916: 198) expressed the same idea of 'layering' in Cappadocian Greek in somewhat more imaginative terms – 'the body has remained Greek, but the soul has become Turkish'.

In order to be able to identify the effects of contact-induced change, the following information should be available:

- good description and good understanding of the grammar of the language under investigation as spoken in the putative 'homeland' of the given minority. This information should ideally include data on a particular dialect, or dialects, or a variety of a pluricentric language (such as Greek, as spoken, e.g. in Crete, or mainland Greece, or Cyprus);
- good description and good understanding of the grammar of the dominant language – such as English or Spanish. Once again, one needs to be aware of particular dialect features of the dominant language (e.g. Australian English or Latin American Spanish).

Further parameters to be taken into account include:

- whether the members of the community speaking a minority language affected by contact-induced change maintain contact with speakers of the homeland variety;
- if they do, whether they maintain contact with speakers of the same variety as the one they speak natively;
- sex, age, education level of speakers; their proficiency in Greek and in the dominant language (English or Spanish); if at all possible, use of language in different spheres of life and code-switching;
- speakers' attitude to the language and its maintenance.

3.3 Methodology of data collection and analysis

The less intrusive the researcher, the better the result obtained. Questionnaires are useful for establishing basic biographical data. But linguistic information ought to be based on:

(i) Spontaneous stories of varied genres, preferably from more than one speaker: folk tales, traditional stories (if possible), autobiographies, stories of other sorts; dialogues and discussions (such as community meetings) are a very useful source.

(ii) Participant-observation: how the language is used on a day-to-day basis.

Also see Dixon (2007), for a comprehensive overview of fieldwork methodologies, data collection and data types.

3.4 Paradigm examples of investigating the impact of the dominant language (in most cases, English) on minority languages

As mentioned above, language contact studies and sociolinguistics owe their major advances to painstaking inductive-based investigations of how one language is affected by another. Among these are Haugen's (1969) work on English-Norwegian interaction in America (1969), Silva-Corvalán's (1994) study of how English affected Spanish in Los Angeles and Clyne's (2003) work on bilingual interaction in the Australian context. Burridge (2006) is a startling example of how English has influenced Pennsylvania German, a fairly closely related language.

Studies in this direction have been attempted for a few pluricentric languages, such as Spanish spoken as majority and as minority language in the four continents (Silva-Corvalán 1994, 1995; Clyne 2003, 2005). (Further work on contact-induced changes in Spanish includes papers in Bjarkman and Hammond 1989; and Cotton and Sharp 1988). Studies on Albanian as spoken in Albania and the adjacent areas, which reflects the impact of Balkan areal features, and the Arvanitika Albanian, spoken in Greece, which does not reflect such impact include Friedman (2003, 2006) and references therein, Tsitsipis (1989, 1998) and Sasse (1992a,b) (where a special attention is accorded to concomitant processes of language obsolescence in Arvanitika). Studies of the impact of language contact on Greek include Dawkins (1916), Seaman (1972), Tamis (1985, 1986, 2003), and Janse's work (see References).

3.5 The impact of language contact on phonology: some examples

The first place to look in grammars for diffusional convergence is often in the phonetics and phonology, as first noted by Trubetzkoy (1931); also see Jakobson (1962) and Watkins (2001).

The change in many European languages from an alveolar to a uvular /r/ is presumably contact-induced (Trudgill 1974). A similar example is found in Dench (2001: §2.1): the lamino-dental stop /th/ in Martuthunira (Australian) has been lenited to *y* in some environments, making it phonetically more similar to nearby languages; this has occurred with no change to the phonological system of the language.

A variety of phonological changes are possible under language-contact. The simplest change is the addition of a phoneme (see Curnow 2001, for a further list of contact-induced phonological changes). Watkins (2001) discusses a variety of phonological changes which occurred in ancient Anatolia, such as

the convergence in the inventory and distribution of stops. Dimmendaal (2001: §3.1) discusses the areal spread of [+ATR] vowel-harmony systems in Niger-Congo languages. Dimmendaal (2001: §2.2) discusses a number of phonological changes in Baale, a Surmic (Nilo-Saharan) language, apparently under influence from Tirma-Chai (also Surmic), including an interesting phonotactic patterning, whereby word-final stops are lost in Baale, paralleling the phonotactics of Tirma-Chai. Similar phonotactic convergence is described by Aikhenvald (2001: §4.2.2), who notes for example that Resígaro has the same syllable structure as its neighbours, different from languages genetically related to it.

The area of phonology which appears particularly susceptible to change is suprasegmental features. Tone has been introduced into languages which previously did not have it: for example, Resígaro has acquired tonal contrasts (see Aikhenvald 2001: §4.2.2). Matisoff (2001) discusses tone as an areal feature in Southeast Asia.

Further contact-induced Phonological features include nasalization as a word-level prosody and tone systems in many languages of North-west Amazonia. Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) demonstrate the loss of vowel length in some Northeast Coast Bantu languages in contact with Swahili. Diffusion of these features occurred independently of lexical loans.

New phonemes in Amuesha (Adelaar 2006) may have made their way into the language through reanalysis of lexical loans, as did the bilabial nasal in Basque (Trask 1998). Developing clitics and bound pronominal forms is an areally spread pattern within the Australian area (Dixon 2001, 2006). Diffusion affects segmental units (e.g. allophones, and phonemes), phonological processes, and the structure of a higher phonological unit, word.

One of most fascinating areas of contact is intonation. Tamis (1986: 262ff) points out certain elements of Australian-type intonations in Greek as spoken in Australia. This is perhaps one of the most fruitful areas of research.

4. Where to now?

The impact of language contact affects most areas of its grammar and discourse organization. Our aim is to undertake intensive inductive studies of diasporic Greek, contrasting a variety spoken in Australia, with Greek spoken in a South American country – Argentina, Uruguay or Brazil. We expect to analyse the effects of contact-induced change on morphology, syntax, and discourse structure, focussing on such salient categories as gender assignment,

agreement in gender, number and person, strategies of clause combining, and questions and commands. In her preliminary work on the Argentinian variety of Greek, Katerina Zombolou reports that speakers of local Greek employ the negator in questions which require confirmation, replicating the pattern found in Spanish, as in *Maria habla español, ¿no?* 'Mary speaks Spanish, right?' (lit. 'Maria speaks Spanish, no?' expecting the answer 'of course she does').

Each study, based on an extensive corpus of texts and participant-observation, will demonstrate which categories and forms are particularly prone to, and which are resistant to, language contact. To rephrase Dawkins' (1916: 198) metaphor, is it that the 'soul' of the Greek in Australia is now anglicized? And is the Greek spoken in Argentina hispanicised in its spirit? These are the fundamental questions to be answered.

And last but not least, inductive investigations of Greek spoken outside Greece and Cyprus should provide a foundation for recognising diasporic varieties of Greek as *ethnolects* (Tamis, 1986) or even dialects in their own right – shattering a popular attitude to non-standard ways of speaking as deficient, or inferior, rather than just different.

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Greek in Contact With English From a Teaching Perspective

Dionysios Tanis*

RÉSUMÉ

Dans une classe, avec des étudiants de langue anglaise, l'enseignant du grec peut mettre l'accent sur un nombre d'aspects qui caractérisent la typologie de la langue grecque et qui peuvent éventuellement faciliter l'acquisition de la langue. La longue tradition de la langue grecque est de nature à fortement motiver les étudiants étant donné que le grec est la plus vieille langue d'Europe sous forme écrite, depuis au moins l'année 750 av. J.- C. Un autre aspect du grec est sa flexibilité dans la construction des phrases aussi bien que la flexion des mots. Il est incontestable qu'à travers les siècles un nombre considérable de mots grecs, aussi bien que des préfixes et des suffixes etc. ont été transférés en anglais, spécialement dans la terminologie des sciences, de la médecine, des arts, des sciences sociales etc. De la même manière, un grand nombre de lexèmes anglais et des phrases peuvent être rencontrés en grec, aussi bien de façon morpho-phonématique que semantique, avec d'autres phénomènes de contact de langue. Par exemple on trouve la prosodie, l'intonation, les marqueurs du discours, des phénomènes pragmatiques et d'autres phénomènes biculturels, résultat de la longue expérience de migration et d'établissement bilingue de l'Hellénisme de la Diaspora, en particulier dans des pays anglophones. Des aspects de la langue grecque comme une langue seconde ou étrangère sur lesquels on peut mettre l'accent dans une classe avec des étudiants de langue anglaise sont reliés avant tout à la production des mots: par exemple des diminutifs, des suffixes d'agents, des suffixes patronymiques, et un grand nombre de mots composés.

ABSTRACT

In a class situation, with students of English language background, the teacher of Greek could emphasize a number of aspects characterizing the typology of the Greek language, which can, possibly, assist with the language acquisition and learning process. The extensive language tradition of the Greek language can be a strong motive and incentive for students, since Greek is the oldest European language, confirmed in written

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form at least since 750 BC. Another aspect of Greek is its flexibility in the construction of sentences, as well as in word inflexion. Unquestionably, through the centuries an enormous number of Greek words, as well as prefixes and suffixes etc., have been transferred to English, especially in the terminology of sciences, medicine, arts, social sciences and so on. Equally so, a large number of English lexemes and phrases can be found in Greek, both morpho-phonemically and semantically, together with other language contact phenomena, i.e. prosody, intonation, discourse markers, pragmatic and other bicultural phenomena, a result of the long migration and settlement bilingual experience of Hellenism in the Diasporas and in particular to English speaking countries. Aspects of Greek as a second or as a foreign language, which can be emphasized in a class with English language students relate primarily to word production, e.g. diminutive words, the agent suffixes, the patronymic suffixes, the great number of the compound words and possibly of forming new compound words.

Introduction

The aim of reference to a number of characteristics of the Greek language which, if they could be identified, could then be used for teaching and learning in an English language environment, does not constitute a theoretical approach, but aims at teaching Greek as a second and as a foreign language. It should be acknowledged that the reason for the present paper has been my personal experience as Consul for Education in Melbourne, Australia, where for the last 30 years Greek has been taught in government schools to an increasing number of non-Greek background students. Thus, the systematic study of certain features of the Greek language in a bilingual environment, where Greek remains in contact with the dominant English language, is important not only for the teaching and learning process, but also for the notion of its dissemination and development as a foreign language. From this perspective, I shall first attempt to discuss a basic characteristic of the Greek language from which many other attributes of the language could be also perceived and examined in its diachronic evolution.

The fact that English is sufficiently different from Greek makes it somewhat difficult for the Greek Australian immigrants to learn it and indeed rather difficult for non-Greek background students to acquire it. Greek is popular amongst Greek and non-Greek background students for a number of important reasons. Socio-structural factors contributing to the vitality of Greek include: the existence of a populous base of speakers; the creation of wide functional areas and adequate community networks; promotion of Greek to the broader society; the perceived prestige of the

language; the ability to rally institutional support, e.g. Government, educational, industry and media interest; favourable demographic characteristics, e.g. residential concentration, birth rate, rate of exogamy; and the degree of interactional dynamics characterising the Greek community in Australia. Tamis (1986: 89ff) produced a well-documented contrastive analysis of Greek and English morphology, phonology and syntax depicting the differences and similarities in their typology and their functional systems locating the potential points of variation. He outlines the disagreement of the quantitative and qualitative representation of the Greek consonantal and vocalic phonemes, the phenomenon of lexical transference between the two languages, the morpho-semantic variation between the two languages. He concluded stating that although Greek shares the same grammatical categories (form classes) and the same function characteristics, e.g. gender, number, case, person, tense, mode and aspect, with English, yet in English the form classes are "established by the technique of substitution and thus cannot be identified in isolation". In Greek the function markers are in the word. Without these inflections is not possible to define the grammatical relationship. These are derivational and inflectional suffixes which operate in Greek as function markers. It is these function markers that I shall attempt to analyse in this paper.

It should be noted that Greek nouns are assigned to one of the three grammatical genders, often in direct disagreement with their natural sex. In English, however, there is no specific corresponding division or any distinction of genders. For example, it appears that nouns in English denoting 'animate beings', or 'occupations', receive genders according to their natural sex. By contrast, as Greek is an inflectional language, suffix tendency is an important determining factor in gender association. As a matter of fact the suffix tendency takes precedence over cognate and homophonous tendencies.

Greek from a historical perspective

It is beyond any doubt that Greek derives its significance mainly from the fact that it is the oldest language of the Western civilization with an oral tradition of approximately 4,000 years and a written practice of almost 3,000 years. The contribution of Greek in the fundamental text of the European and Christian scripture where the concepts and values of the Western world, were developed and conveyed, also lift the profile of the

language considerably. The evolution and continuity of the Greek language through the centuries could be easily manifested in the very first 10 verses of Homer's *Odyssey*, the very first completed poem of the European literary tradition, composed almost more than 2,770 years ago. The reading of the text and the word setting of the introduction of *Odyssey* reveals the diachronic historicalness of the Greek language and attests that the language itself remained similar in an ancient and a modern variety.

I shall briefly elaborate on a number of words which could be found in these Homeric verses, which are still in use, both morpho-phonemically and semantically in the modern variety of the Greek language, either intact or with slight variations. For example, in Ancient Greek (AG) and Modern Greek (MG): *άνδρα-άντρα, μούσα-μουσείο, μουσικός, μουσική, πολλά (AG,MG), πολύτροπον-πολύς+τρόπος, ιερόν (AG) –ιερό (MG), ιερό as an adjective in MG, πολλών ανθρώπων (AG, MG), νόον (AG) – νουν (MG), νόστος-νόστιμος, έπερσεν (AG) –πορθητός (MG), πάθεν (AG)-έπαθε (MG), μάλα-μάλιστα, και (AG,MG), αλλά (AG,MG), αυτών (AG,MG*).

The analysis of such texts and discourses, from an etymological and semantic perspective, in a class situation, demonstrating the relationship between the ancient and the modern varieties of the Greek language, will increase the profile of the language and will positively influence the pre-disposition of particularly non-Greek background students.

1.2 The inflectional characteristic of Greek

A very significant characteristic of Greek is its inflectional system in both of its varieties ancient and modern, that is, the declension of nouns, adjectives, verbs, articles, passive participles and a number of numerical. The changes, that is form classes by means of derivational suffixes that occur in the case system, the persons and the numbers, singular and plural, naturally constitute a linguistic virtue, which give a structural strength in the language and make it flexible and compliant. The inflection system makes the reading process and the recognition of the words easier, as far as their syntactic role in the structure of the sentence. With the change of the word order in the sentence structure, it could also offer in the same semantic phrase, a variety of different ways of expression, for example:

Ο Γιώργος φώναξε τον Πέτρο
Τον Πέτρο φώναξε ο Γιώργος
Τον Πέτρο ο Γιώργος φώναξε

Φώναξε τον Πέτρο ο Γιώργος
Φώναξε ο Γιώργος τον Πέτρο

In the aforementioned cases the nominal *Γιώργος*, being in the nominative case, is clearly recognised as the subject, whilst the nominal *τον Πέτρο,* being in accusative case, is noticeably identified as the object in the sentence. By contrast, the English phrase "*George called Peter"* does not present any flexibility in the sentence structure, whilst any change of the word order also changes the meaning, as indeed the phrase "*Peter called George"* has a completely different meaning. As a result of the inflectional capability of Greek, the derivational suffixes of the verb represent and indicate the person and the number of the verb, thus the need to use the personal pronoun, as is the case with English, becomes redundant.

Nevertheless, the basic characteristics of language development are the simplicity in the typology of the given language and the economy in the utterance on the part of the speaker. Consequently, the evolution of the Greek language over the last four millennia resulted in certain grammatical and typological elements either disappearing, or being simplified. For example, the dual number that consisted part of the Ancient Greek nominal system progressively phased away and arguably equally so, other grammatical numbers, such as the triadic and quadric. By the same rule of linguistic simplification, the Greek language experienced the disappearance of the dative case, which however, remained vibrant in numerous phrases in Modern Greek. However, despite the diachronic simplification process, there is still remaining a large number of characteristics from Ancient Greek, particularly in the areas of the tenses and the moods that persist in the modern variety of Greek.

It is for this reason and mainly the polysyllabic tendencies of Greek that from a didactic perspective it would be fallacious- especially when we are teaching Greek as a second or as a foreign language- to teach the declension of the nouns in all cases. It would be also paradoxical to insist in teaching the multiplicity of the Greek declensional system, the distinction of the three grammatical genders with their definite articles, the dative cases of the nouns and even the genitive plurals in some cases (i.e. *η κούραση* = fatigue, *αγάπη* = love) to students, either of Greek or non-Greek ancestry, attending classes of Greek as a second or as a foreign language.

The aforementioned difficulties experienced in Australia and I believe in all English-speaking countries lead to a number of linguistic tendencies that turn certain Greek names into indeclinable lexemes, without case and

without any differentiation between the masculine and the feminine gender (gender confusion). For example, *Mr. Demetriades* and *Mrs Demetriades* > *tou/tis k. Demetriades* > *ton/tin k. Demetriades, Mr Kanellopoulos and Mrs Kanellopoulos* > *ton Kanellopoulos*. This kind of tendencies, which are stemmed from strong linguistic causation, often create misunderstanding at institutional level, as a result of misconception or the misinterpretation of the genders and even to communication loss.

On the other hand the flexibility that characterises the Greek declensional system leads also to the convenient lexical transference of a large number of English lexemes, which are morpho-phonemically and syntactically adapted and integrated into the typology of the Greek language in the speech of Greek Australians. It must be also emphasized that, as we have already explained, Greek shares the same grammatical categories and the same function characteristics with English. According to Tamis (1986: 102ff) these English transferred words constitute concepts and names from their new environment and are being adapted into their spoken Greek with some degree or manner of integration, that is either by partial adaptation (mainly phonemic), or by full grammatical integration into Greek. He also found that English words morpho-semantically transferred from English to Greek could include nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, conjunctions, interjections and phrases. Tamis (1986: 89) correctly argued that "there is no agreement on the quantitative representation of Greek consonantal phonemes" with English. Yet, despite the serious differentiation between the Greek and English phonic systems, the serious contrastive dissimilarities and variation between the quantitative and qualitative description of the Greek and the English vocalic and consonantal phonemes, he found in his research that Greek immigrants in Australia adapt the English phonology of the transferred words and integrate them into the Greek phonic system.

The flexibility of the Greek declensional system, coupled with serious extra-linguistic (mainly social and psychological) causes, consequently triggers the transference from the dominant English language into Greek of a number of morpho-phonologically integrated lexemes, which usually are less cumbersome, less polysyllabic and by far simpler, if compared with the equivalent Greek words. For example, instead of the word *αυτοκίνητο* = car, they use *to karo, tou karou, ta kara;* also, instead of the cumbersome Greek words προϊστάμενος/ αφεντικό = boss, they use *o bosis, tou bosi, oi bosides* (pl); also, instead of the almost unknown word among the first generation of Greek immigrants συνδικαλιστική ένωση = union, they use *to γjunio, tou*

γjuniou, ta junia; also the difficulty of distinguishing between *καλάθι* and another Greek equivalent they prefer the *i basketa> tis basketas> tin basket> tis* basketas, or even its derivatives *basketoula and basketaki.*

Tamis also correctly pointed out (1986: 215) that the incidence of lexical transferences from English into Greek are caused as a result of morphemic similarities between the two languages, their articulatory function, the confusion and uncertainty created either by limitations of the mother tongue or the weakening of the linguistic feelings on the part of the students learning Greek as a second or as a foreign language. The tendencies of Australian students of Greek opting for a transfer from the dominant language is reminiscent of the numerous foreign words that were inserted and adopted into the speech of Greeks residing in the metropolis during the last centuries. For example, *το καταΐφι> τα καταΐφια, ο κιμάς>του κιμά>οι κιμάδες, το πάσο>του πάσου>τα πάσα, το τρένο>του τρένου, το ταξί>τα ταξιά, ο σινεμάς>του σινεμά>οι σινεμάδες, το ράδιο>τα ράδια κτλ.* Thus, the phenomenon of transference of English lexemes into the speech of Greek Australians, the non-standard variety of Greek, which Tamis (1993) entitled as the "*ethnolect*", is not in any way different from the subsequent phenomenon experienced in the speech of Greeks in Greece or in Cyprus.

The new environment offered to the Greek immigrants in Australia new concepts and new words unknown to them from their experience when they were residing in Greece or in Cyprus. During the pre-War era or even up until the 1970s, when the massive Greek migration of approximately 270,000 Greek settlers took place, the concept of "freeze" (=ψυγείο), was unidentified and totally unfamiliar, whilst even the concept of «ice freezer" (=παγωνιέρα) was to some unknown and untried, thus the adoption of the word *i friza>tis frizas>oi frizes>ton frizon*, a word perfectly incorporated into the declension system of the Greek feminine nouns ending in *-a* was a logical sequence of the linguistic adaptation. The limited education of most Greek immigrants settling in Australia and their agrarian background led them also to adopt certain English transfers to denote concepts relevant to abstract nouns. The word *εμπειρία* = experience was rather unfamiliar to most of them, hence the transfer *expiriotita* as an abstract noun with an English stem and a Greek suffix, and with the flexibility of having all other cases (*tis expiriotitas>tin expiriotita*, even plural *oi expiriotites*) was a convenient way of utilizing the transfers into their *ethnolect.*

2.0 Learn Greek to improve your English in a bilingual environment

As it has been already maintained, a large number of English lexemes and phrases were transferred and typologically integrated into Greek, both morpho-phonemically and semantically, together with other language contact phenomena, i.e. prosody, intonation, discourse markers, pragmatic and other bicultural phenomena, a result of the long migration, settlement and bilingual experience of Hellenism in the Diasporas and in particular to English speaking countries. On the other hand, the evolution of Greek as the first common language in Europe and a great part of Asia for almost 500 years (4th BC-2nd AD), its adoption, learning and teaching by the Romans for almost 400 years, its espousal and embracing by the Emperors of the post-Justinian era as the language of the Empire in the mainly Greek speaking Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium or the "Greek Empire"), the reappearance of Greek as a language for acquisition and learning and its eventual usage as a source language for new concepts and new lexemes since the early Renaissance period (11th century) until modern and contemporary era, resulted in embracing Greek as a valuable communication and cultural tool for the enhancement of Western Civilization. Even many newly emerging contemporary concepts were denoted with Greek words, simple and compound, and were institutionalized in the global vocabulary. For example the word *cosmonaut* was used by the Russians to refer to the first man who travelled into space, whilst the Americans for their own notational convenience used the term *astronaut* for their first cosmonaut. Even entire newly developed regions, countries, provinces and cities adopted Greek names around the globe, thus proving the inexhaustible capacity of Greek in producing new words for new concepts of communication. For example, Oceania, Polynesia, Micronesia, Mauritania, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Eritrea, Georgia and Philadelphia are all accepted Greek names to mention only a few.

The facilitation in teaching these Greek words, which are known and used by all English speaking students who attend Greek language classes, will further enhance the prospects of the learning process cultivating positive attitudes to students. Thus, tens of thousands of Greek words are found and are being used in the family of Indo-European languages as well as in Asian languages, including Mandarin and Cantonese Chinese and Japanese, whilst there is a larger number of compound words employing Greek lexemes:

> as **prefixes**, i.e. (tele- >telegram, television, telecommunication), (phono- >phonology, phonetics, phonemes, phonography etc), (graph- >graphic, graphology), (path- >pathology, pathogenic,

pathetic), (photo- >photography, phototype, photometry, photogenic), (auto- >autobiography, automatic), (homo- >homophobia, homonym, homosexual), (neo- >neologism, Neolithic, neophyte), (an- a- >anonymous, amoral), (anti- >antifreeze, antiseptic), (para- paradox) and

(b) as **suffixes** (second part of the compound word), i.e. (-logy >psychology, archaeology, astrology, anthropology), (-phony >cacophony), (-therapy > physic therapy, natural therapy, homeotherapy), (-cracy >bureaucracy, aristocracy, democracy), (-polis >metropolis, Minneapolis, necropolis), (-nomy >astronomy, gastronomy), (-osis >neurosis, psychosis), (-itis > appendicitis) (-ic, -os, -us >logic, hypnotic, genetic), (-ize [< -ίζω] >tantalize, dramatize, decentralize).

It would be also productive for the learning process involving bilingual students to employ by means of didactic implementation Greek transfer words in the English language to stimulate their psychological predisposition towards Greek. Students could be asked to investigate in their own school curriculum those courses with a Greek etymology, such as *philosophy, history, geography, trigonometry theology, biology, chemistry, physics, mathematics, geometry, psychology, arithmetic, music, economics, geology, politics, grammar, syntax, graphic techniques* and so on. It would be also stimulating to attempt to monitor and identify Greek transfer words in English, examining and investigating certain disciplines, for example, (a) from the field of the art and the letters: *lyrics, lyre, rhythm, rhetoric, hymn, symphony, orchestra, chorus,* and so on; (b) from the branch of medical sciences: *hygiene, haemostasis, haematocrit, thalassaemia, haemorrofilia, haematuria, oncology, gynaecology, paediatric, podiatry,* physiotherapy and so on; (c) from the branch of sciences and their implementations: *electricity, ontology, helicopter, airplane, atmosphere, atomic theory, astrology* and so on. The employment of comparative lexical paradigms could also assist students in understanding the orthography and the spelling of the English words as well as their etymology and semantics. For example, using the Greek prefix *dys-* (=bad, unpleasant, poor) students could easier understand the words *dysentery* and dyspepsia, whilst its simplifying version of *dis-* could explain the opposite of hundreds of English lexemes, such as *charge>discharge, claim>disclaim, close>disclose, comfort>discomfort, connect>disconnect, consolate>disconsolate, continue>discontinue, count>discount, courage>discourage, courteous>discourteous, credit>discredit, engage>disengage* to mention only a few cases. Also by using the Greek prefixes *hypo-* and *hyper-* (the

latter was additionally used in Latin as *super*), students will have the opportunity to correlate their bilingual skills and profited from the etymology of such words as *hyperbole, hyper-critical, hypertension, hyper-sensitive, hypothermia, hypochondria, hypocrisy, hypodermic, hypotenuse, hypothesis* and so on.

Contrastive linguistics and the drawing of comparative lexical paradigms in the class situation for learning purposes is another useful technique in augmenting students' positive attitudes and making them understand the similarities between Greek and English. Broadly speaking, Greek vocabulary is characterized by the length of its words, which are normally polysyllabic, with the exception of the so-called grammatical words (the articles, the pronouns, the prepositions and the conjunctions), which tend to be monosyllabic. Most Greek lexemes possess two syllabi, to be followed by those having three syllabi and those with four and beyond. There are only a handful of Greek monosyllabic nouns, adjectives and verbs, which, however, when they are declined they increase their syllabi to two, for example, *φως>φώτα, λες>λέτε, ζω>ζούμε*. By contrast, there are numerous monosyllabic words in English in all different parts of the language including nouns, adjectives and verbs, i.e. *death, slim, table, sea, wind, red, blue*. This polysyllabic tendency of Greek which is in sharp contrast to the basic law of the economy in utterance, compels bilingual speakers of Greek in English speaking countries (a) to transfer in their communicative norm monosyllabic equivalent words from English, as this was partially discussed above, and (b) to shorten their names and surnames to ease communication with their interlocutors. Thus, according to Tamis (1986 and 1993), almost all integrated transfer words from English into Greek in the speech of Greek Australians are shorter in length, easier in the utterance and usually monosyllabic, e.g. crook, boss.

The inter-lingual contrastive differences between a polysyllabic Greek and a rather simpler monosyllabic English language could be viewed as a basic reason for Greek Australians reverting to English in search for a word which is easier to say and easier to perceive. As Tamis had already pointed out: "all transformations in language have the performative effect of making utterances easier to say, easier to perceive, easier to remember and easier to learn. The fact that most of the English transfers and integrated words are shorter than their Greek equivalents and represent a reduction in the amount of respiratory activity might explain their frequent occurrence in the speech of Greek Australian bilinguals. Tamis also was instrumental in elaborating the phenomenon, further explaining the difference between the transferred

non-integrated and integrated English lexemes in Greek: "...English transfers can occur in unlimited numbers. In the case of integrated words, it is rather the result of transference and not the process, since they are used only by the Greek community members and no longer depend on bilingualism. Therefore, integrated words appear to be by far more stabilized morpho-phonemically and are fewer in numbers. This means that they are established not only in the norm, but also in the language in the same way as transferences had been accepted into the Greek language in previous centuries in the mainland, replacing existing words..." He went on explaining that the inclination of Greek Australian bilinguals to use monosyllabic English transfers in their norm represents a "decrease in the amount of effort or strain required to express certain concepts or constructing sentences, this may involve avoidance of cumbersome words with complex clusters", for example:

Nouns: *cup>φλυτζάνι, trip>ταξίδι, flat>διαμέρισμα, lift>ανσανσέρ/ ανελκυστήρας, flor>πάτωμα, stofa>κουζίνα, mopa>σφουγγαρόπανο;*

Verbs [with the usage of the auxiliary verb "*κάνω*"]: *affect>επηρεάζω, appeal>εφεσιβάλλω, use>χρησιμοποιώ, repair>επιδιορθώνω, mop>σφουγγα -ρίζω, trap>παγιδεύω, mix>ανακατεύω, clear>διασαφηνίζω;*

Adjectives: *real>πραγματικός, soft>μαλακός, flat>επίπεδος, happy>ευτυ-χισμένος, hot>ζεστός.*

Polysyllabic Greek names and surnames are shortened to ease communication in an English speaking environment as *Κωνσταντίνος* becomes *Con or Dean, Χρίστος* becomes *Chris, Διονύσιος* becomes *Dion, Αναστάσιος* becomes *Stan, Χαράλαμπος* becomes *Harry, Δημητράκος* becomes *Dem, Βλασσόπουλος* becomes *Blase, Πανουσόπουλος* becomes *Soulos, Ταβλαρόπουλος* becomes *Poulos.*

Finally, the flexibility of the Greek inflectional system allows for the composition of two or more lexemes to be composed in one of the same or different part of speech, in English, however, there is no tendency for composition, but for the words to stand independent, maintaining their autonomy. For example, the word *θαλασσοταραχή <> sea storm, θαλασσοπούλι <> sea-bird, ελληνοαυστραλός <> Greek Australian, γυναικόπαιδα <> women and children, χρυσοστεφής <> gold-crowed, χρυσοθήρας <> gold hunter.*

As a conclusion it could be stated that the concept of multiculturalism advocates the maintenance, use and development of Greek in Australia. The

flexibility of the Greek declensional system coupled by serious extra-linguistic (mainly social and psychological) causes consequently triggers the transference from the dominant English language into Greek, a number of morpho-phonologically integrated lexemes, which usually are less cumbersome, less polysyllabic and by far simpler, if compared with the equivalent Greek words. In a situation of bilingualism where Greek is taught as a second or as a foreign language, it is both productive and stimulating to adopt in a class situation and use in the language learning process inter-lingual characteristics defining both languages. These inter-lingual phenomena may include the synonyms and the transferred lexemes in both languages, as well as the inter-lingual similarities and differences in the grammatical system, primarily the grammatical gender, number and the case. In addition, syntactic contrastive characteristics at inter-lingual level, utilizing the differences in the word order, the agreement between the grammatical and the natural gender, could be used in the teaching situation involving non-Greek background students.

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Language Policy and Language Practice in the Workplace

Jo Angouri*

RÉSUMÉ

Les changements socio-politiques continus au sein de l'Europe au sens large de cette notion ainsi que la mobilité et la collaboration grandissantes entre les pays de cette région sont en train de façonner un nouvel environment socio-économique et multilingue.

L'objet de cet article est d'examiner l'utilisation de la langue au sein de quatre sociétés multinationales situées dans un pays de l' Union Européenne, à savoir la Grèce. Dans cette étude l'auteur s'efforce d'analyser l'ampleur des dynamiques d'utilisation de la langue étrangère qui se reflètent sur la politique linguistique du pays dans le milieu du travail. Une attention particulière est accordée à l'usage du grec dans les entreprises où la langue officielle de travail est l'anglais. L'article fait état des données recueillies à partir de deux projets portant sur la politique linguistique au sein des sociétés mentionnées plus haut et sur l'utilisation de la langue. Les résultats montrent qu'alors que l'anglais est une langue considérée nécessaire par les employés, d'autres langues (incluant le grec comme langue étrangère) jouent un rôle important au niveau des interactions d'affaires.

ABSTRACT

The continuous social-political changes in the broader European region as well as increasing mobility and collaboration between countries are shaping a new financial-social and multilingual environment.

The aim of this paper is to discuss language practice in four multinational companies situated in one EU country, namely Greece, and to problematise the extent to which the dynamics of foreign language use are reflected in the country's language policy regarding workplace languages. Special attention is paid to the use of Greek in companies where the official working language is English. The paper reports data from two projects on language policy and language use. The findings show that while English is a language reported as needed by the employees, other languages (including Greek as a foreign language) play an important role in business interactions

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Introduction

The progressively international nature of socio-economic activity is resulting in a multilingual environment which impacts on every level of social activity. Economic research (for instance IRDAC 1991) links the growth of European companies with the development of skills for effective cross-language communication. And extensive research carried out in a number of EU countries the last three decades (for instance Emmans 1974, Ostarhild 1998) has revealed that the majority of employees, apart from those engaged in manual labour, in both the public and private sectors, engage in cross-language communication in every day transactions. Overall, several surveys (for instance West et al., 2000) and studies on language training/learning carried out in EU countries, have shown that there is a need for more than one foreign language (FL) and that languages that are still less widely taught in the EU/EEA (e.g. Central and Eastern European languages, Chinese, Japanese) are of growing importance. Multilingualism is either an every day practice or a key challenge nearly all European companies have or will have to face.

At the same time, English is often referred to as the modern lingua franca of commerce and it is still commonly believed by certain business circles that "you can go anywhere in the world and you will nearly always find someone who can speak English" (Hagen 1998: 20; Hagen 2005). Even though it is a fact that English is the working language of a number of corporate companies irrespectively of their location and primary ownership, language practice is much more dynamic as "communicative events are considerably more complex than the label of English as a lingua franca would suggest" (Nickerson, 2005: 371). Undoubtedly, high levels of proficiency in English are reported as needed by the employees in modern workplaces (Angouri, 2007). But a number of other FL languages are also needed and used for different purposes in the workplace, particularly by multinational companies (e.g. Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson, 1999). For instance, research undertaken in Sweden (Gunnarsson, 2006) has shown that though English is an important business language for white-collar employees, "spoken discourse preserves the local language" (2006: 259). More explicitly, the local languages are used in a wide range of situations such as informal meetings and every day interactions. At the same time, research on language use (e.g. Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002; Vandermeeren, 1999) has revealed the importance of language skills in a number of languages other than English for business success. And recently Fredriksson et al. (2006) show the different perceptions of employees regarding the importance of the "common corporate language" (2006: 419).

Language policy has been repeatedly discussed (e.g. Phillipson, 2003) in relation to globalization and/or post colonial discourses (e.g Pennycook, 1998). The straightforward link between language policy and planning is also foregrounded in relevant literature (e.g. Kaplan, 2005) including issues of literacy (e.g. Liddicoat, 2007). Kaplan & Baldauf (2005) in their recent work provide an overview of language policy research indicating the wide range of studies in the field (often operating from different perspectives and with different foci to studies on language rights and/or imperialism). As it has been suggested "there is a great deal of language planning that occurs in other societal contexts [not necessarily at governmental level] (…) for other purposes" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 3).

Against this backdrop, the aim of this paper is twofold; at a macro level it discusses the official language policy in relation to workplace languages in one EU country, namely Greece. At a micro level the discussion is focused on foreign language use in the context of a sample of multinational companies situated in Greece where the official working language is English. Given that European workplaces are typically multilingual (e.g. Fredriksson et al., 2006), I focus here on Greek workplaces and I discuss whether multilingualism[1] is indeed the reality of companies situated in Greece. I also examine the language ecology represented by the official workplace related language policy in public sector companies in Greece. Special attention is paid to the use of Greek as foreign language in private companies where the official working language is English.

The paper is organised in five parts. In order to place the discussion in context, a brief overview of the modern workplace is provided. I next move on to the methodology I used for this study and I discuss data on the language policy in public companies in Greece. I then turn to data from a sample of multinational corporate companies and I close the paper by discussing implications and conclusions that can be drawn.

1.0 The modern multilingual workplace

According to Earley and Gibson (2002: 15) the two most significant changes in the workplace, over the last decades, are the globalization of the market and the restructuring of companies. As far as the former is concerned, the open boarders, the harmonization of business regulations and the single currency, have carried Europe to an economic integration. A significant interrelated dimension of the internationalisation of business is

the clear impact on the mobility of businesses and people within the boarders of Europe and beyond. Business mobility is a characteristic of the global economy as "business success depends on expanding the global reach on an organization" (Early and Gibson 2002: 17). Self evidently, mobility and language skills are directly related and since 1995, the European Commission (White Paper, 1995) has considered the acquisition of at least two foreign languages a necessity in order for the citizens of Europe to exploit professionally and individually the opportunities provided by the union (the latter being largely reliant on the mobility of the European citizens). Figures from 2001, however, show that the mobility rate in the EU was six times lower than in the US, arguably lessening the Union's economic competitiveness (COM, 116: 6). So the continuous/ vocational training in what the EU considers as "basic skills" and which includes the acquisition of foreign languages, is seen as necessary.

At the same time, the companies are transforming into multilingual mosaics not only in the upper posts, but also in the level of the blue collar workforce. This obviously creates a new environment and another challenge to the management of business, but also to the smooth operation of the groups of employees that have to work together. Janssens et al. (2004) in a recent study suggest that "international companies are confronted with language diversity throughout their daily organizational communication practices" (2004: 427). In their study Janssens et al. (2004) highlight the complexity of deciding on the companies' 'official' languages and the repercussions on the power balance deriving from including or excluding languages from the linguistic repertoire (I return to this point later on in the paper in the light of the data discussed here).

It is noteworthy however that the diversity of the workforce is not only an unavoidable result of the macro environment (for instance the country) where each company is located. The diversity is also perceived as beneficial for business. As Carnevale (1999) argues there are several reasons why the companies wish to maintain a diverse workforce. More explicitly, it is stated in his work (Carnevale, 1999: 6 and in Winston et al., 2001: 68) that, a) diverse workgroups are reported (see also Ely & Thomas, 2001) to be more innovative and flexible, b) a company is more likely to be successful in identifying and hiring good talent from a broader, more diverse, rather than a narrower labor force and finally, c) excellence in product creation and customer service can not be achieved without a diverse workforce that can address customer needs and expectations (Janssens et al., 2004). While all

these factors should probably be further analysed from a managerial perspective, what is important for this paper is that multilingual workforces will continue to be a central feature of global economy. Interconnected to the importance of language use is the complex nature of the tasks and the activities, the employees encounter. Arguably this complexity emanates directly from the very complexity of the workplace (Mercado et al., 2001). The overwhelming majority of employees have to work effectively with colleagues from diverse national backgrounds, increasingly using foreign (or second) languages in their every day routine at work.

A relevant point here is that the nature of activities of each company, play an important role to the languages that may be needed for efficient and effective communication (e.g. Reeves, 1990; Reeves & Wright, 1996). The linguistic needs of employees also include languages they may use to efficiently serve their potential customers. Hence, language needs are both inward and outward facing. And different languages are needed and used for inter- and intra-company communication. In a recent study (Angouri, 2007) I have argued that variation in language use is noted according to both the post and position the employees hold in the company (e.g. senior vs. junior managers), but also in internal (i.e. intra) vs. external (i.e. inter) company communication. One could therefore, forthwith argue, that the languages the employees need to use depend on the business needs and the aims of each company and their post and cannot be easily predetermined. Even though this might seem 'common sense' to many a reader, I come back to this point when discussing the language policy as reflected in the Greek public sector.

2.0 Method

This paper draws on two different datasets; one from a project on the analysis of job advertisements where specific languages constitute a qualification for recruitment in the Greek public and private sector and one on language policy and practice in a sample of multinational companies situated in Greece.

The aim of the first project (completed in 2003) was to investigate which foreign languages were required for the public and private sector in Greece as stipulated by the companies' policy documents and the job advertisements in the press. I discuss here only findings regarding the public sector (see Angouri, 2003 for a fuller account) deriving from systematic indexing of all published announcements of the Superior Council for the Selection of

Personnel (ASEP) in the Official Gazettes (FEK) during the years 2002-2003, until the Official Gazette nr 60, which was published on April 15th 2003. The project registered the foreign languages used in the public workplaces and the fields that require the use of foreign languages. According to the indexing, out of 5.000 job offers that were registered during the said period, the knowledge of a foreign language constituted a qualification for recruitment in 2.781 cases. Through the indexing I also registered all the areas where the knowledge of a foreign language at a specific level constitutes a necessary qualification for recruitment. Data from the public sector are of interest here, since I a priori accept that the official language policy is reflected in the languages that are used, promoted and constitute qualification for recruitment. The main reason that can be grounds for this assumption is the fact that the public companies do not determine independently the particulars of each post, but through a collective governmental authority which is responsible for specifying the qualifications required by each post.

The second dataset derives from a project on communicative activity in multinational companies situated in Europe (Angouri, 2007). It was conducted only in private sector enterprises because the free market is indisputably more flexible to the requirements of the market and functions, according to economists, a self-adjusting mechanism. Arguably this flexibility is due to the fact that the sustainability and development of the private enterprises directly depend on their adaptability and competitiveness. Therefore I consider the private sector companies to be more responsive in terms of the language needs and the foreign language skills the employees need to develop in order to be able to communicate effectively and efficiently. The study in question was conducted in two phases: the 1st phase was the pilot research which involved only qualitative research and its main purpose was to explore the workplace settings, observe the foreign language use in everyday interactions and help me design the 2nd main phase of this research which consisted again of two phases: the 1st phase involved qualitative research to explore the company workplaces that constituted my sample. In the 2nd phase quantitative research was conducted in a sample of international multinational companies in four European countries. This paper focuses on and discusses data from four international companies situated in Greece. In all cases the companies' working language is English. In this paper I report on my findings emanating from the analysis of questionnaires and interviews. The

questionnaire was considered as the most appropriate technique for collecting information regarding the profile of employees and companies (including self reported accounts on language use)[2] because of the large number of interviewees and the geographical distribution of the companies. In addition, with the use of the questionnaire I have assured anonymity and minimized the time the employees, supervisors and managers had to spend in order to participate in this research. Between August 2004 and January 2005, 357 participants filled in the questionnaire distributed to them by the researcher herself. My sample consists of general managers, line managers and postholders. The distribution of the sample reflects the distribution of staff in the companies. Therefore 32% of the sample consists of line managers, 66% of postholders and 2% of general managers. The findings presented in this paper focus on the analysis of the questionnaires completed by line managers (LM) and postholders (PH)[3] in Greece.

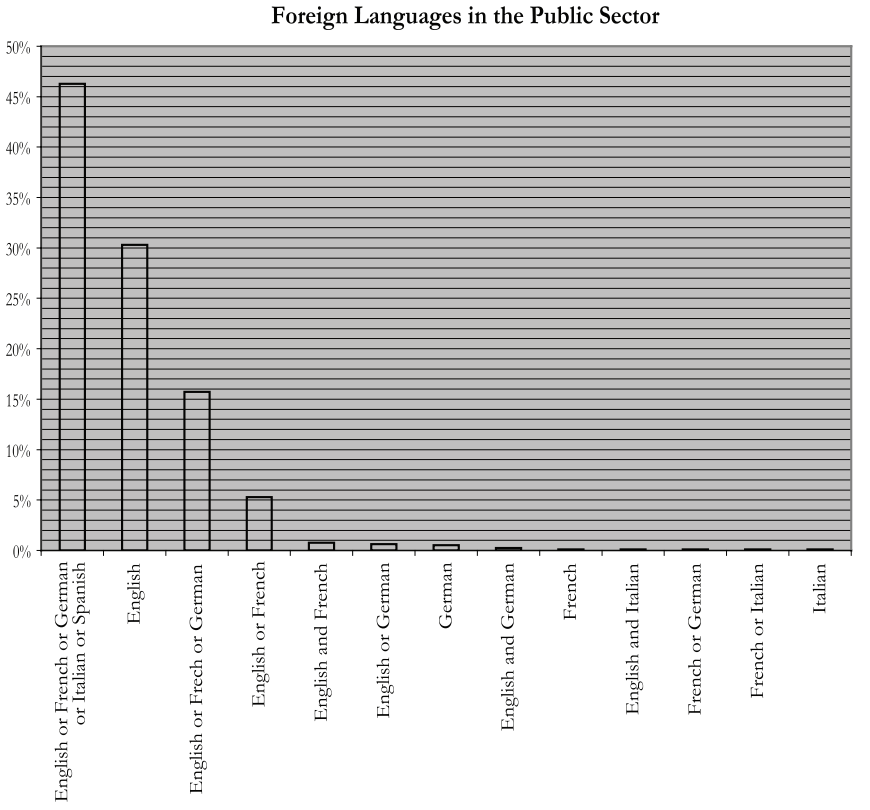
A comparison of the two datasets is considered to be of interest, as the former provides us with a macro focus on Greece's official workplace related language policy, while the latter with an insight in the 'multilingual reality' (Charles, 1989) of corporate companies. An attempt will be made to discuss both aspects below.

3.1 Greek public sector: language policy in practice

The linguistic profile of the public sector in Greece presents interesting particularities. In the public sector the general qualifications for recruitment in public authorities are determined by the presidential decree nr 50[4]. As a supplement, each authority proceeding to an announcement of recruitment can mention any additional qualifications required by each post. In addition, all recruitments are carried out through the Superior Council for the selection of Personnel[5] (ASEP) and are published in the Official Gazette (FEK). This qualification list reflects the policy of the Greek government and encompasses the qualification the personnel of the public sector should have, like degrees held, professional qualifications, IT skills and foreign languages –and the knowledge level required–.

As can be seen in graph 1. below, 46.27% of post announcements during the said period in the public sector require the knowledge of one of five European languages (English, French, German, Italian and Spanish).

Graph 1



What is noteworthy here is that the knowledge of any of these languages is viewed as a qualification of equal importance. The location, activities or even strategic plans of individual companies or bodies do not seem to affect the general policy, as companies with very diverse profiles (i.e. the public sector includes companies –such as PPC– but also bodies –such as City Councils–) recruit personnel with skills in one FL which, in almost half of the job announcements included in this sample, is not specified. This language policy raises questions, concerning on the one hand the criteria of selecting the languages that form these 'groups' and on the other the extent to which these languages can meet the companies' needs.

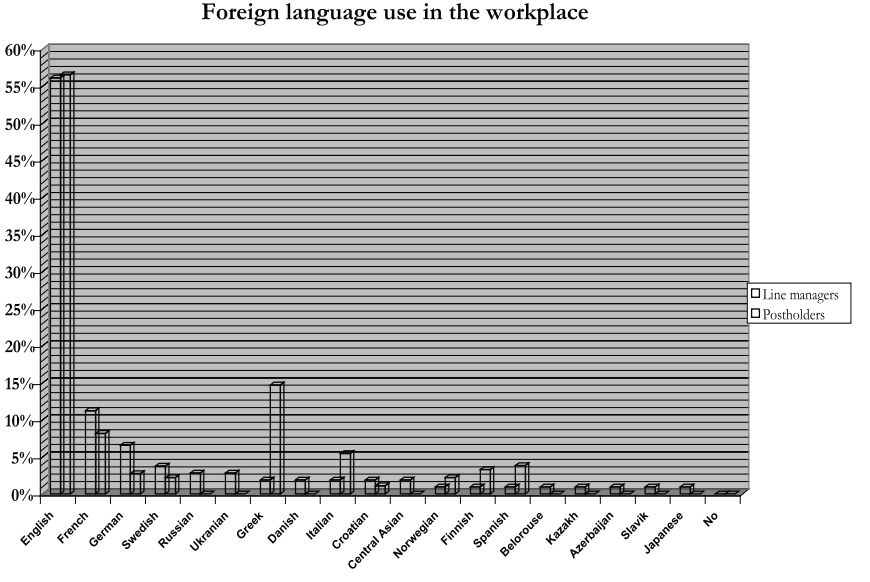
Another striking observation is the lack of non widespread European languages, as well as non European languages from the public sector[6]. As we live in the era of globalization one would justifiably expect a more diverse linguistic landscape. Interestingly, even companies that have expanded into other markets, recruit personnel on the basis of the language policy briefly described above. In addition, the knowledge of certain languages seems to be required, regardless of the specific needs of each company. The fact that English is the only language that also appears autonomously at a high percentage of job advertisements, shows that knowledge of English, constitutes an important qualification for recruitment in the public sector. While I would not doubt the 'usefulness' of the language, the question is to what extent this reflects the actual language needs of employees in public companies or reflects a widely held assumption regarding the importance of English for business communication. At the same time it is the case that public sector companies have a very diverse profile and subsequently diverse needs and multilingual realities. However, out of a sample of 250 employees in public sector companies who were asked if the current policy meets their needs, 63% suggested it is unsatisfactory.

In contrast with this rather limited number of languages that seem to be required on the basis of the 'official work related language policy', the everyday linguistic reality of employees in corporate companies seems to be much more diverse. I briefly discuss this in the next section.

3.2 The language ecology in multinational companies situated in Greece

My analysis shows that a number of languages are used by the employees for work-related purposes. I consider indicative of the multilingual nature of modern workplaces that 19 languages are reported as frequently used (graph 2). Interestingly a significant percentage of the languages shown in graph 2, are not widely taught/learned for business purposes; consider for instance the case of Greek as a business language.

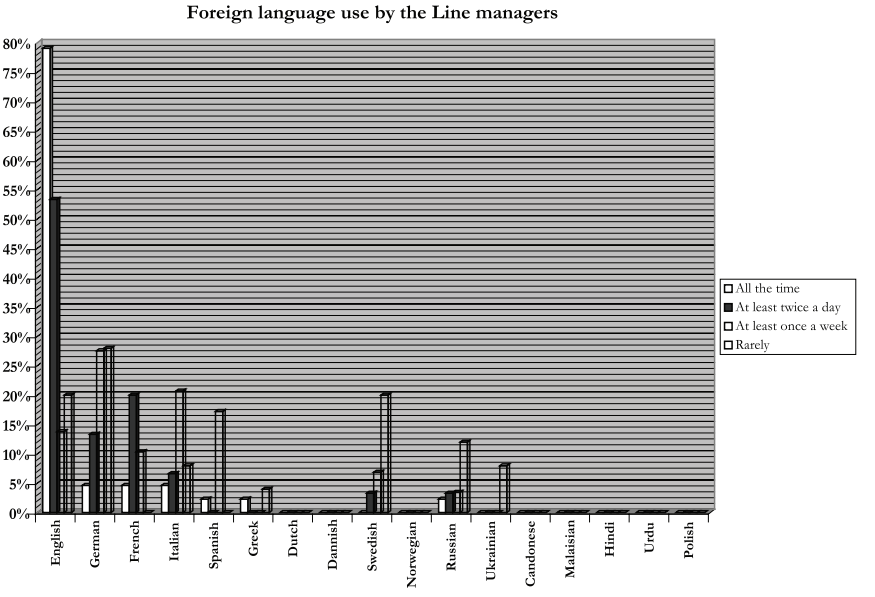
Graph 2



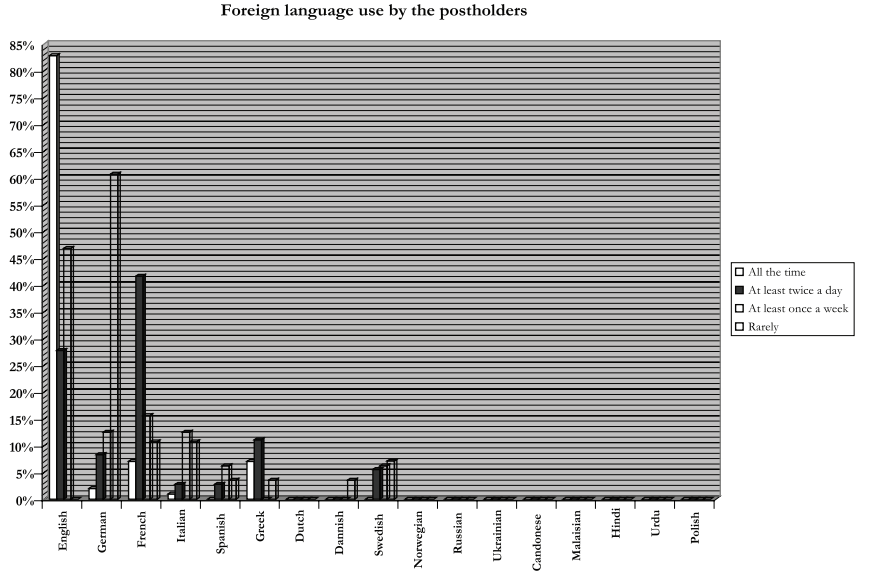
To take this further, the next two graphs (graphs 3 & 4) show the most frequently used FL and provide details as to how often each language is used. Even though there are differences between the two strata of employees, one can easily see that a number of languages are used on daily basis.

In so far as Greek is concerned, 2% of LM and 14% of PH need to use the language regularly for work-related purposes. The difference in the language needs between the two strata is noteworthy and can be related to the role and responsibilities the employees hold in the company. As graphs three and four indicate, the frequency of FL use also varies between the two strata. Gunnarsson has recently argued about a "hierarchical divide" (2006: 260) according to levels of competence in English. Even though in my study both LM and PH use English in their daily life and report high levels of competence[7], the issue of perceived 'bad English' that impedes the flow of communication in inter/intra company communication was reported as one of the reported 'communication barriers'. The relationship between English as a working language and empowerment of certain groups of employees in the multinational workplace warrants further research, as it carries with it very serious implications.

Graph 3



Graph 4



Despite the space limitations, one additional point regarding the actual communicative practices is worth making. My findings highlight the importance of local and other foreign languages (see also Seargaeant, 2008 for a very interesting discussion on global vs. local). As one LM suggests:

> "oh well you know when we can we speak to each other in our own language and the funny thing is that then we summarise in English for the others (.)"

In the case of this interviewee then English offers the possibility to 'cut across' other languages used in the company[8]. Hence, one 'working' language does not seem to limit the important role of local, -or other first- languages in the companies studied. And even though other research suggests that the use of a common language may be imposed by top management (see also Fredriksson et al., 2006) in my dataset, senior managers were flexible in so far as the company's working language is concerned. This raises then a question regarding the perceived importance of the company's policy for the employees. In the four companies discussed here the use of a number of languages (including Greek) is encouraged alongside English. In fact senior managers encourage the use of any language(s) that would enhance their business activities. A senior LM explains:

> "uh with certain markets uhh in countries like (.) French speaking markets, like certain countries in Africa or in Spain, you can't possibly use English. We would lose business if we were to depend only on English. And it helps you know, even here in Greece, it helps that we can use the language. It's always better if you can use the local language".

Overall language policy in these multinational corporations is a flexible concept. Even though most employees are aware of its existence, what became obvious on the basis of my findings is that employees typically take a 'what works' approach regarding language practice. Also the employees who form my sample proffer rather vague interpretations of what the existence of a language policy implies for their everyday working lives. In other words they seem to be very instrumental in the languages they use, the main criterion being 'what fits best'. As one senior PH suggested

> "When I need to talk to [refers to office in Athens] I always use Greek. My Greek is not perfect, but uh well I can control the information, uh the information flow and I know [name] loves it, so it always works [laughter] for us".

The overwhelming majority of employees in my sample has a number of languages in their repertoire and chooses the one that meets the needs of the situation. This is actively supported by the senior managers who clearly encourage a 'what works' disposition.

> "I want [refers to his team] to achieve our deadlines. If uh Italian helps them, fine with me, [laughter] I don't see why it [the communication between colleagues] should be in English (.) Well uhh the [refers to types of documents] need to be in English but [name] well that's easy (...)".

Friedriksson et al. (2004) also show similar 'ambiguity' in applying the company's working language. In their study an argument is made about the tensions that may derive from 'imposing' a language on interactions. Hence, an 'ambiguous' policy may serve the company's interest and save managers from 'policing' language use. It is left instead "to solve itself in an emergent manner" (2004: 420).

The use of a working language has repercussions for employees who do not have high competency in the language in question, as they are excluded from at least a substantial part of all communication (see Gunarsoon, 2006 on democracy in the workplace). While the findings of my research give support to this argument, low competency in local languages –and other foreign languages widely used in the companies- is also affecting how much employees can 'fit' in teams. For example, table 1 summarizes the most frequent situations where Greek is used as a FL, according to both LM and PH.

Table 1

Situations where Greek is used according to LM and PH
Informal meetings
Business calls
Business e-mails
After sales services
Negotiations
Give information to staff
Give/ask for advice
Small talk

Source: J. Angouri (2007).

A cursory examination of the table indicates that the items refer to very different events; some refer to specific tasks (e.g. give information to staff), while most of them refer to events that involve a number of tasks (e.g. informal meetings). A further analysis is not relevant here. What does remain important, however, is that the 'local language' is used in a range of situations and events. And I consider that this table further emphasises the complexity and multilevel importance of FL in the workplace.

4.0 Implications and Concluding remarks

Greece's official work related language policy as reflected in the qualification list can be briefly summarized by the following three points: a) the requirements are limited to European languages only, b) the required linguistic skills refer to language groups rather than being language specific, c) the required languages are not identified on the basis of each company's specific needs. What is rather disquieting is that the language policy does seem to be based on empirical research, or to comply with the actual language practice, or to emanate from the current socioeconomic status quo. Therefore the rather traditional, language policy does not seem to ensure that public companies can remain competitive in an ever changing market. Having said this, it is interesting to note that the most frequently used foreign languages in multinational companies are indeed the five European languages which constitute a qualification for recruitment in the public sector. However, I do not consider this to provide grounds for predetermining needs and/or excluding a number of languages that may be used either by a smaller percentage of employees, or less frequently, but fulfill important functions. By predetermining the language needs the companies have, the Greek official language policy regarding workplace languages undermines the role these companies can play in the Balkan, the larger European market and beyond, rather than empowering it. As a result, the country faces the risk of being powerless in front of the constantly increasing linguistic needs of the modern multilingual workplace settings. I would, therefore, argue that the complex nature and activities of modern workplaces should be more thoroughly and systematically researched to identify each company's specific language needs. And the employees' specific language needs should be given a far higher priority at the planning stage than they are at present, as the current language policy seems to comply more with a traditional language learning view rather than a research based dynamic approach that can address current linguistic needs.

At the same time equally important are the findings from the private sector companies where the assumption that the companies operate on the basis of the working language only, is not supported by this study. The studied workplaces are indeed multilingual with English being the most frequently used FL. The use of the other languages, is related to specific business activities, but is still important, since the majority of both LM and PH claimed that a command of English alone is not enough in today's economy. Hence, this paper would provide further support to studies emphasizing the role both local and foreign languages play in the running of multinational corporations. Arguably the need for the range of foreign languages shown in graph 1 stems from the specific activities of the participant employees/ departments and if different companies had been included in the sample, the table above would be different (e.g. Hagen, 2005; Huhta, 1999 where different languages are reported as frequently used). In fact, the linguistic landscape is very different to the other companies I have studied as part of my project on workplace talk (Angouri, 2007). This point further emphasizes the limited view of the 'official' language policy as previously discussed, but also provides further support to the dynamic and complex realities of modern multilingual workplaces.

To conclude the paper, I would like to use a quote from a LM who suggested that:

> "we need too many languages here (.) you see language, languages is uhh is kindof ((laughter)) power for us (.) if we are to play an active role [referring to the communication of that subsidiary with headquarters and other braches as a whole] and be successful".

NOTES

1. I will not discuss the EU language policy here (and/or criticisms on selective multilingualism (see Phillipson, 2003) and I am not going to distinguish between 'national' vs. 'minority' languages.
2. These accounts were compared and contrasted with data from ethnographic observations and real life data (Angouri, 2007).
3. The terms are used to indicate levels of responsibility; the line managers are responsible for a subsection of the department or groups of employees within the department, and the postholders were responsible for no one but themselves.

4. Known also as "qualification list".
5. www.asep.gr
6. The data discussed here provide a snapshot of the situation in 2003. However, more data are being collected from job announcements in 2008-2009 –to allow for comparisons between the two datasets–. The preliminary data of this ongoing work indicate a similar picture, though job announcements are registered where Russian is included in the 'groups of language' that constitute qualification for recruitment.
7. High levels of competence in the company's working language was a prerequisite for participation in the research.
8. Clustering of teams around L1s goes beyond the scope of this paper and will be discussed elsewhere.

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Some Sociolinguistic Features of Modern Greek as Spoken in Montreal

Théodoros Maniakas*

RÉSUMÉ

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

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

ABSTRACT

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

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

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Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Brief Description of the Hybrid Forms

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

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

Hybrid forms are a kind of word mixture, the phonology of which is Greek; the morphology consists of features from the two languages, English words, though, being the morphological bases to which Greek affixes are attached. For instance, the English word 'carpet' becomes the hybrid form *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[1]. Here are some examples:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Method

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

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

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

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

The English language among Greek-Canadians, as well as among other linguistic communities, still has a great prestige[2]. This prestige attached to the English language is possibly transferred to the hybrid forms since English words are the base of the hybrid forms. That is, in their effort to speak the prestigious English language, Greek immigrants and mainly the older and less educated ones, realize their lack of necessary knowledge of English language structure and English vocabulary. So, they hellenicize English words preserving in a way a part of the prestige of English: instead of using English words like 'market' and 'bank', they prefer hybridizing them: *marketa and banka* respectively. Other speakers, usually younger and more educated, who are careful and try to speak 'correct' Greek, often express negative opinions toward hybrids and try to avoid them. Among these careful speakers are women.

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

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

The Sample

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

which they had acquired and/or learned Greek and English[3].

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

8 males and 8 females

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

The Instrument

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

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

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

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

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

(a) Generalized foci of interest

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

(b) Format of the questions

Formulating questions is a crucial aspect. Questions must be given in a colloquial style[4] which may be further modified to fit the particular style of the interviewee and the current lexicon of the speech community. Also questions should take less than 8 seconds to deliver, otherwise they might sound complicated.

(c) Feedback

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

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

Module 1: Demography – Personal information

Module 2: Family

Module 3: Marriage
Module 4: School
Module 5: Fights – Problems in the neighbourhood
Module 5A: Race
Module 6: Peer-groups
Module 7: Games
Module 8: Language

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

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

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

Results

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

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

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

Table 1

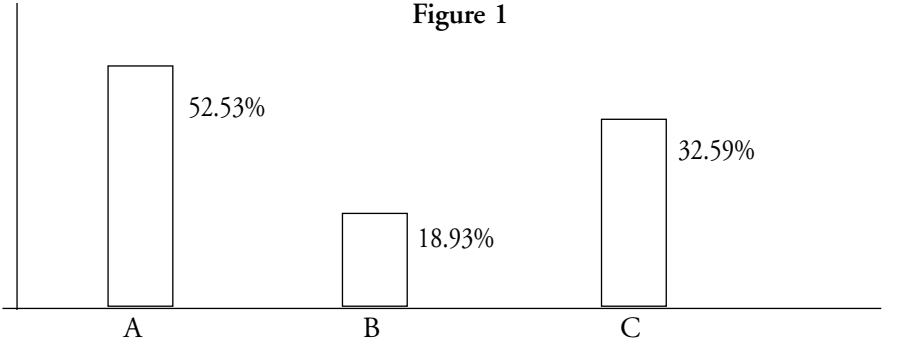
Hybrids per class*

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

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

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

Figure 1



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

I. an effort arnong subjects with higher income to speak more carefully than subjects from Class A;

II. association with educated people within Class C.

Discussion

Alternatives to Hybrid Forms

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

Class A had the highest percentage of hybrid forms (52.53%) and gave the lowest percentage for 'nil': 18.34%. Similarly the percentage for alternative words 'in Greek': 28,90% was the lowest among the three Classes as well as the tiny percentage for the alternative 'in English' which was just 0.18 %, the lowest among the three Classes. As mentioned before, subjects from Class A used more hybrid forms than the other two did.The vocabulary of standard Greek words (equivalent to the hybrids examined here) tends to diminish. Due to various reasons presented below, (Conclusions) Class A subjects seemed to use either hybrids (52.53%) or far less Greek words (28.90%) or no word at all. Their Greek vocabulary has been enriched with hellenicized English words - the hybrid forms - which everybody in Class A uses fluently and naturally when speaking Greek.

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

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

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

Hybrid Forms Production Per Sex

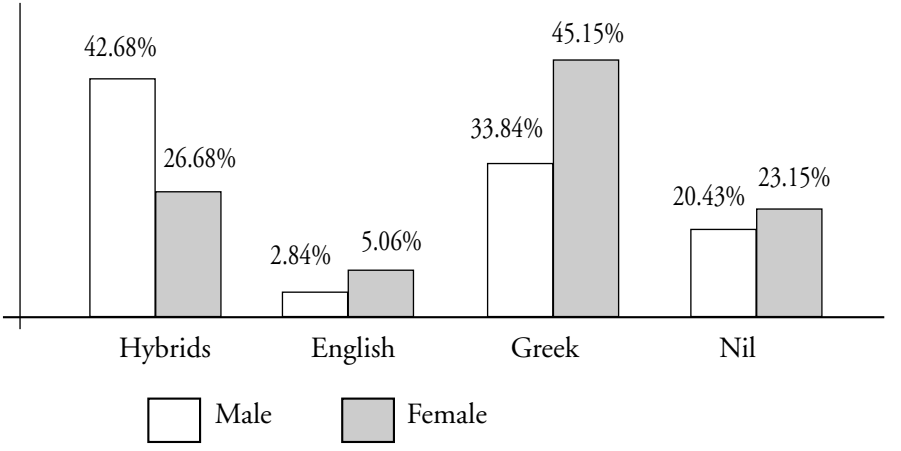
Looking at Table 2. *Hybrid forms per Sex,* we see that the average of hybrid forms used according to Sex irrespective of Class was 13.66 for the male subjects while it was only 8.54 for the female subjects. The difference of 5.12 speaks of itself.

Table 2

Hybrid Forms per Sex

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

Figure 2



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

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

Hybrid Forms Production per Class and Sex

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

Table 3

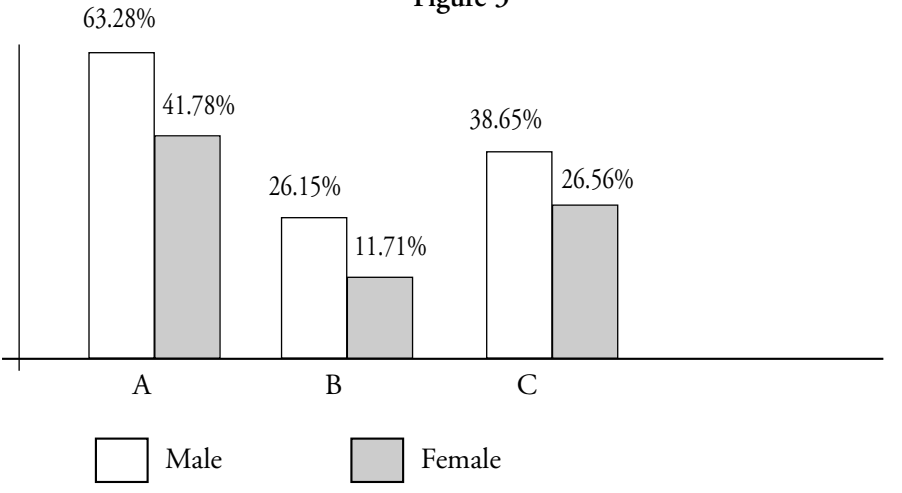
Hybrid Forms per class and Sex

Class	Hybrids		Engl.		Greek	Nil		
& Sex	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 note the following: among the male subjects, those from Class A showed a higher degree (20.25) in the usage of hybrid forms than male subjects from Classes B (8.37) and C (12.37). Males of Class C, sub-Class MC (12.37) came second in the scale of hybrid forms used. This finding supports the fact that there are subjects in Class C who are influenced by the 'elite' academics but are not totally assimilated as far as their linguistic behaviour is concerned. These are the 'nouveaux riches' who sprang from Class A.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alternative to Hybrid Forms

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Attitudes towards English and Hybrid Forms

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

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

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

MA 3: "No, I don't believe it! 1 think they are the same ones" (!) A

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

Another subject mentioned:

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

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

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

Conclusions

The above excerpts point to a major result of languages in contact: there is a semantic adjustment in the vocabulary of the minority language. In most cases when two languages come in contact, two cultures are in contact and cultural innovations come to be mirrored in the lexicon. For instance, we have the case of the standard Greek word *kuzina* and the hybrid form stofa. Most probably because in Europe the burners of the stoves do not have a coiled shape but are flat and solid, the Greeks in Montreal assume them to be different kitchen appliances. So they call *stofes* the stoves in Canada and *kuzines* the ones in Greece. Similarly, the word *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 the immigrant resides in Montreal, the easier he accepts new hybrid forms. He considers them to be an important part of his vocabulary, which is actually true.

A number of important questions arise: "Are hybrid forms replacing little by little the standard Greek vocabulary in Montreal?" "Is standard Greek on the verge of becoming forgotten?" The data analysed in this article points towards a positive answer for both the above questions. Also there seems to be a sort of prestige which is being attached to the hybrid forms[6]. 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[7].

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES

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

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

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

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

   The Greek verbal suffix ***-aro*** is quite productive. It goes back to the Byzantine times and was formed from Italian infinitives in ***-are.*** (Triantafyllides, 1952).
6. Hybrid forms are very popular. For instance, one can hear on the radio (CFMB August 8, 1983) a City Councillor saying naturally the following sentence among others:

   "O demos 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 ½, **me stofa ke friza.** Pola ***extra.*** Ste Bloomfield. Tel. _____"

   (A 4½ apartment, with stove and fridge. Many extras. On Bloomfield. Tel._____).

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

   (For sale: Fruit-grocery shop in a shopping center).
7. It is "almost always unambiguously" because there exists a possible ambiguity in some hybrid forms. For instance:

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

APPENDIX I

The hybrid forms used for the research

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

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

(n.) = neuter

(f.) = feminine

(m.) = masculine

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Les Débuts de l'imprimerie en Langue Grecque au Québec

Jacques Bouchard*

RÉSUMÉ

Alors que la presse journalistique de langue grecque est reliée à l'évolution de l'immigration hellénophone au Québec, l'apparition du livre grec fut d'abord le fait des maisons d'enseignement francophones. Le premier livre totalement imprimé en grec fut un manuel scolaire anonyme intitulé: **Eklekta Mythistorias** *(Morceaux choisis de mythologie)*, Montréal, 1837. Il fut suivi d'une ***Grammaire grecque,*** à l'usage du Collège de Montréal, Montréal, 1837. Il appert que l'auteur des deux livres, un sulpicien irlandais du nom de John Larkin (1801-1858), n'ignorait pas le grec moderne. Ces deux manuels ont une place privilégiée dans l'histoire des études grecques au Québec; celles-ci ont préparé favorablement les mentalités à la réception de l'immigration grecque au Québec.

ABSTRACT

While the Greek-language journalistic press is linked with Greek immigration to Québec, the earliest publication of books in Greek was undertaken by French-language educational institutions. The first volume to be printed entirely in Greek was an anonymous text-book entitled **Eklekta Mythistorias** *(Mythological Excerpts)*, published in Montreal in 1837. It was followed later that year by a grammar of classical Greek for use of the Collège de Montréal. The author of these two volumes, an Irish Sulpician named John Larkin, most probably had some knowledge of Modern Greek. These two texts occupy an important place in the history of Greek studies in Québec; they helped lay the groundwork for a favourable public perception of Greek immigration.

L'essor de la presse de langue grecque au Québec est directement lié à l'affluence de l'immigration hellénophone; il en va cependant tout autrement des premiers livres imprimés entièrement ou en partie dans cette langue.

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ΈΚΛΕΚΤΑ ΜΥΘΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

οὕτως ἁρμοσθέντα καὶ διαταχθέντα, ὥστε

ΤΟΙΣ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑΚΟΙΣ

ὁδὸν τέμνειν ἐπὶ τὴν

ΈΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΝ.

ΈΝ ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙ·

Παρὰ Ἰωάννῃ Ἰωνέσῳ.

ΑΟΛΖ·

Ἐκ τοῦ Τυπογραφείου τοῦ Θώμα Γωρίνου.

A l'exception de quelques cas isolés, qui remontent pourtant aux débuts de la Nouvelle-France[1], la présence et la promotion de la langue grecque au Québec furent intimement liées à l'évolution des études classiques dans les maisons d'enseignement. Parent pauvre des humanités au XVIIIe siècle – si l'on compare les études grecques aux études françaises et latines d'alors – c'est au XIXe siècle que le grec s'impose aux esprits studieux au point de constituer le fondement et l'ornement nécessaires d'une culture universelle[2].

C'est dans ce milieu d'études que voit le jour le premier imprimé de langue grecque du Québec – et probablement du Canada. Il s'agit d'un petit livre anonyme dont la page de titre se lit comme suit[3]:

Ἐκλεκτα Μυθιστοριας, / οὕτως ἁρμοσθέντα καί διαταχθέντα, ὥστε / τοις στοιχειακοις / ὁδόν τέμνειν ἐπί τήν / Ἑλληνικην γλωσσαν, / (gravure) / Ἐν Μαριανοπολει • / Παρά Ἰωάννῃ Ἰωνέσῳ / ,ΑΟΛΖ΄ / Ἐκ τοῦ Τυπουργείου τοῦ Θώμα Γυερίνου.

On pourrait traduire: Morceaux choisis de Mythologie, adaptés et arrangés pour l'apprentissage de la langue grecque[4], Ville-Marie, Chez John Jones, 1837, De l'imprimerie de Thomas Guérin.

Ce qui frappe d'abord le lecteur helléniste, c'est l'usage quasi désinvolte que fait l'auteur de la langue ancienne, comme s'il s'agissait d'une vivante: en effet, l'auteur s'est complu à transposer en grec le toponyme ***Marianopolis*** du latin ecclésiastique, de même que le nom des imprimeurs John Jones et Thomas Guérin[5]. Mais l'helléniste s'étonne encore plus de constater que l'emploi de plusieurs termes n'est pas classique; en premier lieu, celui du mot μυθιστορία, qui n'est apparu qu'à l'époque romaine[6], dans le sens d' «histoire fabuleuse»; puis celui de στοιχειακός, un terme tardif signifiant «littéral, alphabétique» chez Eustache, commentateur d'Homère du XIIe siècle, que l'auteur semble avoir pris pour **στοιχειώδης**, «élémentaire», attesté chez Aristote. Mais il y a plus: paraissant ignorer le néologisme τυπογραφεῖον pour «imprimerie», l'auteur forge de son cru le composé τυπουργεῖον, peut-être formé à partir de τυπουργία de Grégoire de Corinthe, grammairien du XIIe siècle.

Ce petit livre, de 16,2 x 9,7 cm, compte 54 pages; il comporte au verso de la couverture que nous venons de décrire la mention suivante en français: «District de Montréal. Bureau des protonotaires. Le neuvième jour de Janvier, 1837. Qu'il soit notoire que le neuvième jour de Janvier, dans l'année mil huit cent trente-sept, Messire Joseph Vincent Quiblier, Prêtre et Supérieur de MM. Les Ecclésiastiques du Séminaire de Montréal, a déposé dans ce Bureau le titre d'un livre dans les mots suivants, à savoir «'Ἐκλεκτα Μυθιστοριας,

οὕτως ἁρμοσθέντα καί διαταχθέντα, ὥστε τοῖς στοιχειακοῖς ὁδόν τέμνειν ἐπί την Ἑλληνικήν γλῶσσαν», au sujet du quel il réclame le droit de propriété. Enregistré conformément à l'Acte Provincial, intitulé, «Acte pour protéger la propriété littéraire.» L.S. MONK & MORROGH, P.B.R.» Sur la même page, plus bas: John Jones, Imprimeur.

Le texte couvre les pages (3) à 54; il est divisé en 18 chapitres d'inégales longueurs, allant du plus court au plus long. Pour le contenu, il est fort probable que l'auteur a puisé dans divers épitomés d'origine européenne, en les adaptant. En bas de page du texte grec, on lit en note des explications en français sur la morphologie, la syntaxe et la mythologie grecques. Etant donné le but de ce manuel, on comprend que l'auteur ait séparé d'un tiret le radical et la terminaison des verbes. On constate cependant que l'imprimeur ignorait le code typographique en vigueur pour l'impression du grec, ancien ou moderne, et qu'il coupe les mots en fin de ligne au petit bonheur: ἐκέλ-/ευσε, Ἀκτ-/αίονα, ἀρχιτέκ-/των, etc. Signalons enfin que l'imprimeur disposait d'une assez grande variété de caractères grecs, en capitales et en miniscules, de diverses grandeurs, et même d'italiques. L'impression du texte est soignée, de même que l'acentuation – pierre d'achoppement des typographes.

Quelques mois plus tard paraissait un livre rédigé en français et en grec, et qui devait accompagner le précédent; il s'agit de l'ouvrage anonyme suivant:

GRAMMAIRE GRECQUE, / A L'USAGE / DU / COLLÈGE DE MONTRÉAL. / (réglet) PREMIÈRE ÉDITION. /. (réglet) / MONTRÉAL: /DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE JOHN JONES. / (réglet) / 1837.

Au verso de la page de titre, on lit un copyright semblable à celui des Morceaux choisis, daté du sixième jour de juillet 1838, et déposé par le même Joseph Vincent Quiblier.

C'est un livre de 321 pages, de 21,3 x 13,5 cm. A la page 321, on lit: De l'imprimerie de C.P. Leprohon.

Ce manuel scolaire est la première grammaire de la langue grecque à avoir été imprimée au Québec. Elle mérite un examen attentif: on reste étonné de trouver autant de science philologique, mais plus encore de découvrir que son auteur connaissait le grec moderne et que cette connaissance lui donnait une aisance évidente dans le maniement de la langue ancienne. Dès le début de sa grammaire, l'auteur note la «prononciation ordinaire», les dénominations alphabétiques «alpha, vita», etc., ainsi que «la prononciation selon les Grecs modernes», (p. 5), dont il précise les actualisations phonétiques combinatoires

av/ af, ev/ef, etc. en note (p. 6). Il signale en outre aux étudiants de grec ancien une assimilation régressive usuelle en grec moderne: «Les anciens changeoient les consonnes finales: τήμ μητέρα, κατά πόλιγ καί.» (p. 9 note). Que l'auteur ait eu à l'esprit quelque application pratique de sa grammaire scolaire, cela ne fait aucun doute; au chapitre de l'accentuation, il ajoute: «Les accents sont utiles pour distinguer des mots qui s'écrivent de la même manière, mais qui ont des sens différents, et pour distinguer la quantité de certaines syllabes: nécessaires pour parler avec les Grecs.» (p. 12). A propos de morphologie, il marque: «Dans des auteurs Grecs plus modernes, on trouve un parfait, ἑστακα... (p. 63 note). Ailleurs, concernant les verbes contractes, il indique que «Les Grecs modernes ont conservé cet usage Dorique pour les verbes en όω: σκοτόνω, χρυσόνω, θυμόνω pour σκοτόω, etc.» (p. 87 note).

Quant aux exemples de grammaire, ils sont tirés des auteurs classiques et postclassiques. Mais l'auteur a pris le parti encore une fois de démontrer des applications modernes de la langue ancienne; il donne les exemples suivants: «Je pars pour l'Angleterre, ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τήν Ἀγγλίαν» «Je vais auprès de Londres. Ἀπέρχομαι πρός τήν (sic) Λονδῖνον»; «Il est parti d'Amérique, ἀποκεχώρηκεν ἐξ Ἀμερικῆς» (p. 80). Ailleurs, on lit: «Je vais en Angleterre où je verrai le Roi, εἰς τήν Βρεταννίαν ἀποδημήσω, ὅπου τόν βασιλέα ὄψομαι» (p. 234); «les Philosophes tant anciens que modernes, οἱ φιλόσοφοι οἵ τε παλαιοί καί οἱ νεώτεροι» (p. 285). A la fin de son manuel, l'auteur esquisse un tableau des variantes dialectales de la langue ancienne, ainsi qu'un bref historique; il termine son exposé en ces termes: «A Constantinople, on admit peu-à-peu une foule de locutions étrangères qui altérèrent la langue, et enfin produisirent le Grec moderne et vulgaire, (ἁπλοελληνική διάλεκτος), qui se parle aujourd'hui.» (p. 318).

On peut affirmer que l'auteur s'est inspiré des grammaires européennes existantes, françaises et autres[7]. Mais on discerne là encore le même souci d'adaptation hic et nunc; il écrit: «Les noms propres (ou d'individu) sont ceux que l'on donne à une seule personne, à une seule chose, comme Adam, Montréal, Québec» (p. 17).

Enfin, il y a lieu de supposer que les Morceaux choisis et la Grammaire pourraient avoir le même auteur: celui de la Grammaire fait remarquer que «Cette expression βάλλειν τινά λίθοις répond à l'expression Angloise, to pelt a person with stones» (p. 213, note 1). Une remarque similaire est rapportée dans les Morceaux choisis (p. 33, note 1). Sans doute, d'aucuns auraient été tentés d'attribuer à J.V. Quiblier, mentionné dans le copyright, la paternité de la Grammaire, n'eût été l'affirmation de Gagnon, à savoir qu' «elle est de Jean

Larkin qui était professeur de philosophie au Collège de Montréal»[8]. Cette opinion est corroborée par la tradition toujours vivante chez les prêtres de Saint-Sulpice de Montréal, tradition qui certifie que John Larkin était bien l'auteur des deux ouvrages.

La biographie du prêtre helléniste a fait l'objet de plusieurs études, dont la plus récente, encore inédite, est due aux soins de monsieur Bruno Harel, p.s.s., archiviste du Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice de Montréal[9]. Monsieur Harel a eu l'obligeance de nous communiquer son étude sur Larkin et de faciliter nos propres recherches; nous l'en remercions vivement.

John Larkin est né en 1801, à Ravensworth, Angleterre, dans une famille irlandaise catholique. Après une adolescence assez mouvementée, il entre, en 1823, au Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice d'Issy-les-Moulineaux, près de Paris, pour y étudier la philosophie et la théologie. En 1825, il part pour Baltimore et termine ses études théologiques au St. Mary's Seminaty; il est ordonné prêtre en 1827. Aussitôt appelé par J. V. Quiblier[10], alors directeur du Petit Séminaire de Montréal, Larkin arrive à Montréal en décembre 1827. Il se met dès lors à enseigner les lettres classiques et la philosophie au Petit Séminaire, une charge qu'il gardera jusqu'en 1840, alors qu'il entre au noviciat des jésuites de Louisville, Kentucky. Après une longue carrière vouée à l'enseignement et au ministère ecclésiastique, il meurt à New-York en 1858.

Si l'enseignement du grec ancien existait au Séminaire de Montréal bien avant l'arrivée de Larkin[11], on peut pourtant croire que c'est sous son impulsion que les études grecques atteignirent le haut niveau qui fut celui du Séminaire par la suite. Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit d'examiner l'adresse rédigée en grec que Joseph-Rouër Roy, élève finissant, lut le 25 juillet 1838, à la distribution des prix, pour honorer la présence du célèbre Lord Durham[12].

Le document que nous transcrivons est conservé aux Archives du Collège de Montréal; on peut en consulter une reproduction photographique dans le livre de O. Maurault[13]. Il se lit comme suit:

«Discours à Lord Durham avant la distribution des prix du petit Séminaire de Montréal, mercredi le 25 juillet 1838.

῏Ω γενναιότατε καί μάλα ᾽Επαρχε.

Οὐδεπώτε οὐδέν ἡμῖν οὐ μή ἀφανίσῃ ταύτης τῆς καλλίστης ἡμέρας τήν μνήμην: ταῖς γάρ ἡμῶν περί τούς λόγους ἀσκήσεσι τήν δε τήν τοιαύτην δόξαν περιποιῶν, ἐποχήν ἡμῖν παρέχεις, ᾗσπερ χαρᾷ και εὐπρεπῶς μεγαλοφρονοῦντες μεμνησόμεθα. Καί δή καί πολιαινόμενοι τήν τρίχα εἰς τοῦτον τόν τόπον, τόν Μουσῶν ἱερόν, ἐλθόντες καί τῶν τότε ἐσομένων

νέων τάς ἀσκήσεις ἰδόντες, τήνδε τήν ἡμέραν ἀναμιμησκόμενοι, προσφθεγξόμεθα τοιάδε• ἐν ὁμοίω χρόνω, νέων τε ὄντων ἡμῶν, ὁ γενναιότατος ὁ Δυνέλμου Δυναστής, ὁ τότε τῶν εν τῇ Ἀμερικῇ Βρεταννικῶν Ἐπαρχιῶν Ὑπερέπαρχος γεγονώς ἐκ τῶν πάλαι Ἡρώων τῶν τε συστρατευομένων Γυλιέλμῳ Καλλινίκῳ, καί τῶν μετά Ῥικάρδου καί Ἐδουάρδου σταυροφορούντων... ἐν ὁμοίω χρόνω ο Δυναστής, ούτος ὁ πάνυ, ἠξίωσε παρορμᾷν τε ἡμᾶς νέους ὄντας, ἐπί τάς καλάς ἀσκήσεις καί ἐν τοῖς λόγοις εὐτυχήσαντας στεφανοῦν. Οὗτοι δέ καίπερ ἡμῖν τῆς ευδαιμονίας φθονούντες, Σέ, μυρίοις ἐγκωμίοις ἀποσεμνύνουσιν. Ὦ Ἔπαρχε, καλῶς ἐν πᾶσι σύν Θεῷ πράξειας, πολλά ἔτη ζῶν, ὥστε σεαυτῷ μέν δόξαν, τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ δέ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ ἡμῖν δέ τοῖς πᾶσιν εὐδαιμονίαν νέμειν.»

Voici la traduction du texte:

Très excellent et très éminent Gouverneur,

Non, jamais rien ne pourra effacer en nous le souvenir de cette magnifique journée: en effet, en nous faisant l'insigne d'honneur d'assister à nos exercices scolaires vous nous gratifiez d'un événement dont nous nous souviendrons avec joie et avec une fierté bien légitime[14]. Et même quand nous aurons la tête chenue et que, venant dans cette enceinte sacrée des Muses assister aux exercices des jeunes d'alors, nous nous remémorerons cette journée-ci, nous leur adresserons ces mots: à pareille date, lorsque nous étions jeunes, Son Excellence Lord Durham[15], alors gouverneur général des Provinces Britanniques d'Amérique, issu des anciens héros qui firent campagne avec Guillaume le Conquérant et se croisèrent avec Richard et Edouard… à pareille date, ce Lord illustrissime daigna venir nous encourager, dans notre jeunesse, à nos nobles exercices, et couronner ceux qui s'étaient distingués dans leurs études. Ces jeunes, tout en enviant notre bonheur, vous gloriefieront de mille éloges. Gouverneur, puissiez-vous avec l'aide de Dieu trouver le succès en toutes choses et vivre longtemps, afin de vous couvrir de gloire, vous-même, de donner à notre Province la sécurité et la stabilité et, nous tous, de nous rendre heureux[16].

On rapporte que ces deux petits livres scolaires, en particulier la grammaire, ont contribué à éveiller la curiosité et l'intérêt des Québécois pour la Grèce. A partir de 1844, jusqu'à la fin du siècle, une pléiade de périégètes québécois visiteront la Grèce[18]: ils avaient tous une formation philologique qui leur permit de tirer profit de leur voyage. Mais l' exemple le plus probant est sans doute celui de Gustave Adolphe Drolet: après avoir complété ses humanités

classiques et son cours de droit, il s'engage dans l'armée des zouaves pontificaux; il échoue à Marseille, y apprend le grec moderne avec des marins grecs et s'embarque sur un bateau grec pour l'Archipel et l'Orient. Il a laissé, de son aventure, une relation de voyage[19].

Les études grecques connurent une diffusion importante au Québec vers la fin du XIXe siècle; l'apothéose symbolique en fut peut-être la représentation de l'Antigone de Sophocle, jouée en grec par les élèves et les professeurs du Séminaire de Montréal, le 26 mars 1895 et qu'on reprit pour le grand public le 8 mai suivant[20].

De son côté, le Séminaire de Québec décidait d'opter, en 1898, pour la prononciation moderne du grec ancien; à cette occasion des marchands grecs de Québec furent invités à donner des leçons de prononciation néo-grecque aux professeurs[21]. La prononciation moderne resta en usage dans ce Séminaire jusqu'en 1921[22].

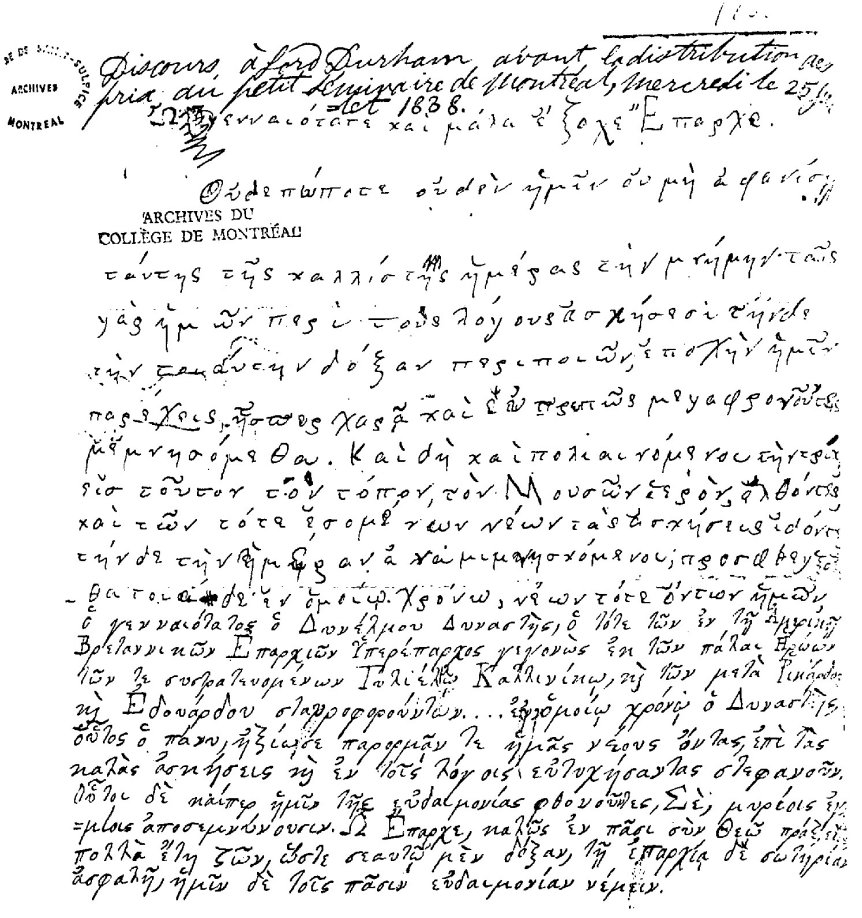
A notre avis, les deux petits imprimés scolaires de langue grecque de 1837 méritent, dans l'histoire des études grecques au Québec, une mention honorable, qu'il convenait de souligner: directement ou indirectement, ils furent à l'origine de la passion qu'eurent et qu'ont toujours de nombreux Québécois pour la langue et la culture grecques.

NOTES

1. Champlain rapporte qu'il employait, en 1628, «vn ieune homme truchement de nation grecque» dans ses relations avec les Indiens: Les Voyages de Champlain, (Laverdière, éd. 1870), Montréal, Editions du Jour, 1973, pp. 170-171. C. Tanguay signale la présence au XVIIe si. d'un Thomas de Crisafy, d'un Antoine de Crisafy et d'un Romain Phocasse: Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes, Vol. 1, 1871 (rééd. Montréal, Elysée, 1975), pp. 150 et 481.
2. Voir O. Maurault, Le Collège de Montréal 1767-1967, Montréal, 1967 (2e éd.), pp. 59-60. Cf. H. Pronovost, «La rentrée du grec au Séminaire de Québec», *Revue de l'Université Laval,* Vol. X, No 10 (juin 1956), pp. 921-924.
3. Les descriptions existantes de cet imprimé sont incomplètes et inexactes; cf. F. M. Staton & Marie Tremaine, A Bibliography of Canadiana, Toronto, The Public Library, 1934, p. 407, No 2100. Par ailleurs, il n'apparaît pas dans: D.S. Ghinis et V.G. Mexas, Ἑλληνική Βιβλιογραφία 1800-1863, Athènes, 1939.
4. Mot-à-mot: «adaptés et arrangés de manière à frayer, au moyen des rudiments, la voie vers la langue grecque.»

5. Peut-être par interférence de l'anglais, on a accentué Θώμα au lieu de Θωμᾶ.
6. Capitolinus Macrinus, I. Voir les précisions de A. Coray sur ce mot dans ses Prolégomènes de l'édition des Ethiopiques d'Héliodore (1804); cf. C.T. Dimaras. Ὁ Κοραῆς καί ἡ ἐποχή του (Βασική Βιβλιοθήκη, 9), Athènes, 1958, p. 102.
7. Il propose, pour «la prononciation ordinaire», qu'on prononce le θ comme le th et le x comme le ch allemand, selon la tradition anglo-saxonne.
8. Ph. Gagnon, Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne, Québec, 1985, p. 210, No 1541.
9. L'article de B. Harel paraîtra dans le vol. VIII du Dictionnaire biographique du Canada.
10. Voir *O. Maurault, op. cit.*, pp. 152-153.
11. *Ibid.* pp. 58-60.
12. Maurault écrit que»Les Sulpiciens, seigneurs de Montréal, ont toujours gardé quelques restes de cette féodalité, même sous le régime anglais. Les Gouverneurs, ayant si souvent à traiter avec le Supérieur, avaient pris l'habitude d'aller le saluer à leur arrivée dans le pays.(…) Quatre adresses se succédèrent, l'une en grec, une autre en latin, une troisième en français, la dernière en anglais,», *op.cit.*, pp. 127-128.
13. Ibid. p.129. Nous respectons l'orthographe et l'accentuation du document, même lorsqu'elles sont fautives: δυναστής / δυνάστης, Γυλιέλμῳ / Γουλιέλμῳ, etc.
14. Durham arriva à Montréal le 24 juillet 1838 et n'y resta que deux jours, Voir: C. New, *Lord Durham's Mission to Canada*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1963, p. 86.
15. Le toponyme **Durham** était anciennement **Dunholme**: voir M. Bescherelle ainé, *Grand Dictionnaire de géographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, Paris, tome 2e, 1856, p. 582. Le rédacteur du texte a hellénisé la forme ancienne.
16. Lord Durham pouvait encore, le 25 juillet 1838, faire figure de «pacificateur». Il est probable que notre helléniste a dû changer d'avis après la publication du *Rapport de Durham.*

    Concernant Quiblier et la position du séminaire de Montréal durant la Révolte des Patriotes de 1837-1838, voir: O. Maurault, *Nos Messieurs*, Montréal, Editions du Zodiaque, 1936, pp. 110 et 120.
17. O. Maurault, *Le Collège de Montréal*, op. cit., p. 60.
18. Voir: J. Bouchard, «Voyageurs québécois en Grèce au XIXe siècle», *Folia Neohellenica*, Amsterdam, 2 (1977), 1-23.
19. Drolet, né à St-Pie en 1844, partit en 1866, Voir: G. A. Drolet, *Zouaviana*, Etape de vingt-cing ans 1868-1893, Montréal, Senécal et fils, 1893, pp. 15-36.
20. Voir: O. Maurault, *Le Collège de Montréal*, op. cit., pp. 139-141.
21. Journal SEM, Vol. V, p. 149.
22. Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 73, Cf. J. Bouchard, op. cit., p. 22.



Le Centre de recherches helléniques Canada-KEEK a réalisé en 2008 une reproduction du livre 'ΕΚΛΕΚΤΑ ΜΥΘΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ. Paru en 1837 à Montréal, 'ΕΚΛΕΚΤΑ ΜΥΘΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ est le premier livre de langue grecque publié au Canada et un des trois premiers livres publiés en Amérique du Nord. Il ne reste que quelques rares exemplaires de la publication de 1837.

DOCUMENT

The European Court of Justice ruled Tuesday, April 28, 2009, that a judgment of a Court in the Republic of Cyprus must be recognized and enforced by the other EU member states even if it concerns land situated in the Turkish occupied areas of Cyprus. The Court's ruling refers to the Apostolides vs Orams case and came after a dispute has arisen before the Court of Appeal of England and Wales, which has requested a preliminary ruling from the Court of Justice, between Greek Cypriot refugee Meletis Apostolides, and British couple David and Linda Orams, in relation to the recognition and enforcement of a judgment of the District Court of Nicosia. The court in the government controlled southern areas of Cyprus had delivered a judgment ordering the Orams couple to vacate an area of land in the Turkish occupied north and to pay various monetary amounts.

The British couple had purchased the land from a third party and built a holiday house on it. According to the findings of the court in Cyprus, however, the rightful owner of the land is in fact Apostolides, whose family was forced to leave the north as a result of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 and the occupation of the island's northern third.

The ECJ ruling has potentially devastating implications for EU citizens who have 'bought' usurped Greek Cypriot land and will surely put off others considering investing in property in occupied Cyprus.

European Court of Justice

PRESS RELEASE No 39/09

28 April 2009

Judgment of the Court of Justice in Case C-420/07

Meletis Apostolides v. David Charles Orams & Linda Elizabeth Orams

A JUDGMENT OF A COURT IN THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS MUST BE RECOGNISED AND ENFORCED BY THE OTHER MEMBER STATES EVEN IF IT CONCERNS LAND SITUATED IN THE NORTHERN PART OF THE ISLAND

The suspension of the application of Community law in the areas where the Government of the Republic of Cyprus does not exercise effective control and the fact

that the judgment cannot, as a practical matter, be enforced where the land is situated do not preclude its recognition and enforcement in another Member State.

Following the intervention of Turkish troops in 1974 Cyprus was partitioned into two areas. The Republic of Cyprus, which acceded to the European Union in 2004, has *de facto* control only over the southern part of the island while, in the northern part, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has been established, which is not recognised by the international community with the exception of Turkey. In those circumstances, the application of Community law in the northern area of the Republic of Cyprus has been suspended by a protocol annexed to the Act of Accession.

Mr Apostolides, a Cypriot national, brought an appeal before the Court of Appeal (England and Wales), in the course of a dispute between himself and a British couple, the Orams, seeking the recognition and enforcement of two judgments from a court in Nicosia. That court, sitting in the southern part of Cyprus, ordered the Orams to vacate land situated in the northern part of the island and to pay various sums. The Orams had purchased the land from a third party in order to build a holiday home on it. According to the findings of the Cypriot court, Mr Apostolides, whose family was forced to leave the north of the island at the time of its partition, is the rightful owner of the land. The first judgment, given in default of appearance, was confirmed by another judgment ruling on an appeal brought by the Orams.

The national court referred to the Court of Justice a number of questions concerning the interpretation and application of the Brussels I Regulation1. It asks, in particular, whether the suspension of Community law in the northern part of Cyprus and the fact that the land concerned is situated in an area over which the Government of Cyprus does not exercise effective control.

1 Council Regulation (EC) No 44/2001 of 22 December 2000 on jurisdiction and the recognition and enforcement of judgments in civil and commercial matters have an effect on the recognition and enforcement of the judgment, in particular in relation to the jurisdiction of the court of origin, the public policy of the Member State in which recognition is sought and the enforceability of the judgment. In addition, it asks whether the recognition or enforcement of a default judgment may be refused, on account of the fact that the document instituting proceedings was not served on the defendant in sufficient time and in such a way as to enable him to arrange for his defence, where the defendant was able to bring an appeal against that judgment.

First of all, the Court declares that the suspension provided for in the Act of Accession of Cyprus is limited to the application of Community law in the

northern area. However, the judgments concerned, whose recognition was sought by Mr Apostolides, were given by a court sitting in the Government-controlled area. The fact that those judgments concern land situated in the northern area does not preclude that interpretation because, first, it does not nullify the obligation to apply the regulation in the Government-controlled area and, second, it does not mean that that regulation must thereby be applied in the northern area. The Court therefore concludes that the suspension of Community law in the northern area provided for by the protocol annexed to the Act of Accession, does not preclude the application of the Brussels I Regulation to a judgment which is given by a Cypriot court sitting in the Government-controlled area, but concerns land situated in the northern area.

Next, the Court states, first, that the dispute at issue in the main proceedings falls within the scope of the Brussels I Regulation and, second, that the fact that the land concerned is situated in an area over which the Government does not exercise effective control and, therefore, that the judgments concerned cannot, as a practical matter, be enforced where the land is situated does not preclude the recognition and enforcement of those judgments in another Member State.

In that connection, it is common ground that the land is situated in the territory of the Republic of Cyprus and, therefore, the Cypriot court had jurisdiction to decide the case since the relevant provision of the Brussels I Regulation relates to the international jurisdiction of the Member States and not to their domestic jurisdiction.

The Court also states, as regards the public policy of the Member State in which recognition is sought, that a court of a Member State cannot, without undermining the aim of the Brussels I Regulation, refuse recognition of a judgment emanating from another Member State solely on the ground that it considers that national or Community law was misapplied. The national court may refuse recognition only where the error of law means that the recognition or enforcement of the judgment is regarded as a manifest breach of an essential rule of law in the legal order of the Member State concerned. In the case in the main proceedings, the Court of Appeal has not referred to any fundamental principle within the legal order of the United Kingdom which the recognition or enforcement of the judgments in question would be liable to infringe.

Furthermore, as regards the enforceability of the judgments concerned, the Court states that the fact that Mr Apostolides might encounter difficulties in having the judgments enforced cannot deprive them of their enforceability.

Therefore, that situation does not prevent the courts of another Member State from declaring such judgments enforceable.

Lastly, the Court states that the recognition or enforcement of a default judgment cannot be refused where the defendant was able to commence proceedings to challenge the default judgment and those proceedings enabled him to argue that he had not been served with the document which instituted the proceedings or with the equivalent document in sufficient time and in such a way as to enable him to arrange for his defence. In the case in the main proceedings, it is common ground that the Orams brought such proceedings. Consequently, the recognition and enforcement of the judgments of the Cypriot court cannot be refused in the United Kingdom on that ground.

http://curia.europa.eu/en/actu/commu...cp090039en.pdf

The full text of the judgment is available here:

http://curia.europa.eu/jurisp/cgi-bi...umaff=C-420/07

European Court of Justice

JUDGMENT OF THE COURT (Grand Chamber)

28 April 2009

(Reference for a preliminary ruling – Protocol No 10 on Cyprus – Suspension of the application of the acquis communautaire in the areas falling outside the effective control of the Cypriot Government – Regulation (EC) No 44/2001 – Jurisdiction and the recognition and enforcement of judgments in civil and commercial matters – Judgment given by a Cypriot court sitting in the area effectively controlled by the Cypriot Government and concerning immovable property situated outside that area – Articles 22(1), 34(1) and (2), 35(1) and 38(1) of that regulation).

In Case C 420/07,

REFERENCE for a preliminary ruling under Article 234 EC from the Court of Appeal (England and Wales) (Civil Division) (United Kingdom), made by decision of 28 June 2007, received at the Court on 13 September 2007, in the proceedings.

Meletis Apostolides v. David Charles Orams & Linda Elizabeth Orams

THE COURT (Grand Chamber),

composed of V. Skouris, President, P. Jann, C.W.A. Timmermans, A. Rosas,

K. Lenaerts, M. Ilešič and A. Ó Caoimh, Presidents of Chambers, R. Silva de Lapuerta (Rapporteur), J. Malenovský, J. Klučka and U. Lõhmus, Judges,

Advocate General: J. Kokott,

Registrar: L. Hewlett, Principal Administrator, having regard to the written procedure and further to the hearing on 16 September 2008, after considering the observations submitted on behalf of:

- Mr Apostolides, by T. Beazley QC and C. West, Barrister, instructed by S. Congdon, Solicitor, and by C. Candounas, advocate,
- Mr and Mrs Orams, by C. Booth QC, N. Green QC, and A. Ward and B. Bhalla, Barristers,
- the Cypriot Government, by P. Klerides, acting as Agent, D. Anderson QC and M. Demetriou, Barrister,
- the Greek Government, by A. Samoni-Rantou, S. Khala and G. Karipsiadis, acting as Agents,
- the Polish Government, by M. Dowgielewicz, acting as Agent,
- the Commission of the European Communities, by F. Hoffmeister and A. M. Rouchaud, acting as Agents, after hearing the Opinion of the Advocate General at the sitting on 18 December 2008, gives the following.

Judgment

1. This reference for a preliminary ruling concerns the interpretation, first, of Protocol No 10 on Cyprus to the Act concerning the conditions of accession [to the European Union] of the Czech Republic, the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Cyprus, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Malta, the Republic of Poland, the Republic of Slovenia and the Slovak Republic and the adjustments to the Treaties on which the European Union is founded (OJ 2003 L 236, p. 955) ('Protocol No 10') and, second, certain aspects of Council Regulation (EC) No 44/2001 of 22 December 2000 on jurisdiction and the recognition and enforcement of judgments in civil and commercial matters (OJ 2001 L 12, p. 1).
2. The reference was made in the course of proceedings between Mr Apostolides, a Cypriot national, and Mr and Mrs Orams, a British married couple ('the Orams'), concerning the recognition and enforcement in the United Kingdom, under Regulation No 44/2001, of two judgments given by the Eparkhiako Dikastirio tis Lefkosias (District Court, Nicosia) (Cyprus).

Legal background

Community law

Protocol No 10

3. Protocol No 10 is worded as follows:

'THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, REAFFIRMING their commitment to a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem, consistent with relevant United Nations Security Council Resolutions, and their strong support for the efforts of the United Nations Secretary General to that end,

CONSIDERING that such a comprehensive settlement to the Cyprus problem has not yet been reached,

CONSIDERING that it is, therefore, necessary to provide for the suspension of the application of the acquis in those areas of the Republic of Cyprus in which the Government of the Republic of Cyprus does not exercise effective control,

CONSIDERING that, in the event of a solution to the Cyprus problem this suspension shall be lifted,

CONSIDERING that the European Union is ready to accommodate the terms of such a settlement in line with the principles on which the E[uropean] U[nion] is founded,

CONSIDERING that it is necessary to provide for the terms under which the relevant provisions of E[uropean] U[nion] law will apply to the line between the abovementioned areas and both those areas in which the Government of the Republic of Cyprus exercises effective control and the Eastern Sovereign Base Area of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,

DESIRING that the accession of Cyprus to the European Union shall benefit all Cypriot citizens and promote civil peace and reconciliation,

CONSIDERING, therefore, that nothing in this Protocol shall preclude measures with this end in view,

CONSIDERING that such measures shall not affect the application of the acquis under the conditions set out in the Accession Treaty in any other part of the Republic of Cyprus,

HAVE AGREED UPON THE FOLLOWING PROVISIONS:

Article 1

1. The application of the acquis shall be suspended in those areas of the

Republic of Cyprus in which the Government of the Republic of Cyprus does not exercise effective control.

2. The Council, acting unanimously on the basis of a proposal from the Commission, shall decide on the withdrawal of the suspension referred to in paragraph 1.

Article 2

1. The Council, acting unanimously on the basis of a proposal from the Commission, shall define the terms under which the provisions of European Union law shall apply to the line between those areas referred to in Article 1 and the areas in which the Government of the Republic of Cyprus exercises effective control.
2. The boundary between the Eastern Sovereign Base Area and those areas referred to in Article 1 shall be treated as part of the external borders of the Sovereign Base Areas for the purpose of Part IV of the Annex to the Protocol on the Sovereign Base Areas of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in Cyprus for the duration of the suspension of the application of the acquis according to Article 1.

Article 3

1. Nothing in this Protocol shall preclude measures with a view to promoting the economic development of the areas referred to in Article 1.
2. Such measures shall not affect the application of the acquis under the conditions set out in the Accession Treaty in any other part of the Republic of Cyprus.

Article 4

In the event of a settlement, the Council, acting unanimously on the basis of a proposal from the Commission, shall decide on the adaptations to the terms concerning the accession of Cyprus to the European Union with regard to the Turkish Cypriot Community.'

Regulation No 44/2001

4 Recitals 16 to 18 in the preamble to Regulation No 44/2001 state:

'(16) Mutual trust in the administration of justice in the Community justifies judgments given in a Member State being recognised automatically without the need for any procedure except in cases of dispute.

(17) By virtue of the same principle of mutual trust, the procedure for making enforceable in one Member State a judgment given in another must

be efficient and rapid. To that end, the declaration that a judgment is enforceable should be issued virtually automatically after purely formal checks of the documents supplied, without there being any possibility for the court to raise of its own motion any of the grounds for non-enforcement provided for by this Regulation.

(18) However, respect for the rights of the defence means that the defendant should be able to appeal in an adversarial procedure, against the declaration of enforceability, if he considers one of the grounds for non-enforcement to be present. Redress procedures should also be available to the claimant where his application for a declaration of enforceability has been rejected.'

5 Article 1(1) of Regulation No 44/2001 provides:

'This Regulation shall apply in civil and commercial matters whatever the nature of the court or tribunal. It shall not extend, in particular, to revenue, customs or administrative matters.'

6 Under Article 2 of that regulation:

'1. Subject to this Regulation, persons domiciled in a Member State shall, whatever their nationality, be sued in the courts of that Member State.

2. Persons who are not nationals of the Member State in which they are domiciled shall be governed by the rules of jurisdiction applicable to nationals of that State.'

7 Article 22(1) of Regulation No 44/2001, in Section 6, entitled 'Exclusive jurisdiction', of Chapter II thereof, provides:

'The following courts shall have exclusive jurisdiction, regardless of domicile:

1. in proceedings which have as their object rights in rem in immovable property or tenancies of immovable property, the courts of the Member State in which the property is situated.

However, in proceedings which have as their object tenancies of immovable property concluded for temporary private use for a maximum period of six consecutive months, the courts of the Member State in which the defendant is domiciled shall also have jurisdiction, provided that the tenant is a natural person and that the landlord and the tenant are domiciled in the same Member State'.

8 Article 34 of Regulation No 44/2001 states:

'A judgment shall not be recognised:

1. if such recognition is manifestly contrary to public policy in the Member

State in which recognition is sought;

2. where it was given in default of appearance, if the defendant was not served with the document which instituted the proceedings or with an equivalent document in sufficient time and in such a way as to enable him to arrange for his defence, unless the defendant failed to commence proceedings to challenge the judgment when it was possible for him to do so;

3. if it is irreconcilable with a judgment given in a dispute between the same parties in the Member State in which recognition is sought;

4. if it is irreconcilable with an earlier judgment given in another Member State or in a third State involving the same cause of action and between the same parties, provided that the earlier judgment fulfils the conditions necessary for its recognition in the Member State addressed.'

9 Article 35 of the regulation states:

'1. Moreover, a judgment shall not be recognised if it conflicts with Sections 3, 4 or 6 of Chapter II, or in a case provided for in Article 72.

2. In its examination of the grounds of jurisdiction referred to in the foregoing paragraph, the court or authority applied to shall be bound by the findings of fact on which the court of the Member State of origin based its jurisdiction.

3. Subject to … paragraph 1, the jurisdiction of the court of the Member State of origin may not be reviewed. The test of public policy referred to in point 1 of Article 34 may not be applied to the rules relating to jurisdiction.'

10 Article 38 of Regulation No 44/2001 provides:

'1. A judgment given in a Member State and enforceable in that State shall be enforced in another Member State when, on the application of any interested party, it has been declared enforceable there.

2. However, in the United Kingdom, such a judgment shall be enforced in England and Wales, in Scotland, or in Northern Ireland when, on the application of any interested party, it has been registered for enforcement in that part of the United Kingdom.'

11 Article 45 of Regulation No 44/2001 provides:

'1. The court with which an appeal is lodged under Article 43 or Article 44 shall refuse or revoke a declaration of enforceability only on one of the grounds specified in Articles 34 and 35. It shall give its decision without delay.

2. Under no circumstances may the foreign judgment be reviewed as to its substance.'

National law

12 According to national legislation, the real property rights relating to those areas of the Republic of Cyprus in which the Government of that Member State does not exercise effective control ('the northern area') subsist and remain valid in spite of the invasion of Cypriot territory in 1974 by the Turkish army and the ensuing military occupation of part of Cyprus.

13 Pursuant to Article 21(2) of Law 14/60 on the courts, in the version applicable to the main proceedings, where an action concerns any matter relating to real property 'that action shall be brought before the Eparkhiako Dikastirio of the district in which such property is situated'.

14 By order of the Anotato Dikastirio tis Kipriakis Dimokratias (Supreme Court of the Republic of Cyprus) published on 13 September 1974 in the *Episimi Efimerida tis Kipriakis Dimokratias (Official Journal of the Republic of Cyprus)*, that is after the invasion of the northern area, the territories of the districts of Kyrenia and Nicosia were reorganised.

15 Under Cypriot legislation, the service of a document instituting proceedings on one spouse by handing it to the other is good service. If the defendant does not enter an appearance in the 10 days following service of the document instituting proceedings the claimant may apply for a default judgment. Entering an appearance is an act which does not require the defendant to set out the nature of any defence.

16 In proceedings to set aside a default judgment the claimant is required to establish that he has an arguable defence.

The dispute in the main proceedings and the questions referred for a preliminary ruling

17 The proceedings before the referring court concern the recognition and enforcement in the United Kingdom, pursuant to Regulation No 44/2001, of two judgments of the Eparkhiako Dikastirio tis Lefkosias ('the judgments concerned') on an action brought against the Orams by Mr Apostolides concerning immovable property ('the land').

18 The land is situated at Lapithos, in the district of Kyrenia, which is in the northern area. It belonged to Mr Apostolides' family, which occupied it before the invasion of Cyprus by the Turkish army in 1974. As members of the Greek Cypriot community, Mr Apostolides' family was forced to abandon their house and take up residence in the area of the island effectively controlled by the Cypriot Government ('the Government-controlled area').

19 The Orams claim to have purchased the land in 2002 in good faith from a third party, the latter having himself acquired it from the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, an entity which, to this day, has not been recognised by any State except the Republic of Turkey. The successive acquisitions were in accordance with the laws of that entity. The Orams built a villa and frequently occupy the property as their holiday home.

20 The movement of persons between the northern area and the Government-controlled area was restricted until April 2003.

21 On 26 October 2004, the Eparkhiako Dikastirio tis Lefkosias, a Cypriot court established in the Government-controlled area, issued the documents instituting proceedings in the action brought by Mr Apostolides against the Orams. On the same day, those documents, one for each spouse, were served at the property on the land by a process server from that court. The documents were both served by being handed in person to Mrs Orams who refused to sign for them.

22 The process server did not inform Mrs Orams that he was a process server or of the nature of the documents served by him, the documents being written in Greek, which the Orams do not understand. However, Mrs Orams understood that those documents were legal and official in nature.

23 On its face, written in Greek, each document stated that in order to prevent a default judgment from being given it was necessary to enter an appearance before the Eparkhiako Dikastirio tis Lefkosias within 10 days of service.

24 In spite of the difficulties encountered in finding in the northern area a Greek-speaking lawyer licensed to appear before the courts of the Government-controlled area, Mrs Orams managed to obtain the assistance of such a lawyer who agreed to enter an appearance on her behalf on 8 November 2004. However, the lawyer did not enter an appearance before that court on 8 November but only on the following day.

25 On 9 November 2004, as no one had entered an appearance for the Orams, the Eparkhiako Dikastirio tis Lefkosias gave a default judgment on Mr Apostolides' claim. On the same day, the court refused the authority presented by Mrs Orams' lawyer because it was written in English and not in Greek or Turkish.

26 According to the order for reference, the default judgment of the Eparkhiako Dikastirio tis Lefkosias orders the Orams to:

– demolish the villa, swimming pool and fencing which they had erected on the land,

– deliver immediately to Mr Apostolides free possession of the land,
– pay to Mr Apostolides various sums by way of special damages and monthly occupation charges (that is, rent) until the judgment was complied with, together with interest,
– refrain from continuing with the unlawful intervention on the land, whether personally or through their agents, and
– pay various sums in respect of the costs and expenses of the proceedings (with interest on those sums).

27 On 15 November 2004, the Orams applied to have the judgment set aside. After hearing evidence and arguments from the Orams and Mr Apostolides, the Eparkhiako Dikastirio tis Lefkosias dismissed the Orams' application by judgment of 19 April 2005 essentially on the ground that they had not put forward an arguable defence to dispute Mr Apostolides' title to the land. The Orams were ordered to pay the costs of the application.

28 The Orams appealed against the judgment rejecting their application to set aside the default judgment. The appeal was itself dismissed by judgment of the Anotato Dikastirio tis Kipriakis Dimokartias of 21 December 2006.

29 On 18 October 2005, Mr Apostolides produced the documents required in England to apply, pursuant to Regulation No 44/2001, for the recognition and enforcement of the judgments concerned. By order of 21 October 2005, a Master of the High Court of Justice (England and Wales), Queen's Bench Division, ordered that the judgments be enforceable in England pursuant to that regulation.

30 The Orams challenged that order under Article 43 of Regulation No 44/2001 and a High Court judge set it aside by order of 6 September 2006. Mr Apostolides appealed against that order before the referring court under Article 44 of that regulation.

31 In those circumstances, the Court of Appeal (England and Wales) (Civil Division) decided to stay the proceedings and to refer the following questions to the Court of Justice for a preliminary ruling:

'1. …

Does the suspension of the application of the *acquis communautaire* in the northern area by Article 1(1) of Protocol No 10 … preclude a Member State court from recognising and enforcing a judgment given by a court of the Republic of Cyprus sitting in the Government-controlled area relating to land in the northern area, when such recognition and enforcement is sought under [Regulation No 44/2001], which is part of the *acquis communautaire*?

2. Does Article 35(1) of Regulation No 44/2001 entitle or bind a Member State court to refuse recognition and enforcement of a judgment given by the courts of another Member State concerning land in an area of the latter Member State over which the Government of that Member State does not exercise effective control? In particular, does such a judgment conflict with Article 22 of Regulation No 44/2001?

3. Can a judgment of a Member State court, sitting in an area of that State over which the Government of that State does exercise effective control, in respect of land in that State in an area over which the Government of that State does not exercise effective control, be denied recognition or enforcement under Article 34(1) of Regulation No 44/2001 on the grounds that as a practical matter the judgment cannot be enforced where the land is situated, although the judgment is enforceable in the Government controlled area of the Member State?

4. Where

– a default judgment has been entered against a defendant;
– the defendant then commenced proceedings in the court of origin to challenge the default judgment; but
– his application was unsuccessful following a full and fair hearing on the ground that he had failed to show any arguable defence (which is necessary under national law before such a judgment can be set aside),

can that defendant resist enforcement of the original default judgment or the judgment on the application to set aside under Article 34(2) of Regulation No 44/2001, on the ground that he was not served with the document which instituted the proceedings in sufficient time and in such a way as to enable him to arrange for his defence prior to the entry of the original default judgment? Does it make a difference if the hearing entailed only consideration of the defendant's defence to the claim?

5. In applying the test in Article 34(2) of Regulation No 44/2001 of whether the defendant was "served with the document which instituted the proceedings or with an equivalent document in sufficient time and in such a way as to enable him to arrange for his defence" what factors are relevant to the assessment? In particular:

(a) Where service in fact brought the document to the attention of the defendant, is it relevant to consider the actions (or inactions) of the defendant or his lawyers after service took place?

(b) What, if any, relevance would particular conduct of, or difficulties

experienced by, the defendant or his lawyers have?

(c) Is it relevant that the defendant's lawyer could have entered an appearance before judgment in default was entered?'

……

On those grounds, the Court (Grand Chamber) hereby rules:

1. The suspension of the application of the *acquis communautaire* in those areas of the Republic of Cyprus in which the Government of that Member State does not exercise effective control, provided for by Article 1(1) of Protocol No 10 on Cyprus to the Act concerning the conditions of accession [to the European Union] of the Czech Republic, the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Cyprus, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Malta, the Republic of Poland, the Republic of Slovenia and the Slovak Republic and the adjustments to the Treaties on which the European Union is founded, does not preclude the application of Council Regulation (EC) No 44/2001 of 22 December 2000 on jurisdiction and the recognition and enforcement of judgments in civil and commercial matters to a judgment which is given by a Cypriot court sitting in the area of the island effectively controlled by the Cypriot Government, but concerns land situated in areas not so controlled.

2. Article 35(1) of Regulation No 44/2001 does not authorise the court of a Member State to refuse recognition or enforcement of a judgment given by the courts of another Member State concerning land situated in an area of the latter State over which its Government does not exercise effective control.

3. The fact that a judgment given by the courts of a Member State, concerning land situated in an area of that State over which its Government does not exercise effective control, cannot, as a practical matter, be enforced where the land is situated does not constitute a ground for refusal of recognition or enforcement under Article 34(1) of Regulation No 44/2001 and it does not mean that such a judgment is unenforceable for the purposes of Article 38(1) of that regulation.

4. The recognition or enforcement of a default judgment cannot be refused under Article 34(2) of Regulation No 44/2001 where the defendant was able to commence proceedings to challenge the default judgment and those proceedings enabled him to argue that he had not been served with the document which instituted the proceedings or with the equivalent document in sufficient time and in such a way as to enable him to arrange for his defence.

[Signatures]

Chronologies

Chypre: 1er octobre 2008 - 31 mars 2009

10 octobre: 4ème rencontre de négociations depuis le 3 septembre 2008 entre le président Dimitri Christofias et Mehmet Ali Talat, chef de la communauté chypriote turque.

13 octobre: Annulation par le gouvernement chypriote des manœuvres militaires annuelles «Nikiforos» pour ne pas pertuber le climat pacifique des négociations intercommunautaires; de leur côté les Chypriotes turcs annulent leurs manœuvres «Taurus».

13 novembre: Un navire turc de la marine guerre empêche un bateau norvégien d'effectuer des recherches pétrolières au large des côtes de Chypre au profit du gouvernement chypriote; incidents similaires les 19, 21 et 24 novembre.

20 novembre: Le président Christofias déclare à Moscou, pendant sa visite officielle au cours de laquelle il a signé sept accords avec la Russie, que jamais la République de Chypre sous sa présidence n'adhérera à l'OTAN.

12 décembre: Décés de Tassos Papadopoulos, président de la République de février 2003 à février 2008.

17 décembre: démission - après l'évasion d'un détenu - du ministre de la Justice, Kypros Chrysostomidés, remplacé par Loukas Louka.

21 janvier: élection d' Andros Kyprianou au poste de secrétaire général du parti AKEL, en remplacement de Dimitri Christofias.

27 janvier: le gouvernement chypriote déclare vouloir saisir la justice internationale après les déclarations de l'acteur turc, Attila Olgac, qui affirme avoir exécuté en août 1974 dix prisonniers Chypriotes grecs alors qu'il faisait partie de l'armée d'invasion à Chypre.

28 janvier: la Commission européenne a signé deux contrats d'une valeur totale de 4,2 millions d'euros pour des programmes d'aide à la communauté chypriote turque dans le domaine du traitement des eaux usées.

29 janvier: le bateau russe Monchegorsh, sous pavillon chypriote, est mis sous séquestre dans le port de Limassol, à la demande des Etats-Unis et d'Israël. Ce bateau, selon ces pays, aurait une cargaison d'armes en provenance d'Iran et destinée au Hamas de la bande de Gaza.

5 février: 18éme rencontre entre le président Christofias et Mehmet Ali Talat,

qui ont discuté de la question des propriétés des Chypriotes grecs en zone occupée et de celles des Chypriotes turcs en zone libre.

11 février: Markos Kyprianou, ministre des affaires chypriotes déclare que les armes transportées sur le bateau russe Monchegorsh, tombe sous le coup des interdictions d'exportation décidées par l'ONU à l'encontre de l'Iran; les autorités de Téhéran ont un point de vue différent.

20 février: le Parlement européen adopte une résolution invitant Chypre à adhérer au Partenariat pour la paix avec l'OTAN.

23 février: visite en Serbie du président Christofias, qui déclare soutenir l'adhésion de ce pays à l'Union européenne.

6 mars: Selon un sondage du journal Kibris, seulement 27,9% des Chypriotes turcs approuveraient aujourd'hui le plan Annan (contre près des 2/3 en avril 2004). 62,6% d'entre eux souhaitent à Chypre l'existence de deux Etats.

8 mars: enterrement de huit membres de la famille Liasis de Palaikythro, exécutés en août 1974 lors de la seconde invasion turque. Les corps de ces Chypriotes disparus ont été identifiés grâce au procédé ADN.

12 mars: le Parlement européen par 528 voix contre 52 demande à la Turquie le retrait de ses troupes de Chypre.

24 mars: le président Christofias a déclaré après avoir rencontré Mehmet Ali Talat que les négociations avec le chef de la communauté chypriote turque se caractérisaient par de relatifs progrès; nouvelle rencontre prévue pour le 2 avril.

Grèce: 1er octobre 2008 - 31mars 2009

23 octobre: démission de Théodore Roussopoulos, Ministre d'Etat et Porte parole du gouvernement, que l'opposition accuse d'être impliqué dans le scandale concernant le patrimoine immobilier du Monastère de Vatopédi.

18 novembre: l'ancienne République yougoslave de Macédoine (FYROM) porte plainte contre la Grèce devant la Cour Internationale de Justice, l'accusant d'avoir violé l'article 11 de l'Accord intermédiaire du 13 septembre 1995, qui, selon cet Etat, interdisait à Athènes de mettre, en avril 2008, son veto à l'adhésion de Skopje à l'OTAN.

24 novembre: début de la visite en Grèce pour trois jours du président de la Chine, Hu Jintao. Depuis 2006 il y a entre les deux pays une Relation de partenariat stratégique.

6 décembre: un adolescent, Alexis Grigoropoulos, a été tué à Athènes par un policier lors d'un affrontement entre des jeunes et des forces de l'ordre. Pendant trois semaines la Grèce est le théâtre de nombreuses manifestations dans plusieurs grandes villes. Des dizaines de magasins sont incendiés; grèves dans les établissements scolaires et universitaires.

21 décembre: Vote du budget par 151 voix contre 146.

23 décembre: un car de la police a été la cible dans le quartier de Goudi, à Athènes, de tirs par deux armes à feu. Revendication par le groupe terroriste Lutte révolutionnaire.

1er janvier: la Grèce exerce pour un an la présidence de l'OSCE.

5 janvier: un policier est grièvement blessé par des membres de Lutte révolutionnaire.

7 janvier: remaniement ministériel: départ du ministre de l'économie et des finances Georges Alogoskoufis, remplacé par Yannis Papathanassiou. Aris Spiliotopoulos devient ministre de l'Education nationale et Antonis Samaras, ministre de la Culture.

19 janvier: paralysie du pays à la suite de la mobilisation des agriculteurs qui vont bloquer pendant deux semaines les routes du pays en vue d'obtenir une augmentation de leurs revenus.

22 janvier: le gouvernement accorde 500 millions d'euros pour soutenir les revenus des agriculteurs.

18 février: ouverture du 18ème Congrès du parti communiste KKE, en présence des représentants de 90 partis communistes et de mouvements de libération de 70 pays; réélection le 22, d'Aleka Papariga au poste de Secrétaire général.

25 février: rencontre à Washington du ministre des affaires étrangères Dora Bakoyannis avec le nouveau Secrétaire d'Etat, Hillary Clinton.

2 mars: agression à Ohrid (FYROM) contre trois cars de touristes Grecs.

9 mars: intronisation de Dora Bakoyannis à l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques, à Paris, comme membre associé étranger.

23 mars: Signature à Athènes de l'accord final pour la privatisation d'Olympic Airlines (OA) avec la cession de cette entreprise à Martin Investment Group.La nouvelle compagnie gardera le même logo et le même fonctionnement.

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