

THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF MODERN GREEK: THE FORMATION OF AN *ETHNOLECT*

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This paper comprises a sociolinguistic study on the state of Modern Greek in contact with Australian English. Although the total impact of English on MG could not be measured, it has been found that an attrition process is evident at inter-generational level which can be averted. The attrition is generated by the restriction of the elaboration of function of MG and the negative disposition of the individual bilingual. The attrition induces the «contraction» of the circumference of the 'Anticipated Language Model' (ALM), that is the generally accepted model for standard Greek. Certain lexical, semantic, pragmatic, phonological and prosodic deviations appear to be stabilized in the Acquired Communicative Variety of Greek-Australian bilinguals. This non-standard variety, the *Ethnolect*, does not depend on bilingualism and appears to have its regional variations and its own characteristics.

1.0.0. Introduction

Australia, being a multilingual country, offers to sociolinguists a natural perspective for the study of the environmental factors which influence the retention of immigrant languages. Studies in this area (Haugen, 1953; Weinreich, 1953; Hofman, 1966; Fishman 1968) attracted much discussion and concluded that the immigrant community's efforts to maintain the mother tongue are doomed. Similar studies in Australia (Clyne, 1967, 1977 and 1982; Andreoni, 1967; Bettoni, 1981; Tamis, 1985b) led to the conclusion that a Community Language Other Than English (CLOTE) is being restricted in use to only a few language domains.

The study reported in this paper places specific emphasis on discussion with reference to the present state of Modern Greek (MG)¹, its changing structure in certain

1. The term «Modern Greek» refers to common MG, a southern Greek dialect which is now used by most Greek speakers in Greece and abroad. MG is taken as the result of an intralinguistic influence and synthesis not of two different languages (i.e. as a case of diglossia) as some authors (Ferguson, 1959) have considered *Katharevousa* (the superimposed and purifying variety) and *Demotiki* (the popular variety) to be, but of two forms of one and the same language (i.e. as a case of *bimorphy*).

domains of Language use in Australia and the formation of a non-standard variety which is employed by Greek-Australian bilinguals. Data was collected utilizing:

- (i) A self-administered, structured and open-ended linguistic and socio-cultural questionnaire (N = 1500). The sample was selected balanced for age (16-65 years), sex, education and occupation on the basis of the distribution of these characteristics amongst Australian Greeks according to the 1981 Census (ABS).
- (ii) Interviews with a stratified sample of 320 informants, selected on the basis of sex, education, density, occupation and age. The composition of the sample, in terms of the characteristics mentioned, approximates to a satisfactory degree the distribution of these demographic characteristics amongst the Greek community in Australia and the 1500 respondents.
- (iii) A self-administered structured questionnaire distributed amongst 1200 students of all three levels of education, with a response rate of 85%. The aim of this questionnaire has been to gauge teachers' attitudes towards students' acquisition and use of their mother tongue.

1.1.0. Demographic Characteristics

There are almost 317,000 Greek-speaking Australians of whom according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 1981 census, 150,604 were born in Greece (cf. Price, 1984). Second generation Greek-Australians both of whose parents were born in Greece number approximately 110,000. A further 18,000 Australian-born Greek Australians could possibly be assumed to be Greek-speaking, since one of their parents was born in Greece (ABS, 1981). In addition, there is a strong Cypriot Community of approximately 40,000 members of whom 20,462 were born in Cyprus. Furthermore, there is another group, comprising Greeks born in Egypt and other areas of Middle East, Greeks born in Pontus (Asia Minor), the Soviet Union and other European countries (see table 1).

1.1. Adult Bilingualism within the Greek Community

Since their arrival, most of the native speakers of MG have been forced to interact and to communicate in the host language and thus become bilingual.

In 1986 MG is second only to Italian as the mother tongue of migrant settlers in Australia. Cross-tabulating the birth-place with the languages regularly used reveals that all community languages have suffered substantial losses in the number of people who claim them since the 1976 census. However, Greek-born claimants showed the strongest language maintenance in Australia. To date 98% of those Greek-Australians who were born overseas use MG regularly while 19.67% —the highest ratio in Australia— do not use English regularly. The available data (Tamis, 1985a) suggests that 62% of Greek-Australians use MG as their main language, 34%, speak both MG & English according to the occasion and only 4% use English almost exclusively. It is worth noticing that of those who use both, 70% spoke more MG than English; 20% alternated evenly; and only 5% spoke less MG than English. The work place is the most important domain of language use in determining whether MG maintains its position amongst its native speakers. At present 58% of overseas born Greek-Australians have the opportunity to speak in their own language at work 'always', 21% 'usually', 11.5% 'rarely' and

TABLE 1
Number of regular users of Modern Greek in Australia by states

Nationality	Birthplace	STATES									TOTAL
		N.S.W.	VICTORIA	QLD.	S.A.	W.A.	T/NIA	N.T.	A.C.T.	TOTAL	
Greek-Australians	Australia	35873	58256	3349	9248	3160	587	405	796	111624	
	Greece	49267	74228	4307	14592	4414	806	1340	1650	150604	
	Egypt & M. East*	896	4500	289	425	301	39	32	13	6495	
	Turkey*	612	2200	168	228	152	28	26	31	3445	
	Others*	720	3500	114	630	130	23	25	26	5168	
			5300	9050	600	1030	228	42	132	98	16480
Cypriot-Australians	Australia	7800	9244	1040	1600	382	61	204	131	20462	
	Cyprus**	800	1100	280	390	103	18	18	5	2714	
	Others* (England etc.)										
		101268	162078	10147	28143	8870	1604	2182	2700	316992	

Source: ABS, 1981 census; Price (1984: 17 ff); Tsounis (1975 and 1983).

* Estimate provided in records and by leaders of communities concerned.

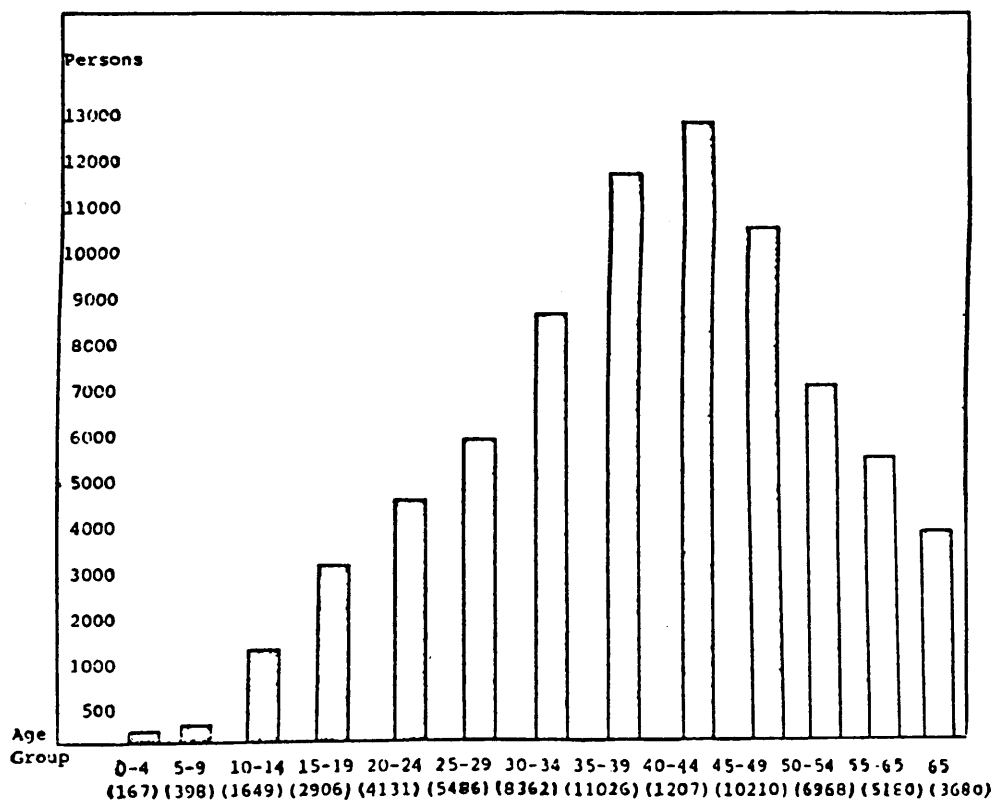
** Price (1984:17) estimated the Cypriot-born Australians as 24,044. My estimate excludes the Turkish population in proportion to the demographical composition of the Cyprus Republic. Turks have been excluded from the Australian-born Cypriots. Certain cross-tabulations (birthplace-religion) were also applied.

9.5% 'never'. However, there are other factors conducive to the shift from MG:

- (1) The most influential factor is inter-ethnic marriage. The percentage of inter-ethnic marriages, involving 1st or 2nd generation or both has increased from 11% in 1972 to 32% in 1984, with a negative impact on the linguistic attachment of Greek community members. Male (59%) educated Greek-Australians (61%) are the ones who opt for a non-Greek spouse from the general Australian community (62%) or from the Italian community (28%). Members of the Greek community who enter into inter-ethnic marriages are generally prepared to accept the spouse's culture and language, but their mode of linguistic behaviour can change according to the interlocutor's cultural and linguistic background.
- (2) There has been a constant and steady decline in the Greek immigrant intake from Greece, since 1975. The number of people with a period of residence of under 5 years is one of the lowest among ethnic communities (2.8%), according to the 1981 census (see table 2)

TABLE 2

Number of overseas born Greek-Australians in Victoria (source: ABS, 1981).



1.2. Childhood Bilingualism within the Greek Community

1985 data suggests that amongst Australian born Greek-Australians (2nd generation) the language shift to English was 8% (the lowest of any ethnicity in Australia). It was also found that 60% of Greek-Australians used MG as their main medium of communication, 34% spoke both (depending on the occasion) and only 6% used English almost exclusively. At an intergenerational level, *home* is the domain where MG is mainly employed. MG appears to be the sole medium of communication amongst 1st generation Greek immigrants. However, its usage amongst 2nd generation bilinguals depends on the encouraging efforts of parents, other family members and above all on the disposition of the individual speaker (see table 3).

TABLE 3
Medium of communication normally used by 2nd generation Greek-Australians

Medium	Having a conversation between themselves		
	When alone	In the presence of parents	In the presence of elders
Greek	8	31	41
English	64	27	20
Both	28	42	39

The attitude of the Church in maintaining the superposed variety in liturgy and a gradual shift to English (in order to win over the second and subsequent generations) should be seen as factors inhibiting language maintenance. Recent government policies promoting community language learning and more receptive attitudes in the community have facilitated the use of MG in other domains (mainly in schools and institutional life). The establishment in 1979 of both state and independent bilingual primary and secondary schools in Australia has reinforced mother-tongue maintenance. This is due to the making of MG not only a compulsory subject in the school curriculum for second and subsequent generations, but also by promoting the status of the language. In 1986 more than 4000 students were enrolled in the six Greek Bilingual Schools (four in Melbourne, one each in Sydney and Adelaide). Classes were conducted in MG for an average of eight sessions per week. Such an academic programme aims to develop the skills necessary to reach a level of competence in both MG and English, using the mother tongue as a medium of instruction in certain disciplines. Despite the noteworthy discouragement of mother tongue acquisition by monolingual teachers at English day-schools (17% of the students of northern suburbs of Melbourne experienced some form of discouragement), more than 56000 students attend MG classes in Australia (see table 4).

TABLE 4
Number of students attending MG classes in Australia (1986)

States and Territories	TYPE OF AUTHORITY										TOTAL			
	Government Schools		Greek Com. Schools		Greek Private Sch.		Universities and Colleges		Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
Victoria	1103	7808	9813	3892	10080	3748	605	20996	15448	605	605	15448	605	605
N.S.W.	2428	3982	8034	1170	320	130	340	10782	5282	340	340	5282	340	340
S.A.	1900	1661	2142	532	50	18	80	4092	2211	80	80	2211	60	60
W.A.	147	63	605	41	—	—	—	752	104	—	—	104	—	—
N.T.	833	134	320	—	—	—	—	1153	134	—	—	134	—	—
Qld	148	84	638	64	—	—	—	786	148	—	—	148	—	—
Tasmania	—	—	106	11	—	—	—	106	11	—	—	11	—	—
A.C.T.	41	26	238	41	—	—	—	279	67	—	—	67	—	—
								GRAND TOTAL*	38946			23405		1005

Sources: The table has been prepared utilizing information from the records of Education Departments of the states, Greek communities, offices of Greek Educational Advisors, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, Education Committee of the Greek communities of Victoria, the Victoria Education Committee of the Greek Independent schools.

* It is estimated by the teachers involved that approximately 7000 primary and post-primary students attend classes in both Government and Greek community Schools.

* The number does not include tertiary students studying MG via corresponding courses.

The academic relevance of MG began to influence both students and parents with the introduction of Modern Greek language and culture as an examinable matriculation subject in 1973, in which year appointments to lectureships in MG were also made at university level in N.S.W. and Victoria. In the wider social spectrum MG as a community language is now accepted as important for its educational value and not merely for ethnic or cultural reasons (see table 5).

TABLE 5
Attitudes for language maintenance, by generation

Reason for Language Maintenance	Total of respondents (%)	Ist generation (%)	Second and subsequent generations (%)
Cultural*	34	43	57
Ethnic*	27	59	41
Communication	14	63	37
Linguistic	14	51	49
Professional	6	47	53
Return to Greece	3	88	12
Sentimental	1.4	71	29
Religious	0.6	100	∅
* Cultural and ethnic values clearly overlap.			

With regard to the maintenance of the mother tongue, it is interesting to note that second generation Greek Australians proportionally outnumber their 1st generation counterparts. Reference to cultural and professional values occurs more often amongst them whereas linguistic reasons are almost equally divided. The popularity of MG led to its prevalence over all languages other than English in Australia (in 1985 it accounted for 30% of the total number of candidates matriculating in a language). There has also been an increasing demand and expansion at tertiary levels. By 1986, two chairs of MG were established (Sydney, Flinders) as well as lectureships in four other universities (Melbourne, New England, La Trobe, Monash).

MG was also introduced at five colleges. These appointments met the needs of a total intake of over 1200 students (the largest outside mainland Greece).

Notably, the Greek Orthodox church became active at the tertiary level in 1986 with the establishment of St. Andrew's Theological College. The college is a school incorporated with the University of Sydney. MG is taught as part of the theological course.

2.0. The State of MG Language in Australia

In this section an attempt will be made to analyse the extent and distribution of the phenomenon of transference amongst Greek-Australian bilinguals and to identify substantial causes of it.

2.1. Phonemic Implications on MG

Phonemic transfers (the transference of consonantal and vocalic phonemes and allophones) from English are rare amongst 1st generation Greek-Australians and are evidenced only amongst informants with greater knowledge of English. Although the speech of the majority of second and subsequent generations is free of phonetic substitutions (substitutions of phonemes that are identically defined in the two languages but whose normal pronunciation differs - Weinreich 1953:19), many use inconsistently some types which can be defined in the following forms:

- (i) The increased positional aspiration of the MG voiceless stops (/p, t, k/) to (/p^h, t^h, k^h/) [p^hantréft^hik^ha] for [pantréftika] = I got married.
 - (ii) The velarization of the MG clear lateral alveolar /l/ to English dark [ɫ] [poli] for [poti] = much.
 - (iii) The lateral alveolar /l/ is replaced by a geminate or long English [l] [pollemúme] for [polemúme] = we fight.
 - (iv) The lateral trill /r/ in MG is influenced by the English retroflex /ɹ/ changing both the place and the manner of articulation and aspiration [páɹ a] for [pára] = very.
- and (v) The MG velar fricative /x/ is replaced by the fricative /h/ of English [ihame] for [ixame] = we had.

Yet there is no indication for the existence of any persistent or prevailing variable which determines the use of English phonetic substitutions other than the personal disposition of the speaker and to a lesser degree his/her educational background in MG. Speakers who obtained a post-primary education in MG tend to transfer less. This is evident, for instance, in Adelaide where the teaching of the mother tongue at secondary level was introduced a decade later (end of 1970's), and more phonemic substitutions were apparent in the speech of young Greek-Australians. Furthermore, the fact that transfers are integrated into the approximate pattern of MG suggests that the transference, qualitatively at least, is not so much phonemic but rather allophonic; that is, there is a confusion of certain consonantal and vocalic phonemes which are in close proximity in the two languages. Phonemic transfers are evidenced mainly during the process of integration when modification even by mutation of consonants occurs.

Unlike their American counterparts, however, Greek-Australians tend not to assimilate the diaphonic variations of English, but to adopt the standard English segment in accordance with the perceptually similar sound of MG, e.g.

American MG	Australian MG	Translation
aparésjo	operésjo	operation
báksi	bóksi	box
fája	fáir (≠ Broad Australian-English) ²	fire
pája	páiz (≠ Broad Australian-English)	pies

2. The reader is referred to B. Harvath's (1985), *Variation in Australian English*, where the patterns of variations in English by Greek-Australians in Sydney are investigated.

2.2. Lexicon and Morphosyntactic Implications

Lexicon is the most common type of interlingual transference. Amongst Greek-born bilinguals, relatively high proficiency in MG correlates with minimal or no lexical transference (the transference of words in form and meaning). Australian-born bilinguals use substantially more multiple transfers and draw on English more for abstract nouns and other parts of speech.

Non-integrated lexical transfers are particularly restricted in informants with a poor knowledge of English. Furthermore, while no direct, significant correlations are found between this type of transference and personal variables — not even length of residence — occupation and domain of language use are important factors correlating with frequency of non-integrated transfers. Low or high incidence of transference in the speech of individual bilinguals may be related to psychological factors — willingness of the speaker to resort to English. This is manifested by the high incidence of semantic transferences which represent an effort to reduce lexical transferences.

MG has extensive morphology, unlike English. Therefore, lexical transfers from English are adapted to MG by adding affixes which define the grammatical relationship. These integrated nominals constitute part of the norm of Greek-Australian bilinguals. Some of them are accepted in a stable form by all individual bilinguals to the complete exclusion of the MG equivalent. Furthermore, analysis of the data obtained from a word-list, where individual bilinguals were asked to identify as Greek or non-Greek a list of MG transferred and integrated words known to be in widespread use, suggests that a number of integrated words were established beyond recognition by many speakers. Certain integrated nominals receive derivational suffixes to their stem, e.g. box > boksáki which can assign different genders:

-i basketúla (fem.)
-to basketáki (neut.)

Derivational suffixes are added to noun bases to form words with diminutive meanings, e.g. flat > flatáki, freezer > frizúla.

The grammatical structure (morphology and syntax) of MG appears to be almost unaffected by contact with English amongst 1st generation Greek bilinguals. Yet certain deviations may take place, amongst second and subsequent generation bilinguals by semantic association with the equivalent English transferred or integrated words, whereas vacillation of genders in MG words is a frequent phenomenon. Furthermore, it appears that although 90% of the transferred nominals are classified neuters in MG (Tamis 1958b: 125-138) there is no clear gender tendency with the integrated nouns transferred to MG. Both neuter and feminine nouns are about equally prevalent (40% and 49% respectively) followed by the masculine (21%).

Interlingual identification on the level of syntax between English and MG produces similar grammatical relationships in areas such as word order³. Thus the syntactic deviations which can be attributed to the influence of English sentence structure involve

3. The word order of MG (S.V.O.) has been rejected lately by contemporary linguists who claim that this is used for emphasis. Instead they argue that standard MG syntactic pattern is V.S.O. See Warburton, P. (1982) «On the Syntax of Modern Greek», *Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics*, University of Thessaloniki.

a few loan translations. Amongst 2nd and subsequent generation bilinguals the main non-standard syntactic patterns which are employed include the omission of the definite article in MG speech or the unnecessary use of the indefinite article and the unnecessary addition or replacement of prepositions e.g.

«to spíti mu íne páno sto Separation Street...»
(my house is *on* Separation street...)

2.3. Semantic Implications

The incidence of semantic transferences (the transference of words in meaning only) appears to be limited amongst Greek-born bilinguals. Yet it is widely employed by Australian-born individual bilinguals. With reference to personal variables, the available data suggests that apart from the age on arrival, which correlates with incidence of semantic transference amongst Greek-born bilinguals, no other variable is involved. Sufficient knowledge of MG is apparently important since bilinguals who profess moderate or lesser command of MG tend to effect more semantic transferences. This implies that bilinguals with a moderate or lesser command of MG tend to memorise and imitate the formula of the stabilized variety of the Australian MG (see *Ethnolect*, below), without applying the structural lexical and grammatical criteria of standard MG.

In the initial of semantic transference the speaker seeks to match the new concepts semantically by redefining or constructing a new lexical arrangement. The transfer once established is used without knowledge of its semantic origin (it becomes a synonym of the original word in MG) on the part of the speaker. A number of individual bilinguals appear to be unaware of semantically assimilated idioms which are used widely amongst Greek-Australian bilinguals, e.g.

«θα se páro páso...» (I will take [ring] you back)

[In MG «pérno apó páso» (=follow); the idiom commonly used

in Australia, is a semantic compound of MG: «pérno tiléfono» [(to take [make] a call) and the English «ring back»].

or «θα se ðo ávrio...» (I'll see you tomorrow)

[In MG it is not used as a greeting, only literally].

The lexical rearrangement or the redefinition of certain words could lead to semantic confusion (cf. Haugen, 1953:401) in cases where the new word obliterates a distinction previously existing in the language e.g.

«évala depózito 3.000 ðolária» (I made a 3,000 deposit)

[In standard MG this would mean «I installed a \$ 3,000 tank]

2.4. Function of code-switching

Topic domain of language use, place and role relationship of the interlocutors influence the extent of multiple transference (the transference of two or more consecutive words) amongst bilinguals who appear to be proficient in English as well as in MG. Bilinguals who employ multiple transfers tend to use lexical and morphosyntactic transferences as well. The majority of bilinguals use short syntactic units, mainly phrases, and constituents of phrases and to a lesser degree clauses. Complete but limited English sentences are to be found only in the speech of Australian-born bilinguals. Male bilin-

guals tend to employ more multiple transfers perhaps because of their occupational affiliations. Yet, level of education through the medium of MG and the degree of proficiency in both languages are the most significant variables associated with the phenomenon.

2.5. Formulae of Speech Acts

Greek-born bilinguals with a moderate or lesser command of English employ more pragmatic transferences (the transference of speech act rules) than their Australian-born counterparts. The latter use more this kind of pragmatic transferences which does not lead to communicative breakdown (vacillation in the use of the number -2nd person singular for second person plural, use of the first name instead of surname).

Greek-born bilinguals sometimes employ pragmatic transferences which could potentially lead to communicative conflict, where «a misunderstanding leads to friction between the parties» (Clyne, 1967: 129-130), e.g.

«ke ti thélis, *love*, ti rotáo. Afí ómos den apántise...»

(and what do you want, *love*, I ask her but she did not answer back)

[the word «love» would almost certainly be construed differently in Greece].

Intercultural differences appear to trigger this transference. The phenomenon is limited amongst Greek-born bilinguals, hampered by their low social interaction with Anglo-Australians (Tamis, 1985a).

2.6. Prosodic Implications

Female bilinguals employ more frequent prosodic transferences (the transference of stress and/or intonation). The most frequent type, employed by Australian-born and some Greek-born females involves the raising-falling intonation from English. This kind of prosody is mainly used as a persuasive intonation in fairly long narrations.

The inconsistency of the occurrence of intra-lingual prosodic transferences, suggests that the prevalence of standard MG over the Greek dialects (with the exception of the Pontian and Cypriot) tends to reduce the use of the characteristic intonation of these other dialects.

2.7. Transference at the Discourse Level

Lengthy narrations which presuppose some degree of preformulation lead to the high incidence of transference of a discourse segment and discourse markers from English. This depends on the personal style, the topic, the setting and the role relationship of the interlocutors. It was observed (Tamis, 1985b: 240) that idiolectal intralinguistic patterns are often not sufficient for an effective narrative performance obligating the bilingual speaker to resort to English. This is further evidenced by the use of couplets (a lexical item in English or in MG immediately followed by the equivalent word in the other language), which are mainly employed by male bilinguals with a relatively high proficiency in MG. Therefore, coupling as a speech device employed more flexibly in both long and short conversations indicates the decisive role of extra-linguistic factors in speech situation, rather than the weakening of the *Sprachgefühl* of Greek-Australian bilingual speakers who are using them.

3.0. The Formation of an Ethnolect

Although the total impact of English on MG could not be measured, it can be argued that there is an attrition process evident at an inter-generational level, which can be averted. The attrition phenomenon is not generated by any apparent assimilatory reason or an eventual weakening of the *Sprachgefühl*, but is the result of the contraction of the circumference of the actual «*Anticipated Language Model*» [ALM] (the generally accepted model for standard MG). I use the term «contraction» to indicate its temporary status and to argue that an expansion to its original stage, that of the ALM, is possible.

The degree, type and extent of this contraction depend on various aspects of language attitudes and language use, such as the disposition of the individual bilingual to acquire and develop his/her mother tongue, on the elaboration of function of MG, its acceptability by the community and its stability of form. The contracted variety which involves the aforementioned transferences and constraints, due to its contact with English, will be called «*Acquired Communicative Variety*» [ACV]. In the case of the ACV non-integrated lexemes are repeatedly transferred from English. This is suggested by the fact that bilinguals with different personal characteristics (education, occupation, etc.) use different forms of the same word. This perhaps suggests that English transfers can occur in unlimited numbers.

Yet, certain lexical transfers appear to be stabilized morphophonemically and a few syntactic, semantic and pragmatic deviations from the standard norm are employed by almost all Greek-Australian bilinguals. These stabilized types in their usual form constitute the result of the transference rather than the process as this is seen in the case of ACV, since they are used only by members of the Greek-Australian community and no longer depend on bilingualism. This means that they are established in the language, in the same way as transference had been accepted into the MG language in previous centuries in the homeland, replacing existing words. I will call this stabilized (non-) standard variety which is known and used by an ethnic community, in a language contact situation, an «*Ethnolect*». Notably, the Ethnolect reaching this transformation point and stabilized at an early stage of the first settlers' residence in Australia, could be maintained unchanged thereafter. This is manifested by conclusionary evidence (Clyne, 1972; Bettoni, 1981; Tamis, 1985b) which shows that length of residence in Australia does not determine either the amount or the type of transference. The stabilization of the *ethnolect* requires a degree of concentration and linguistic awareness which are best attainable in bilinguals with a high level of education in MG. The latter induces adherence to ALM and hence better presuppositions for stabilizing the *ethnolect* by obstructing the process of language shift. There is, however, some regional variation of the Ethnolect generated by the different environment (urban ≠ rural), e.g.

the transfers «blókos» < block (=farm), «ráksja» < racks, «tráxtes» < tractors, «lóri» < lorry [«tráki» < track by urban individuals] which constitute part of the norm of country bilinguals, are non-intelligible to their urban counterparts.

Furthermore, some integrated words used by members of the Sydney Greek community are used in their non-integrated form in Melbourne, e.g.

(fem.)	«zípa» < zip	(in Sydney)
(neut.)	«zip» < zip	(in Melbourne)

(neut.) «masínja» and «masins» < machines (in Sydney)
 (neut.) «masíns» < machines (in Melbourne)

It has been shown in the past (Tamis, 1985b) that Greek-Australian bilinguals use different integrated words from their American counterparts. in many cases. A large number of these integrated words are non-intelligible to Greek Australian bilinguals,

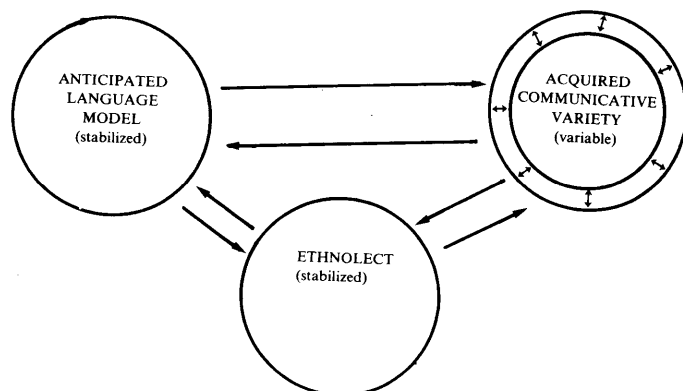
e.g.

American Norm	English	Standard MG
biloféri	< bill of fare	katáloyos
bíti	< bit	komáti
bóbis	< bum	alítis
dípos	< depos	staθmós
klópi	< club	lésxi
krédito	< credit	pístosi
pája	< pies	pítes

In a situation of dynamic bilingualism without diglossia, the ACV would be expected to be more flexible amongst second and subsequent generation speakers reflecting the process of language shift in the direction of English. Lexical transfers and code-switching should have e.g. a higher incidence. At the present stage of research, it appears that this is the case only with a minority of 2nd generation bilinguals (approximately 8%) who possess an attitude of indifference towards acquisition and learning of the mother tongue. This psychological factor, reinforced by the socio-cultural setting of language contact, tends to correlate negatively with language learning. For the majority of individual bilinguals, however, it would appear that a positive interest in language, persistent parental encouragement towards language learning and careful attention to speech are very important factors for language maintenance.

Nevertheless, with the present elaboration of function where home is the domain in which MG is mainly employed, the necessity to communicate in the Australian situation is satisfied with a linguistic competence which does not expand their *Acquired Communicative Variety* up to the circumference of the *Anticipated Language Model* (see diagramme 1).

DIAGRAMME 1
 Evolution of MG in Australia



Furthermore, at inter-generational level the fact that the usage of MG by Australian-born bilinguals (see table 3) depends on the encouraging efforts of family members has attritionary implications for the status of the language used by their Greek-born parents. It has been found (Tamis 1985b) that the speech of Greek-born mothers who stay home is influenced by their school-age children who are conversing in English showing higher incidence of lexical and semantic transfers.

In other words for second and subsequent generation bilinguals the language learning process is inhibited by the already contracted *Acquired Communicative Variety* of their parents from which they extensively draw. Their linguistic repertoire has been confined to a restricted number of lexemes because the concepts and names that they need to describe in their family environment are limited. Interviewing Greek-born bilinguals and their Australian-born children in Sydney, Adelaide and Melbourne, it was found that certain words which appear obsolete to the parents were non-intelligible to the children of a given family e.g. the lexemes «patári» (=loft), «nikéloma» (=nickel), «avántzo» (=advantage), «tavlás» (=wooden tray) were known only by 2nd generation bilinguals whose parents employ them. On the contrary lexemes used by parents, even on an idiolectal basis, are employed by their children as well, e.g. «duzína» (=dozen), «kaθistikó» (=living room), «dragóthike» (=it became stiff), «avγátisma» (=increase), were commonly used.

Furthermore, it has been shown (Tamis, 1985b: 208ff) that Greek Australian bilinguals tend to adopt the Ethnolect established by older generations of immigrants and that it is via the Greek community that the influence of English is brought to bear on the Greek-born individuals. This is evidenced by the fact that certain transferred words which were used by Greek immigrants forty years ago and which have fallen into disuse in contemporary Australian English are still used today by informants who arrived subsequently and even by Australian-born bilinguals, e.g. the words:

«bódzis», «bodzaría» and (pl. «bodzaríes» < bodgie < to bodge (it was used to refer to a «vagabond» in the fifties). According to the Oxford English Dictionary (v. I:962) it is derived from the outdated now verb «to bodge» = to be dressed in a clumsy way)

«tripénja» < three pence (in sense of 5c coin)

«diplosélineo» < two shillings (in sense of 20c coin)

and so on, are in common use amongst individual bilinguals of all generations. Thus, the process of attrition is able to be averted if the domains of language use can be extended to cover the school, the church and possibly the work place. By elaborating the function of MG, Australian-born bilinguals will not rely on the contractive ACV of their parents, but on the Ethnolect and in certain cases on ALM. Nevertheless, the stability of Australian MG (Ethnolect) in the present bilingual situation should be viewed with respect to factors such as level of literacy obtained in ALM, socio-economic and political power of the Greek community, its geographic and social mobility and the social integration of its members with the Anglophone community.

The concept of multilingualism advocates the maintenance use and development of MG. Over the last decade children have been given more opportunities to express themselves in as many language domains as possible. The sense of «inferiority» experienced by early immigrants and their children speaking their home language has faded away, while MG as a community language is considered to be important for its educational value and not just for ethnic or cultural reasons (see 1.2. above). In 1986,

Brunswick Grammar — St. Basil School, a bilingual school in Melbourne, operated by the local Greek community network, in its first year of operation attracted 12% non-Greek background students, whereas state-run bilingual schools, in Collingwood and Richmond in the same city, admitted a large number of non-Greek speaking students in their bilingual programme. The educational value of MG is further illustrated by the high popularity of MG amongst students of Anglo-Australian background who attend tertiary courses either conducted in MG or being taught in MG. Bardis' conviction (1976: 29) that MG being a highly inflected language «makes it exceedingly difficult for children to learn it» should be treated as erroneous and unfounded. This does not stand up to rational linguistic reasoning for language acquisition and learning — MG is neither more or less difficult than any other language to learn.

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