

- b. *boē'thō* (present) 'I help' → *e-bo'ēthoun* (imperf. past) 'I was helping',
e-bo'ēthēsa (perf. past) 'I helped'

The temporal augment, on the other hand, occurred with verbs beginning with a vowel. In this case, the augment appeared in the form of initial vowel lengthening (Chantraine, 1961), as in

- (2)
a. *e'θelō* (present) 'I want' → *ē-θelon* (imperf. past) 'I wanted'
ē-θelēsa (perf. past) 'I wanted'
b. *o'mnuō* (present) 'I swear' → *ō-mnuon* (imperf. past) 'I was swearing'
ō-mosa (perf. past) 'I swore'

The temporal augment had already fallen out of usage by Hellenistic Greek, because of its variable form and the loss of the relevant notion of lengthening by sound change. However, it is worth noting that some forms augmented with *i-* (<*ē-* or *ei-* or *ēi-*²>) were transmitted to Medieval and Modern Greek on the basis of frequency, for example:

- (3)
a. *'iθela* 'I wanted'
b. *'ipa* 'I said'

Other forms arose through analogical levelling in Medieval Greek (Horrocks 2010), for example

- (4)
'leyo (present) 'I say' → *'i-leya* (imperf. past) 'I was saying'
instead of *'e-leya* after *'ipa* (perf. past, 'I said')

Some of these still appear in Standard Modern Greek (SMG), for example,

- (5)
a. *'θelō* (present) 'I want' → *'i-θela* (imperf. past) 'I wanted'
b. *'ksero* (present) 'I know' → *'i-ksera* (imperf. & perf. past) 'I knew'

or in Modern Greek dialects (MGD), for example:

- (6)
a. Lesbian *'leyu* 'I say' - *'ipa* 'I said' → *'ileya* 'I used to say'
(Kretschmer 1905: Ralli, in prep.)
b. Peloponnesian *'ferno* 'I bring' → *'iferna* 'I was bringing'
'ifera 'I brought'
(Pantelidis 2001, pers. comm.)

² For the development of the pronunciation of Ancient Greek diphthongs and long vowels and their shortening in Hellenistic Greek, see Petrounias 2007 and Horrocks (2010).

Crucially, for certain MGD verbs the augment /i-/ was generalized as the basic form of the syllabic augment. This holds for the areas of Aenus (Eastern Thrace), Lesbos, Ikaria, Dodecanese, Smyrna as well as for some parts of Crete, Chios and Cyclades (Santorini, Ios, Tinos, Syros) (Hatzidakis 1892, 1905; Contossopoulos 2001). Moreover, in some cases, like the old syllabic augment /e-/, the appearance of which is in many instances related to stress, /i-/ appears only when stressed, for example in the Eastern and Central Crete (Pangalos 1950; Contossopoulos 2001) or in North-Eastern and Southern Chios (Pernot 1946):

- (7)
- a. Eastern and Central Cretan
a 'leθo (present) 'I grind' → 'ileθa (imperf. past) 'I was grinding'
e 'leθame (imperf. past) 'we were grinding'
- b. Southern Chiot
 'γrafo (Present) 'I write' → 'iyrapsa (perf. past) 'I wrote'
e 'γrapsame (perf. past) 'we wrote'

In other cases, /e-/ and /i-/ coexist, like in certain areas of Central Crete (Pangalos 1955), and occasionally in the Cyclades (Contossopoulos 2001):

- (8) (Eastern and Central Cretan)
 'troγo (Present) 'I eat' → *e* 'fayame & *i* 'fayame (perf. past) 'we ate'

The syllabic augment /e-/, fared better in terms of retention. In SMG, it is retained when accented, due to a general phonological process which deleted unaccented initial vowels (Horrocks 2010; Manolessou & Ralli 2015):

- (9)
- a. 'lino (present) 'I unbind' → 'e-lina (imperf. past) 'I was unbinding'
 'liname (imperf. past) 'we were unbinding'
 'e-lisa (perf. past) 'I unbound'
 'lisame (perf. past) 'we unbound'

As a result of this process, the SA lost its clear morphemic status and became a morpho-phonological formative, whose only function is to receive stress when there is a left-hand stress shift outside the confines of the word (Babiniotis 1972, Kaisse 1982). According to Ralli (1988, 2005) this stress shift is caused by the phonological properties of past tense inflectional endings³. Furthermore, the distinction between the syllabic and the temporal augment has been neutralized, and the latter is treated similarly to the

³ But see Drachman (2001) and Spyropoulos & Revithiadou (2008) Revithiadou & Spyropoulos for a somehow different treatment, within the generative framework. More particularly, Drachman (2001) proposes that the augment in Modern Greek is only one of the potential past tense exponents, stress shift and ending being the others. On the other hand, Spyropoulos & Revithiadou (2008) claim that /e-/ is the surface manifestation of a segmentally empty prefix which bears lexically-encoded accentual properties, and it stands in allomorphic relation with a set of other exponents of the Past.

former. Thus, we find *'i-ksera* ('I knew') but *'kserame* ('we knew'), and so we will refer to both as the syllabic augment (SA).

The motivation for this study, stems from the observation that the SMG pattern is not observed in several dialects (Papadopoulos 1926, Triantaphyllidis 1936). The SA is obligatorily present in the dialects of Cyprus, Smyrna, Pontus, Chios, Cyclades, some parts of Lesbos and the Peloponnese, Crete and the Ionian Islands (Tzitzilis 2016, Kretschmer 1905, Ralli in prep.):

(10)

a. Cypriot

'yrafomen (present) 'I write' → *e-'yrafamen* (imperf. past) 'we were writing'
(Menardos 1925)

b. Smyrniot

pe'θeno (present) 'I die' → *i-peθana* (perf. past) 'I died' (Liosis 2016)

c. Pontic

'kloskome (present) 'to return' → *e-'kloskumane* (imperf. past) 'I was returning'
(Revithiadou & Spyropoulos 2009)

d. Chiot

'pero (present) 'I take' → *e-'pira* (perf. past) 'I took' (Pernot 1946)

loya'rajazi (present) 'he counts' → *i-lo'yarjaze* (imperf.) 'he was counting'
(Contossopoulos 2001)

e. Naxiot

'xanome (present) 'I get lost' → *e-'xanumu* (imperf. past) 'I was getting lost'
(Oikonomidis 1952)

yli'tono (present) 'I get away' → *i-'ylitosa* (perf. past) 'I got away'
(Koukoules 1923)

f. Peloponnesian

fi'lo (present) 'I kiss' → *e-'filiya* (imperf. past) 'I was kissing'

'kserete (present) 'you know' → *i-'kserate* (imperf. & perf. past) 'you knew'
(Pantelidis 2001, pers. comm.)

g. Cretan

'sirnome (present) 'we drag' → *e-'sirname* (imperf. past) 'we were dragging'

'trojome (present) 'we eat' → *e-'fayame* or *i-'fayame* (perf. past) 'we ate'
(Pangalos 1955)

h. Corfiot

'kaθome (present) 'I sit' → *e-ka'θomuna* (imperf. past) 'I was sitting'
(Avloniti 2008)

i. Patmian

je'mizo (present) 'I fill' → *i-'jemisa* (perf. past) 'I filled' (Papadopoulou 2005)

j. Lesbian

'δlevyu (present) 'I work' → *i-'δulivya* (imperf. past) 'I was working'
(Kretschmer 1905, Ralli in prep.)

For these cases, Ralli (2005) has argued that SA has morphological status, and that it is the first part of a discontinuous morpheme, the second member of which is the past tense ending.

2. Methodology

This study was conducted as part of the *ImmiGrec* project (2017-2018; <https://immigrec.com/en>), funded by the Stavros Niarchos Foundation. The project aims at understanding the Greek communities established across Canada, by studying them from a historical, political, sociological, anthropological and linguistic perspective. As for the linguistic objectives, the project plans to examine the dialectal variation among the Greeks living in Canada, issues concerning contact between these dialects, but also more generally issues of language contact between Greek and the host languages of English and French. Most of our participants left Greece for economic and political reasons. The second world war and the Greek civil war that followed it (1946-1949) devastated the countryside, and many left in order to avoid persecution for their political beliefs (Mitrofanis 2003). For this reason, most have only primary education, while a few have completed high school.

The research question guiding our study is: “What patterns of usage of the *unaccented* syllabic augment do we find in the speech of Greek Canadians from different dialect regions?” In order to answer this, we constructed a dataset from the interviews of 131 participants from 8 of the 15 dialect regions of Greece identified by Trudgill (2003): Central, Northern, Southern, Southeastern, Eastern, and the three Cycladic varieties (Northern, Western, and Central). The interviews took place in 2017 and 2018, and they were based on a questionnaire (cf. Appendix), which was structured on three axes: Greek origins, settlement in Canada, integration in the Canadian society. During the interviews, deviations were permitted if the participants desired to do so.

3. Results

Below we present some representative examples of utterances displaying the presence or absence of unaccented syllabic augment (11), as well as the temporal augment (12) (underlined forms). In most examples, the variation can be found in the same speaker. Alternations of the same verbal form are also frequent:

- a. Ionian (A.D., Cephalonia-Vancouver)
e'δuleva sto 'feri, stin cefalo 'na. pi 'jename 'patra-cefalo 'na- 'patra – sto 'ajios je 'rasimos 'δuleva
 I was working on the ferry, on Cephalonia, we were going Patra-Cephalonia-Patra – on the St. Gerasimus I was working.
- b. Peloponnesian (H.K., Arcadia-Edmonton)
 e 'yo 'idi 'ixa mja i 'dea ap a 'fta, 'to ksera 'prin, a 'plos 'ekana mja epive 'veosi 'otan 'piya e 'ci, ce e'piya
 I already had some idea about these matters, I had known it from before. I just confirmed it when I went there. So I went.
- c. Modern Athenian (I.K., Athens-Edmonton)
'δuleve, 'δuleve. 'para po 'li e'δuleve
 He worked, he worked. He worked very hard!
- d. Northern dialects
 i. (N.P. Karditsa-Vancouver)

'efiya 'otan 'imuna, e'fiyame 'dio fo 'res, 'otan 'fiyame, 'otan 'imuna
tri'on xro'non 'piyame sto xo'rjo tu pa'tera mu

I left when I ... we left twice, when we left, when I was 3 years old we
went to my father's village.

ii. (K.P. Kavala-Toronto)

e'yo 'pijena 'eksi 'mines e'ci ce 'eksi 'mines e'do [...] 'emena, ce
peri'sotero o 'loyos pu e'pijena stin e'laða 'itane ja'ti ci'tusa ti ma'ma
mu

I went there for 6 months there and six months here [...] I stayed, and the
biggest reason I went to Greece was because I looked after my mother.

iii. (K.K. Evritania-Vancouver)

'evyala to ji'mnasio ce me'ta bar'karisa sto embori'ko nafti'ko, e'pira to
'diploma tu anθipopli'arxu, ksanabar'karisa, 'pira to 'diploma tu
ipopli'arxu

I finished high school and then I shipped off with the merchant marines. I
got my diploma as a second lieutenant, I shipped off again, I got the
diploma as a captain's mate.

iv. Sporades (A.T. Skopelos-Vancouver)

ton 'ide ce ton e'valane se 'kapço karo'tsaki ce ton e'ferane 'mesa sto
estia'torio ce 'kaname 'oti 'eprepe na 'kanume

He saw him and they put him in a wheelchair and they brought him into
the restaurant and we did everything we could do.

v. Lesbos (M.G. Lesbos-Montreal)

eci 'ynorisa ti . . . e'yno'risame ti 'lila, ton 'jani ce ti jor'jia, 'kati 'alus
'elines.

There I met, we met Lila, John, and Georgia, and some other Greeks.

e. Cretan (D. G.-K., Chania-Vancouver)

'istera to 'maθane 'oti epa'remine to aero'plano, e'maθane, o pa'teras
mu ido'piise tin ete'ria

Later, they learned that the airplane remained on the ground. They learned
it, my father notified the company.

f. Chiot (G.V., Chios-Montreal)

evo'iθisa po'li 'kosmo e'do 'pera . . . ce po'li a'koma mu 'lene efxari'sto
pu tus vo'iθisa 'totes ce 'vrikane mja du'la

I helped a lot of people here ... and many still thank me, because I helped
them then, and they found work.

g. Dodecanesian (B.K., Karpathos-Montreal)

'otan epa'ndreftika, parusi'astika sto imi'gresion. tus 'leo "pa'ndreftika
ce 'θelo na 'mino edo'pera 'tora"

When I got married, I presented myself to the Immigration Office. I say to
them: "I am married and I want to stay here now."

h. Cypriot (N.C., Cyprus-Vancouver)

stis 'vasis e'δulepsa is tin lefko'sian ... me'ta sti leme'so. me'ta to
yra'fion tis 'pu tan stin 'polin 'mesan 'eklisen, 'pijen stin episko'pin

On the [military] bases I worked in Nicosia ... then in Limassol, then her
office which was in the town closed, it moved to Episkopi.

(12) Examples with augment (i-)

- a. Peloponnesian
 i. (T.K., Helis-Vancouver)
ar 'ɣotera i'θelisan arce'ti si'nadelfi na metakini'θume a'po e'ci ce na 'pame e'ci akri'vos pu 'ine 'simera i me'ɣali elini'ci ci'notita tu van'kuver
 Later several colleagues wanted to move from there and go to the place where the big Greek community is in Vancouver.
- ii. (I.P., Arcadia-Regina)
'otan 'kaname e'do to 'xol stin ekli'sia, e'ci i'ferame ce er'xomastun e'do. den parapi'jename
 When we made the hall in the church, we brought it there and came here. We did not go too often.
- b. Chiot (M.B., Chios-Toronto)
ti 'dɛfteri 'mera pu 'irθame, mas 'pire ce mas 'pije sxo'lio na mas 'ɣrapsi. 'piyame sto sxo'lio ce den i'kserame 'tipota
 The second day we were here, he took us and he went with us to the school to enrol us, we went to school and we did not know anything.
- c. Cretan (D. G.-K., Chania-Vancouver)
'otan 'irθame edo'pera 'istera, den i'kserame, den i'kserame, den i'kserame, 'ute 'anθropo den i'kserame
 When we came here afterwards, we did not know, we did not know a single person.
- d. Ionian (D.A., Cephalonia-Vancouver)
'pu 'itan o ni'kolas ce i 'popi den i'kserame. 'pu 'itan o 'aɣelos den i'kserame. a'fta ta 'maθame to penindae'fta, ar'ɣotera, 'xroɣa ar'ɣotera
 Where were Nicholas and Popi, we did not know, where was Angelo we did not know. This we learned in 57, later, years later.
- e. Thessalian (C.S., Larissa-Vancouver)
'mono stin 'larisa 'ixa 'pai mɣa fo'ra. to sxo'lio mas 'pije sto idrayo'jio na 'dume ta ne'ra 'pos kseki'nane. 'tipota den i'kserame
 Only in Larisa had I been once. The school took us to the water reservoir, so we could see where the water begins. We did not know anything.

What is interesting not only in the examples above but throughout our data is that there is variation in terms of the usage of unaccented SA (with various degrees). There are speakers who come from an area where the unaccented SA is expected but use forms without it (e.g. 11b), but there are also speakers from areas where the unaccented SA is not expected and, yet, tend to use it (e.g. 11d). This can be seen in Figure 1, where the map on the left depicts the expected presence or absence of the unaccented SA. Areas in red are regions where it should be absent, areas in green are areas regions where it should always be present, and the yellow areas are those for which the pattern is variable. The map on the right depicts our findings. First notice that there is no area in green, because there are no speakers that always use the unaccented SA. At most there is variable usage, even for speakers from the Southern dialect region (cf. Crete). Areas in orange (e.g. Rhodes or Lesbos), are ones in which some speakers have a variable pattern, while others never use the unaccented SA. Overall, the maps show that the speakers are in a process of general convergence with respect to this dialect feature. It is

not simply the case that non-standard speakers are converging to the standard, but even speakers from standard areas (e.g. Athens) are using the non-standard variant.

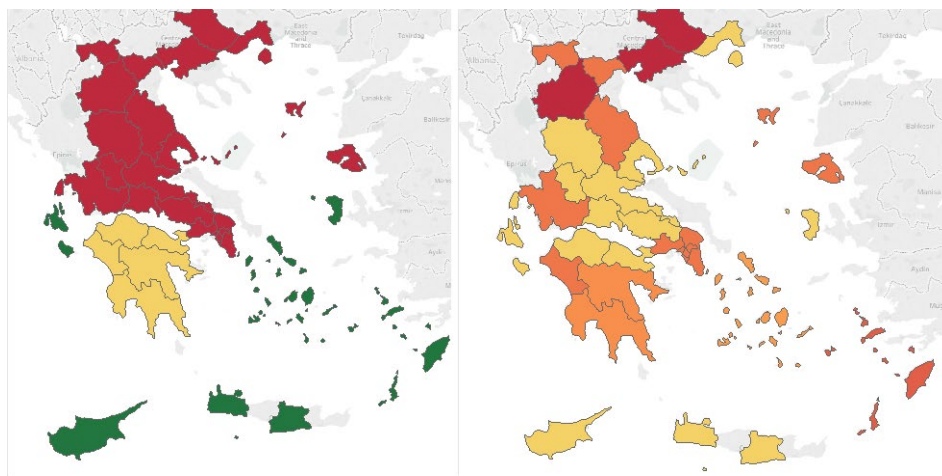


Figure 1. Expected (right) vs. actual (left) use of the unaccented SA among first-generation Greek-Canadians. Red indicates categorical absence of the feature, green categorical presence, while yellow and orange degrees of variability.

4. Discussion and further research

The most promising approach for understanding this pattern, would be an analysis using variationist methodology (Labov 1963, 2006), and theoretically grounded in the findings of studies in koineization (cf. Bekker 2013; Bubenik 1993; Cerruti & Regis 2014; Elmentaler 2005; Kerswill 2000; Siegel 1993; Trudgill 2008). To achieve this, we would need to analyze data from many more speakers, because, as is typical with morphological phenomena, the number of tokens per participant is low. However, these preliminary results can be tentatively understood in the light of other findings within the *Immigrec* project.

The recorded interviews clearly show that, although the influence of SMG is not negligible in the speech of our participants, the greater tendency is for them to employ features that belong either to their native dialectal variety of MG, or to a vernacular form of Common Modern Greek (CMG). According to most scholars of Greek (cf. Triantaphyllidis 1936, Mirambel 1937, Horrocks 2010, among others) this vernacular CMG was a variety of Modern Greek already spoken by the majority of the Greek population at the first half of the 20th century, that is, before the standardization of SMG and its teaching in the post-war Greek education. CMG had received very little influence from Katharevousa (the archaizing official variety of Greece until 1975), and was differentiated from region to region, where the spoken varieties were increasingly becoming assimilated to it. Crucially, it was characterized by variation, or the parallel use of several morphological features, something which is a common characteristic of koines, (cf. Bubenik 1993; Siegel 1993; Trudgill 2008). A typical example of this variation is the mixture of different verbal forms, such as the one we see in the case of

the unaccented SA. Since all of our participants are born after 1920, it is reasonable to assume that they have not lived in a purely mono-dialectal context before leaving Greece, and that most of them used a form of CMG before their departure for Canada. We suggest then that they brought this form of the vernacular with them to Canada, and continued to use it after their settlement in the new country.

Furthermore, our investigation of the imperfect tense endings in *-ay-* and *-us-*, (Tsolakidis, Ralli and Pappas, to appear), as well as the exploration of English noun and verb borrowings in Canadian Greek (Ralli, 2018, and Ralli et al, to appear) have provided evidence that the original speech of Greek immigrants in Canada, both dialectal (that is, the linguistic variety of their native place) and non-dialectal (that is, that of CMG which was carried from Greece), has been affected by mainly two factors: a) the influence of SMG due to frequent visits to Greece, where SMG prevails, and b) the increased exposure to mainstream Greek content through technology (satellite TV, internet) in Canada in the last decades.

Despite these pressures, the dialectal pattern with respect to unaccented SA persists, since there is no speaker coming from an area with compulsory unaccented SA who entirely avoids it, and some speakers even use the *i-* form (e.g. *ifera*), which is strictly dialectal (i.e. it cannot pass as CMG). Moreover, we see that the dialectal pattern is also used by speakers from areas that follow the standard. For instance, speakers from Lesbos occasionally use an unaccented SA of the *e-* form, something which is unknown in both the Lesbian MGD and in the CMG spoken in Lesbos.

The extension of the variable pattern to other dialectal groups may be due to the fact that the Peloponnesian variety, which is the basis for SMG and thus enjoys elevated prestige, shows a variable pattern itself, namely both the presence and the absence unaccented SA can be found. Since in many communities in Canada, Greeks from the Peloponnese are in the majority, immigrants from other Greek areas have begun adopting their pattern of speech. Trudgill (2001) argues that the members of small, stable tightly-knit societies are likely to share more linguistic information than members of larger, more dynamic and loosely-knit communities. In the case of the sociolinguistic situation of our participants, it is likely that Greek immigrants coming from different dialectal regions adopted more variable patterns in order downplay their differences, and emphasize their common bonds. In this context, the simultaneous use of verbal forms with and without unaccented SA, even by the same speaker and/or even in the same sequence of sentences, was and still is something acceptable. We have found a similar pattern for the parallel use of the imperfect tense endings in *-ay-* and *-us-*, in Tsolakidis, Ralli and Pappas (to appear).

Britain & Trudgill (2005) have shown how the rapid increase in the population of the city of Norwich during the 19th century has resulted in the formation of a new dialect through the accommodation of the mutually intelligible varieties of speakers who immigrated from the rural areas around the city. In a similar sense, it is possible that upon the establishment of Greek communities in Canada, a Canadian-Greek Koiné began to develop, influenced by but essentially independent from SMG and CMG. Some other indications for the existence of this Koiné can be found in Tsolakidis, Ralli and Pappas (to appear), Ralli (2018), and Ralli et al (to appear).

As mentioned above, in order to test this hypothesis it is necessary to examine in detail a much wider sample of our participants, in order to include immigrants from as many communities in Canada and dialectal regions in Greece. The expanded dataset will allow us to investigate further issues which are structural in nature, such as:

- (i) Which are the verbs showing the use of unaccented SA? In other words, are there any specific verbs which can carry it, or it is a feature characterizing all verbs?
- (ii) Is there any correlation between the presence of unaccented SA and the verbal endings? For instance, we have observed that imperfect forms in *-us-* carrying an unaccented *e-* are extremely rare.
- (iii) What is the function of the *e-* (or *i-*) in Canadian Greek? Is it an inflectional prefix or a stress carrier?
- (iv) Maniakas (1991, 2001), observes that English is much more prominent in the Greek of second-generation immigrants, which raises the question of how much it affects the speech of first-generation Greeks.

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Appendix: the Immigrec questionnaire

Immigration and Language in Canada: Greeks and Greek-Canadians

ImmiGrec Questionnaire

1. What is your name?
2. When were you born?
3. Which is your birthplace/ the Greek city/town or village you come from?
4. Where did you grow up?
5. When did you immigrate to Canada?
6. What made you immigrate to Canada? Had you discussed your decision with anyone?
 - 6^a. What did you know about Canada before moving here?
 - 6^b. Was there any family member/ community member, who had already immigrated to Canada?
 - 6^c. Did anyone help you? Was anyone waiting for you in Canada?
 - 6^d. Did you bring anything with you?
7. Can you tell us the details of your trip and your first impressions?
8. In which city did you first settle?
9. Please, could you describe the place you lived in, when you first came in Canada? In which neighborhood did you live?
10. What was your first employment in Canada ? How did you find your first employment? Could you tell me more about it.
11. What types of work have you done since?
12. With whom did you mostly hang out when you arrived? And today?
13. How was your relationship with Canadian society in general? And with other immigrants? Has that changed over time? Give us an example.
14. Did you face any difficulties at the beginning? Which ones? How did you deal with them?
15. Tell me about your marriage. How did you meet your wife/husband?
16. Did you keep any aspects of your life from your place of origin?
17. Did you speak English or French before coming to Canada?
18. How did you learn English or French? Did you go to school in Canada to learn English or French?
19. Has learning English (or French) helped you? If yes, how and why?
20. Do you speak Greek in Canada? Do you write Greek while in Canada? For what purposes? With whom? When? In which circumstances?
21. Do you speak the Greek of your birthplace in Canada? With whom? In which contexts/circumstances?
22. Do you think you may have forgotten your Greek after living in Canada for so many years?
23. Do you think that the Greek you speak now is (any) different from the Greek you spoke when you arrived at Canada? If so, in what ways?
24. Would you like to speak more often Greek? In which occasions and why?
25. Which school did your children attend? Why?
 - 25^a (If they went to Greek school) Did they like going to greek school?
26. Did they learn Greek? Do they speak Greek now?

27. How important is the maintenance of Greek language to you? Do you consider knowing Greek an asset or an obstacle to your adjustment to Canadian culture/society?
28. How do you spend your free time?
29. Do you participate in any activities of the Greek community? Which one(s)? Why?
30. Could you narrate an incident that made a strong impression and you still remember from your life in Canada?
31. How often do you visit Greece?
32. How do your compatriots treat you?
33. How many times (if any) did it come to your mind to go back to Greece?
34. If this is the case, what has prevented you from going back to Greece?
35. Do you feel more Greek or Canadian?