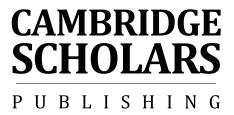# Bilingualism and Multiculturalism
in Greek Education

Bilingualism and Multiculturalism in Greek Education:
Investigating Ethnic Language Maintenance among Pupils of Albanian and Egyptian Origin in Athens

By

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**CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS**

P U B L I S H I N G

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INTRODUCTION

The past decade has seen an unprecedented growth in the study of the linguistic effects of globalisation and increased migration all over the world. Recent research on immigrant communities in both Europe (Extra and Gorter, 2001; Extra and Yagmur, 2004) and the United States (Portes and Hao, 1998) reveals that in many cases immigrant children abandon the use of the parental language and adopt the majority language of the host country or community. Reasons for this include the perceived prestige of the majority language for social integration and educational achievement, together with the host society's negative attitudes towards linguistic and cultural diversity.

Greece is a recent destination country for immigrants, after having exported immigrants mainly to Australia, the United States and Western Europe for many years. Although mass immigration into Greece started in the early 1990s, issues of language maintenance and intercultural education have only recently started to be researched. The broad aim of the present publication is to add to this relatively new area of research. This work analyses the linguistic competence, practices and attitudes of Albanian and Egyptian[1] immigrant pupils in Greece. As will be seen, my findings indicate that:

- knowledge of Greek is common among today's children of Albanian and Egyptian immigrants and preference for that language is dominant;

- there has been a simultaneous rapid loss of fluency in parental languages;

- bilingualism varies slightly between Albanian and Egyptian second-generation pupils with Egyptians being more dominant in the parental language, due to their higher degree of identification with their ethnic group in comparison to the Albanian pupils;

- the school context plays a significant role in the ability of second-generation youths to achieve and maintain bilingual fluency.

Is Greek society multicultural?

Greece, a net exporter of migrants in earlier decades, started during the 1970s to receive a considerable number of repatriated Greeks (ex-emigrants returning to Greece). Since the mid 1980s and especially during the 1990s, Greece became a net immigration country, receiving foreign immigrants some of whom are of Greek origin[2] as well as refugees (mainly Iraqi and Turkish). The largest single immigration wave started in the early 1990s and was made up largely of Albanians. A significant proportion of these immigrants were entering and residing and/or working in Greece illegally (Petrinioti, 1993; Lianos *et al*., 1996). However, after a period during which immigration policy in Greece consisted only of deportations and militarisation of the borders (King *et al*., 1998), migrants were given the opportunity to regularise their status through three regularisation programmes (in 1998, in 2001 and in 2005). Moreover, as of 2010, and under special conditions which are discussed later in the book, legal immigrants have access to Greek citizenship. Although there are no completely reliable data sources about the exact number of foreigners in Greece, many calculations converge on a figure between 600,000 and 800,000 people. However, according to an estimation mentioned in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) 2000 report on migration trends, the true number of foreign residents in the country is likely to be between 800,000 and 1 million, that is to say nearly 10% of Greece's population (OECD 2000). The Labour Institute of the Greek Workers' Confederation estimates the proportion of foreign workers to be 9% of the total labour force (Linardos-Rulmon, 1993). Finally, the 2001 census puts the number of the *de facto* foreign population in Greece at 798,000. Of them, around two-thirds are from neighbouring Albania. Given that both the OECD and census figures are now several years old, and it is likely that immigration to Greece has continued during the 2000s, the current total of immigrants in Greece may yet be higher.

However, the view that Greece is a relatively homogeneous country, in terms of culture and ethnicity, was dominant until the late 1980s; if not still today (Triandafyllidou, 2002). Ever since the first decades of the independent Greek state, the nation has been defined with reference to common ancestry (Kitromilides, 1983; Veremis, 1983, 1990), culture and language (Kitromilides, 1990). Greek national consciousness was "constructed" throughout the 19th century with reference to the *irredenta*, namely the regions inhabited by Greek-speaking Christian Orthodox populations that had not been included in the Greek state at the moment of

its creation. The Lausanne Treaty in 1923 contributed to the homogenisation of the Greek population through the minority population exchange between Greece, on the one hand, and Turkey and Bulgaria on the other. Part of this homogenisation process included the assimilation of ethnolinguistic and religious minorities that remained in Greece such as the *Pomaks*, the *Roma, Arvanites*, members of the *Slavic* minority and the *Vlachs* (Triandafyllidou, 2002), all of whom are briefly introduced below

The Pomaks are a Muslim, Slavic-speaking community who live in the area around Xanthi, Western Thrace. There are also Pomaks in Bulgaria (Trudgill, 2002). According to Sella-Mazi (2001), the number of Pomaks in Greece is about 35,000 people.

The Roma People (singular Rom; sometimes Rroma, Rrom) are a diverse ethnic group who live primarily in Southern and Eastern Europe, Western Asia, Latin America, the southern part of the United States and the Middle East. They are believed to have originated mostly from the Punjab and Rajasthan regions of India. They began their migration to Europe and North Africa via the Iranian plateau around 1050 (Fraser, 1992). The Roma settled in Greece during the 11th century originating from Armenia and other areas of the Middle East. About 25,000 Muslim Roma live in Thrace, while between 100,000 and 200,000 Christian Orthodox Roma are scattered throughout the rest of Greece (Zeginis, 1994).

Arvanites originate from Albanian settlers who moved south at different times between the 14th and the 16th centuries from areas in what is today southern Albania. The reasons for this migration are not entirely clear and may be manifold. In many instances the Arvanites were invited by the Byzantine and Latin rulers of the time. They were employed to re-settle areas that had been largely depopulated through wars, epidemics and other reasons, and they were employed as soldiers. Some later movements are also believed to have been motivated to evade Islamisation after the Ottoman conquest. The main waves of the Arvanite migration into southern Greece started around 1300, reached a peak some time during the 14th century, and ended around 1600. Arvanites first reached Thessaly, then Attica and finally the Peloponnese (Clogg, 2002). Regarding the number of Arvanites in Greece, the 1951 census (the last census in Greece that included a question about language) gives a figure of 23,000 *Arvanitika* speakers. Sociolinguistic research in the 1970s in the villages of Attica and Biotia alone indicated a figure of at least 30,000 speakers (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977), while Lunden (1993) suggests 50,000 for Greece as a whole.

Slavophone Greeks occupy the area of Greek Macedonia which Greece annexed in 1912 during the Balkan Wars. As a result, part of the Slav-

Macedonian population was included in the territory of the Greek state, the rest of this population remaining in the territories of Bulgaria and Serbia. However, after this annexation, voluntary population exchanges between Greece and Bulgaria took place. In this context, 30,000 Slav-Greek bilinguals from Bulgaria who claimed a Greek national identity settled in Greek Macedonia (Vakalopoulos, 1990). A further modification of the ethnic composition of Greek Macedonia took place in the course of the population exchange between Greece and Turkey (see above), which brought to Greek Macedonia 700,000 Greeks from Asia Minor. Furthemore, during World War II, the eastern part of Greek Macedonia was occupied by Bulgarian forces and 200,000 Greeks of Macedonia — persecuted by the occupiers — fled to other Greek territories (Vakalopoulos, 1990). After the war, the question of the unification of all the Slav Macedonian populations in one state was posed by an agreement of 1947 between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria which provided for unification of Bulgarian and Yugoslav Macedonia. By aiming at the final solution of the Macedonian national issue, this accord posed a threat to the territory of Greek Macedonia. Therefore, in that period, the foundation of churches by Slav-Macedonians and the teaching of their language in Greek Macedonia was perceived in Greece as a threat to the territorial integrity of the country. Finally, 25,000 Slav-Macedonians of Greece were forced to flee to Yugoslavia and other countries of Eastern Europe. This last exodus which took place in 1949 led to the crystallisation of the ethnic composition of Greek Macedonia. Two years later, in the 1951 census, there were 40,000 Slavophones (Sella-Mazi, 2001).

The Vlachs originate from Latinised Balkan populations (Trudgill, 2002). Varieties of Balkan Romance spoken in the southern Balkans are generally referred to by linguists as *Arumanian*. In the Greek context, however, this term is reserved for those varieties found in the Pindus mountains of Greece and in Thessaly, and the term *Megleno-Rumanian* is employed for those varieties spoken in Greek Macedonia (Trudgill, 2002). The Vlachs have traditionally been transhumant shepherds in relatively remote areas, with the largest concentration in Greece today lying in the Pindus mountains, focusing on Metsovo, today the only major town which is Vlach speaking. Because of Arumanian's affinity with modern Romanian, in the early 20th century, the Romanian government established Romanian-medium schools in some areas of what is now Greece, aiming to instill Romanian national conscience among the Vlach population of Greece. Since the 1920s, however, there have been no such schools, except for one which survived more or less by accident in Ano Grammatiko (Greek Macedonia) until 1945 (Winnifrith, 1992; Sella-Mazi,

2001), and most of the Pindus Vlachs, at least, would not today support the idea that they are ethnically Romanian. This was not always so, however, particularly in the Meglen. In the period of population movements after World War II, a large number of Meglen Vlachs emigrated to Romania, and the Greek government was keen to remove from Greece those Vlachs who did identify with Romania (and to replace them with Pontic Greek refugees) (Trudgill, 2002). Some Meglen Vlach villages were forcibly evacuated during World War II, which also resulted in considerable population movement. In addition, some Meglen Vlachs were Muslims and left for Turkey in 1924. The 1951 census gives a figure of 40,000 Arumanian speakers. Siguan (1990) provides a figure of 200,000 Vlachs in Greece while according to Trudgill (2002) this figure is much smaller (50,000).

From the above discussion it becomes clear that Greece's resistance to acknowledge the existence of minorities within its territory can be seen as the result of the fact that most of them have been identified with territorial claims by neighbouring countries with which geo-political relations have always been tense (Rozakis, 1996)[3] The homogenisation process of the Greek state towards the above mentioned minorities has been generally successful. For example, both the Vlachs and the Arvanites demonstrate a very strong Greek national identity, and their feelings of connection with other nations, are, for the most part, non-existent (Trudgill, 2002). This is further illustrated by vitality measurements of the respective languages. Arvanitika and Vlach have been classified as having low vitality (Sella-Mazi, 2001).

The hegemonic position of the ideology of (Greek/Orthodox) homogeneity shaping Greek national consciousness can be seen as determining the problematic stance the Greek state has taken *vis-à-vis* its growing immigrant population. Although recently there have been debates on the integration of immigrants, their impact is still small. Immigration is still considered a "problem". This hampers the effective implementation of government migration policies and it fuels negative attitudes towards immigrants (Pavlou *et al*., 2005). In this context, one cannot fail to notice the shaping and reshaping of a vicious circle: the government's reluctance (or inability) for many years to implement practical and verifiable rights-oriented policies for immigrants has aggravated the relationship between immigrants and the "indigenous population". There are reports of human rights violations and a growing atmosphere of xenophobia. To a significant extent, reporting on minorities and immigrants is couched in conspiracy-theory rhetoric and an overall perception of national threat (Gropas and Triandafyllidou, 2005). In these cases, the Greek nation's

cultural, ethnic or even religious "purity" and well-being are perceived to be threatened by internal or external "enemies". The common feature of the various "enemies" singled out at different points in time and with regard to different issues or events is predominantly their non-Greek origin and culture. In other words, reporting on immigration concentrates more on the presumed threat for the country and the people than on practical issues of minority and immigrant integration. This becomes a distorting lens for reading and interpreting the actions and words, often taken out of context, not only of the presumed "enemies" but also of any third parties intervening in a given matter. Such third parties include fellow EU member-states, European or other international bodies, the US government, and even Greek non-governmental organisations defending minority rights (Triandafyllidou, 2002; Meintanis, 2005).

"Political correctness" or minority sensitivity is far from being common practice, especially in the language used by newspapers adopting extreme nationalist views. Accusations of racism are denied and any anti-racist argument is turned on its head; authors are not racist, they simply point to the danger or damage inflicted on the country and its people by foreigners. Karydis (1996) and Pavlou (2001) have exposed the invented reality of news bulletins. Pavlou argues that the press discourse reproduces police bulletins and systematically "recycles" criminal news, so that they appear to be more frequent than they actually are. Overall, the media rarely define concepts such as "racism", "anti-racism", or "cultural diversity". Diversity is represented as "a deleterious thing", "hybridisation" is seen as a loss of "purity", while homogeneity and nationalism are praised as "a desirable thing" (Gropas and Triandafyllidou, 2005). However, it is worth noting that the more moderate or liberal media adopt a more open and sensitive stance. Their accounts, to the extent that this is possible, constitute a more even-handed approach to the issues or events reported. Nonetheless, criticism towards other newspapers or TV programmes for using racist language and/or inciting ethnic hatred is exceptional; by failing to clearly stand up for minority rights and individual civil rights, the moderate, "impartial" media do little to thwart intolerance and racism (Triandafyllidou, 2002).

In this context, one must acknowledge that there are certain limits to the immigration debate. Political parties are cautious about challenging the existing social structures, which are based on the principle of the "Greek majority" (priority, homogeneity, superiority) while minority groups continue to be tainted by negative stereotypes (Triandafyllidou, 2002). Despite this, immigrants have continued to come to Greece and they have become an increasingly significant part of the society even though they do

not exist as equal members possessing rights. Their presence is tolerated mainly because of the contribution they make to the economy (Pavlou and Christopoulos, 2004). It is also important to note that immigrants do not generally consider Greece as a transit country. On the contrary, a great number of immigrants are keen to be better integrated into the economy and society. This sentiment is particularly strong amongst second-generation immigrants (Pavlou *et al.*, 2005), who are the focus of this book[4].

In this respect, the following section examines the role of education in meeting the needs of second-generation migrants in Greece.

Effects of migration on Greek education

Mass immigration into Greece has been reflected in the school population. According to the Institute of Intercultural Education of the Greek Education Ministry (IPODE, 2006), during the school year 2004-05, about 140,000 migrant and repatriated Greek pupils were enrolled in Greek schools, accounting for almost 10% of the overall school population. Although no data are available as to the nationalities of the pupils for the school year 2004-05, during 2002-03 72% of the migrant pupils were from Albania. The large number of immigrant pupils in Greek schools has given rise to some research on issues of bilingualism inasmuch as the latter is related to education. There have been several studies on the education of minority pupils and on the teaching of Modern Greek as a second language – see Damanakis (1997), Antonopoulou *et al.* (2000), Nikolaou (2000), Skourtou (2000), Tressou and Mitakidou (2003), Georgoyannis (2006). The majority of the literature cited addresses immigrant pupils' bilingualism mainly as an educational"'problem" seeking a solution. Recently however, some researchers have highlighted the importance of ethnic language maintenance for the cognitive and linguistic development of migrant pupils (Chatzidaki 2005a, 2005b; Tsokalidou, 2005a, 2005b). There has also been public debate about the ways in which the presence of so many bilingual pupils in Greek schools has affected the Greek educational system. Still, immigrant pupils' languages are completely absent from the school curricula, while these pupils are expected to cope with English and French or German in addition to Greek (both Modern and Ancient). Despite legal measures to address the effects of immigration in schools, immigrant pupils are subject to assimilation pressures in practice, since none of the governmental measures that have been implemented encourages the maintenance of ethnic identity and parental language (Paleologou and Evangelou, 2003).

As a result of these assimilation pressures, the smooth and balanced integration of foreign pupils into Greek society is hindered. Therefore, although there are many migrant pupils who excel in the Greek education system, a large number of them show signs of low self-esteem and experience school failure and other school-related problems (Nikolaou, 2000).

Multilingualism thus does not seem to be valued in Greek society, which views itself as monolingual and monocultural. On the other hand, paradoxically, Greek parents spend millions every year on the foreign language education of their offspring (Damanakis, 1997).

Aims and objectives

The foregoing discussion makes clear the context of, and need for, my study which seeks to shed light on issues of language and inter-group relations among second-generation immigrant pupils and their Greek peers. The study, apart from the originality it contributes to academic research, sets forward policy and pedagogical implications for the Greek educational context, which, due to the universality of the phenomenon, are transferable to other contexts outside Greece.

The main aim of this work is to explore the degree of mother-tongue maintenance among second-generation Albanian and Egyptian immigrant pupils in Greece. To achieve this aim, the study examines certain factors affecting language maintenance. These include:

- the ethnolinguistic vitality of Albanian and Egyptian migrants in Greece, defined by the demography, status and institutional support of each group, as well as migrant and indigenous pupils' perceptions regarding these factors;

- the role of Albanian and Egyptian parents in transmitting the ethnic language to the next generation;

- the role of Greek teachers, and the educational system, in empowering Albanian and Egyptian pupils' linguistic and cultural identity.

Structure

In this final part of the introductory chapter, I summarise the function and contents of each of the remaining chapters, in order to provide an overview of the structure of the book.

Chapter 1, through a critical review of the literature, examines the factors that affect language maintenance and shift in cases of language contact. The factors examined are *bilingualism*, *diglossia* and *language attitudes*, as well as the sociological construct of *ethnolinguistic vitality* (i.e. how the demography, status and institutional support of an ethnolinguistic group affect its language maintenance). *Social Identity Theory* is then analysed, as it provides useful background knowledge for the introduction of the psychological construct of *subjective ethnolinguistic vitality*. According to this construct, which is of vital importance for the present study, group members' perceptions of the vitality of their group are even more important in accounting for language maintenance in inter-group situations than objective ethnolinguistic vitality.

Chapter 2 provides an evaluative review of literature on bilingual education in various contexts. Despite overwhelming research evidence revealing the cognitive benefits of bilingual education for minority language pupils, there is still widespread concern in many educational systems internationally as to the teaching of minority languages in school. The introduction of minority languages into the school system depends on whether the host community favours an *assimilationist* or an *intercultural* orientation in the education of minority pupils. In the light of this distinction, the various types of bilingual education implemented in various contexts are reviewed, and the education of minority language pupils in Greece is discussed. Despite state-initiatives to address cultural and linguistic diversity in Greek classrooms, the country retains a monolingual orientation towards language planning and policies. The two literature review chapters are followed by a clear identification of the research questions which the present study seeks to address.

Chapter 3 describes the methodological dimensions of the study, including the context, design and procedures of data analysis. The fieldwork methods employed to address the research questions are described. Finally, important ethical considerations and researcher positionality *vis-à-vis* the research subjects are discussed.

Chapter 4 analyses the *objective ethnolinguistic vitality* of Albanians and Egyptians in Greece, as a factor affecting language maintenance, by providing a sociological account of available data on Albanian and

Egyptian migrant demographic characteristics, group status and institutional support in Greece. This analysis shows both similarities and differences between the two groups. Albanians and Egyptians fare relatively equally in terms of institutional support and economic status. However, the Albanian group is numerically stronger than the Egyptian, and it is ascribed a stigmatised status in Greek society, mainly as a result of its negative depiction by the mass media. In contrast, the Egyptian group is more invisible in Greek society and is ascribed a higher social status than the Albanians.

Chapter 5 provides actual data on language maintenance in Albanian and Egyptian pupils through an analysis of the ethnic language skills of Albanian and Egyptian children and of their language choices with various categories of speakers. This analysis shows signs of language shift into Greek for both groups, and that this shift is more intense in the Albanian group. The main reason for the higher language shift within the Albanian group seems to be the children's wish to dissociate themselves from a "stigmatised" Albanian identity. Thus, the relationship between objective ethnolinguistic vitality and language maintenance becomes evident especially as regards the ethnolinguistic vitality dimension of social status. The chapter continues with the examination of a crucial factor affecting language maintenance, namely *intergenerational language transmission*. Albanian parents appear less successful than Egyptians in transmitting the ethnic language to their children although they hold language maintenance as an ideal. Moreover, the importance of religious practice appears as a major factor in fostering language maintenance within the Egyptian community although some differences are noted between Copt and Muslim Egyptian parents in the importance they attach to language transmission.

Chapter 6 examines another important factor affecting language maintenance, namely the *ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions* of each group about the own-group and the two out-groups. Perceived social status, unlike perceived group numerical strength, emerges as a crucial dimension determining both language maintenance and perceived language status: thus, the Albanian group, although perceived as numerically stronger than the Egyptian group, is generally perceived as a group of very low social status speaking an equally low-status language. Moreover, although the Egyptian group employs strategies to "upgrade" the vitality of its own-group, the Albanian group does very little towards this direction. This difference of vitality perceptions in the two groups significantly contributes to the higher language maintenance patterns within the Egyptian group as compared to the Albanians. Furthermore, the examination

of pupils' linguistic perceptions reveals a hierarchy of languages; Greek and English emerge as the most "legitimate" languages in this hierarchy while migrant languages such as Arabic and Albanian are perceived as "illegitimate". Interestingly, Albanian seems to enjoy "covert prestige" as a code of communication among adolescents regardless of ethnic origin.

Chapter 7 discusses the *role of mainstream education* in language maintenance. To this end, teachers' attitudes to mother-tongue maintenance are explored, as well as their attitudes to, and relations with migrant parents. It appears that teachers on the whole view migrant languages as hindering children's learning of Greek and therefore discourage their use both at school and at home. Moreover, intercultural approaches to teaching are missing but even when they are employed they are not effective, due to the overall xenophobic environment and ethnocentric curriculum. Teachers do very little to eradicate xenophobia and to enhance harmonious relations between indigenous and migrant pupils and migrant parents are not encouraged by schools to participate as partners in their children's education and to contribute the 'funds of knowledge' that exist in their communities.

In the conclusion, I bring together the various findings in order to revisit the vital factor of language maintenance amongst migrant groups in a multi-faceted manner. Finally, suggestions for further policy and research are made.

CHAPTER ONE

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

1.1 Introduction

The terms *maintenance* and *shift*, in relation to the use and status of languages, were proposed in a pioneering article by Joshua Fishman in 1964. Language maintenance denotes the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful language. The opposite of this term, language shift, denotes the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialisation within a community. According to Appel and Muysken (1987) the process of language shift is occurring in many bilingual communities. More and more speakers use the majority language in contexts or domains (e.g. home, school, religion) where they formerly spoke the minority language, mainly because they expect that speaking this language gives better chances for upward social mobility and economic success.

Language shift entails a decreasing use of the minority language in different domains, reduction in the number of speakers in the population and loss in language proficiency (Baker, 2006). The ultimate result is *language death*, at least in situations in which no other community speaks the language in question (Appel and Muysken, 1987). Language death is more frequent in the case of *regional* or *indigenous minority languages*, rather than *immigrant minority languages*. The extinction of Cornish in England in the 18th century is an example of language death as well as shift to English. The demise of an immigrant language like Norwegian in the United States (studied in detail by Einar Haugen, 1953) exemplifies shift without death, since the language survives in its original setting in Norway (Mesthrie *et al.*, 2000).

Language shift may come about slowly and go on for several generations, but especially in fast-changing social situations, it may be a quick process (Appel and Muysken, 1987). This is often the case with immigrant groups. Many researchers contend that language shift among immigrant groups is complete within three generations. Fishman (1966),

Veltman (1983) and Paulston (1986) describe this three-generation shift in the United States context as follows: the immigrant generation learns English but speaks the mother-tongue at home; the second generation may speak the mother–tongue at home but shifts to English at school and in the workplace; by the third generation, English becomes the home language, and effective knowledge of the parental language disappears[5]. This however is only a general pattern, and the picture for specific immigration contexts and immigrant groups is different, depending on various factors which are discussed in the next sections.

1.2 Bilingualism and Diglossia

Ferguson first used the term diglossia in 1959 to denote situations where two structurally related varieties, namely a High (H) and a Low (L), are used for different social functions. In one set of situations (e.g. a sermon in church or mosque, a university lecture, a news broadcast) only H is appropriate, while in other social contexts (e.g. conversation with family, personal letters, folk literature) only L is used (Ferguson, 1972). Thus, according to the model of diglossia presented by Ferguson, languages in a bilingual community are in complementary distribution with little or no overlap.

According to Li Wei (1994), Ferguson's model of diglossia presents two problems: one is that members of a bilingual community are seen as being constrained in their language behaviour, and as using language according to a set of predetermined society-wide norms. Rapid and frequent code-switching, which has been shown to be a characteristic feature of conversational interaction in many bilingual communities, seems almost impossible according to this model[6].

The second problem with Ferguson's diglossia concept concerns its inability to account for change over time. According to Li Wei (1994), Ferguson insisted that diglossia was a stable situation persisting for several centuries, while on the other hand research has revealed that some bilingual communities maintain their language less effectively than others and their patterns of language use change as time goes by. Therefore, "the diglossia concept as conceived of by Ferguson offers no account of the social and linguistic processes involved in language retention and shift in and across communities" (Li Wei, 1994:8).

Fishman (1972) modified Ferguson's model of diglossia so that it could be used to analyse and explain different types of bilingual situation and language choice practices. In this regard, Fishman has tried to link the analysis of societal norms and expectation with language use in face-to-

face encounters, using the concept of *domain* as a determining factor. Domain, as Fishman conceives it, is an institutional context in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another; it is an abstraction which refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings and role relationships. Fishman perceived each domain – home, neighbourhood, school, church, workplace, official institutions etc. – as differentiated into specific sets of distinct role relations. The assumption underlying this classification is that language use in a situation of diglossia will vary from domain to domain, each domain reflecting its particular kind of locality, with a particular kind of interaction, involving a particular kind of topic.

Moreover, Fishman (1980), in his reformulation of Ferguson's notion of diglossia, incorporates the factor of change over time in language use, by distinguishing between diglossia as a *stable societal arrangement*, that helps maintain boundaries between the societal functions associated with H and L, and bilingualism as an *individual behavioural manifestation*. He also extends the terms to include *unrelated* varieties which display differential functional distribution in H and L domains.

Fishman (1972, 1980) combines the terms bilingualism and diglossia to portray four language situations where bilingualism and diglossia may exist with or without each other. First, *bilingualism and diglossia* is a stable societal arrangement, in which individual bilingualism is not only widespread but institutionally buttressed. "Membership" in the culture requires that the various languages that are recognised as pertaining to such membership be implemented in culturally "correct" contexts, i.e. that the H be utilised in H contexts and the L be utilised in L contexts. The separate locations in which L and H are acquired immediately provide them with separate institutional supports. L is acquired at home, as a mother-tongue, and continues to be employed in this context throughout life while its use is extended also to other familial and familiar interactions. H is related to and supported by other-than-home institutions: education, religion, government, higher/specialised work sphere etc. The authority and the reward systems associated with these separate institutions are sufficient for both L and H to be required for membership in the culture, and the compartmentalisation between them is sufficient for this arrangement not to suffer from "leakage" and from the resulting potential for language shift. Fishman (1972) mentions the example of Uruguay where Spanish and Guarani are used. Guarani is the L or vernacular of all members of society while Spanish is the official, H language. Similarly, French is the H code and Breton the L code in *Basse Bretagne*.

Diglossia without bilingualism occurs when languages are distributed according to the *territoriality principle.* Through political arrangements, each language occupies a definite territory and most individuals living in a particular territory may use only one language. Switzerland, Belgium and Canada are often cited as prime examples of this language situation (Fishman, 1980). It remains uncertain, however, whether diglossia still applies when two relatively equal groups occupy adjacent territories.

A society with *neither diglossia nor bilingualism*, is rather rare, but any society that is linguistically homogeneous would at least partially fit this category, for example a country without immigrants or indigenous minorities, or a country where indigenous languages have been exterminated, such as Cuba and the Dominican Republic (Baker, 2006). According to Fishman however, strictly speaking, no socially complex speech community is fully homogeneous linguistically:

Different social experiences (in work, education, religion) lead to different socially patterned varieties of talking and different regional dialects may maintain themselves in a stable fashion even after former communications and interactional barriers are gone (1980:9).

Finally, *bilingualism without diglossia* involves bilingual individuals in (L) and (H) in a setting which is monolingual in (H), as is the case of immigrants, or indigenous minority language speakers in various – otherwise monolingual – societies. Unlike in situations of bilingualism with diglossia where both the (L) and (H) languages are institutionalised, in cases of bilingualism without diglossia institutional support is provided only to the (H) variety. Bilingual speakers therefore, need to establish successful *compartmentalisation* for the maintenance of the (L) language. A lack of successful compartmentalisation in the use of the two languages results in their competing for use in the same domains, situations and role relations and ultimately leads to language shift. According to Fishman:

> Bilingualism without diglossia tends to be transitional both in terms of the linguistic repertoires of speech communities as well as in terms of the speech varieties involved *per se*. Without separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the other(s) (Fishman, 1971:298).

The situation described above, i.e. of bilingualism without diglossia, is true of Greece, the context of the present study, which, during the last 15 years, has become host to many migrants. As discussed, minority language speakers need to establish functional separation for the survival of their

ethnic language. This involves using the ethnic language in the home domain. According to Fishman (1991), one of the ultimate decisive factors for language maintenance on the individual level is *intergenerational language transmission*; in other words, when parents no longer speak their own first language in the home, that language is seriously endangered (Dorian, 1980; Fishman, 1991; Hornberger, 1998). However, research on minority language speakers (both of indigenous and immigrant languages) suggests that intergenerational language transmission is not easy to achieve, as minority language speakers, for a variety of reasons, refrain from using the minority language at home and embrace the majority language instead. Some of these reasons include language attitudes of the majority culture to the minority language and group.

1.3 Mainstream society attitudes to minority languages

One of the issues that the present study addresses refers to the relationship between the mainstream society's language attitudes and language maintenance among the children of Albanian and Egyptian immigrants in Greece. In other words, what are the attitudes of the mainstream Greek society towards Albanian and Arabic, what are the factors that govern these attitudes, and to what extent do they affect migrant pupils' patterns of language maintenance?

Numerous language attitude studies, such as Gardner and Lambert (1972), Fishman (1972), Trudgill (1975), Dillard (1973), Ryan *et al.* (1982), and De Klerk and Bosch (1995), have shown that, contrary to linguistic evidence that all languages and varieties of languages are equal, many people still believe that some languages or dialects are superior or more expressive than others, and especially that some dialects are inferior to their corresponding standard or official languages. The fact that languages are not only objective, neutral instruments for conveying meaning, but are representative of the identities of social or ethnic groups, has consequences for the social evaluation of, and attitudes towards, languages (Appel and Muysken, 1987). Moreover, language attitudes encompass the views and beliefs of an individual or a group about a language or language variety (including his/her own), as well as beliefs about the members of the particular speech community. Such attitudes may have repercussions for the maintenance of a minority language.

Kloss (1966), in his taxonomic model informed by the American immigrant situation, identifies attitudes of the majority to the minority language or group as an *ambivalent* factor affecting language maintenance, in that it can promote either maintenance or shift. That is, negative

attitudes on the part of the majority group may lead the minority group to assimilation or to a more defensive attitude to maintain the ethnic language. Positive attitudes on the part of the majority group can create a favourable environment for language maintenance or it can lead to apathy.

There are many examples of minority groups which have internalised the negative attitudes of the majority group towards their language and, consequently, seek to distance themselves from their linguistic heritage. Altabev (1998) finds that Turkish Jews have internalised the negative evaluation of Judeo-Spanish and, more often than not, do not consider it a "proper" language. This is similar to Dorian's Gaelic speakers who often denigrate Gaelic (Dorian, 1981), or Watson's (1989) Irish and Scottish Gaelic speakers who believe that Gaelic represents an unsophisticated, non-learned, folk culture. Similarly, in Gapun, New Guinea, Kulick (1992) demonstrates how a local language, Taiap, gave way to Tok Pisin, as villagers gradually embraced an ideology of modernity and ceased to speak in Taiap to their children. Along similar lines, Gal (1979), in her classic study of German-Hungarian bilingualism in Oberwart, Austria, reports that because German is the national language and symbolises the urban, future-oriented society, it is preferred over Hungarian – the language of the old way of life and of the peasant community. As a result, children of bilingual German-Hungarian speakers almost never learn Hungarian, and bilingual parents aim to make sure their children speak faultless German so that they can pass as monolinguals and dissociate themselves from the stigmatised Hungarian peasant identity.

As mentioned above, however, host society negative attitudes do not always lead to language shift. Greek and Turkish immigrants in Germany for example, despite having a "foreigner" or "guestworker" status, and generally not experiencing positive attitudes by the mainstream, are highly language-maintenance oriented groups (Chatzidaki, 1996; Yagmur, 2004). On the other hand, in Belgium, despite favourable attitudes on the part of the majority towards the Greek migrant group and the fact that both Greek migrants and their children have access to Belgian citizenship, there is an indifference on the part of the Greek community towards language maintenance (Chatzidaki, 1996). Similarly, Yagmur (2004) found that Turkish immigrants in Australia are more prone to language shift than their compatriots in Germany, despite favourable policies to multiculturalism in Australia and a more unwelcoming environment towards Turkish immigrants in Germany.

Additional factors accounting for a minority group's attitudes towards the ethnic language are related to the *Core Value Theory*, discussed in the next section.

1.4 Core Value Theory

A powerful explanatory model for studying language maintenance is the *Core Value Theory* developed by Smolicz through his studies of multilingualism in Australia (1979, 1981). The term *core value* refers to:

> those values that are regarded as forming the most fundamental components or heartland of a group's culture, and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership (Smolicz and Secombe, 1985: 11).

Language has a more crucial core value to some cultural and ethnic groups than to others. According to Smolicz, the Dutch in Australia rapidly lose their language because it is not vital to the maintenance of their ethnicity. On the other hand, Greeks, Poles and Latvians are portrayed as belonging to language-centred cultures, and that is why their language maintenance is much higher. Smolicz and Secombe (1988) developed their core value theory further, and by examining a wide range of ethnic groups (Italian, Greek, Polish, Chinese, Croat, Ukrainian, Indian, Latvian and Welsh) differentiated among:

a) *negative evaluation* of the community language;
b) *indifference*: seeing no purpose in language maintenance and showing no interest in it;
c) *general positive evaluation*: regarding the language as a vital element of ethnicity but not being personally prepared to learn it; and
d) *personal positive evaluation*: regarding the language as a core value and putting the commitment to the language into practice.

According to this categorisation, Greeks and Italians were found to belong to category (d), while the Poles were in category (c). In other words, although the Poles were found to regard their language as vital to their ethnicity, unlike the Greek and Italian community they did not put the extra effort into learning it or transmitting it to the next generation (Janik, 1996). This distinction indicates that in many cases, although language may be seen as a core value by the ethnic group, this does not necessarily imply that the group will try to maintain the language and transmit it to the next generation. In many situations, a *pragmatic* approach to language dominates, which is related to the low value of the minority language both as a means of communication and as a vehicle of upward social mobility (Chatzidaki and Kyriazis, 2003).

However, the fact that speakers of minority languages exhibit a negative attitude towards their own varieties does not imply that they do not attach any importance to them. The language may be highly valued for social, subjective and sentimental reasons, especially by speakers from the older generation in migration contexts or generally by people who feel a certain pride in minority culture (Appel and Muysken, 1987).

The foregoing review of the literature on attitudes and language maintenance does not provide hard and fast rules which would allow us to make robust generalisations. Maybe this is the case because attitudes are not a monolithic, one-dimensional concept (Fasold, 1984) and because, as discussed above, there often seems to be an incompatibility between the pragmatic and affective dimension of attitudes (Baker, 1992). Moreover, these studies have suggested that the expression of positive attitudes or "language loyalty" towards the native language does not usually correspond to language behaviours reflecting that loyalty. Such studies, however, in focusing exclusively on the relationship of group member characteristics and language behaviour, have minimised the effect of social psychological determinants of language use. The underlying assumption has seemingly been that sufficiently strong loyalty to the minority language would overcome conditions in the environment which discourage its use. Thackerar *et al.* stress the need for a more dynamic perspective on language maintenance, one which accounts for the ways in which "individual subjective attitudes, perceptions of situations, and cognitive and affective dispositions and the like may interact to determine speech outputs" (1982:206). Such a perspective is provided by the concept of *ethnolinguistic vitality* and its accompanying instrument, the *subjective ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire*, which are discussed below. This model explores the ways in which societal conditions impinge on group members and accordingly affect their language maintenance patterns. Thus, the present study, in order to form a more complete picture of the synergy of factors affecting language maintenance among Albanian and Egyptian pupils in Greece, examines their perceptions of the ethnolinguistic vitality of their group: in other words, whether they believe that their community and language will survive.

1.5 Ethnolinguistic Vitality

In 1972, Fishman wrote that one major factor affecting group members' attitudes or beliefs towards their languages was the degree to which those language varieties had "visible vitality, i.e., interaction networks that actually employ them natively for one or more vital