Heritage Language Education in Greece and Cyprus

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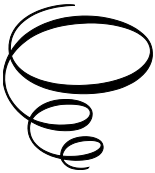
Edited by

Nikos Gogonas

Cambridge Scholars Publishing



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INTRODUCTION

NIKOS GOGONAS

The term heritage language (HL) was first used in the Canadian context to refer to any "language other than English and French," and was intended to reference the languages spoken by indigenous (First Nation) people or by immigrants (Cummins 1991; Gounari 2014). Clyne (1991) modified the definition for the Australian context to include any language other than English (LOTE). US researchers and policy-makers adopted this version in subsequent years. The term HL has been used in the US in the context of the "study, maintenance, and revitalization of non-English languages" (Valdés 2001) often spoken by ethnic communities. It refers to "languages other than the dominant language (or languages) in a given social context"—languages other than English, which is the de facto dominant language in the US[1] (Gounari 2014).

In the US context, any language other than English can be safely characterized as a "heritage" language; as such, it has a secondary status and is viewed as something inherited and passed down from one generation to the next (Gounari 2014). Its survival and maintenance are justified upon its historical and personal value and not on real current societal needs. It follows that the maintenance of HLs rests with the individuals and communities, not the State or the federal government (Gounari 2014). Thus, there is no place for HLs in US mainstream education. This was even more apparent at the turn of the millennium when the US was characterized by a solid anti-immigration feeling and concomitant suspicion of all forms of bilingual education (Horner and Weber 2018). Firstly, there was "The English Only Movement," which constructed Latinos/Latinas—and their language, Spanish—as a threat to mainstream America. In 2001, the Republican President Bush introduced the No Child Left Behind policy, which introduced mandatory high-stakes

[1] This is also how the term is used in the current book. Thus, "heritage languages" denotes languages other than Greek in the world's two majority Greek-speaking contexts: Greece and Cyprus. However, some of the authors use the term "community" languages to refer to the same notion. Hence, the terms "heritage" and "community" languages are used interchangeably in this collection.

testing in English for all children. As a result, many transitional bilingual education programs were discontinued, and Spanish was increasingly banned from the classroom (Horner and Weber 2018). The results have been catastrophic for many minority language students, leading scholars to rename the Act to "No Child Left Untested" or "English Language Learners Left Behind" (Horner and Weber 2018).

On the other hand, the EU has advocated the ideal of the multilingual European citizen, speaking her or his mother tongue and two other (European) languages. Thus, the EU policy of mother tongue plus two (MT + 2) aims to increase plurilingualism, focusing on standard, national, or official European languages (Horner and Weber 2018). Here, the approach is additive rather than subtractive since the ideal European citizens should not give up their mother tongue but continue practicing it alongside the two languages they have acquired (Horner and Weber 2018). While it may seem that US and EU language-in-education policies are opposed, García (2009: 195) concluded that the EU trails the US in including, in education, the languages of immigrants and refugees that increasingly define it. At the same, within the sociopolitical context of the EU, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL) protect regional minority languages while excluding immigrant minority languages (Horner and Weber 2014). Hence, both the European Charter and the EBLUL are based on an essentialist ideology. As Nic Craith (2003: 59, in Horner and Weber 2018) put it, because they are "aimed at languages spoken by nationals of a state in a particular territory," they imply "an essential link between culture, space, and place." Nonetheless, according to Horner and Weber (2018), the EU emphasis on lesser-used languages might also imply greater flexibility and room for the inclusion of migrant language users than in the English-dominated US.

Greece is home to a plethora of languages other than Greek. The country's language diversity includes immigrants, repatriates, refugees, Roma, Muslim minorities, and Pomaks, etc. There have been periods in modern and contemporary times, though, where Greek society has seemed relatively homogenous. In the 1990s, this fragile homogeneity was challenged by massive flows of newcomers. At the beginning of the 1990s, most of the migrants came from the neighboring Balkan countries, mainly from Albania. Meanwhile, from 2015 to 2016, Greece experienced an unprecedented influx of migrants and refugees fleeing war and deprivation in their home countries in the Middle East and South Asia in search of a better and safer life in the EU.

The Greek educational system has been criticized for promoting ethnocentrism and monolingualism (Frangoudaki and Dragonas 1997; Katsikas and Politou 1999; Gogonas 2007; 2010). In 1999, a ministerial decision established classes where immigrant pupils could be taught the language and culture of their country of origin in mainstream schools. However, this measure was hardly implemented (Kiliari 2005; 2014). The languages of students with a migrant or refugee experience are still excluded from the state school curriculum. The prevailing perception in the official discourse of the maintenance of migrant languages pertains to a human right that does not concern the Greek school, thus, transferring the responsibility of teaching and learning their languages to the immigrant groups themselves (Kiliari 2005; 2014). Immigrant children's bilingualism remains largely "invisible" in education (Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou 2011; Tsokalidou 2005). This has resulted in a language shift, for example, in the case of the Albanian community (Gogonas 2009; 2010; Gogonas and Michail 2015), and low perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality (Gogonas 2009; 2010). Albanian speakers have internalized mainstream society's negative attitudes towards their language and refrain from using it to avoid a stigmatized identity (Gogonas 2009; 2010). More recent research (Ndoci 2021) demonstrates that individuals who produce Albanian L2 features in their Greek are negatively stigmatized, either overtly or covertly, similarly to the way in which Albanian migrants have been stigmatized in the Greek context.

Cyprus consists of two ethnic communities, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The linguistic repertoire of the two ethnic communities consists of a local dialect (Cypriot-Greek or Cypriot-Turkish), which is mainly used for everyday oral communication, and the respective standard language (Standard Modern Greek or Standard Turkish), which is learned through formal education and is used for written purposes (Themistocleous 2019). Communication between the two ethnic groups is scarce. Thus, bilingualism in Greek and Turkish is limited (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou and Kappler 2011). In addition, there are historical minority inhabitants (e.g., Armenians, Latins, Maronites), as well as residents of British origin and immigrants from various countries of the European Union (EU) Asia, Eastern Europe, and, in particular, the former Soviet Union (Hadjioannou *et al.* 2011) Among the foreign language groups, the Russian community is considered to be the largest (Karpava, this volume). Despite linguistic diversity in Cyprus, up to 2002, there was essentially no policy engagement with diversity, multiculturalism, and integration in the context of the Greek Cypriot education system (Gravani *et al.* 2019); it was only in the early 2000s that some academic discussion and research was initiated and

the debate about the educational provision and integration of pupils with migrant biographies appeared on the political agenda (Gravani *et al*. 2019). From this period onwards, an embryonic legal and policy framework has been developed to promote inclusive policies for migrants and expatriates (Trimikliniotis and Demetriou 2015). There has also been research on issues of multiculturalism and inclusion in the Cypriot educational system (cf. Hajisoteriou and Angelides 2013; 2017; Hajisoteriou *et al.* 2012; 2015; Partasi 2017).

Non-formal learning and teaching spaces fill the gap in mainstream education regarding teaching HLs. Findings from research in HL classrooms have indicated that students' HLs can facilitate their learning in other languages and more generally. Therefore, HL teaching is essential to achieve social justice for immigrant students. HL education has become better organized in recent decades (Cummins 2014; Kenner 2004; Thomas and Collier 2003; Trifonas and Aravossitas 2014). Aberdeen (2016) showed that HL schools contribute in many ways to the societies in which they operate. They provide plurilingual students with opportunities to learn their HL while, at the same time, they also empower the communities and community leaders. They provide opportunities for immigrants to get a teaching experience in a new country and receive opportunities to further their knowledge in community settings.

Non-formal HL learning can take place in various contexts: complementary schools (also known as "supplementary," "Saturday," and "community" schools), parent-run initiatives, or in the homes. The primary HL contexts in Greece consist of two broad categories where language education takes place: the first is related to the complementary schools (Maligkoudi 2012; 2014; Mattheoudakis, Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi 2017; Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi 2018; Gogonas and Maligkoudi 2020) and the second category concerns the schools of religious communities and foreign schools (e.g., Nikolaou 2003; Antoniou 2009; 2011; Philipousis and Pappas 2010; Kokkini 2019).

This collection presents studies conducted in all contexts of HL education in Greece and Cyprus.

In Chapter 1, titled "An Overview of the Czech Complementary School of Thessaloniki, Greece," **Nikos Gogonas** and **Christina Maligkoudi** report on a study in the Czech complementary school of Thessaloniki in 2019–2020. The site of the research in Thessaloniki, as well as its Leptokaria branch, is maintained by eight Czech mothers, and approximately thirty

students attend classes. The chapter examines parental language ideologies concerning ethnic language maintenance and sheds light on teacher approaches and methods. More specifically, concerning language maintenance, the mothers' role is fundamental, as well as the value attributed to the knowledge of the Czech language as an asset for the children's academic and professional future. Furthermore, teaching approaches and practices highlight the educators' desire to provide their students with a high level of knowledge of the Czech language. The overarching aim of the chapter is to examine how the Czech complementary school plays a part in the formation of the students' ethnolinguistic identity, as results from the students' interviews are also included in the data analysis.

Chapter 2, "Community Language Schools and Agency in Family Language Policy" by **Aspasia Chatzidaki** and **Christina Maligkoudi**, draws on a qualitative, ethnographically informed study of an Albanian community school between 2015 and 2017 in Thessaloniki, Greece. The study is framed within a Family Language Policy framework and aims to uncover the language repertoires, ideologies, and practices performed by the school participants (teachers, students, and parents). The authors discuss issues of Family Language Policy, focusing on how parents and children demonstrate agency in decision-making regarding language learning and use. Findings demonstrate that parents and children in the sample impact each other's socialization and patterns of language use.

Chapter 3, also on the Albanian community in Greece, is titled "'To Send a Letter to My Grandparents…' Learning Albanian as a HL in the Albanian Complementary School of Volos." In this chapter, **Kostas Magos** investigates a series of dimensions regarding the operation of the Albanian School of Volos, a complementary school that has ceased to operate. Among these dimensions, what prevailed was the motivational role in creating the school and in the attendance of lessons, the more frequently used didactic methods, the context within which the students used the Albanian language, and the students' perceptions of their ethnic identity. Three of the school's volunteer teachers—two men and one woman—participated in this research, all of whom were first-generation immigrants. Five school students also participated in the research: three girls and two boys, ten-to-fourteen-year-old, second-generation immigrants. For the data collection, the qualitative approach employed was the semi-structured interview technique. The interviews were conducted in the framework of undergraduate research of the Pedagogical Department of

Early Childhood Education, University of Thessaly, during the academic year 2013–2014—one year before the termination of the school operation.

In Chapter 4, titled "Unravelling the Attitudes of Second-generation, Bilingual Armenian Children, Parents and Complementary School Teachers towards Bilingualism and HL Maintenance," Iren Hovhannisyan and **Areti-Maria Sougari** present the findings of a multi-faceted study, which examines the role of the family and the complementary school (i.e., the Armenian Saturday School of Thessaloniki) in the construction of G2 Armenian children's bilingual and bicultural identities. The research was conducted among G2 Armenian learners, aged from seven up to thirteen years, attending the complementary Armenian Saturday School in Thessaloniki, as well as among their mothers and the complementary school teachers. Considering that one of the researchers was teaching at the complementary school, the investigation of this topic carries a more profound and empirical character, providing the opportunity to examine issues related to HL maintenance and bilingualism thoroughly.

Chapter 5, titled "The Case of Schools of Family Languages for Children with a Refugee Background in Greece. Challenges of Inclusive Education in a New Multilingual Context," by **Giota Gatsi, George Androulakis, Giorgos Simopoulos,** and **Lida Stergiou**, touches on the issue of Family Language Schools (FLS), which were developed in 2018 in Greece, within the context of refugee education. These constitute volunteer schools for Farsi, Arabic, and Sorani speakers, established in four Greek cities, with the support of Municipal Agencies and Actors, and the active involvement of International Organizations and Civil Society Organizations. The chapter focuses on FLS initiated in the framework of a UNICEF intervention (2018–2020) in municipalities to develop, support, or improve non-formal education activities for children and young people with immigrant and refugee backgrounds at the local level. The initiative presented here has an Action Research set of characteristics since the principal researcher was directly or indirectly involved in establishing, operating, supporting, and monitoring these schools as a network facilitator, mentor, and teacher trainer. The chapter brings together findings from various sources: teachers, parents, students, and the multiple actors involved. The objective of the research presented is to reflect upon the benefits and challenges encountered during the establishment and operation of the FLS, as these are perceived by all parties involved.

Chapter 6 by **Anastasia Gkaintartzi** is titled "Hebrew Language Teaching/Learning and Ideologies in a Jewish School in Greece: Identity,

Faith, and Heritage Continuity." The chapter presents a qualitative study conducted in the Jewish School "Talmud Torah Hagadol" in Thessaloniki, Greece. The study aims to critically investigate the prevailing language ideologies and practices regarding Hebrew language learning and its role and value for the students' lives and identities. Through reflective interviews with teachers from the school engaged with Hebrew language teaching/learning, the research findings provide important insights into the multiple meanings the teachers attach to Hebrew and its teaching/learning in the school for the students and the community, regarding their multilingual repertoires and the ways they relate them to issues of religion, identity, and continuity in the context of explicit and implicit language ideologies.

In Chapter 7, titled "Immigration, Community Schools, and Language Teaching: The Case of the Polish School of Athens," **Maria Skoumperdi** and **Anastasia Kesidou** focus on questions involving the aims served by the foundation of the Polish School and its respective operations. The chapter presents the main findings about language issues and language teaching; it focuses on the question of whether the education provided by the school allows students to reach the required competence in communication so that, following graduation, they can comprehend and speak more than one language, which is, in itself, one of the school aims. The choice to register at the school hinges on key questions concerning Polish as the language of instruction; the teaching of and the current expectations on learning Greek; proficiency in Polish and Greek (taken as an indicator of student bilingual development); and specific difficulties encountered in either language, etc. The research was conducted as a case study, discussing the data gathered over fifteen semi-structured interviews that were analyzed using qualitative content analysis. In particular, the research sample consisted of six students (three attending each of the typical and complementary modalities), five teachers (German, Greek, Polish and elementary school teachers, and the headmistress), three parents, and a school graduate.

In Chapter 8, titled "Labeling of Languages and Language Users: "Italici" and "Italofili" in an Italian Language Context in Greece," **Anna Mouti** sheds some light on the largely unresearched foreign schools in Greece, with particular reference to the Italian foreign schools in Greece. The central part of this study is theoretical and bibliographical, but there is also a small-scale case study regarding the Scuola dell' Infanzia ad Atene and its plurilingual character. In Greece, Italian could be identified as a (minority) language with a high social status, used in the same country as

the majority language, Greek. No complementary courses are provided for children in Greece for Italian as an L1 or a HL. In cases where bilingual Italians in Greece need some language support for Italian as an L1 or HL, this should be made through private lessons or privately owned foreign language centers offering Italian as a foreign language. Therefore, Greek-Italian bilinguals and Greek monolinguals may be found in the same language classrooms. It is only at the Scuola Italiana di Atene and the Scuola dell' Infanzia that a bilingual, or Italian, language program is provided. Interestingly, Mouti reports that Albanian, Romanian, and Czech-origin students are enrolled in the Italian School of Athens.

Chapters 9 and 10 are set in the context of Cyprus. In Chapter 9, titled "Parents' Perceptions regarding Russian Community Language Schools in Cyprus," **Sviatlana Karpava** investigates parents' perceptions of Russian community language schools in Cyprus, as well as their access to heritage/minority language education, its quality and quantity, its influence on the academic success and well-being of multilingual speakers, and its challenges and possibilities. In addition, her chapter addresses the need for L1 support, integration into mainstream society, suffusive multilingualism, and the use of HLs in Cypriot society. The participants in the study were the mothers and fathers of forty Russian-speaking families in Cyprus. Specifically, twenty mixed-marriage families (exogamous: Russian wife and Greek Cypriot husband) and twenty Russian-speaking (endogamous: both spouses Russian) immigrant families residing in Cyprus were the subjects of the investigation.

Chapter 10, titled "Multilingual Practices in a Bulgarian Complementary School in Cyprus" by **Sylvia Protopapa** and **Elena Ioannidou,** explores multilingual language practices in a Bulgarian complementary school in Cyprus using data from an ongoing ethnographic study. It focuses on classroom discourse to investigate and interpret language practices through a translanguaging lens. In particular, the authors explore the different multilingual practices used in the Bulgarian complementary school by the teachers and the students during the lessons, focusing on negotiating the presence or absence of Greek in the Bulgarian language classroom. They explore how one teacher negotiates and capitalizes on using Greek as a metalanguage in her class to enhance the teaching and learning of Bulgarian. In addition, they present data on how the other two teachers adopt a "one language only" approach and, therefore, do not allow multilingual practices to occur during their lessons. All these aspects are explored and interpreted as translanguaging spaces inside the complementary school.

In Chapter 11, the Afterword, **Vally Lytra** and **Petros Karatsareas** give their perspectives on the common threads that run through the collection chapters. They review the methods the authors have used in their research, touching upon the researchers' positionalities and some ethical issues related to undertaking the types of community-based research presented in the volume. They move on to paint a broad policy picture that emerges from their contributions, charting a map of HL education in Greece and Cyprus. Then, they position the studies within the current theoretical advancements in language, culture, and community conceptualizations concerning language education in the contexts of migration, diaspora, and linguistic mineralization. They include a section devoted to the dimension of the family and the role it plays in learning languages on both a formal level (about the running and operation of HL education initiatives) and an informal level (from a family language policy perspective). Finally, they gaze toward the future of HL education and research in Greece and Cyprus.

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CHAPTER ONE

AN OVERVIEW OF THE CZECH COMPLEMENTARY SCHOOL OF THESSALONIKI, GREECE

NIKOS GOGONAS & CHRISTINA MALIGKOUDI

1. Introduction

Complementary schools, also called supplementary schools or Saturday schools, offer students teaching in the national language of their parents' country of origin, as well as lessons relating to the country's history, literature, or cultural life. In Greece, a country with quite a high percentage of immigrants from various countries, several immigrant groups have started up community schools: Albanian, Polish, Bulgarian, Russian, Ukrainian, etc. (Maligkoudi 2014). Studies conducted in Greece have mainly focused on Albanian community schools, examining, among other dimensions, teachers' translanguaging practices (e.g., Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi 2018) and family language practices (Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi 2013; Mattheoudakis *et al*. 2020). Moreover, a study by Hovhannisyan and Sougari (2020) examined the Armenian community school of Thessaloniki and, more specifically, aspects of the students' and parents' ethnolinguistic identity.

The present study focuses on the Czech community school of Thessaloniki and its branches in Peraia (a suburb of Thessaloniki) and Leptokaria (a highly touristic seaside place in Pieria). According to data from the Czech Embassy in Greece, the last Czech census in Greece took place in 2006. At that time, 1,507 Czechs lived in Greece, 818 with Czech citizenship, and 689 with Czech and Greek citizenship. The latter category comprised Greeks (and their children) who had been residents in the Czech Republic (among other Socialist countries) since the Greek civil war and were

repatriated after the end of the fall of the dictatorship regime in Greece in 1974.

According to the same source, some Czechs still seek permanent residence in Greece, and the main reasons are marriage/relationships, employment or coming for holidays and overstaying. It is also worth mentioning that, in recent years, the number of Czech men coming to Greece for permanent residence has increased. Newly arrived Czechs are primarily employed in the technical, electronics, and tourism sectors. The Czech language does not belong to the "hegemonic" languages, such as English, French, German, and Spanish. It is a lesser spoken language of the EU, receives no institutional support in Greece, and could, thus, be classified as a "minority" language in Greece.

Research on the Czech complementary school paved the way for exploring several issues, such as mothers' roles in forming children's ethnolinguistic identity, language practices, and the beliefs of focal educators, as well as the aspect of the commodification of the Czech language. In other words, sending children to the Czech community school is seen by parents as an asset and as an investment in their children's educational and professional future. The current chapter presents the above dimensions, which were explored through interviews with all the people involved, class observations, and the students' language diaries.

2. Complementary Schools

Complementary schools allow students to express, explore and celebrate their multilingual and multicultural identities, drawing on their linguistic repertoires (Cushing, Georgiou and Karatsareas 2021). They are implemented by ethnic minority communities willing to maintain their linguistic and cultural heritage in a society where the school system fails to meet their needs (Creese and Martin 2006; Li 2006). Classes meet outside school hours or on weekends in borrowed or rented premises. They are voluntary schools usually run and staffed by parents (Bonacina and Gafaranga 2011).

Together with community associations and community media, schools are among the "three pillars of diaspora" (Li 2016; 2018; Li and Zhu 2013), that is, spaces of community socialization and networking where "community identity is preserved, defended, renegotiated and reconstructed in light of discourses circulating within the wider society" (Simon 2018, 4). Although many subjects are taught in complementary schools,

including support offered for mainstream school needs, the formal teaching of the language typically associated with the students' ethnic background is highlighted in their mission, aims, and activities. Language is seen as the most fundamental element in constructing the ethnocultural identity of ethnic minority students and in countering the effects of intergenerational shift (Çavuşoğlu 2010).

Complementary schools are essential in transforming, negotiating, and managing linguistic, social, and learning identities among students, parents, and staff (Creese and Martin 2006). Provided a "flexible bilingual" approach is adopted in complementary schools, these schools can encourage students' multilingual and cultural identities and be considered safe learning and teaching spaces (Creese and Martin 2006). The term "safe spaces" is critical, as members of minority language groups are often not treated favorably by members of public schools who support the exclusive use of the host language (Hall *et al*. 2002). However, attending a complementary school has been shown to offer multiple social, cognitive, and psychological benefits to students (Francis, Archer and Mau 2009).

3. The Methodology of the Research

The present study is qualitative, as its primary purpose has been to bring to the fore the perceptions and attitudes of all parties involved. A qualitative methodology lends itself to such a study as it allows the in-depth interpretation of participants' viewpoints (Kennedy 2008). Its main methodological tools are interviews and class observations, and both tools were used with all participants (parents, children, and teachers). Moreover, the students' language diaries were used for the research; the focal children were encouraged to write down, in a specific format, the language or the languages they used in different communicational settings (i.e., family time or doing homework) throughout the research.

The research was carried out from December 2019 to January 2020. Two schoolteachers, one representative of the Czech Embassy in Greece, and six families were interviewed, namely the mother and the child, or children, of each family (six mothers and seven children). Interviews with teachers, mothers, and children took place at the school premises during break times or before the commencement of classes. All interviews were conducted in Greek, and were subsequently translated into English by the authors.

Five hundred minutes of recorded material was selected, transcribed, and translated into English. In this chapter, we only present the interview data that addresses our research questions. The authors used the constant comparative method of data analysis (Creswell 1998). Using open coding, the authors worked independently to identify themes from the interview responses (Creswell 1998). The selection of themes was mapped onto the research questions and was informed by the authors' theoretical perspectives. We continued elaborating on the themes and sub-themes as they emerged by referring to the data set. To achieve saturation, we continued to look for instances that represented each of them until no new information appeared.

Our final sample comprises six families (mothers and children), two female teachers at the Czech complementary school, and the Czech Association secretary. The following table provides information on the six focal families. It refers to demographic variables about each family: age (in years), nationality, children's place of birth, and parents' level of education (none, elementary, high school, technical and further education [TAFE], university). All names are pseudonyms to ensure the participants' anonymity.

Table 1. Families' Profiles

	Participating mothers (name, age, nationality)	Father's nationality	Children's names and ages	Parents' educational background (father/mother)	Children's country of birth	Children's level in Czech
1	Karina, 40, Czech	Greek	Lucie / 11	TAFE/ University	Czech Republic	Advanced
2	Mina, 45, Czech	Greek	Peter / 8	TAFE / University	Greece	Beginner
3	Anna, 40, Czech	Greek-Czech	Natalia and Michael / 9 and 11	High School/ High School	Greece	Advanced
4	Nana, 40, Czech	Greek	Tomas / 8	University/ University	Greece	Beginner
5	Petra, 45, Czech	Greek	Maria / 15	High School / High School	Czech Republic	Advanced
6	Laura, 45, Czech	Greek	Olga / 12	High School / University	Greece	Advanced

Our sample consists of intermarried couples, where the wife is Czech and the husband is Greek. However, in family 3, the father Greek-Czech and the family has two children, unlike the other families that have one child. The parents' educational background varies. Regarding the children's birth

country, four out of six were born in Greece. As for the teachers, Andrea was born and raised in the Czech Republic and came to Greece in adolescence. She has been living in Greece for over thirty years. Andrea has a degree in nursery and has attended relevant seminars. She teaches beginners' classes in the Czech complementary school voluntarily. Ida was also born and raised in the Czech Republic, where she studied English Literature. Ida has been living in Greece for twenty-five years and teaches advanced classes as a volunteer.

Regarding the participants' competency in Czech, in families 1, 3, 5, and 6, the children have a very high level of Czech, according to their own, their parents', and their teachers' evaluation, and due to their placement in the advanced course. In families 2 and 4, the children's knowledge of Czech is basic. In addition, families 1, 3, and 5 have authorization from the Czech state to sit the annual exams of the corresponding material examined in the Czech Republic to obtain a Czech school certificate. For this reason, courses in the complementary school often include history and geography, following the Czech Educational Board.

4. Presentation of Results

4.1. School policy

Students of the school are unofficially divided into two categories: "bilingual students" and "Czech as a foreign language students (CFL students)." In other words, children who are advanced in Czech are called "bilingual," while children with only basic knowledge of Czech, even if both of their parents, or one of their parents, are from the Czech Republic, are classified as "CFL." The school's official language policy is for "bilingual" children to be exposed to and use Czech in class, while the CFL students have more freedom. According to the director:

> During class, we ask them to speak only in Czech. Nevertheless, if we have CFL children, we do not require them to speak Czech. We give them explanations in Greek, as the teachers know Greek, so that they can learn the language gradually. When we talk to children of mixed parents, who have a good grounding in the language, we speak to them in Czech. However, during breaks, they can express themselves in a language of their choice.

Through class observation, we noticed that both teacher and students use Greek quite freely at the beginners' level. In contrast, the teacher uses

Czech almost exclusively at the advanced level, and students follow the same logic. Teachers' statements are consistent with this observation:

> When I teach children who know very little Czech, I speak bilingually. I repeat things, and I speak both languages at the same time (Andrea).
>
> We place children in the advanced class if they are ready and if they try, and only if we know that they can (emphasis) respond in Czech. It is OK if they make mistakes as long as they try to respond in Czech (Ida).

Michael, a focal student, confirmed the above comment, at least for the second group of learners:

> Sometimes I speak in Greek with Leonardo (another student), but the teacher will not let us. We must speak in Czech no matter what; otherwise, we must write an essay or something in Czech (Michael).

However, during breaks, it was observed that the primary language of communication among pupils was Greek. On the other hand, teachers and parents use mostly Czech to communicate in the school.

4.2. Parental Language Ideologies

In this section, we examine how Czech is treated and exploited in individual families. In Family 1, Czech is used by the mother at home, among other things, to “marginalize” her husband. Specifically, the mother confesses during the interview that when she separated from her husband but still lived together, she used Czech with her daughter to make her husband feel marginalized. In addition, her desires and goals appear to influence her linguistic behavior towards her child; that is to say, she uses Czech purposefully:

> I want to go back; I do not want to stay here. So clearly. Moreover, because my husband did not want to go to the Czech Republic, his parents are old, with health problems, and so on. But my job is there, and I want to go back there. That's why I want my daughter to know Czech very well (Karina).

In Family 2, Czech use within the family environment is not systematic, and, therefore, the Czech language ability of the child is low. In the following excerpt, Mina explained how her husband's reaction changed her linguistic practice of speaking only in Czech to her son to using only Greek:

> I think my son would know more Czech because when he was born I started talking to him in Czech, singing Czech songs, telling him Czech poems, etc., but then my husband reacted; he thought that the boy would not speak Greek or that he would delay in speaking it and because at that point the boy was sort of confusing the two languages, so I started talking to him in Greek and I stopped using Czech with him. Then my husband realized that he shouldn't have stopped me (Mina).

Consequently, the woman regrets not vigorously pursuing her language choices and beliefs.

In the Family 3, the mother's use of the Czech language has been systematic within the family environment since the children were born. Thus, the children have a high level of language proficiency in Czech. In addition, several factors support this mother's effort: frequent visits to the Czech Republic, the father's knowledge and use of Czech in family communication, and the children's involvement with Czechs on social media. However, outside the home context, Anna is reluctant to use Czech in order not to disrupt communication with the dominant language group:

> When they were little, I spoke to them in Czech, that is, fairy tales, all these songs, I spoke to them in Czech. But when we were out in the world, to make them understand, I spoke to them in Greek. However, the doctor told me you should not—also, outside the home, you should speak Czech (Anna).

In Family 4, Nana stated how she felt obliged as a mother to help her children acquire Czech citizenship. In other words, she forefronts the responsibility that a mother feels to provide her children with as many opportunities as possible:

> But I had it a little different as a mother. I felt like I had an obligation for my children to write as Czechs and to have Czech citizenship (Nana).

Motherhood also comes to the fore in the case of Family 5, where the mother, analyzing the reasons why she wishes to transmit Czech to her daughter, considers it self-evident that she, as a mother, should ensure that her child has an excellent knowledge of this language:

> Because I'm Czech and she was born in the Czech Republic, it's her mother tongue. To know how to read, to write (Petra).

This pattern is also found in Souza's article (2016), where language seems essential to maintaining group identity in the case of the Brazilian mothers, where their success in passing their language on to their children affected

their sense of motherhood. In other words, mothers appear to take on this responsibility for themselves, especially in our sample of intermarried couples.

Additionally, in our case, designing and implementing an FLP seems to be the mothers' managerial responsibility (Piller and Gerber 2021). They feel that they have to be the "guardians" of their children's bilingualism, as the mothers of our sample claimed in their interviews (Karina, Anna, Nana, and Laura) that they see bilingualism as a highly valued commodity (Cameron 2012).

In Family 6, on the other hand, Czech is used as a "secret" code of communication between mother and daughter, showing, in this case, an additional function that the ethnic language has in family communication:

> Because it's our secret language. Mom with the daughter who doesn't want anyone else to hear, so … that's our communication code (Laura).

At this point, the teachers' views about parental language ideologies are worth presenting.

In her interview, the beginner class teacher emphasized the difference in linguistic behavior between Czech fathers and mothers. In particular, she argued that Czech mothers seem more interested in their children acquiring Czech and are trying to make this happen, as opposed to Czech fathers. Indeed, women also firmly believe that good knowledge of Czech will guarantee their children a good job:

> Because we also had Czech husbands or dads, but they don't feel that way. They do not speak Czech to their children, unlike their mothers. Mostly women pull the strings, both here and in Perea. Moreover, now that a new effort has begun and it has already started operating in Katerini, a new section of women have mobilized it because there was a section in Leptokaria, and they heard about it in Katerini. However, the driving force is the woman. Always. In the family, in the roots, or many ladies want their children to have an advantage; after all, whatever language the child knows is a profit. Moreover, I am talking about studies (Jana).

The second teacher advocates this and added that, by nature, women are proactive and are thinking of facilitating the adaptation of their child to the Czech Republic in case the family decides to move there:

> However, it is women who think about how to adapt their children to a foreign country if they go, so they decide to send them here (Iris).

This teacher emphasized the fact that women are trying harder to transmit the Czech language to subsequent generations than men:

> OK, daddies also bring the kids in and out, but even Czech dads never speak to their kids in Czech; they don't create a basis for Czech in the home or see it as one extra language. It's difficult for dads to speak Czech because they don't care, they don't have the time (Iris).

The findings demonstrate that the mothers in this study hold strong language ideologies. They seemed to acknowledge the benefits of bilingualism and, thus, intend to make their children bilingual. Although the mothers of the present study are bilingual, they perceive that languages must be kept separate. As a result, the model "one person—one language" (OPOL) (Ronjat 1913) guides the language policies in these bilingual homes.

4.3. Parents' Main Reasons for Sending Their Children to the Czech Complementary School of Thessaloniki

The interviews with the mothers revealed various reasons why they decided to enroll their children in Czech language courses.

First of all, bilingualism is considered a strength and a privilege by half of the parents in our sample, and children feel proud to know and use two languages in their daily lives:

> In the beginning, I did not know Greek, and I spoke Czech to my husband, and everyone looked at us; yes, it was difficult, but because we insisted and because OK, my daughter went to the Czech school more often and so on, OK.. she's somewhat proud that she can do it in two languages (Petra).

> Natalia is proud of the Czech Republic (Karina).

Another fundamental reason is that attending the complementary school will provide their children with the ability to communicate with relatives and friends in the Czech Republic:

> Because apart from his father's Greek family, she also has a Czech family, and I want her to build up relationships; I want her to meet her cousins, aunts, and grandparents (Laura).

> Otherwise, I want to help them with the language, to read Czech books, and when they go to the Czech Republic to be able to use the language, to be able to communicate with relatives (Inda).

Moreover, the knowledge of more languages helps the child cognitively, and this is an additional reason why some parents in our sample want their children to learn Czech:

> The truth is that it is much easier for multilingual children to learn another language better. Because their language turns, they have their system and learn another language better, faster, and easier. I believe it, and I see it (Laura).

> The more languages you know, the more educated you are (Anna).

As previously mentioned, the maintenance and transmission of the Czech language to the next generation is linked to the concept of motherhood. That is, women respondents seem to feel an obligation to pass on their language to their children, as they consider it a key role for them as mothers (Gogonas and Maligkoudi 2020):

> Because I am Czech and she was born in the Czech Republic, it is her mother tongue (Petra).

Furthermore, Czech is promoted as a commodity in the context of the complementary school. First of all, the children follow two educational systems and receive qualifications:

> They want their children to have this advantage, this possibility for studies in the Czech Republic, apart from the fact that any additional language a child knows is a profit. When it comes to preparation for university studies, the children in the Czech Republic are at a very good level; they always have been (Aphrodite).

Secondly, the children sit University entrance exams in two countries:

> I want to give her a choice if she decides to study. And because of her citizenship, she has the opportunity to study there like a genuine Czech in her language, if she decides and likes it (Laura).

Additionally, knowledge of Czech is considered by parents as an asset for the Greek labor market. Greece's economy relies heavily on tourism, and many Czech tourists choose Greece for their holidays. Anna, a mother who sends her child to the Czech complementary school, said,

> It is good to know one more language in Greece because Czech helps to understand Polish, Slavic languages and so on ... so I consider it important for tourism.