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Λες και είχε το αρβανίτικο οστρακιά(!) και το ξορκίσανε…['As if Arvanitika was the plague (!) and they exorcised it…']: Linguistic Attitudes towards the Endangerment of Arvanitika in Greece. A Sociolinguistic Approach

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Abstract

This thesis investigates present-day attitudes of Arvanitika and non-Arvanitika speakers towards the Arvanitika language in Greece. Speakers of Arvanitika in Greece have experienced multiple discriminative, oppressive and assimilation policies on the part of the Greek State in the past, which had led their language to its gradual and long-term decline. For this reason, during the 1980s, experts in linguistics had predicted that Arvanitika would most likely die out within the next two to three generations. However, the Albanian economic migration to Greece in the 1990s seems to have interrupted Arvanitika's declining trajectory and to have contributed to its short-term 'revival' due to its mutual intelligibility with the Albanian language; it was this mutual intelligibility that, during the first years of the Albanian migration, made Arvanitika the basic means of communication among the Arvanitika speakers and the Albanian migrants. This socio-historical dimension that had not been investigated to date was one of the main gaps that this project set out to examine with respect to participants' attitudes. Data collection took place in person in three Arvanitika-speaking regions in the north and the south of Greece, and online in both Arvanitika and non-Arvanitika-speaking regions throughout the country. The employment of both quantitative and qualitative methods allowed for safe conclusions to be drawn as regards participants' attitudes towards Arvanitika. The former method revealed positive attitudes on the part of most Arvanitika and non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika. The latter method revealed conflicting, fluid and contradictory attitudes on the part of the elder in age Arvanitika speakers that were intertwined with participants' conflicting expressions of their ethno-linguistic identity and their experiencing of profound stigmatisation upon being equated with the Albanian migrants, a population that has been harshly discriminated against in Greece and whose ethnic label bears negative connotations in the Greek context. This equation and its consequent discrimination and stigmatisation against Arvanitika speakers led them to, unconsciously, abandon their heritage language to the point that Arvanitika is now characterised as a(n) (severely) endangered language.

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Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to the supervising committee of my PhD, the Director of Studies, Dr Maria Tsigou, my second supervisor, Dr Stavros Skopeteas and my third supervisor, Dr Stamatis Beis, for their invaluable advice and guidance. Words cannot express my deepest thanks to all participants of this study for their great contribution to its accomplishment. Moreover, the completion of this undertaking would not have been possible without the constant support of my friends and colleagues in the form of tireless encouragement, endless discussions, advice, feedback and careful proofreading of my dissertation. Finally, I am extremely grateful to my family, my parents, my sister and my niece, whose unconditional love and care helped me to overcome any obstacles and difficulties I encountered in my long research journey.

Chapter 1. Introduction to the research project

Introduction

Arvanitika is a Tosk Albanian language spoken in Greece for more than seven centuries (Tsitsipis, 1998)[1]. The long-term presence of Arvanitika in Greece led to the incorporation into Arvanitika of many Greek linguistic elements, upon the contact between the two languages (Tsitsipis, 1998; Sella-Mazi, 2016; Jochalas, 2010). The Arvanitika language has been undergoing attrition for at least the last five decades, while its speakers have shifted to the dominant Greek language, which has led to Arvanitika's current *endangered status*. Based on that, about four decades ago, Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) predicted that Arvanitika would most likely die out within the next two to three generations counting from their period. Notwithstanding such predictions, Arvanitika did not die out in the upcoming years, even though today it is considered as an endangered language. The fact that appears to have interrupted Arvanitika's foreshadowed extinction is potentially the *Albanian economic migration* to Greece during the late '80s, beginning of the '90s. Arvanitika and Albanian – specifically the Tosk varieties of Albanian spoken in South Albania – are *mutual intelligible*, something that resulted in Arvanitika being used as a means of communication with Albanian migrants on the part of Arvanitika[2] speakers. This must have led to the assumption that, at least during the first years of the migration, when Albanian migrants were not yet familiar with Greek, Arvanitika most likely 'revived'. According to several participants in this study, this seems to have been the case for the few first years upon the Albanian migration; yet, today, Arvanitika is endangered and the eldest generation of today's fluent speakers is most likely the last generation to speak the language.

The reasons for Arvanitika's dying status prior to the Albanian migration have been, to a certain extent, examined (Tsitsipis, 1998; Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983). Indicatively, some of these reasons include the *assimilation* of the Arvanitika-speaking community into the dominant Greek language and culture, the *intolerance* of the Greek State to

[1] APA 7th edition referencing style was applied in this dissertation.

[2] The terms *Arvanitika(-speaker)*, *Arvanite*, *Arvanitis/-issa* (singular masculine and feminine) or *Arvanites/-isses* (the former's plural form) are in many cases interchangeably used, in this dissertation, to define the person/people of the Arvanitika community. *Arvanitika* defines the *language* and the *speakers* of Arvanitika (e.g., in front of the word 'speaker'), while the other three might also be used mainly to show *origin* (e.g., in front of the words 'population', 'family' or 'origin').

linguistic diversity, *the lack of supportive language policies* on the part of the State, *minoritisation* and *politicisation* of Arvanitika and its speakers as a result of the language's *oppression* in the past, and the gradual *interruption of intergenerational transmission* (Tsitsipis, 1998; Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1975). However, the scarcity of recent sociolinguistic studies on the endangerment of Arvanitika and especially in the post-Albanian migration era is what triggered the implementation of the present study. More specifically, the research gap upon a potentially impactful socio-historical development such as the massive Albanian migration to Greece urged for an updated investigation of the endangered status of Arvanitika.

This study approaches the Arvanitika language from a *macro-sociolinguistic* perspective by investigating the *current linguistic attitudes* towards Arvanitika so as to provide insights on the reasons why Arvanitika has followed a declining trajectory, particularly upon the Albanian migration. Most importantly, *the attitudes of both the Arvanitika and the non-Arvanitika* communities are investigated. The attitudes of Arvanitika speakers are investigated in order to examine the potential reasons for Arvanitika's endangered status that emerge from within the linguistic community; speakers' attitudes towards their heritage language have been found to be one of the most influential factors leading to either linguistic shift and attrition (Tsitsipis, 1998) – if the attitudes are negative – or preservation of minority languages – if the attitudes are positive (Derhemi, 2002). The attitudes of the second population, the non-Arvanitika speakers, are investigated in order to examine the potential reasons contributing to the decline of Arvanitika emerging from the wider (monolingual) Greek community, as it has been found that non-speakers of minority languages are likely to maintain negative attitudes towards those languages (Huguet and Janés, 2008; Ytsma, 2007), and that attitudes are also dependent on the wider community's perception on a language (Schmid & De Bot, 2004), something that could have an effect on its trajectory.

Investigation of the two aforementioned sample groups' attitudes towards Arvanitika took place over a period of four years (2018-2022) with the employment of *triangulation* by means of both qualitative and quantitative methods in both the data collection and the analyses. Qualitative data collection methods included *interviews and focus groups*, the latter being a type of group interview (see section 4.5.2.), – for the Arvanitika-speaking participants –, while quantitative data collection methods included *questionnaires* (and the pilot Matched-Guise Technique, that was then excluded from

the main study) – for both the Arvanitika and the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants. *Two pilot studies* were carried out in order to put together valid questionnaire and interview protocols for the main study. Data collection took place both face-to-face and online, upon the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak. The analysis of the quantitative data was conducted using the *SPSS statistical tool* to run *Chi-square tests* in order to examine the potential relationship between several demographic variables and participants' attitudes. Qualitative data was analysed by means of a three-level discourse analysis, namely *(a) content-based approaches, (b) turn-internal semantic and pragmatic approaches, and (c) interactional approaches*. In this way, attitudes were analysed from a holistic perspective that included both verbal and non-verbal language, while also considering the impact of the external environment contributing to the shaping and negotiation of participants' attitudes (e.g., socio-historical context, interaction between participants themselves and participants with the researcher at the time of the interview).

1.1. Aims and research questions

The study lies in the field of sociolinguistics and aims to provide important insights on the *current attitudes* towards Arvanitika on the part of speakers and non-speakers of the language. The exploration of the attitudes is implemented in reference to the perception of participants on the reasons why Arvanitika has been brought to its extinction, their use of Arvanitika, their perception on whether the Albanian migration has affected Arvanitika's declining trajectory, as well as speakers' feelings for their heritage language and its endangerment state.

More particularly, the aims of this study are: *(a)* to deliver insights on the *updated sociolinguistic background* of the Arvanitika language and community, *(b)* to investigate *today's attitudes* of Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika and compare them with those of the past findings, *(c)* to investigate, for the first time, the *attitudes* of the *non-Arvanitika speakers* towards Arvanitika, thus, the wider Greek community's attitudes, *(d)* to examine the *reasons* why Arvanitika has been brought to a *severely endangered status* after the *Albanian migration* to Greece in the '90s, which has potentially contributed to the temporary 'revival' of the language, *(e)* to investigate *the Arvanitika speakers' feelings* towards Arvanitika, and *(f)* to examine the *current use of*

Arvanitika by its speakers and *its effect on Arvanitika's decline*. As mentioned above, the aforementioned aims were methodologically addressed by means of *triangulation*, the application of mixed methods (see section 4.5.1.), which further forms an essential contribution of this study to the contemporary sociolinguistic research on the Arvanitika language and linguistic community.

The research questions and their rationale are presented below.

1. How do the Arvanitika speakers use Arvanitika today? In which contexts do they speak it and with whom?

This question aims to reveal the use of Arvanitika by its speakers today on the basis that the use of a language is an important indicator of its trajectory. For example, Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983), and Tsitsipis (1998) found that Arvanitika speakers in their period valued Arvanitika as a *useless* language when it comes to pragmatic purposes (e.g., seeking employment) which was one of the reasons why they considered their language as *inferior*. Furthermore, the *solidarity use* of Arvanitika, meaning Arvanitika's use among speakers to foster closeness in their relationship with their close ones, is something that triggered speakers' positive attitudes towards Arvanitika (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983; Liosis, 2007). Therefore, speakers' use of Arvanitika is indicative of the *value* they attribute to their language and, as a result, on the future of the language.

2. What factors do the Arvanitika and non-Arvanitika speakers think that have contributed to the declining trajectory of Arvanitika? What other contributing to Arvanitika's decline factors emerge from Arvanitika speakers' discursive practices?

This question aims to reveal Arvanitika speakers' perception on the *reasons* why Arvanitika is *under extinction*. On the one hand, this question includes reasons overtly expressed by the speakers as contributing to the decline of Arvanitika. On the other hand, it aims to elicit reasons, which might be influential to Arvanitika's loss through participants' covertly expressed attitudes emerging from their discursive practices. Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983), and Tsitsipis (1998) had identified several reasons for Arvanitika's loss in the past, among which some were related to the language oppression, which has potentially affected speakers' attitudes. This study not only investigates whether the same or further reasons are given by participants today as well,

but most importantly it provides new insights on the potential *connection of Arvanitika's decline with the Albanian migration of the '90s*, of which, also, Liosis (2007) made a point.

3. Did the Albanian economic migration to Greece have an effect on the trajectory of the Arvanitika language towards its extinction according to Arvanitika and non-Arvanitika speakers? What reasons for do speakers think that the Arvanitika language has followed a declining trajectory in the post-migration period, even though it had initially served as the basic means of communication between Albanians and Arvanitika speakers?

This question aims to examine the potential *effect that the Albanian economic migration* to Greece during the '90s had on the *declining trajectory* of the Arvanitika language by affecting people's attitudes (Liosis, 2007). Mutual intelligibility between (Tosk) Albanian and Arvanitika was reported by a lot of participants of the present study, as they stated that they communicated with Albanian migrants. The assumption one could make is that mutual intelligibility has, supposedly, led to a (temporary) 'revival' of Arvanitika. Therefore, it is remarkable how the language has reached its current dying status despite having served as the only means of communication between Arvanitika speakers and Albanian migrants during the first years of the Albanian migration to Greece.

4. What are the attitudes of today's Arvanitika-speaking communities in Greece towards Arvanitika? Why have they been shaped and negotiated in such way?

This question constitutes the umbrella question of the study and aims to reveal Arvanitika speakers' attitudes towards Arvanitika. Attitudes, as will be explicitly described in the relevant sections (see sections 2.3., 2.4. & 2.5.), have been found to affect and be affected by several factors, such as social status, societal hierarchy and the functional load given to a language (Pandharipande, 2002), symbolism of ethnic identity, the prestige this language enjoys (Holmes, 2012), and language policies (Karyolemou, 2019; Gorter, Aiestaran & Cenoz, 2012). All these factors seem to play a major role to the preservation or death of minority languages. As previous sociolinguistic studies (e.g., Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1975; Tsitsipis, 1998; Liosis, 2007; Botsi, 2003) have provided insights on the attitudes of Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika at the time, this question aims to investigate their *current attitudes* so as to

compare them with the ones found in the past, while at the same time taking into consideration today's societal context, as well as *today's younger generation* of speakers who did not participate in the past studies. This allows for *comparisons between the attitudes of different generations* to be made as it is considered crucial to the trajectory of Arvanitika.

5. How do the Arvanitika speakers feel about their language?

This question aims to approach the *psychological dimensions* of (language) attitudes. Attitudes towards an 'object' have been said to entail cognitive and behaviouralt features (Oppenheim, 1982) or according to Bohner (2001, as cited in Hua, 2016) cognitive, affective and conative features. Specifically, the affective dimension has to do with the *feelings* of the person who maintains the attitude towards an 'object'. For example, feelings of shame have been proven to trigger negative attitudes of speakers towards their language (Bell, 2013) as opposed to feelings of closeness which have been proven to lead to the solidarity use of that language triggering speakers' positive attitudes (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983). Most importantly, the inclusion of the investigation of participants' feelings towards Arvanitika was considered important in the sense that this particular component places participants' *needs* at the epicenter of the study, as feelings not being directly connected to cognition, are not dictated by external factors and incorporate authenticity. Participants' feelings whether these are positive, negative or mixed can provide insights on their attitudes towards Arvanitika that go *beyond the surface*.

6. What is the impact of several demographic factors[3] on the linguistic attitudes of the Arvanitika and non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika? (see section 4.9.)

This question aims to reveal the *attitudes* of Arvanitika and non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika in reference to several *demographic variables*. In fact, attitudes to language are said to be affected by several demographic factors having as a consequence the preservation or loss of a language. For example, the place of residence has been found to be crucial in the retention of languages, as speakers living in rural

[3] The exact factors are explicitly mentioned in the 4.9 section. This research question in the 4.9 section is split into two questions (6 and 8) explaining the factors one by one in the interest of clarity. The reason for splitting it into two questions is that some of the factors are different for the two groups of participants, the Arvanitika and the non-Arvanitika speakers.

and secluded areas tend to preserve their heritage language and maintain positive attitudes more than people living in urban centres (Tsitsipis & Elmendorf, 1983; Kirmizi, 2015). Similarly, mother tongue seems to be another factor interrelating with speakers' attitudes (Tsitsipis, 1998; Derhemi, 2002), as well as age (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983; Tsitsipis, 1998; Liosis, 2007).

The investigation, in this study, of the attitudes of *non-speakers* of Arvanitika towards Arvanitika was considered essential as the wider society's perception on a language could potentially be influential to its trajectory (Schmid & De Bot, 2004). Furthermore, as mentioned above, attitudes of speakers and non-speakers of a language might differ in that the latter tend to maintain negative or less positive attitudes towards that language (Huguet and Janés, 2008; Ytsma, 2007). Therefore, the inclusion of the non-Arvanitika speakers allows for *comparisons* between the two groups of participants. Most importantly, the investigation of the attitudes of non-speakers of Arvanitika towards Arvanitika constitutes one of the innovations of the present study as, to date, they had never been directly investigated. Therefore, it was considered critical to examine whether and in what way these might have affected the trajectory of the Arvanitika language. The variables that are investigated in reference to the non-Arvanitika participants' attitudes (see section 4.9.) have been chosen for similar reasons to the ones of the Arvanitika speakers. However, some variables such as the *mother tongue* was excluded from the analysis of this group of participants as the overwhelming majority had Greek as their mother tongue, thus it seemed pointless to be examined in the analysis. Nonetheless, new variables were included in the analysis of this group (e.g., their *contact* with Arvanitika speakers, their *exposure* to Arvanitika etc.), in order to see whether these factors have had an impact on the non-Arvanitika speakers' attitudes.

7. What are the attitudes of the Arvanitika and non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika with regards to several sociolinguistic dimensions such as language use, language vitality, Arvanitika' sociolinguistic status and its use during the Albanian migration?[4] (see section 4.9.)

This question aims to investigate Arvanitika and non-Arvanitika speakers' *attitudes* towards Arvanitika in reference to Arvanitika's *vitality* (e.g., preservation & potential revival), to the *value* they attach to Arvanitika and their use of it (e.g., solidarity use) but most importantly in reference to the *social dimensions* of Arvanitika's socio-historical background (e.g., *oppression*, their *contact with Albanian migrants*, *stigmatisation*). As mentioned above (see 'Question 1'), speakers' use of their language can provide significant insights as regards that language's trajectory; similarly, the under-investigated sociolinguistic repercussions of the relevant socio-historical developments such as the Albanian migration to Greece were considered to lead to critical new insights concerning speakers' and non-speakers' attitudes towards Arvanitika and, consequently, the trajectory of the Arvanitika language. In a similar vein, other societal factors contributing to shaping participants' attitudes such as speakers' and non-speakers' perception of Arvanitika's *societal hierarchy* within the Greek society (e.g., *non-official status*, *social status & education*) may be also crucial to its trajectory (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1975; Tsitsipis, 1998; Liosis, 2007).

1.2.Contribution to knowledge

This project delivers insights that aim to improve the understanding of scholars on sociolinguistics, anthropology, sociology and heritage studies investigating language attitudes towards endangered minority languages.

More specifically, the study's contribution to scientific knowledge lies on *(a)* the *updated investigation* on the *current sociolinguistic status* of the under-investigated Arvanitika language and its linguistic community by examining *today's attitudes* of Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika, *(b)* the investigation of the *attitudes of the wider (monolingual) Greek community* towards Arvanitika, which have not been

[4] This question, similarly to question 6, is split into two questions (7 and 9) in the 4.9 section. Again, the reasons for this choice have to do with the few differences in the sociolinguistic dimensions used for the two groups of participants.

directly investigated ever before, *(c)* the examination of participants' perception on the *potential effect of the Albanian migration to Greece* during the '90s – that possibly contributed to Arvanitika's temporary 'revival' – on the trajectory of Arvanitika, *(d)* the investigation of Arvanitika communities from *various regions* in Greece, such as Florina, which were not included in the previous studies' field work, and *(e)* the use of *triangulation*, in this case the methodological combination of both qualitative and quantitative approaches, namely interviews and focus groups for the former, and questionnaires and the pilot Matched-Guise Technique for the latter. The aforementioned dimensions are more explicitly described below.

a) The scarcity of recent sociolinguistic studies on the Arvanitika language and linguistic community led to the urgency for this study's implementation. Arvanitika as possibly the most endangered minority language in Greece today having just a few (fluent) speakers of the eldest generation – now bilingual in Greek and Arvanitika – speaking the language, has come to a nearly extinction status. This study delivers invaluable insights on the current sociolinguistic status of the Arvanitika language and community in Greece, through a macro-sociolinguistic approach, specifically *focusing on attitudes towards Arvanitika*. Such investigation is crucial for our understanding of the reasons why Arvanitika has been under extinction. The outdated sociolinguistic research of the '70s and the '90s (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1975; Tsitsipis 1998) captured the sociolinguistic picture of Arvanitika at the time, focusing on language ideologies, shift, code-switching, attitudes – to a certain extent – , and language maintenance; other more recent (socio-)linguistic studies (Botsi, 2003; Liosis, 2007) have also captured, to a certain extent, the (socio-)linguistic status of the Arvanitika language and community – including attitudes – in the way this was shaped nearly two decades ago. For this reason, it was crucial for updated research to be carried out in order not only to include the younger generations of speakers, but also to take into consideration the most recent socio-historical developments that might have affected Arvanitika's progression towards its extinction and which were not investigated in the past studies (e.g., Albanian migration). Most importantly, the present study exclusively focuses on Arvanitika speakers' *attitudes* aiming to explain – through their investigation – their role in the endangerment of Arvanitika. Furthermore, the inclusion of speakers of *three age groups* is considered crucial to the in-depth investigation of the language's

trajectory, as the perceptions of three age groups allow for fruitful comparisons between participants of different generations.

b) Another innovation of the present study is the investigation of *non-speakers' attitudes* towards Arvanitika. Attitudes of the wider community towards a minority language might have a great influence on this language's trajectory, as well as on the attitudes and the use of the language on the part of the linguistic community themselves (see sections 2.2.3. & 2.3.). Most importantly, taking into consideration the said minoritisation and demise that the Arvanitika language and community underwent in the past, as reported in the aforementioned studies, but most importantly the stigmatisation and discrimination that was overtly and/or covertly confessed by participants of the present study, the wider Greek community's perception and attitudes are key dimensions under investigation in the relevant sociolinguistic research. In fact, it was these testimonies on stigmatisation and discrimination during the pilot studies that led to the extension of participants' sample, the inclusion of non-Arvanitika speakers in the study. The occurrence of minoritisation of minority languages and their communities is habitual in several communities (see sections 2.2.3., 2.3. and 2.5.), but, to date, this dimension involving participants from outside the linguistic community had never been directly investigated in the case of Arvanitika.

c) The scarcity of studies on the decline of the Arvanitika language *upon and in reference to the Albanian economic migration* to Greece during the '90s constitutes one of the main research gaps that the present study aims to fill. The potential effect of the Albanian migration on Arvanitika's declining trajectory was crucial to be examined as *mutual intelligibility* between Arvanitika and Albanian was expected to aid to the latter's revival. Even though there are no studies exclusively focusing on the investigation of the mutual intelligibility between Arvanitika and Albanian, it is of no doubt that this is the case; this was, clearly, reported by participants of the present study as they stated that they spoke Arvanitika to communicate with Albanian migrants in the '90s. However, mutual intelligibility between the two languages, Arvanitika and the Tosk varieties of Albanian, could be also assumed prior to this research, only based on our knowledge that Arvanitika is a Tosk Albanian language (Tsitsipis, 1998). Therefore, the reasonable question of what led Arvanitika to its current dying status even though it seemed to have 'revived,' at

least for a short period, when Albanian migrants moved to Greece, arose. Upon Liosis' (2007) assumptions in reference to the potential effect that the Albanian migration might have had on speakers' attitudes, this study provides new insights that could serve as potential justifications for the endangerment state of Arvanitika with respect to the *Albanian migration's effect on the language*.

d) Previously reported (socio-)linguistic studies on Arvanitika (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1975; Tsitsipis 1998; Liosis, 2007; Botsi, 2003; Jochalas, 2010) mostly included field work in the Arvanitika communities of southern Greece (Attica, Boeotia, the Argosaronic islands, some Aegean islands such as Andros, and the Peloponnese). However, Arvanitika communities are also found in other regions such as the Epirus and Macedonia provinces in north-western Greece, and Thrace (e.g., Evros) in north-eastern Greece. This study includes Arvanitika-speaking participants from *various regions* of Greece, while its face-to-face field work prior to the pandemic outbreak included participants from the prefectures of Florina in north-western Greece, and Attica and Argolis (the Peloponnese) in southern Greece. Face-to-face data collection included participants from Boeotia as well, yet the researcher did not visit the area but the data collection took place in Athens. Nonetheless, participants from more Arvanitika-speaking regions took part in the study as, upon the COVID-19 pandemic, questionnaires were distributed online (Google Forms) to Arvanitika speakers from all around the country. The *inclusion of various Arvanitika communities* allowed for a *holistic investigation* of the sociolinguistic background and status of Arvanitika. This was important as it provides a broader sociolinguistic perspective of those communities allowing for *comparisons of speakers' attitudes* in reference to their place of residence/origin to be made. Most importantly, as many of these communities – especially those living far from one another – are not in regular contact with each other, the researcher wishes to disseminate the results of this study in a socio-linguistic event aiming to bring all these communities together for the first time. In this way, the community will have access to part of the results but also future efforts for the organisation of actions involving the Arvanitika community could be undertaken.

e) The mixed methodological approach of *triangulation* of both qualitative and quantitative approaches and particularly the combination of specific methods in the analysis of the results further adds in this study's originality. More specifically,

three different approaches of discourse analysis were used in the analysis of language attitudes emerging from the qualitative data. These approaches include *(a) content-based approaches*, *(b) turn-internal semantic and pragmatic approaches*, and *(c) interactional approaches*. More importantly, these three approaches were perceived as three different levels of discourse analysis as suggested by Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain (2009). As discussed in the relevant section (see section 4.8.2.), such an approach allows for a holistic investigation of participants' attitudes based on the *content* of participants discourse, their *verbal and non-verbal language*, their *emotional state* as well as the context in which their *attitudes were/are shaped and negotiated* (e.g., *interaction* between participants, the *socio-historical setting*). Furthermore, with respect to the quantitative approach referring to the questionnaire of the study – even though partially based on Schmied's (1991) study on attitudes towards English in Africa, and on questions asked in Trudgill & Tzavaras' (1975) and Liosis' (2007) studies – this was eventually made from scratch, constituting a useful tool that could be applied to future studies on attitudes towards minority languages found in similar settings. In addition to that, the Matched-Guise Technique, a direct experimental method for eliciting attitudes, was used for the first time in the Arvanitika communities of Greece. Eventually, this tool was excluded from the main study for the reasons described in the relevant section (see section 4.6.1.3.), yet it provided insights on the application of similar tools on Arvanitika speakers in the future. More specifically, its pitfalls can serve for the designing of a similar tool with different characteristics better adjusted to the Arvanitika-speaking communities.

1.3. Structure of the thesis

In the present chapter, I introduced the research project, the aims and the research questions of the study, as well as its contribution to scientific knowledge. Below, I present a brief overview of the following chapters.

Chapter 2. In this chapter, I introduce the field of Sociolinguistics as an interdisciplinary field, the phenomenon of minoritisation with respect to minority languages and the legal framework protecting Linguistic Human Rights. The chapter proceeds with the presentation of the reasons for which endangered minority languages often follow

declining trajectories and the presentation of several cases of language preservation and revitalisation. Finally, I approach and describe the notion of 'linguistic attitudes', mentioning results of relevant studies.

Chapter 3. In this chapter, I make mention of the sociolinguistic context in Greece with respect to the 'nation-state' ideology as a catalyst to the sociolinguistic status of minority languages found on Greek territory. Following that, I introduce the Arvanitika language and its linguistic community, as well as the Arvanitika's socio-historical and socio-linguistic background. Furthermore, I refer to the reasons for which Arvanitika has followed a declining trajectory and the language's Degree of Endangerment. Finally, I provide a summary of relevant sociolinguistic studies' outcomes on the Arvanitika speakers' linguistic attitudes towards their language.

Chapter 4. In this chapter, I present the methodology of the study. The chapter describes the rationale, research design, recruitment methods, all the procedures followed during the research and ethical considerations. Furthermore, I proceed with the presentation of the methods employed for the analysis of the data. Researcher's considerations throughout the research steps are explicitly expressed alongside the rationale behind the application of each method. Following the presentation of the ways in which every methodological step was taken, the research questions are outlined in the end of the chapter.

Chapter 5. In this chapter, the results and the analyses of the study are presented. In the very beginning of the chapter, I present the results of the reliability test of the questionnaires. Following that, the chapter is divided in two sections; Section 1 includes the quantitative results emerging from the analysis of the questionnaires – of both the Arvanitika and the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants –, and Section 2 includes the qualitative results – of only the Arvanitika-speaking participants – emerging from the interviews and the focus groups. Regarding Section 1, this is divided in two parts, namely part A and part B. Part A presents the results deriving from each of the questions/statements in the questionnaires and part B presents the results emerging from the cross-tabulation analysis, meaning the analysis of the 'Attitudes' in reference to the demographic variables. Regarding Section 2, the analysis of the qualitative data is presented in two ways, that is, with the citation of exact extracts from the transcriptions

of the interviews and focus group sessions, and by means of a periphrastic description of the participants' discourse.

Chapter 6. In this final chapter, I discuss the results and posit the concluding remarks that emerged from the comparison of both the quantitative and qualitative data aiming to further show their connection with the research questions. The chapter is divided in two parts, part 1 and part 2. Part 1 includes the general outcomes with regards to the attitudes of both the Arvanitika and the non-Arvanitika-speaking populations towards Arvanitika for each of the demographic variables of the quantitative analysis. Part 2 presents a discussion on the convergent outcomes of the qualitative and the quantitative analysis through comparisons between their results and those of past relevant studies.

Chapter 2. Overview of Sociolinguistics and minority languages

Introduction

In this section, I briefly refer to the field of *Sociolinguistics* so as to introduce its research sub-field in question, that of *minority languages* (see section 2.1.). Furthermore, the phenomenon of *minoritisation* within the minority languages' context is also approached alongside the legal framework protecting the Linguistic Human Rights (see sections 2.2.3. & 2.2.1). The chapter further focuses on the *reasons for endangered minority languages' decline* and on cases of *language preservation and revitalisation* (see sections 2.3. & 2.4.). Finally, I introduce the notion of *linguistic attitudes*, which is at the epicenter of the present study, by means of presenting theories and outcomes of relevant studies (see section 2.5.).

2.1. Sociolinguistics: a brief overview

Having the relationships between language use and social structure as its primary concern, *sociolinguistics* aims to describe language within the context of society whilst it also aims at answering the questions of how languages create communities and how communities shape their languages (Coulmas, 1997). These questions germinated in the mind of social scientists from different academic fields. Similar to other social fields, linguistics was not ready sooner than the 1960s to develop towards a strict sociolinguistic direction, as previous 19th century linguistic research was focused on language change, origins of the languages and etymology, while in the 20th century it was engaged in the structure of languages (Shuy, 2003). By the mid-20th century, time was ripe for sociolinguistics to be integrated as a distinct field in the international research arena. Plenty of researchers and scholars have represented the field of sociolinguistics all over the world. For the purposes of this introduction, however, reference will be made to a few – and not all – prominent scholars who have carried out sociolinguistics research in the USA and Europe.

With regards to the definition of the field, Crystal (1987) defined sociolinguistics, as 'the study of the interaction between language, and the structures and functioning of

society' (p. 412). Furthermore, sociolinguistics research is characterised by the micro-macro distinction (Coulmas, 1997). Coulmas's (1997) words on this distinction provide an explicit explanation on what each of its two parts offers to sociolinguistics research:

> micro-sociolinguistics investigates how social structure influences the way people talk and how language varieties and patterns of use correlate with social attributes such as class, sex, and age (p.2),
>
> macro-sociolinguistics studies what societies do with their languages, that is, *attitudes* and attachments that account for the functional distribution of speech forms in society, language shift, maintenance, and replacement, the delimitation and interaction of speech communities (p.2).

Another recent distinction as regards *variationist sociolinguistics*, is its recent classification into *three waves* by Eckert (2012). According to this distinction, in the first wave of sociolinguistics research, scholars looked for connections between *language variation* and *macro-sociodemographic data* (e.g., class, gender). Patterns of linguistic variation were perceived as emerging from social systems and social inequality (Eckert, 2012). In the second wave, *ethnographic methods* were introduced into sociolinguistic research aiming to investigate local parameters forming the broader social categories. In this second wave, researchers focused on the importance of the *context* surrounding their participants in comprehending *linguistic variation patterns* (Eckert, 2012). Finally, in the third and current wave, research focuses on the social significance of variation as much as on *people's agency* with regard to their language use, emphasising that variation does not only mirror but, most importantly, *creates meaning*, giving, in this way, rise to social change (Eckert, 2012).

2.1.1. Sociolinguistics in the USA

In the USA, sociolinguistics emerged as an antidote to racial segregation, poverty and intractability of social structures with the US Civil Rights Act of 1964, which later led to the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (Paulston & Tucker, 2003). Furthermore, Tucker (1997), and Paulston and Tucker (2003) highlight that the need for the establishment of the sociolinguistic field in the USA was further accentuated by the way in which ex

colonial governments were dealing with *language policy*[5] decisions without having conducted any language-related research and missing the sufficient knowledge to undertake such actions resulting to a problem-based rather than theory-based approach.

Making its first appearance as a research field in the USA in the mid-50s, sociolinguistics expanded from the English-speaking world to Germany and the rest of Europe (Arhakis & Kondili, 2011). Fishman conducted research on linguistic behaviour and attitudes (Arhakis & Kondili, 2011), while he was also the first to teach 'Sociology of language' in 1960 with a special focus on language maintenance and language shift (Shuy, 2003). Labov carried out a seminal study on variationist sociolinguistics and language change as he was concerned with the concept of language in its societal setting (Shuy, 2003). Hymes focusing on the ethnography of communication (Arhakis & Kondili, 2011) had foretold that the important accomplishments of the future would be the ones to involve linguistic structures in social contexts, while he coined the term 'linguistic anthropology' as 'the study of languages from an anthropological perspective' (Shuy, 2003, p. 6). Bloomfield with his prior study on 'social dialect and gender differences', wrote a 'chapter on Speech Communities' (Shuy, 2003, p. 4). Furthermore, Gumperz's research spotlighted the linguistic choices and limitations encountered by member of linguistic communities, Garfinkel and Sacks integrated courses on the sociology of language and the analysis of conversation, while Goffman focused on research of social behaviours viewing linguistics as a key factor in his description of the structure of people's behaviours (Shuy, 2003). Sapir and Whorf approached the relationship between language and socio-political organisation in the field of linguistic anthropology (Arhakis & Kondili, 2011). Moreover, Ferguson made research on language varieties, while, together with Polomé, he taught the course of Sociolinguistics at two LSA Institutes, Georgetown University, and the University of Texas, respectively (Shuy, 2003). By the mid-60s, a number of further USA universities like Harvard, and the Universities of California and Pennsylvania, began offering sociolinguistic courses. The ethnographic contribution of anthropology, the theoretical and methodological tools of sociology along with the groundbreaking insights of linguistics led to the decisive insertion of sociolinguistics in the academic sphere.

5 'A language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the societies, group or system' (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 2).

2.1.2. Sociolinguistics in Europe

Prominent scholars conducting work on sociolinguistics come from Europe. Halliday's foremost work on systematic functional linguistics placed social interaction in the core of second language acquisition (Arhakis & Kondili, 2011). In early 20th century, Gillieron and Edmont produced the Linguistic Atlas of France, which draws on the linguistic variation concept (Calvet, 2003). In the early 20th century, Firth was the first to speak of sociological linguistics in Europe (Arhakis & Kondili, 2011). In the late '30s, Sommerfelt's first effort on the sociolinguistic description of an archaic language referring to the term 'sociological linguistics' as well as his interest on aboriginal languages in Australia, adopted an anthropological, linguistic and sociological perspective (Calvet, 2003). The growth of sociolinguistics continued with several publications on the relationship between language and society, such as Migliorini's chapter about language in society and Segerstedt's chapter titled 'Sociology of language' (Calvet, 2003). In France and Italy, ideology and linguistic consciousness questions affected by the Marxist theory and the social psycholinguistics of Vygotsky, as well as Bakhtin's philosophy of language took central stage. At the core of European thought lies Meillet's historical linguistics highlighting the social side of language (Arhakis & Kondili, 2011). The Gramscian deliberation and the 'language issue' promoted the development of sociolinguistics from the perspective of historical linguistics and dialectology in the early 1960s (Arhakis & Kondili, 2011). Ever since the early 20th century, there has been a constant interest in the connection formed between language and society which is encompassed in the ideas of historical linguistics and ethnolinguistics as expressed by Malinowski (Arhakis & Kondili, 2011). At the epicentre of European sociolinguistics was a major debate among Meillet and Saussure, who advocated between two different conceptions: Meillet's perception of language being a 'social fact' – a notion which he borrowed by sociologist Durkeheim –, and which is under continuous development and change, and Saussure' s perception of language being an 'abstract structure' which does not undergo any change but is rather being examined on a synchronic level (Calvet, 2003). This debate did not end up to a straightforward confrontation and it was only after Saussure's death that Meillet censured the former's conception (Calvet, 2003).

In the aforementioned contexts, the empirical sociolinguistic research found fertile ground to blossom as an *interdisciplinary field* created by four major fields: *linguistics*, *anthropology*, *sociology* and *social psychology*, while it has appeared in the academic world within the last, approximately, 70 years (Shuy, 2003).

2.2. Minority groups, minority languages and minoritisation

2.2.1. On Linguistic Human Rights

One of the major issues that sociolinguistic research approaches is that of the minority languages of linguistic and/or ethnic minorities. When speaking of minority languages, the issue that comes to the forefront is that of the linguistic rights of their speakers. For the purposes of the study and, specifically, in order to introduce the present situation on the legal protection of linguistic and other minorities and their rights, a short overview on the steps taken by leading international and European bodies are briefly presented below.

The value of linguistic rights as an inextricable part of human rights was intensely supported by the leading advocates of Linguistic Human Rights (LHR), Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995) who accentuate that LHR form inalienable, all-embracing norms for one to enjoy socio-political, economic, civil and cultural rights. The authors viewed the absence of linguistic rights as one of the reasons for the making of arguments regarding the unequal distribution of power on linguistic and ethnic grounds.

2.2.1.1. The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Human Rights

A year later, in 1996, the signing of the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Human Rights declares – among others – the right for linguistic minorities *to be taught their linguistic and cultural heritage*, and *to be granted the State's support* (see United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1996, art. 3, § 2). Furthermore, the Declaration makes mention of the notion of *assimilation* in that 'it *must* on no account be forced or induced and can only be the result of an entirely free choice' (see United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1996, art. 4, § 2).

Nevertheless, *no guarantee* is given on the *protection of the linguistic rights* as opposed to the implied absolute freedom to nation-states on whether, how and to what extent

they will or will not act on the protection of the minority languages in their territory, and include them or not in their language policy and planning (art. 3). As regards the *assimilation* notion (art. 4), the word *must* indicates stringency in the assimilative policies many nation states apply towards their linguistic minorities. However, according to Tsitselikis (1999), regardless of its severity, this particular part has not been taken into account or has deliberately been disregarded by many nation-states, which neglect and/or violate the rights of their linguistic minorities, one of them being the Greek State, which I will elaborate on in a following section (see section 3.2.).

The treatment of minorities by political leadership should be seen through the lens of unequal access to power and the assimilative policies applied. The LHR legal framework relies on political terms and agreements, which means that they must be treated by courts with more circumspection compared to how other fundamental rights are dealt with (Nelde *et al*., 1992). Furthermore, LHRs need to be approached as being highly related to sociolinguistic studies allowing for cultural schemes to be involved in the analysis rather than just mere linguistic patterns (Hamel, 1997), as linguistic and cultural heritage are intertwined.

2.2.1.2. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages

Apart from the Universal Declaration of LHRs, the Council of Europe (CoE) has pledged its commitment to the protection of a diverse cultural heritage by creating the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) in 1992. This Charter coming into action in 1998 was a watershed in legislation, due to its detailed mention of measures aiming at actively supporting the LHRs by – among others – including minority languages within the socioeconomic and cultural spectrum (Schmidt, 2008). For the same reasons, certain States have not yet signed (n)or ratified it (Schmidt, 2008) with Greece being one of them (see Council of Europe, 1992b).

Even though the ECRML seems to be one of the most important commitments in Europe towards the protection of minority and regional languages, it has some weaknesses. First, as Tsigou and Livas (2019) point out, it views minority languages from only one perspective, as an ‘expression of cultural wealth’ and, thus, in the framework of protecting Europe’s cultural heritage (see also Council of Europe, 1992a, pmbl, § 2; Council of Europe, 1992a, art. 7, § 1a). Second, there is no reference of (minority) languages as cultural actors of ethnic or social groups in order for them not

to be officially perceived as a group claiming collective rights to the use of their language (Woehrling, 2005; Tsigou & Livas, 2019). For, *a language is not able to claim for anything as opposed to its speakers* (Tsigou & Livas, 2019). Therefore, it seems that the ECRML has been articulated in a way that the ethnic, historical and social substance of minority languages is not approached as such. According to Tsigou and Livas (2019) this is accounted to the avoidance, on the part of the authors, of references which would provoke ethnic claims in case the linguistic minorities were provided further rights, for example on an educational and cultural level, as well as their potential aspiration of self-determination. Third, the ECRML does not refer to minority groups but rather to *users* of minority languages (Tsigou & Livas, 2019; see also Council of Europe, 1992a, art. 7, § 2). This determines these people only from the perspective of their existence as *users* of their minority language, turning their language into the only protected legal asset carrying nothing more than just cultural significance (Tsigou & Livas, 2019). Fourth, there are certain unclear points such as the number of speakers of a language required for it to be defined as a regional or minority language (see Council of Europe, 1992a, art. 1). Fifth, the geographic borders of non-official languages of a State are not explicitly defined in the text (Tsigou & Livas, 2019). Finally, the distinction between the different kinds of minority languages remains vague (see Council of Europe, 1992a, art. 1) as, for example, there are minority languages, which require further or different protection status than others, such as certain languages in Greece (Arvanitika, Macedonian, Vlach etc.). The aforementioned weaknesses could be overcome if minority or regional languages were viewed in ECRML as equal to the States' official languages in the light of the cultural heritage of Europe, hence their extinction would impoverish this heritage (Woehrling, 2005; Tsigou & Livas, 2019).

2.2.1.3. The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities

Upon the ECRML, an important convention for the protection of national minorities was the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM), which became active in 1998 (Schmidt, 2008). The FCNM, which Greece – among other countries – has signed, yet not ratified (see Council of Europe, 1995b) aims to secure the inclusion of national minorities in all areas of public life (see Council of Europe, 1995a, art. 10, §1; Council of Europe, 1995a, art. 14, § 1; Council of Europe, 1995a, art. 14, § 2).

Focusing on the languages of national minorities – which, at the same time, *excludes other linguistic minorities*, such as immigrants or the Roma – the FCNM might be setting the scene for the freedom of use of these communities' languages and the inclusion of their language in education (see Council of Europe, 1995a, art. 10, §1; Council of Europe, 1995a, art. 14, § 1; Council of Europe, 1995a, art. 14, § 2). Yet, at the same time, it gives free rein to governments to decide on whether and to what extent they will implement this commitment. Additionally, *the lack of a definition for national minority* leaves the choice of what constitutes a national minority in limbo and, therefore, open to interpretation by the member-states (Tsigou & Livas, 2019).

In conclusion, the legal steps that have been taken towards protecting the minorities' rights – including linguistic minorities – are certainly of utmost importance, yet there are significant weaknesses and/or omissions, as mentioned above, for their protection, which should be taken into consideration in the future.

2.2.2. The unresolved concept of 'minority'

In order to approach the concept of *minority languages* it is important to first take a closer look at the notion of *minority* alongside its socio-political connotations. *Minority group* is a concept historically attached to the notion of nationalism, which first emerged through the establishment of nation-states in the 18th century Romantic Era and the Age of Enlightenment in the 19th century (Appadurai, 2006; Anderson, 1991). Therefore, it is a concept that cannot be viewed outside its historical context and the concurrent establishment of majority groups (Costa, De Korne & Lane, 2017).

The concept of *minority* is complex and its definition is difficult to reach. This *complexity* becomes obvious in the international and European conventions. For instance, in the FCNM mentioned above, the provision of a definition of *national minority* is *deliberately avoided*, as 'it was decided to adopt a pragmatic approach, based on the recognition that, at this stage, it is impossible to arrive at a definition capable of mustering general support of all Council of Europe member States' (see Council of Europe, 1995c, p. 3). In other cases, like in Article 1 of the ECRML, the definition has been *vaguely included* or it is mentioned in such a way that it *excludes certain minorities* (see Council of Europe, 1992a, art. 1). Thus, the criteria under which a group of people is determined as a minority are related to other aspects, one of them being the *political aspect*, as well as the context in which this definition is attempted to

be articulated, and the difficulty of allocating specific rights to a minority group of people in a nation-state. Henrard (2000) argues that the difficulty of providing a fixed definition for minority is due to the intricacy and diversity of the concept, as well as the fear on the part of nation-states over the repercussions that the recognition of minorities would have. Concession of rights to these minorities might lead to the appearance of secessionist movements and even political fragmentation of the State itself. The notion of the nation-state with regards to minorities will be further discussed below (see section 3.2.).

Despite the various existing definitions of what constitutes a minority, the lack of a mandate one still remains an issue to be addressed. The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities handed a resolution to the Commission on Human Rights, giving the following 'minority' definition:

> (i) The term *minority* includes only those non-dominant groups in a population, which possess and wish to preserve stable ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from those of the rest of the population;
>
> (ii) Such minorities should properly include a number of persons sufficient by themselves to preserve such traditions or characteristics;
>
> (iii) Such minorities must be loyal to the State of which they are nationals (see United Nations, 2019, p. 13).

This definition has been criticised as one that *excludes* a number of minorities, such as the *non-territorial minorities* (e.g., the Roma and immigrants), while it also limits the term 'minority' to non-dominant 'nationals' who are willing to preserve their traditions of any kind while being loyal to the nation-state they belong to. Moreover, it implies that for a language to be characterised as a 'minority language' this must be *spoken by a minority group*, which is not numerically smaller but is surely *non-dominant* (Pandharipande, 2002). Interestingly, what has been observed in the different definitions given, at times, is the imbalance owing to the propensity of advantaging autochthonous groups against their relegation and even a complete absence of immigrant groups and those descending from them (Jackson-Preece, 2014).

Nonetheless, there is a generally accepted definition of minorities as given by Capotorti in the Study on the Rights belonging to Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities destined for the UN Sub-Commission in 1977. According to Capotorti,

> a minority is a group numerically smaller than the rest of the population of the State. The members of this non-dominant group have ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics different from those of the rest of the population and show, even implicitly, a sense of mutual solidarity focused on the preservation of their culture, traditions, religion or language (United Nations, 2010, p. 2).

Another problem to consider when referring to a 'minority' group or language is the *negative connotation* this term bears. 'The stem of the word minority, minor-, refers to an "entity" that is accounted for as "less than" (others)' (Academy of Athens, 2014, as cited in Tsigou & Livas, 2019, p. 50). As Tsigou and Livas (2019) point out, although this could bear connotations regarding that 'entity's' quantity (fewer in number), it can also be used metaphorically, meaning 'less than' in terms of its quality or status, thus, 'referring to its negative component(s) or its disadvantage(s)' (p. 50). Under these terms, the word 'minority' might not be considered as just a numerically smaller group of individuals but also as a *socially, politically, linguistically, economically or culturally marginalised group*, which often lacks specific rights. For this reason, in this context, the term *minoritised groups* seems to be more accurate. The term 'minoritised' can be adequately justified in the sense of explaining what this minoritisation is and creating a more specific context to explain the conditions under which a group is considered to be minoritised.

In view of all of the above, the inadequacy of each definition given to describe 'minority groups' seems to always lack at least one basic aspect, that is, excluding certain groups from the articulation of the term. One of the main aspects that should play a key role to the formation of a definition of a minority would be how each group *self-identifies*, namely whether they wish or not to hold a distinctive identity in order to become eligible for claiming specific rights to protect their cultural, religious or linguistic heritage (Schmidt, 2008). In the case of linguistic minorities, regardless of whether their language has entered a status of extinction, the right towards the legal protection of their

linguistic and cultural heritage should still be in effect, and action should be taken on the part of the State(s) (Schmidt, 2008).

2.2.3 Minoritisation

'Demographic numbers cannot explain the political violence that separates majoritarian social formations from the groups they seek to diminutise or exclude. Liberal discourses on minority groups conceal processes of minoritisation' (Laurie, & Khan, 2017, p. 2).

Taking into consideration the ambiguity and vagueness of the several definitions of 'minority' as well as the actual difficulty to articulate a fixed term, the term *minoritisation* appears to be accurate when referring to certain linguistic minorities bearing 'minority' status – compared to the linguistic majority's dominant status – within a nation-state.

With regards to defining 'minoritisation', this has been described by Cowan (2001) as the scheme aiming to reshape the identities of a distinct group of people as well as their sense of its cultural doings in order to be classified as a minority morally and legally. Thus, it is a discrete strategy similar to nationalising schemes, while also being of global proportions, not restricted to specific borders but rather developed within the nation-states (Cowan, 2001).

When it comes to minoritisation, this usually is irrelevant of the number of people a group consists of or – concerning linguistic minorities – their competence and fluency in their heritage language. For example, in South Africa under apartheid we can see the case of a minoritised majority group, as, at that time, a vast majority of people were liable to paramount minoritisation practices (Atkinson, 2000). This example directly interrelates an excluded minoritised group with a powerful majoritised one, while it involves the dynamic aspect of an entire procedure of *marginalisation* of the former. The minoritised group becomes cast aside and is classified as a distinct group of individuals, hierarchically lower in the grand scheme of society (Lane, Costa, & De Korne, 2017; Léglise & Alby, 2006).

Lucassen (1991) points out that minoritisation is usually prompted by *stigmatisation.* In fact, Ter Haar's (1990) study shows such an example through the case of the autochthonous Japanese Burakumin who after having suffered strong stigmatisation for centuries as supposedly descending from Koreans, they ended up being convinced of it, even though there is substantial evidence of their Japanese autochthonous status. Therefore, when minority groups or individuals are subject to assimilation, stigmatisation or dislocation practices, minoritisation takes place (Lane, Costa, & De Korne, 2017).

In light of the aforementioned points on minoritisation, it could be safely concluded that its process is one related to socio-political and socio-historical developments and/or changes under which certain groups of people are being marginalised and often stigmatised as bearing a 'low' status within a specific socio-political setting. For, a group being subject to minoritising practices – including linguistic minorities – is, largely, a *political issue*.

2.2.4. Minority languages as minoritised languages: a political issue

'The concept of "minority" with respect to language is dynamic rather than static. "Minority" is the expression of a relation, not an essence. The relations can assume two forms: diachronic and spatial' (Cronin, 1995, p. 86).

Pertaining to languages, even though the term 'minority languages' evokes languages of a statistically low number of speakers, it actually, and usually, refers to *minoritised languages* regardless of the demographic data of their speakers. This is connected to those languages being burdened by functional adversities ascribed to historical or/and socio-economic state of affairs, such as in the case of Catalan versus Danish (Pueyo, 1992, as cited in Aguilar-Amat & Santamaria, 2000). Therefore, a minority language rather refers to a language that bears *minority status*, after this language and its speakers having been constantly subject to minoritisation practices, which suggests that it is a dynamic process (Aguilar-Amat & Santamaria, 2000; Cronin, 1995).

Nevertheless, the process of minoritisation has not always been clear-cut as illustrated in the example of Catalonia. Atkinson (2000) draws attention to the covert minoritisation that Catalan has been experiencing not only within Spain but also within Catalonia itself in spite of the high socio-economic and cultural status the language maintains in Catalonia. According to the same author, this becomes apparent by the *speech accommodation* to Castilian instead of Catalan in cases of *language contact* between the local Catalans and the migrants moving to the region. Apart from the demographic 'inferiority' of Catalans as a minority in Spain, the position of Catalan is what puts it in a state that is far from being characterised as a dominant language (Atkinson, 2000).

Aguilar-Amat and Santamaria (2000) identify some distinct categories of language minoritisation, one being the *diachronic*, which occurs as a consequence of historical developments, and a second one being *the spatial minoritisation* emerging from territorial rearrangements among States. A third kind identified by Aguilar-Amat and Santamaria (2000), and Pueyo (1992, as cited in Aguilar-Amat & Santamaria, 2000) is found in *colonialism*, in which a majority group could incur minoritisation, as mentioned above in the South Africa example under apartheid laws. Therefore, as much as many minority languages suffer from minoritisation, Aguilar-Amat and Santamaria (2000) point out that 'although many minority languages are or have been minoritised languages, not all minoritised languages are minority languages' (p. 104).

Kasbarian (1997, as cited in Léglise & Alby, 2006) defines minoritised language as 'the language whose lack of autonomy, status, diffusion, functional distribution and standardisation makes up objective characteristics derived from macro-linguistic description' (p. 69). As regards the micro-linguistic aspect, Kasbarian (1997, as cited in Léglise & Alby, 2006) argues that:

> languages whose value is not recognised on the interactional scene by speakers of a sociolinguistically dominant language (official language, written language, contact language, language of schooling, backed by regulating and prescriptive norms), and that speakers of the minorised language conform to the usage and interactive norms set by their interlocutors (p. 69).

Combining the macro-linguistic and micro-linguistic approaches under Kasbarian's definitions of minoritised languages from both scopes it might be sufficient for one to understand how minoritised languages come to a status of extinction.

In accordance with the aforementioned definitions and perceptions on minorities and minoritisation in the language spectrum, it can be argued that the notion of (minority) language has been politicised since it is found at the heart of definitions related to the *nation-state* (Schlyter, 2001). Nevertheless, *politicisation* of languages is not a merely theoretical but rather a practical issue embedded in the concept of minoritised languages.

A typical example of a(n) (ethno-)linguistic minority and its minoritised language being politicised is the Macedonian language and its speakers in north-western (and north-eastern) Greece; this politicisation process has included questioning speakers' ethnic identity, for example, with the Politis-Kalfov Protocol of 1924 – among other instances – which saw the Greek State recognising Macedonian speakers as a Bulgarian minority (Gounaris, 1994). Cowan (2001) argues that this form of minoritisation which she calls 'minoritisation of culture' lies partially on an unfairly denial of rights and recognition.

Another characteristic example of politicisation of languages is that of the 1991 break-up of the Soviet Union. With the emergence of new nation-states, the rising of the nationhood brought the matter of the language to the foreground (Schlyter, 2001). The Federal RSFSR Language Law launched in 1991 by the Russian Federation (Grenoble, 2003) made the language matter the epicenter in the newly created States, with Russian acquiring *different statuses depending on the State* (Zabrodskaja & Ehala, 2015). Therefore, while in Lithuania and Estonia Russian acquired the status of a minority language, Grenoble (2003) and specifically Zabrodskaja & Ehala, (2015) report that:

> In Latvia, Ukraine, Moldova and Turkmenistan, both the official titular language and Russian were recognised as languages of inter-ethnic communication. In five other laws, in Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, only Russian was granted the status of the language of inter-ethnic communication (p. 162).

In conclusion, minoritisation of languages is a *dynamic and multidimensional political issue* with diachronic and historical parameters as it often puts minoritised languages and their speakers in a further minoritising status, this of their *politicisation*. As a matter

of fact, the conception of *nation-state* and *minoritisation* that several languages have been subject to seem to be inseparably intertwined. As shown with the indicative example of the Macedonian language, Greece is not an exception to this.

2.3. Reasons for language shift, attrition and death of endangered minority languages

2.3.1. An introduction to language shift, attrition and death

Linguists have come to the consensus that approximately 7.000 languages and dialects are spoken in the world today, more than half of which hold a minority status. These minoritised languages and dialects are expected to extinct within the next generations, mainly due to the *interruption of the intergenerational transmission* within their linguistic communities (Grenoble, 2011). Half of the world's population speaks twenty major languages, such as Spanish and Chinese, while most minority languages existing in the world have only a few hundreds or thousands of speakers each (Grenoble, 2011).

This imbalance in distribution of the number of speakers to different languages is connected to the extreme power that few major languages hold, while at the same time speakers of minority languages tend to leave their languages and replace them by the majority language of their region, a phenomenon known in linguistics as *language shift* (Grenoble, 2011; Tsitsipis & Elmendorf, 1983). More specifically, language shift can be broadly described as the process during which 'speakers cease to speak their own native tongue in favour of the language of what is usually a politically and/or economically dominant neighbouring culture' (Grenoble, 2011, p. 27) or the process in which 'one language displaces another in the linguistic repertoire of a community', while 'It also refers to the result of this process' (Holmes, 2012, p. 72). Language shift in research is investigated mainly with regards to language use and the domains where languages are used as well as through comparisons on the preference of a language over another (Coulmas, 1997; Fishman, 1966).

Language shift constitutes one of the main reasons leading to what is called *language attrition*. In the same vein, Coulmas (1997) points out that 'language attrition paradigm is concerned with measuring the loss of language skills in the individual's first language' (p. 303). Language shift and attrition are not only directly connected to the power of a language within the sociopolitical, economic and historical setting but also to the notions of *status, identity and assimilation* (Schmid & De Bot, 2004). In the same vein, Derhemi (2002) proposes the thorough investigation of various external parameters contributing to attrition, such as *sociopolitical and economic factors* as well

as *historical, cultural and religious ones, the linguistic community's ethnicity and the constitution of the region where the latter resides.*

A first sign of a language becoming obsolete is the decreasing number of its speakers. This could subsequently result in the modification of certain structures and discourse patterns as well as in the adoption of loanwords from a dominant language (Brenzinger & Dimmendaal, 1992). Tsitsipis and Elmendorf (1983) further argue that socio-economic issues often force speakers of a native language to opt for another in order to better adapt and belong. Indeed, *inequality of power distribution* is a widespread phenomenon playing a key role in language shift and attrition as the majority languages of nation-states across the world often overrule minority languages. For instance, in Greece the dominance of the Greek language is furthered by the non-recognition of any linguistic minorities – something that also subverts the subsistence and preservation of identity – with the only exception being the Muslim minority in western Thrace, north-eastern Greece, though, as a religious one (Tsitselikis, 2008).

Language shift and attrition could further lead to what is known in linguistics as *language death.* 'Language death has occurred when a language is no longer spoken naturally anywhere in the world' (Holmes, 2012, p. 72). Tsigou and Livas (2019) elaborate on the loss of a language occurring not only when speakers of a language no longer exist but also when the latter *consciously* shift to speaking other languages. 'The extinction of a language when its speakers go extinct due to external factors, such as wars or natural disasters – thus occurring deliberately – is described as *linguicide'* (Tsigou & Livas, 2019, p.66-67). The difference between language death and linguicide is that while language death mostly refers to the *unintentional* extinction of a language, such as the physical death of its speakers, linguicide might take place due to *political reasons*, such as the obligatory mobility of populations, genocides or deliberate epidemics, all of the above driven by political expediency (Tsigou and Livas, 2019). Another example of linguicide is when political expediency against certain populations leads to language extinction as collateral damage caused by political strategies that create *stigmatisation, discrimination and marginalisation* of the speakers of minority languages by the nation-state (Tsigou & Livas, 2019). On the contrary, language death often follows physical death of a language's speakers, or the conscious or unconscious abandonment of the language on the part of its speakers. The latter condition has been described by Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) as *creolisation in reverse* which is 'the loss

by a language of its native speakers' (p. 109). This term was used by the same author to describe the gradual loss of the Arvanitika language, as a result of being abandoned by its speakers. The opposite process, *creolisation*, is what Sankoff & Laberge (1974) call 'the acquisition of native speakers by a language', thus, when a (pidgin) language used between groups of speakers of different languages for the purposes of communicating with one another starts acquiring native speakers (p.73).

2.3.2. Reasons for language shift, attrition and death

a) Migration: language community and individuals

One of the reasons for which a language undergoes shift is *migration*. Certainly, migration per se could not be accounted for as an adequate reason leading to *language shift*. Language shift, however, is to a large extent connected to the notion of *identity* that plays a key role on whether migration of certain populations would lead to this process. In fact, people who migrate are often subject to a re-evaluation of identity since they are found in a new setting, with their current status being 'inferior' compared to the status they used to have in their homeland (Schmid & De Bot, 2004; Yağmur, 1997). Their demotion by the local dominant group might lead to a desire on their part for *assimilation*, and this might occur by abandoning their L1 over the L2 in order to become fluent on a native-like proficiency level in the latter language (Schmid & De Bot, 2004). Breakwell (1983) states that 'It has been pointed out that while groups consider themselves as stratified, they are often viewed as homogenous from the outside' (p. 191). This conclusion suggests that the host community as well as the new context they are found at play an important role in migrant groups' 'choice' to speak their language or not. Indeed, as Holmes (2012) points out, immigrant families moving to a typically monolingual community, such as England, Australia, the USA or New Zealand have been obligated to use English in all official contexts like at school with the teachers or to socialise with their peers. Therefore, mother tongue often ends up only being used at home within the family members. *Choice* and *opportunity* are two components connected with the contact that a speaker has with other speakers of their L1 (Schmid & De Bot, 2004). In case 'opportunity' is absent, immigrants could find themselves not having any speakers of their L1 to interact with or that the L1 context possibilities are limited to a few domains, such as family. This is, however, an objective

obstacle and not their own choice (Schmid & De Bot, 2004). Nevertheless, in the case of 'choice', an immigrant could choose not to use their mother language even when surrounded by other speakers of the same L1 (Schmid & De Bot, 2004). This, however, might have to do with other factors, such as *socio-political* and *socio-economic* ones, and not with the monolingual environment of the host community. Regarding the process in which migrants shift towards the language of the host country, L2, Holmes (2012) points out that it usually takes place over a period of two to four generations, while the typical pattern is that the first-generation immigrants are monolingual in the (minority) mother tongue, their children are bilingual in both the mother tongue and the majority language, and their grandchildren are monolingual in the majority language.

The need for identification by adapting to the new environment is expressed in different ways in each generation and is closely related to their need for *belonging*. For instance, migrant children adopt several roles in order to adapt to the different settings and feel a sense of belonging, often using different codes to communicate with family at home than the code used at school or with speakers of the dominant language. This shows the link between linguistic behaviours and the difference in the use of languages depending on the role an individual has in a certain setting (Schmid & De Bot, 2004; Northover, 1988). Even though migration is a common context in which language shift and attrition occur, De Bot & Clyne (1994) argue that immigrants who keep their mother tongue alive during the first period of their migration have more chances to remain competent in L1.

Therefore, the processes of language shift and attrition differ depending on the language community and the individuals. However, the main similarity in most cases is that the minority mother tongue is always displaced by the majority language of the wider community. This process is usually rapidly forwarded to an individual and/or community level, since it is viewed as related to language change (Schmid & De Bot, 2004).

b) Historical, socio-political and socio-economic context

Other reasons for which a language undergoes shift are *socio-political, economic, historical* or/and *demographic changes* that often provide fertile ground for the gradual adoption of a dominant language over the speakers' native (minority) language (Tsigou

& Livas, 2019; Holmes, 2012). A characteristic example of such case can be found in the Austria/Hungary border. According to Holmes (2012), certain regions of this border, such as the town of Oberwart that belonged to Hungary in the beginning of the 20th century, were annexed by Austria after the end of WWI. The Hungarian-speaking community of the town, being surrounded by German-speaking villages for many years, spoke German to a certain extent, but it, gradually, started shifting more towards German, especially as industry jobs outplaced farming ones (Holmes, 2012). Furthermore, German became the official language of the region following the changing of the borders (Holmes, 2012). Apart from enjoying *official status*, German became the language of *high prestige*, *professional development* and *success* as opposed to Hungarian, which was now considered an *outdated language of 'low' status* (Holmes, 2012). With regards to the relationship between a socio-economically dominant language and a minoritised language of inferior status, Sella-Mazi (2016) points out that the latter's maintenance is also dependent on how stable relationship between these two groups of speakers is during their language contact. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the official recognition of one of the two languages in contact resulting in this language enjoying official status and prestige seem to play a crucial role in the language decline of the other language, the minoritised one.

Holmes (2012) argues that another case of language shift occurs when, for instance, a community is urged to learn the dominant language owing to *economic or political reasons* (e.g., Israel). A characteristic example is the need for employment – that also applies in the case of Oberwart –, in which the minority community believes that its own language will no longer be useful to their descendants. In many cases, the majority language is preferred because of its *social prestige*, widespread use in the political and economic fields, and beneficial role in professional development for future generations (Tsigou & Livas, 2019). Since the abandoning of the minority mother tongue is often an *unconscious process*, speakers do not always realise that their language is endangered and do not take action towards its preservation (Holmes, 2012). In accordance with what was mentioned above about the intergenerational trajectory of language shift (see section 2.3.2.a), young people are usually those leading the way in shifting towards the socio-economically dominant language for the sake of their professional development (Holmes, 2012). This being said, *urbanisation* involving the move of linguistic minorities to large urban centres for economic reasons or the ousting

of certain populations from their place of origin form a further reason why languages come to a dying status (e.g., in the case of deforestation in the Amazon region) (Tsigou & Livas, 2019). Therefore, when urbanisation takes place, the *place of residence* factor adds in the languages' declining trajectory. In fact, it has been shown that rural populations living in remote areas tend to serve their needs by using the mother tongue, resisting in this way the linguistic shift and attrition more than the communities living in the urban regions (Holmes, 2012; Tsitsipis & Elmendorf, 1983). When there is external interference and connection with the urban centre, linguistic shift towards the dominant language occurs (e.g., road networks, use of TV in rural houses). Furthermore, when the L1-speaking networks turn out to be limited or reduced, such as in the case of linguistic minorities in urban centres, the degree of L1 maintenance is low, thus encouraging linguistic attrition (Hulsen, 2000).

Other reasons affecting the declining trajectory of languages are related to the intertwining of *power* and *utility* of those languages. For example, Pandharipande (2002) argues that the power hierarchy of languages in India is attached to the *functional use* of each language. In this sense, minority languages are the ones to be the least powerful in the social hierarchy, being charged with the *lower functional load*. By power is meant the *political, economic and cultural position*, which is bound to play an important role in such a multilingual environment as that of India. In this context, this is understood as follows: the increase of the functional load of a minority language equals its ascent to the next level of the power hierarchy.

Finally, the *intertwining of a language's power, population of speakers* and *location* also play an important role to the future of that language. For instance, if the use of Cantonese was interrupted in the Chinese communities of New Zealand, the language would not die out since it is spoken by millions of native speakers in China and South Eastern Asia (Holmes, 2012). Contrary to Cantonese, if Welsh was to stop being spoken in Wales, this would definitely lead to its death (Holmes, 2012).

c) Domains of language use

According to Holmes (2012) the choice of the spoken language depends on the context and the social network in which speakers are found. In the case of the Austria/Hungary border, Hungarian gradually started being used in only a few contexts and mainly as a

solidarity code serving *emotional* and *socialising purposes* such as at home among family members or during interactions among locals, while its use was, eventually, limited to the religious domain (Holmes, 2012). One thing that has been found to be impactful on languages' decline or maintenance within the family domain is the *gender parameter*. Yet, the role each gender plays in the shifting process highly depends on the socio-economic context. For example, in environments where women benefit professionally by learning the dominant language – like in the case of Oberwart, due to its industrialisation – they are the ones to actively take part in the language shift towards the dominant language (Holmes, 2012). Yağmur (1997) further highlights the impact that the socio-cultural context has on the linguistic behaviour of each gender by pointing out that in a cultural environment where women mostly stay *at home*, thus, not having regular contacts with people outside their family or the speaking community – as opposed to the case of Oberwart above –, tend to *preserve their L1* more than men. In the same vein, Kargakos (2008) points out that during the past two centuries Arvanitika was mostly preserved by women who stayed at home and did not attend school to learn the Greek language, while men learnt Greek at school and in the military. These women when becoming mothers, later on, were the ones to transmit Arvanitika to their children.

Even though the aforementioned domains have served as environments in which minority languages are often preserved, in other cases they seem not to be adequate for the language maintenance. For instance, Stoessel's (2002) study shows that a key factor contributing to language maintenance is *the number or quality of interactions in secondary* environments rather than for example within the family. This suggests that shift could possibly be hindered when the minority language is used not only within the family but also in other *domains of social life*. For example, Irish revived after being used in the domains of music, theatre, education and work (Fishman, 1991). This further confirms what was mentioned above (see 2.3.2. b), that is, whether a language undergoes shift (and/or attrition) or is maintained is dependent on the *functional load* of this language in the *public domain* (Pandharipande, 2002).

d) Value speakers attach to their language & symbolism of ethnolinguistic identity

Another factor that appears to be crucial for a language's trajectory is *the value that speakers attach to their language* when the latter is viewed as a *symbol of their ethnic identity*. Indeed, the prestige that a language might or might not have as a symbol of

ethnic identity appears to be crucial for the linguistic choices of its speakers (Holmes, 2012). The symbolism of ethnic identity – which in migrants' cases also represents the bonds with their homeland – play(s) an important role in speakers' perception of their own language. For example, speakers of French in Canada or Greek immigrants in the USA and Australia recognise the *global prestige* of their minority mother tongue, feel proud of their ethnic identity, and often hold *positive attitudes* towards it (Holmes, 2012). Such a perception of a (minority) language on the part of its speakers results in its preservation even in environments where the dominant (majority) language also has some level of prestige (Holmes, 2012). This being said, it is noteworthy that 'only 3% of Australians of Greek origin in Australia make regular use of English', as opposed to those of Dutch or German origin (Clyne, 1982, as cited in Sella-Mazi, 2016, p. 124). Sella-Mazi (2016) further argues that the *use of several languages in multilingual environments* (e.g., Canada and Spain) and speakers' long-term stay in these can be indicators of how much speakers *value* their language as an inextricable feature of their *ethnic identity*. This suggests that speakers who maintain their heritage language in the host environment (e.g., in migration settings) or in a region where their mother tongue is not the dominant language (e.g., for socio-political reasons) for a long-term period are more likely to perceive their language as a *strong symbol of their ethnic identity*, which is usually intertwined with feelings of pride in their origin. The feeling of *pride* in one's origin might lead to their desire of belonging to the community of the same origin or/and lack of competence in the dominant language (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977), something that implies that the minority mother tongue is likely to be preserved. Nevertheless, Holmes (2012) underlines that, even in cases where the language is a strong symbol of ethnic identity, language shift could only be delayed or combated if there is a supporting environment within the linguistic community the members of which take action to maintain their language. Taking all the above into consideration, an assumption to be made is that in cases when a language is not viewed as a symbol of ethnic identity by the members of its linguistic community, its shift would most likely be facilitated.

e) Colonialism

Colonialism constitutes one of the factors preventing speakers from using their mother language. However, it is important to note that this factor does not apply in the Greek context, yet it forms one of the leading reasons for language decline occurring in other countries. This phenomenon can be seen mostly in communities subject to colonialism by the Spanish, the French, and the English (Holmes, 2012). Apart from imposing their political occupation, they have also imposed their languages to the local or aboriginal people of the occupied regions (Holmes, 2012). For more than 400 years, Europeans and other colonists contributed to the endangerment of the languages of indigenous and local populations (Connell, 2015). Similar examples can be found in North America, where out of the estimated 600 indigenous languages of pre-colonial America hardly half have survived to date; in a gloomier scenario in Australia approximately 15 minority languages are estimated to survive by 2088 out of a total of 250 spoken before colonialism (Connell, 2015).

However, this is not always the case; what primarily urges certain speakers of colonised areas to abandon their native language for a more 'powerful' one and other speakers to preserve it is whether their communities are *monolingual or multilingual* (Holmes, 2012). More specifically, in regions where monolingual communities were subject to colonialism, they were more likely to lose their mother tongue and adopt the language of their occupiers. Such an example is the Māori community in Australia and New Zealand where the formerly monolingual aboriginals until the 19th century became prone to the colonial political and economic power of the dominant occupiers or were decimated by wars and diseases (Holmes, 2012). On the contrary, in countries like India, Papua New Guinea or certain regions of Africa and South America – *multilingual communities* par excellence – the displacement of the local communities' languages by the inserted language was not successful (Holmes, 2012). Therefore, *multilingualism* seems to be one of the *deterrents* to language shift and quintessential to language preservation.

2.4. From language endangerment to language maintenance and revitalisation

> '… nothing benefits a country more than to treasure the languages and cultures of its various peoples because in doing so, it fosters intergroup understanding and realises greater dividends in the form of originality, creativity and versatility' (Holmes, 2012, p. 64).

Studies on minority languages constitute a fundamental property of the sociolinguistic field and provide valuable insights on the preservation and revitalisation of Endangered Minority Languages (EMLs), as well as of their heritage history and culture. As Sasse (1992) points out, 'the extinction of a language is in fact a distressing matter, since the cultural tradition connected to it and the socio-cultural or even ethnic independence of the group that speaks it very often perish together with it' (p. 7).

Several factors contribute to the maintenance and revitalisation of EMLs. Before proceeding to taking a closer look at some of them by means of giving indicative examples – the ones considered as more relevant with the present study – a brief mention of the total factors of what is called Language Vitality will be made below.

2.4.1. Language Vitality

The UNESCO ad hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages shows nine fundamental factors, which contribute to the vitality of endangered languages (Brenzinger *et al.*, 2003). Nonetheless, the sociolinguistic state of endangerment of a language is unique and dependent on the community and the wider environment to which it belongs. Therefore, it would not be wise to consider these factors as exclusive indicators for assessing all endangered languages under the same criteria. These factors are indicative of the vitality of a language, yet, depending on the context, part of them might appear to a greater or lesser extent within the linguistic community/-ies in question.

The nine factors contributing to language vitality are: *(a) Intergenerational language transmission, (b) Absolute number of speakers, (c) Proportion of speakers within the total population, (d) Trends in existing language domains, (e) Response to new domains and media, (f) Materials for language education and literacy, (g) Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use, (h)*

Community members' attitudes toward their own language, and (i) Amount and quality of documentation (Brenzinger *et al*., 2003, p. 17). It is important to note that when a language lacks a series of these factors, then this could be accounted for as justification for its loss.

Drawing on a range of sources, I attempt to set out the different ways in which research on endangered minority languages provides a valuable pool of sources and results, aiding in and contributing to the preservation and revitalisation of EMLs. As this sub-chapter aims to focus on the language policies and their impact on speakers' attitudes towards preserving their language, the examples of language preservation and revitalisation provided below will refer to the relevant factors d, e, f, g, h and i. These factors are often intertwined with one another, which is why it was considered more suitable to present them alongside by means of several examples of language preservation and revitalisation.

The factor of *Intergenerational transmission* is to be discussed in two following chapters (see sections 2.5. & 3.3.5.). Factors *Absolute number of speakers* and *Proportion of speakers within the total population'* will be also discussed in a different chapter for the reasons explained in the relevant chapter (see section 3.3.4.).

An interesting and recent example of language revitalisation efforts is that of Cypriot Arabic (CA), the moribund language of the limited number of Maronites living in the northern part of Cyprus (Kormakitis village) in the Turkish-occupied area of Cyprus. According to Karyolemou (2019), revitalisation efforts have taken place by means of documentation as well as educational efforts such as the establishment of the first primary school for Maronite children and teachers in 2002 in a suburb of Nicosia, and the Summer Camp in the area of Kormakitis. These education initiatives have rounded up this revitalisation attempt successfully leading to the attraction of the members of the CA speaking community as well as others who showed interest in learning the language (Karyolemou, 2019). In fact, Maronites who resided around the Republic of Cyprus gradually started returning to Kormakitis for either summer of winter. Revitalisation efforts of CA seem to have had positive impact on the language attitudes of the CA-speaking community, most specifically on the attitudes of both older and younger speakers, the former by perceiving that their language could be instructed as a

part of an official educational program and the latter by becoming interested in learning it (Karyolemou, 2019).

Another example of language preservation is that of the Basque language. The strong language policy that has been undertaken in the Basque Autonomous Community – Spanish side – for the past 30 years includes the promotion of Basque in education, government services, the media or private companies. This policy has succeeded among others in reversing language shift as a considerable amount of people has started using Basque more than Spanish in certain contexts (Gorter, Aiestaran & Cenoz, 2012). Many thousands of adult learners have registered to take Basque lessons annually, which is important since it suggests that the written form of the language can be read and understood by the majority of the total population. It is worth mentioning that in the case of Basque, the policy relies on the support of both the political and public authorities (Gorter, Aiestaran & Cenoz, 2012). Additionally, the population holds positive attitudes towards linguistic diversity, which could explain why the policy applied in the form of a strong and present linguistic landscape has proved to be successful (Gorter, Aiestaran & Cenoz, 2012).

In their comparative study in Leeuwarden and Donostia-San Sebastián, two areas in Friesland, the Netherlands, and the Basque Country, Spain-France, respectively, Cenoz and Gorter (2006) found that the linguistic landscape[6] is linked to the official language policy regarding minority languages. The outcome of the study was that in Friesland, Dutch is by far the most prominent language in the linguistic landscape of Leeuwarden with English being the second language and Frisian the last one to appear on the signs of the city. On the contrary, in Donostia, the Spanish language came first, but Basque came second and English was the third language on signs. Another observation made by the researchers was that in both Leeuwarden and Donostia the majority languages – Dutch or Spanish – were depicted with a larger font size as opposed to the other languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). However, as regards the two minority languages Frisian and Basque their use on the signs was different, since more signs included the Basque language than the Frisian language, something that is attributed by the authors to the impact of the language policy the two regions adopted for the protection of their

[6] Linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration is defined 'the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings' (Landry and Bourhis, 1997, p. 25).

minority language on a linguistic landscape level (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). Interestingly, while Basque appeared to be more prominent than Frisian in language signs, the latter appeared to be stronger as a living language, at the time, therefore, at an oral communication level (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). These results not only indicate the effect a strong language policy could have on the presence of a minority language in a region, but also show that this might not tip the scale of the prominence of a minority language in oral communication. Furthermore, they highlight that a strong policy, represented by organised actions on the part of the State, language experts and policy makers, seems to affect the attitudes of the linguistic community towards the preservation of their heritage language.

Another critical contribution to the preservation of minority languages is offered by the field of language documentation through the description and codification of minority languages lacking a written form. Batibo (2009) reports the successful long-term efforts on the revitalisation of the Naro language spoken in Western Botswana and Eastern Namibia. The Naro Language Project initiated in the 1980s by the Reformed Church in D'kar village contributed to the description of the Naro language and eventually its promotion to the local community. Batibo (2009) highlights the success of the documentation efforts, which he attributes to the collaborative activities among language experts, several institutions, non-governmental organizations and Church groups. The author additionally points out that the successful outcome of the project in terms of attracting the interest of people and securing funding was precisely due to the joint efforts of all parties involved. This effort led to publications in Naro something that attracted L2 speakers as well (Batibo, 2009). Furthermore, the Naro language acquired powerful status in Botswana and it is now partially used in the public domain (Batibo, 2009). Possibly the most crucial point of this successful revitalisation attempt was the engagement of the relevant communities, which were assigned with different tasks and maintained an active role throughout these efforts.

Therefore, the documentation of endangered languages might contribute to its preservation. Even though it is not guaranteed that a language is more likely to survive or revive by acquiring a written status, documentation is bound to preserve important parts of the culture and the language threatened by extinction due to a limited number of speakers or for plenty of other reasons; yet the engagement of language experts and

most importantly of the linguistic community itself are paramount for the preservation of those languages.

The aforementioned examples of preservation and revitalisation efforts of EMLs outline the critical role of language policies in the protection of these languages as well as the contribution of sociolinguistic research to this effort. Most importantly, they highlight the *impact* of successful language policies on *speakers' attitudes* towards their heritage language. In the same way that language policies affect speakers' attitudes, the investigation of the language attitudes can also provide sociolinguistic research with important insights in order for the latter to contribute to the implementation of future language policies.

2.5. Linguistic attitudes

2.5.1. An introduction to linguistic attitudes

> When we talk about attitudes, we are talking about what a person has learned in the process of becoming a member of a family, a member of a group, and of society that makes him react to his social world in a consistent and characteristic way, instead of a transitory and haphazard way (Sherif, 1967, p. 2).

Before taking a closer look at what is called *linguistic attitudes*, it is of importance to see what the notion of *attitudes* alone represents. Several scholars have attempted to describe attitudes – not just within the sociolinguistic field. One of the most prevalent definitions has been provided by Oppenheim (1982); that is, of attitudes as

> A construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through much more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behavior (p. 39).

As Garrett (2010) points out, Oppenheim's definition of attitudes entails the psychological aspects of cognition and behavior. Thurstone (1931) further views attitudes as a condition in favour of or opposing a psychological object. Indeed,

attitudes incorporate the psychological parameter which according to Bohner (2001, as cited in Hua, 2016) consists of three separate constituents: *(a) a cognitive component*, which is understood as 'the beliefs held about the attitude object', *(b) an affective component,* which concerns the non-cognitive aspect and entails 'the feelings elicited by the attitude object', *and (c) a conative component*, which encompasses 'the behaviour directed at the attitude object' (p. 197). Therefore, being vital to the intergroup cooperation and conflict, attitudes are agreed to affiliate with 'stereotypes (beliefs), prejudices (affects), and discrimination (behaviours)' (Bourhis & Maass, 2005, as cited in Hua, 2016, p. 197). Allport (1935) further argues that

> Attitudes are never directly observed, but, unless they are admitted, through inference, as real and substantial ingredients in human nature, it becomes impossible to account satisfactory either for the consistency of any individual's behavior, or for the stability in any society (p. 839).

In sociolinguistics, *linguistic attitudes* are closely related to the notions of language shift, attrition, death, ideologies, cultural and language preservation and revitalisation. Therefore, linguistic attitudes can be crucial to the trajectory of languages, as shown in previous sections (see sections 2.3.2. d & 2.4.). In fact, the way a language is viewed and treated by its speakers, as well as by other members of the community could severely predict the fate of that language.

In accordance with the above psychological dimensions of attitudes, linguistic attitudes are defined by Ryan *et al.* (1982) as 'any cognitive, affective or conative index of evaluative reactions towards different varieties and their speakers' (p. 7). The inclusion of the speakers according to this definition reveals the *strong bond between language and social identity*; social identity refers to those features of one's self that emerge from their group identity as part of a whole (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Regarding the connection between language attitudes and the social dimensions of a language variety, its speakers and the social context in which this applies, language attitudes have been also defined by Edwards (1982) as 'the expressions of social convention and preference which, in turn, reflect an awareness of the status and prestige accorded to the speakers of these varieties' (p. 21). Under these terms, language is perceived as *a symbol of social identity* rather than just an index of pure linguistic or aesthetic attributes.

With respect to the cognitive parameter of (language) attitudes, another important observation made by Eagly and Chaiken (1998) is that 'the structure of an individual's attitude towards an object could be quite different at different points at time even in the absence of new experience with the object' (p. 271). This suggests that attitudes are not static but rather *dynamic*, something that makes their diachronic research insightful. From a sociolinguistic perspective, a further assumption to be made based on the aforementioned definition of linguistic attitudes is that diachronic research on the attitudes of different age groups of speakers towards a language – including those who have and those who do not have recent language-related experiences of the language in question – could be also fruitful.

Finally, it is important to briefly mention language attitudes in the way they are reflected in the third wave of variationist sociolinguistics (see section 2.1.3) (Eckert, 2012). Attitudes, in the third wave, can be understood in the context of larger social change(s) (e.g., urbanisation or social mobility) and are crucial to sociolinguistic change that is expressed through the use of specific linguistic elements (McKenzie & Carrie, 2022). Furthermore, 'speakers choose which specific linguistic (and non-linguistic) features to employ in order to create and negotiate their social identities in interaction' (McKenzie & McNeill, 2022, p.41; Eckert, 2012). The point regarding the study of attitudes within the third wave of sociolinguistics was considered essential to be mentioned as it is closely related to the method chosen for the analysis of the qualitative data, employing – among others – interactional approaches (see section 4.8.2.3.).

2.5.2. Factors interrelating with linguistic attitudes

Attitudes towards a language become an issue and prove to be crucial in the cases of endangered minority languages. Sasse (1992) points out that attitudes emerge because of pressing *political, social, and economic factors* that are at play within the specific historical setting surrounding a linguistic community. Trudgill (2000) also argues that 'Attitudes towards non-standard dialects are attitudes which reflect the social structure of society' (p. 12). Therefore, language attitudes towards minority languages mirror the way society is constructed. In this sense, language attitudes are interrelated with the hierarchy of languages within society and the repercussions of their position in this

hierarchy. For example, Pandharipande (2002) highlights that the power hierarchy of languages in India is crucial to the functional use of each language. In that vein, minority languages are the ones to be the least powerful in the hierarchy, being charged with the lower functional load. By power is meant the political, economic and cultural position, which is bound to play an important role in such a multilingual environment as that of India. In this context, this is understood as follows: the increase of the functional load of a minority language equals its ascent to the next level of the power hierarchy and consequently the trajectory of that language.

Language attitudes are of paramount importance in language maintenance and revitalisation (Derhemi, 2002; Karyolemou, 2019; Errihani, 2008), – as much as in language attrition and death (Pandharipande, 2002). Therefore, the way a language is contemplated and valued by its speakers, as well as by other members of the wider community could seal the fate of that language. More specifically, attitudes are dependent on both the perception of the speakers of the context on an individual level and on how the community of the majority language views the minority group (Schmid & De Bot, 2004).

Several factors appear to have an impact on speakers' attitudes – as well as on attitudes of non-speakers of a language. One of these factors is the *symbolism of ethnic identity* and *the prestige* that a language enjoys (Holmes, 2012). This applies to certain linguistic communities around the world such as the speakers of French in Canada or Greek migrants in Australia and the USA. Similarly, the Indian and Pakistani immigrants in the UK, considering their language as a symbol of their ethnic identity, have formed a community and neighbourhoods in the cities, where one can hear the Punjabi and Gujarati languages spoken in the middle of the street or in the shops (Holmes, 2012).

As mentioned in the relevant section above (see section 2.4.), *attitudes are also affected by language policies and vice versa*. For instance, Lasagabaster and Huguet's study (2007) showed how in the case of Catalan positive attitudes led to a strong language policy in education. Kristiansen (2003) confirms that when attitudes are expressed by authoritative groups properly and dynamically, they can lead to the adopting of policies that reinforce positive linguistic attitudes among the people, too. Moreover, Schiffman (1996, as cited in Errihani, 2008) strongly underlines the importance of changing people's attitudes and stereotypical beliefs about an endangered language in order for a

language policy to prove successful in saving it. Along similar lines, Bell (2013) argues that a language revitalisation programme must always take the negative attitudes of speakers towards their language into consideration and adapt accordingly to avoid their spreading. Such negative attitudes are sometimes the result of historical events of deprecation experienced by their speakers, who end up feeling ashamed for using the language and possibly transmitting it (Bell, 2013). Concerning this discrimination, Fasold (1984, as cited in Errihani, 2008) further claims that language attitudes often reflect the attitudes towards people of different ethnic background, implying thus, a strong correlation between ethnic groups and their linguistic identity.

Mother tongue is one more factor that has proved to play an important role in peoples' attitudes in minority language contexts. As Huguet and Janés (2008) illustrated in their study on the Latin American students in Catalonia, the attitudes of these monolingual Spanish-speaking population towards Catalan were more negative that the attitudes of the students whose mother tongue was Catalan. It is evident that the transmission of the language used within the family has a strong influence on the language attitudes towards that language (Huguet & Janés, 2008). As Gardner (1968) argues, this is obviously connected to the influence exerted by previous explicit or implicit attitudes expressed by the family members, as much as to the active or passive engagement of the parents to motivate their children to learn the language. Moreover, Ytsma (2007) in his study on language attitudes towards Frisian found that there is a considerable difference between language attitudes of students with Frisian as L1 and of students with Dutch as L1 in the sense that both groups attached the highest value to their mother tongue, Frisian and Dutch, respectively.

Another factor that seems to have an impact on minority language speakers' attitudes is their *place of residence*. Tsitsipis and Elmendorf (1983) state that 'there is increasingly more Arvanitika language retention as one moves from the urban through the semi-urban to the rural level' (p. 293). This suggests that urbanisation has contributed to the decline of the Arvanitika language, and, thus, speakers living in rural areas possibly hold more positive attitudes towards the language than those who have resided in large urban centers (see section 2.3.). In the same vein, Kirmizi's (2015) study on the attitudes of the Gagauz speakers towards Gagauz indicates that language attitudes towards Gagauz are more positive in the villages compared to those in the cities.

The familiarity that speakers of minority language experience speaking their heritage language as well as *the value they attribute to it* by using it as their *solidarity code* is also an essential factor linked to their attitudes towards their language. Hill (1983) argues that the Nahuatl language in Mexico is used as a solidarity code – to a certain extent – because the Nahuatl community has experienced the wider community's views of Nahuatl as an outdated language, which led the minority language community to strengthen their mutual solidarity by means of using their heritage language as a shared secret. By the same token, Arvanitika has served as a solidarity code for telling jokes, secrets, and for excluding outsiders from a secret conversation (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983; Tsitsipis, 1998). Dorian (2010) draws similar conclusions about the attitudes of East Sutherland Gaelic speakers as they pay value on solidarity function of Gaelic by accounting the joke as more enjoyable when expressed in this language. From all the above, it is shown that attitudes of speakers towards their language can be related to the solidarity and familiarity among the members of the linguistic community, yet it should be highlighted that this does not necessarily translate to positive attitudes towards that language nor to the latter's viability.

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided an introduction of the interdisciplinary field of Sociolinguistics that studies interaction between language and society, mentioning the distinction between micro- and macro- sociolinguistics and placing *linguistic attitudes* in the latter one. I also presented a further distinction into three waves of variationist sociolinguistics, the third and current one of which is focusing on people's agency regarding their language use, maintaining that language variation constructs meaning.

I further introduced the notion of endangered minority languages, briefly referring to the legal framework through which these are protected by relevant international and European bodies and pointing out the latter's weaknesses that allow for the minoritisation of these languages and their speakers. In this way, I made a point about the need to view minority languages through the scope of minoritisation, as languages that are minoritised in status, something that is related to sociopolitical and sociohistorical factors leading to marginalisation and stigmatisation of a language and its community.

I also attempted to highlight the type of reasons leading to minority languages' loss, namely sociohistorical, sociopolitical and socioeconomic context, domains of language use, the value speakers attach to their heritage language, the symbolism of ethnolinguistic identity and colonialism.

Alongside a brief mention to Language Vitality and its nine factors, a crucial one being the intergenerational transmission that has also been discussed in several parts of the present chapter, I also pointed out the importance of language policies and of other factors leading to language preservation and revitalisation.

Finally, I introduced the central notion of this dissertation, namely *language attitudes* and their cognitive (beliefs), affective (feelings) and conative (behaviours) components, referring to relevant theories and research outcomes on the factors shown to have a strong impact on them. Such factors include the sociopolitical, sociohistorical, socioeconomic context, the symbolism of ethnolinguistic identity and the languages' prestige, language policies, mother tongue, place of residence, the familiarity of speakers with their heritage language and the value they attach to it especially when they use it as a solidarity code.

All the aforementioned theory and research-related points of discussion are considered as necessary and a good stepping stone towards the next Chapter, which focuses on the sociolinguistic context of Greece and the sociolinguistic and sociohistorical status of the Arvanitika language and community within the Greek context.

Chapter 3. Minority languages in Greece: the case of Arvanitika

Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce the sociolinguistic background of Greece in reference to the minority languages found on Greek territory (see section 3.1.), the notion of 'nation-state' within the Greek setting and the impact of the Greek State's language policy on minority languages (see section 3.2.). Moreover, I introduce the Arvanitika language and its linguistic community's background, providing their socio-historical and socio-linguistic framework, as well as the reasons for which Arvanitika, eventually, became an endangered language (see sections 3.3.1. - 3.3.5.2.). Finally, I focus on the Arvanitika community's language attitudes towards Arvanitika as these were reported by some sociolinguistic studies in the past (see section 3.3.6.).

3.1. Greece's linguistic map and minority language protection status

According to the census of 1951, which was the last to include questions on the spoken languages in Greece, the total population of Greece was 7.632.801. This number included the linguistic minorities residing on the Greek territory; specifically, 92.443 Turcophones, 41.017 Macedonian speakers, 39.885 Vlach/Aromanian speakers, 22.736 Arvanitika speakers, 18.671 Pomaks, 8.990 Armenians, 7.429 Romani speakers, 1.218 speakers of Judaeo-Spanish and 15.158 speakers of other languages (e.g., Russian, French, German, Italian, Romanian, English, Spanish) (Sella-Mazi, 2016).

Following the Greek State's abstention from signing and/or ratifying the ECRML and FCNM, the majority of the aforementioned minority languages do not enjoy legal recognition, while only the Turkish language has been under protection status due to the Treaty of Lausanne signed in 1923 (Tsitselikis, 2010). This treaty set the legal framework for the protection of religious minorities residing in Greece and Turkey, binding both countries to equal commitments towards them. With the criterion of religion being the only one taken into account, section III on the protection of minorities (art. 37 to 45) limits these religious minorities to 'non-Muslims' in Turkey and 'Muslims' in Greece (Tsitselikis, 2010). Any other linguistic minorities residing in

Greece have not experienced, to date, any linguistic and/or cultural protection nor the promotion of their languages in education, the media and other domains of public life.

The reasons why linguistic minorities' rights in Greece have been neglected and, to a certain extent, combated are related to what was described in the previous chapter regarding language loss versus preservation. More specifically, the intolerance of linguistic diversity on the part of the wider population residing in Greece and of the Greek State per se, as well as the lack of protection of minority languages by the latter have significantly contributed to their current endangerment state. As shown in the section regarding language policies and their impact on language preservation and revitalisation, the answer to this question can be found in the lack of such a policy within Greece and/or – at times – the hostile language policy towards minority languages and their linguistic communities. The establishment of the Greek nation-state was what marked the fate of minority languages in Greece and that of their speakers.

3.2. 'One language-one nation': linguistic nationalism and the Greek nation-state

> The ideal of such a state [an 'imagined community'] is represented by an ethnically, culturally, and linguistically homogeneous population. We now know that this standing invitation to 'ethnic cleansing' is dangerous and completely unrealistic…Moreover, it would have surprised the founders of the original nation-states. For them, the unity of the nation was political and not socio-anthropological
>
> (Hobsbawm, 1996, p. 1066).

The establishment of the Greek nation-state in 1830 and the declaration of Athens as the Greek capital in 1834 foreshadowed the nation-centred direction to follow, in which language was the centre of attention while it also spanned the concept of the ancient Greek ideal (Gefou-Madianou, 1999). The 'one language-one nation' notion describes the 'imaginary model' of a common language, religion and origin denoting the Greek language as the only official language of the State. Greece's territorial expansion in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, begot the diversification of its ethnic, religious and linguistic map. Greek citizens who were either *alloglossi* – speaking other languages than Greek – or bilingual (in both Greek and their mother

tongue) were targeted by the assimilative policies of the Greek State (Tsitsipis, 1998). Such policies align with the 'internal cohesion-external distinction' ideal, which boosts a separatist strategy (Haugen, 2003, p. 416). In languages, this can be viewed as urging people to speak the same language, the language of the nation, while it also stands against the idea of international contact between language communities (Haugen, 2003). The monolingual Greek Orthodox ideal was gradually developed, leading to the marginalisation of everything that did not coincide with its ideas, religion, ethnicity or language. As Pollis (1992) argues:

> Greece is attempting to preserve a static organic notion – a nexus of state, nation, religion, and Greekness – as formulated in the early nineteenth century; The most formidable task confronting Greece as it integrates into the European Community is precisely this reconstruction, a process that will necessitate the deconstruction of the currently prevailing myth of an homogeneous organic entity embodied in the *éthnos* (p. 191).

The 'imagined community' of the nation-state exalting the ancient Greek past and the folk tradition started arising in Greece as early as the 19th century. This coincides with the end of the Ottoman Occupation in certain Greek territories – such as the central and southern regions, as northern Greece gained its independence in the early 20th century – and the establishment of the Greek nation-state. The main aim after the Greek Independence was the establishment of an homogeneous population, which meant the unification of the culturally, linguistically, and ethnically diverse populations who resided on Greek territory before, during and after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The ideal homogeneity described people who would speak the same language, have the same religion, the same traditions and a common ancient past (Gefou-Madianou, 1999; Anderson, 1991; Herzfelf, 1987).

The mission of putting the ancient Hellenic past on the spotlight of the establishment of the Greek nation-state was undertaken by the Greek intelligentsia. Greek scholars and intellectuals, known as Fanariotes, and other educated Greeks of the diaspora who flourished in Western Europe during the Ottoman Occupation, supported the development of nationhood urging the Greek people to 'reminisce' the glorified ancient past and 'a glorified version of the "folk" ' (Gefou-Madianou, 1999, p. 417). Fanariotes were educated Greeks from Fanari in Constantinople whose ideas were stirred by the

French Revolution and the Enlightenment. Some of them held leading positions in the Danubian Principalities and others living in Europe transmitted the idea of the ancient Greek spirit (Dimaras, 1989, as cited in Gefou-Madianou, 1999). These initiatives promoted the idea of an assimilationist newly born Greek nation-state and the establishment of pure Hellenism, something that directly targeted and affected the linguistic minorities and their languages[7] in Greece (Tsitsipis, 1998).

The solution found by the middle-class scholars and leading figures of the Greek intelligentsia was to assimilate the small linguistic and/or ethnic minorities, who spoke languages other than Greek, into the dominant Greek language by teaching it to them, part of the process known as *Hellenization* (Tsitsipis, 1998). The Greek language was at the epicentre of this procedure, while there was, also, a tendency towards linguistic 'purification', meaning that apart from homogenising the non-Greek-speaking populations into a Greek unified whole, there was an idea of 'purifying' the Greek language from elements originating from other languages, such as Turkish, Arvanitika, Macedonian or Vlach/Aromanian. The ideal language for the nation to speak was the so-called 'katharevousa' ['purified'], a version of the Greek language that would be closer to ancient Greek, different from the vernacular Greek spoken across the Greek territory – let alone languages of origin other than Greek, such as Arvanitika and Macedonian (Gefou-Madianou, 1999). The rise of the Greek nationalism created the ground for the questioning of linguistic minorities' (ethnic) identity/-ies, which possibly led to the adoption of a strong need for proof of people's Greek identity[8].

The nation-centered trajectory of Greece carried on throughout the 20th century, when significant socio-political and historical changes occurred in the Balkan region. The end of the Balkan Wars was followed by two population exchanges, the Voluntary Population Exchange Convention between Greece and Bulgaria in 1919, as a result of the Treaty of Neuilly, and the Mandatory Population Exchange Convention between

[7] As Kordatos (1973, as cited in Tsitsipis, 1998) argues: '…the elements of the Greek middle class that were developing national consciousness understood the seriousness of the problem and tried to offer a solution which would help assimilate the other-language ethnic groups by teaching the Greek language to them…' (p. 11).

[8] About Arvanitika speakers, Gefou-Madianou (1999) points out that 'Many of these groups identified with the Greek nationalists and actively participated in the 1820s War of Independence not as separate groups, but as Greeks, clearing distinguishing themselves from the non-Orthodox (Muslim) Albanian populations…they were not identified nor did they identify themselves as Albanians, calling themselves "Arvanites" instead…these populations were Greek, nothing more, nothing less' (p. 420).

Greece and Turkey in 1923, as a result of the Treaty of Lausanne (Grigoriadis, 2008; Robou-Levidi, 2017). Both events caused a substantial upsurge of the ethnic, religious and linguistic homogeneity, which culminated during the WWII and the Greek Civil War (1946 to 1949), when – among other rights violations – several ethnic and linguistic minorities were exiled (Grigoriadis, 2008).

These socio-political changes made it easier for the Greek State not to attend to its commitments towards the officially unrecognised minorities whose ethnic identification was, though, denied. This should not be, simply, seen as a policy of neglecting the minorities in the Greek territory, but rather as the continuation of organised assimilative policies from 1830 onwards, which culminated during the socio-political upheavals of WWII, the Greek dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas (1936-1941), the Civil War, as well as the military regime (1967- 1974). During the Metaxas dictatorship, linguistic minorities were subject to assimilation policies aiming at creating a 'pure' monolingual Greek society (Tsitsipis & Elmendorf, 1983). The violation of human and linguistic rights of the minority groups occurred by means of assimilative tactics, including the ban on using any language(s) other than Greek at school, or publicly speaking them.

Evidence for the violation of people's rights at the time is the former Article 19 in the Greek Nationality Code[9] (Legislative Decree [Law], 3370 G.N.C., 1955) which came into force in 1955 and was abrogated in 1998. According to Sitaropoulos (2004), article 19

> provided for the denationalisation of 'citizens of different [non-Greek] descent' who left Greece 'with no intent to return'…It was a provision that followed a long relevant historico-legal tradition in Greece by which this relatively young State attempted to rid itself of a host of members of ethnic or 'politico-

[9] Ex Article 19 in Greek

> αλλογενής εγκαταλιπών το Ελληνικόν έδαφος άνευ προθέσεως παλινοστήσεως δύναται να κηρυχθεί απολέσας την Ελληνικήν ιθαγένειαν. Τούτο ισχύει και δια τον αλλογενή τον γεννηθέντα και κατοικούντα εν τη αλλοδαπή. Τα εν αλλοδαπή εγκατεστημένα ανήλικα τέκνα τούτου δύνανται να κηρυχθώσιν απολέσαντα την Ελληνικήν ιθαγένειαν, εάν αμφότεροι οι γονείς αυτών ή ο επιζών τούτων απώλεσαν ταύτην. Περί τούτων αποφαίνεται ο Υπουργός των Εσωτερικών μετά σύμφωνον γνώμην του Συμβουλίου Ιθαγένειας.
>
> (Legislative Decree [Law], 3370 G.N.C., 1955).

> ideological' groups viewed by the State as dangerous to the country's wished-for homogeneity, or even its territorial integrity (p. 205).

During the military regime in Greece, from 1967 to 1974, 'human and minority rights protection were brought to the lowest point' (Grigoriadis, 2008, p. 25). Nonetheless, the end of the military regime in 1974 ushered Greece towards democratic and economic progress, which contributed to its readmission in the CoE, as well as to good relations with the European Economic Community (EEC) (Grigoriadis, 2008). With the Constitution of 1975 and its revision in 2008, the protection of human rights was to increase. As stated in Article 5 of the Constitution,

> All persons living within the Greek territory shall enjoy full protection of their life, honour and liberty irrespective of nationality, race or language and of religious or political beliefs. Exceptions shall be permitted only in cases provided by international law (Constitution of Greece, 1975/2008, art. 5, § 2).

In 1995, the access restrictions to the Bulgarian border regions, where the Muslim Pomak population resided, were lifted for all Greek citizens, and the government at the time took the initiative of improving education in minority schools and establishing a university quota for students belonging to the Turkish minority (Human Rights Watch, 1999).

Between 1996 and 2000, the situation further improved with the abrogation of Article 19, as mentioned above. Nevertheless, essential escape clauses concerning the minority rights protection existing to date have undermined the resolution of the issue at hand (Grigoriadis, 2008). Legal and political protection of minority languages is inextricably linked to the foreign policies a State carries out, as well as to its relations with the neighbouring countries. For instance, the Vlach/Aromanian language enjoyed legal protection after the Treaty of Sevres in 1920. It is noteworthy that until 1948 Vlach was taught in certain schools and a number of churches also conducted mass in the Vlach language fostering the Vlach identity (Tsitselikis, 1999). On the contrary, during the last 70 years, the individualistic separatist actions on the part of both countries along with the suspension of these schools' funding from Romania resulted in neglecting this linguistic minority and their language in Greece (Tsitselikis, 1999).

Therefore, the protection or dereliction of linguistic minorities is, largely, defined and regulated by political attitudes, decisions, and actions. For the majority of its minorities,

the Greek State refrains from approaching the issue of their formal recognition or protection, as well as from participating in any kind of debate on the matter.

3.3. Arvanitika's sociolinguistic and historical background

Following the presentation of the sociolinguistic setting in Greece I will now approach the endangered minority language in question, namely Arvanitika; first, the Arvanitika language and community as well as its sociolinguistic and historical background will be presented, followed by further insights from relevant sociolinguistic studies.

3.3.1. The Arvanitika language

According to Tsitsipis (1995), the Arvanitika language is the Tosk variety spoken by the population who moved to Greece in different time periods. However, it is generally accepted among scholars that the massive influx took place in the 14th century originating from contemporary Southern Albania (Valakopoulos, 1961; Tsitsipis & Elmendorf, 1983). Arvanitika as a Tosk Albanian variety, evidently, has many similarities with the Tosk varieties of South Albania (Hamp 1970; Gjinari, 1989, as cited in Liosis, 2007). Furthermore, Liosis (2007) argues that Arvanitika combines archaic and neoteric elements; 'morphophonological elements and syllabic structure have remained the same during the last millennium (Hamp, 1973, as cited in Liosis, 2007), yet the introduction and phonematicisation of /x/, /γ/, /ç/ from Greek loans, as well as the consonantisation of the semi-vowel /i/ are characteristics that make the phonological system of Arvanitika a neoteric one, and comparable to its Albanian counterpart' (Liosis, 2007, p. 195). According to Liosis (2007), neoteric characteristics also appear in the morphology, syntax and vocabulary of Arvanitika (e.g., the loss of the gerund and the introduction of Greek loan words etc.). Arvanitika has some unique characteristics of its own such as – among others – the maintenance of the Tosk diphthong /ua/ and the presence of the toneless central /ə/ in all positions (Liosis, 2007).

Sasse[10] (1991, as cited in Liosis, 2020) has provided evidence on the morphology of Arvanitika variety of Attica and Boeotia, that is, *a)* 'the type *ja* (3rd present indicative) of the auxiliary *jam* "to be"', *b)* 'the particle *dot* as proclitic future marker', *c)* 'the *i*-grade in the 3rd person imperfect of verbs that show paradigmatic vowel gradation', *d)* 'the ending *-mə* (1st plural) in both present and past tenses', and *e)* 'the *n*-conjugation of verbs that normally belong to the so-called zero class, according to Haebler's (1965, as cited in Liosis 2020) terminology' (Liosis, 2020, p.2). Tsitsipis (1988) classifies changes occurring in Arvanitika – mostly within its grammatical system – into three categories, namely *completed* (e.g., 'loss of the Albanian admirative mood and loss of the productivity of the optative mood'), *continuous* (e.g., 'in syntactic structure the progressive shrinkage in the use as well as in the contexts calling for the use of the Albanian gerundial construction') and *discontinuous changes* (e.g., 'morphological leveling, loss of suppletive variants, and neutralization of phonemic oppositions') (p.65).

Whilst the linguistic roots of Arvanitika stem from Tosk Albanian, all past centuries of settlement and mobility around the Greek territory led to the language being an amalgam of Tosk and Greek including some Turkish words as well[11] (Tsitsipis, 1998; Gefou-Madianou, 1999). For many centuries, the Arvanitika community resided on Greek territory and was surrounded by monolingual Greek speakers (Trudgill, 1992). Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) point out that 'Influence from Greek is considerable, and the language of younger speakers is rather radically different from that of older speakers. It remains, however, to a certain extent, mutually intelligible with Albanian' (p. 112). It is important to note that mutual intelligibility between Arvanitika and Tosk Albanian – the language spoken in today's South Albania, as opposed to Geg[12] Albanian, its Albanian counterpart spoken in North Albania – was also reported by participants of this study.

[10] Sasse's (1991) preeminent work on the description of the Arvanitika varieties spoken in Attica and Boeotia could not be studied from the original book as it is written in German, a language that is not part of the researcher's linguistic repertoire.

[11] Some Arvanitika-speaking regions hardly included any Turkish words. Jochalas (2010) argues that the variety of Arvanitika spoken in Andros incorporated very few Turkish loan words, since no Turkish populations has settled in the Arvanitika-speaking villages of the island. These few Turkish words were indirectly incorporated into Arvanitika of Andros through the dialect of Andros or through the Greek language, which included Turkish loans.

[12] The names 'Tosks' and 'Gegs' started being used after the Ottoman Empire. In the Byzantine Empire, Geks were knows as 'Illyrians' and Tosks as 'Albanians' (Biris, 1998).

After being in contact with the Greek language for approximately seven centuries, today's Arvanitika incorporates a large amount of Greek loan words as seen in its simplified and reduced structures (Sella-Mazi, 2016). According to Hymes (1971), the difference between simplification and reduction is found in that the former term refers to 'the outer form' of a language whereas the latter refers to 'the inner form' of the language. Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) further explain Hymes' distinction stating that 'simplification can be thought of as an increase in regularity' while 'reduction can be characterised, in a preliminary way, as the actual loss of some part of a language' (p. 110). Arvanitika has been subject to both the processes of simplification and reduction to a certain degree. More specifically, 'it has lost the imperfect tense (reduction) and some synthetic forms have been replaced by analytic forms', such as 'the periphrastic rendering of the admirative and the optative' (simplification-with-cost) (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983, p, 124; Tsitsipis, 1998, p. 35). Moreover, the loss of the interrogative particle /a/ and of other similar structures like the loss of gerund suggests the loss of syntagmatic redundancy (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983; Tsitsipis, 1998). On the one hand, the functional differences between Arvanitika and Albanian (of South Albania) are obvious in a lot of distinctive features, such as the loss of gerund, the fossilisation of the optative or the vowel shifts in the plural of some adjectives (Tsitsipis, 1998). On the other hand, Arvanitika 'retains the Tosk diphthong /ua/ as well as the schwa /ë/' (except for some regions in Greece), which is common in other southern forms of Albanian (Tsitsipis, 1998, p. 22). Additionally, when it comes to its functional use, Arvanitika also appears to be one of the cases of languages used in the form of restricted codes, having lost some of its initial forms, which have been replaced by Greek (Tsitsipis, 1998). This became more obvious when comparing the utterances of elder speakers to those of younger ones (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1975; Tsitsipis, 1998).

Trudgill (1992) highlights that 'Albanian [Arvanitika] speakers of Attica and Boeotia areas of Greece show little consciousness of ethnic links with Albania or Albanian, and ethnolinguistic vitality is very low' (p. 177). The issue of the detachment of the earliest form of the Arvanitika language ('πρωτοαρβανίτικη γλώσσα') in the Albanian or the Greek territory as well as the exact timing when it first came in contact with the Greek language remains unresolved (Liosis, 2007). It can be certainly argued though, that the Arvanitika language in Greece comes hand in hand with Greek as the eldest generation of today's Arvanitika community seems to be – to a certain extent – bilingual, at least,

according to the present study's participants. Nonetheless, today only the eldest members of the community are bilingual in both Arvanitika and Greek – and have been for more than five decades –, while both languages coexist on Greek territory for more than seven centuries (Sella-Mazi, 2016; Tsitsipis, 1983; Biris, 1998).

The long-term contact between Arvanitika and Greek in a socio-historical context in which the latter has enjoyed official status has led to a large number of Greek loans in Arvanitika – covering semantic gaps or substituting Arvanitika abstract nouns – as well as to the functional limitation of the Arvanitika language (Sella-Mazi, 2016; Tsitsipis, 1983). Several semantic and morphological categories of Arvanitika have been also replaced by Greek ones (Sella-Mazi, 2016). For example, Tsitsipis (1998) draws attention to the fact that 'Greek nominal forms ending in -a, -ma and -ona are adapted as loan words in Arvanitika with the substitution of -ë for the final –a' (p. 22). A classification of the loan words incorporated into the Arvanitika variety of Andros was attempted by Jochalas (2010) into the following three categories: *(a)* Greek loan words that have been passed on to the (south) Albanian language long before the Albanian migration to Greece; this process took place during the long-term coexistence among Albanians and Greeks – mainly working in agriculture – in northern Epirus, *(b)* Greek loan words in the Arvanitika variety of Andros that incorporate the dialect forms of the island's local variety, and *(c)* Greek loan words that originate from Modern Greek ('Νεοελληνική Κοινή') reaching the region of Andros progressively before the Albanian influx; words that do not appear in South Albanian or the Albanian variety spoken in the South of Italy and Sicily; those loan words were, gradually, adopted by speakers in Andros after being transmitted to them by populations who moved from northern Epirus and Thessaly to Attica and Boeotia first, and later on to Euboea and Andros. It should be noted that Jochalas' classification of loan words in Arvanitika refers to the Arvanitika variety of Andros, thus, it might not apply to other varieties of the language in different regions of Greece.

Sella-Mazi (2016) points out that, in many instances, loan words from Greek allow for the transmission of idiosyncratic style patterns through the use of 'pair-words/phrases' – engaging both the Arvanitika word/phrase and its verbatim translation into Greek or vice versa –, a phenomenon characterised by Tsitsipis (1983) as 'coupling' and by Gumperz (1982) as 'reiteration'. More specifically, Tsitsipis (1988) defines coupling as 'instances of code-switching at the word, phrase, and sentence levels that consists of

repeating material verbatim in the language other than that which was used for the original utterance' (p. 72). Gumperz (1982) uses the term 'reiteration' to refer to the same phenomenon defining it as the process during which 'a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form' (p. 78); yet, coupling is also considered the change in the volume of the speaker's voice at the exact moment of code-switching (Tsitsipis, 1998; Tsitsipis, 1988). Interestingly, in Tsitsipis' (1998) study, couplings occurred when speakers tried to highlight certain pieces of information related to their community's (ethno-)history (Tsitsipis, 1998). Finally, coupling is, rarely, found in cases of bilingualism, yet it occurs in cases of language contact between a socially 'weaker' language, and a more dominant and hegemonic language, leading to the language loss and progressively to the death of the former, as in the case of Arvanitika (Tsitsipis, 1998; Bourdieu 1991; Sella-Mazi, 2016).

3.3.2. On the description of the Arvanitika language and culture

Apart from the Arvanitika-speaking popular poetry, such as love and satirical lyrics studied by Politis, Sotiriou, Weingand and others, Arvanitika does not appear in the written literature tradition (Sella-Mazi, 2016). Since the establishment of the Greek nation-state, there have been studies on the origin of the Arvanitika community and their contribution in the Greek War of Independence.

Biris (1998) quotes various historians and scholars who wrote about the Arvanitika community or language, such as Simeonis in 1323 reporting on the similarities between Arvanites and Greeks that their only difference was the language they spoke. Furthermore, Pouqueville in his work 'Voyage de la Grèce' commented on the personality and the differences between Tosk Albanians (of south Albania) and Gek Albanians (of north Albania), while Perevos[13] in his 'Memoirs' ('Απομνημονεύματα') provided a description of several Arvanitika-speaking communities (e.g., Chams and Liapides) (Biris, 1998). In 1592, in Rome, Matranga printed his work 'Dottrina Christiana', the first written text in the earliest form of Arvanitika ('πρωτοαρβανίτικη γλώσσα'), which is, also, possibly the first source of written Arvanitika (Liosis, 2007).

[13] Christophoros Perevos was a leading figure of the Greek War of Independence, author, scholar, teacher, military, politician and member of the Filiki Etaireia ('φιλική εταιρεία') boosting and encouraging the Greek War of Independence and the overthrow of the Ottomans.

In 1770, Kavalliotis produced a trilingual dictionary in Greek, Arvanitika and Vlach, and later teacher Daniel published another dictionary, both aiming at the Hellenization of the populations speaking languages other than Greek[14] (Kordatos, 1973, as cited in Tsitsipis, 1998). In the early 19th century, in Greece, Lord Byron collected a series of lyrics written in Arvanitika and wrote the poem 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage' devoting some lyrics to the Arvanitika people. The first scholar working on the description of Arvanitika was Reinhold who, in 1855, published 'Noctes Pelasgicae', which, along with the documentation of words, songs and proverbs, also included a glossary of 1000 lemmas in the Arvanitika variety spoken in Poros, Hydra and Spetses islands; part of this work was also published by Meyer in 1896 (Liosis, 2007; Embirikos *et al*., 2001). Furthermore, Meyer wrote the etymological dictionary 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache' (Biris, 1998). In 1887, Austrian geographer and ethnographer Waldkampf, and biographer Paganel wrote about the differences between the Tosk Albanian and the Geg Albanian populations comparing their languages and religions (Biris, 1998). Scholar Amandos further reported on the differences between Tosk and Geg Albanians (Biris, 1998).

In the 19th century, the handwritten dictionary of Koupitoris was published. This dictionary was also 'a study on the origin of Arvanitika', while part of it was republished by Jochalas in 2006 (Embirikos *et al*., 2001, p. 313; Liosis, 2007). Jochalas (2010) documented a number of Arvanitika words of the Arvanitika variety spoken in Andros, providing further insights on the loan words from Greek, Turkish, and Italian. He also reported on the history of the community residing in Andros as well as on the Arvanitika culture and tradition. Of great historical value is Botsaris' Greek-Albanian 'Dictionary of simple Roman (Greek) and Arvanitika (Albanian)' (in Greek as written by Botsaris 'Λεξικόν της Ρωμαϊκοίς και Αρβανητηκοίς Απλής'), which was published by Jochalas (1980). Botsaris' dictionary was handwritten in the Greek alphabet (Jochalas, 1980). Significant contributions to the description of the Arvanitika language and culture constitute Sotiriou's documentation of songs and stories, Weigand's work

[14] The assimilation purpose of the dictionaries became apparent already from the beginning lines of teacher Daniel in his work: 'Albanians, Vlachs, Bulgarians be happy and prepare yourselves to become Greeks by abandoning your barbarian language, speech and habits. It is not hard any more for you to learn Greek and to avoid behaving like barbarians by uttering a few words. You, people of different languages, who honor the Christian faith awaken yourselves from the deep sleep of ignorance by learning Greek, the language which is the mother of wisdom' (Tsitsipis, 1998, p. 13).

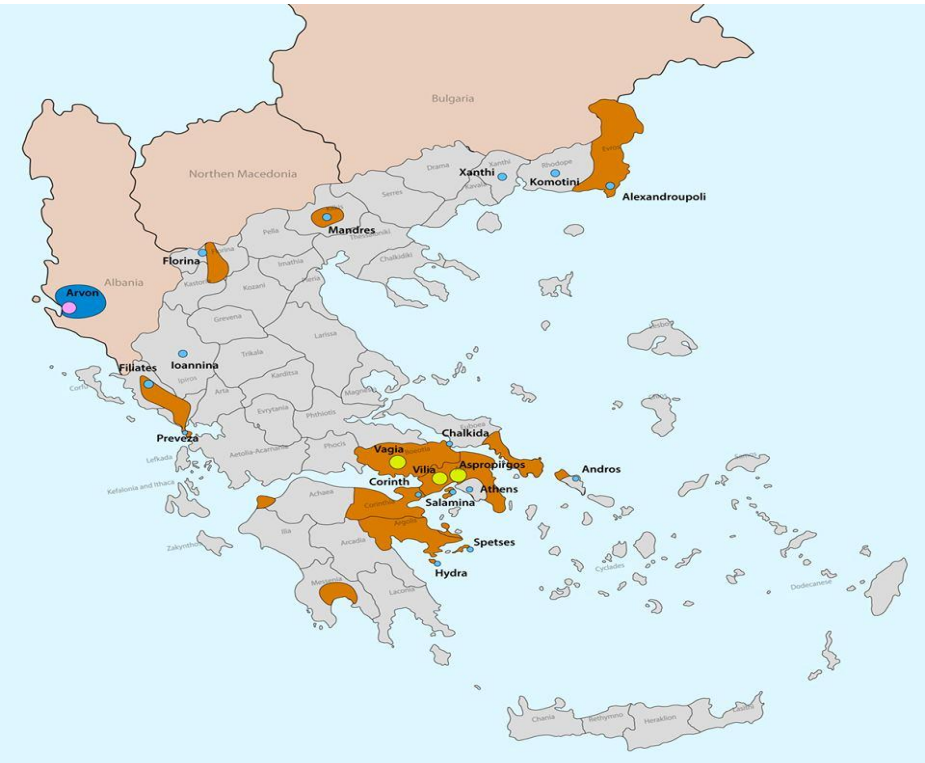
on the Arvanitika variety spoken in Attica, Vilaras' 'Greek-Albanian grammar and Greek-Albanian dialogues' ('Στοιχεία ελληνοαλβανικής γραμματικής και ελληνοαλβανικοί διάλογοι') and the work of Phourikis who was the first scholar to introduce the Latin alphabet in the documentation of Arvanitika (Liosis, 2007; Embirikos *et al.,* 2001). Moreover, Clayer and Karantis referred to an Arvanitika abecedarium published by Pikeos in the local journal 'Pelasgos' in Lamia, Greece, while the satirical journal 'Fos' published lyrics and anecdotes in Arvanitika without translation (Embirikos *et al.*, 2001, p. 313-314).

Hamp's (1961; Hamp, 1965; as cited in Liosis, 2007) work on the Arvanitika variety of Attica, Megara, Mandres, and Kilkis, as well as Haebler's (1965, as cited in Liosis, 2007) first attempt of a structural description of the Arvanitika variety of Salamina are some of the very significant contributions to our knowledge of the language. Trudgill and Tzavaras' (1975), and Tsitsipis' (1998) work on language attrition and death of Arvanitika in Attica and Boeotia, language ideologies and shift are two of the most preeminent studies on Arvanitika of the last decades. Exceptional work was also carried out by Liosis (2007) on his comparative study on the language contact between the Arvanitika and the Tsakonian languages in south-eastern Peloponnese, as well as their sociolinguistic investigation regarding the language shift and attitudes of their speakers. Of great linguistic value is Sasse's (1991) encompassing work on the grammatical description of Arvanitika of Boeotia and Andros, and Jochala's (2010) work on the Arvanitika variety of Andros, Euboea and Hydra that formed an invaluable collection on the Arvanitika language as well as on its folklore and historical tradition (Liosis, 2007).

It is worth mentioning that Arvanitika was considered 'the language of war' and 'the language of the navy' during the Greek revolution against the Ottomans. This explains why some of the oldest texts written in Arvanitika originate from people involved in these settings, such as Botsaris and Reinhold's manuscripts, respectively (Embirikos *et al.,* 2001). In fact, during the Greek War of Independence – apart from the leading figures of the revolution who were of Arvanitika origin – Arvanitika was used in oral communication by both the Ottomans and other non-Arvanitika speaking populations (Embirikos *et al.,* 2001; Kargakos, 2008).

3.3.3. The name

Already since antiquity, there have been reports by Polyvios and Stefanos Byzantios about a city in Illyria, namely *Arvon* (Kargakos, 2008). Illyria was, at the time, the western part of the Balkans, extending from Montenegro to lake Ohrid, where several developed cities, such as Amantia, Apollonia and Dyrrachium were located. Its inhabitants were called *Arvonites* from which the names 'Arvana' and 'Arvanites' derived later on [15](Biris, 1998; Kargakos, 2008). The population migrating from Arvon to Greece (see the blue shaded region in Map 1) are considered to be the ancestors of today's Arvanites[16] in Greece.



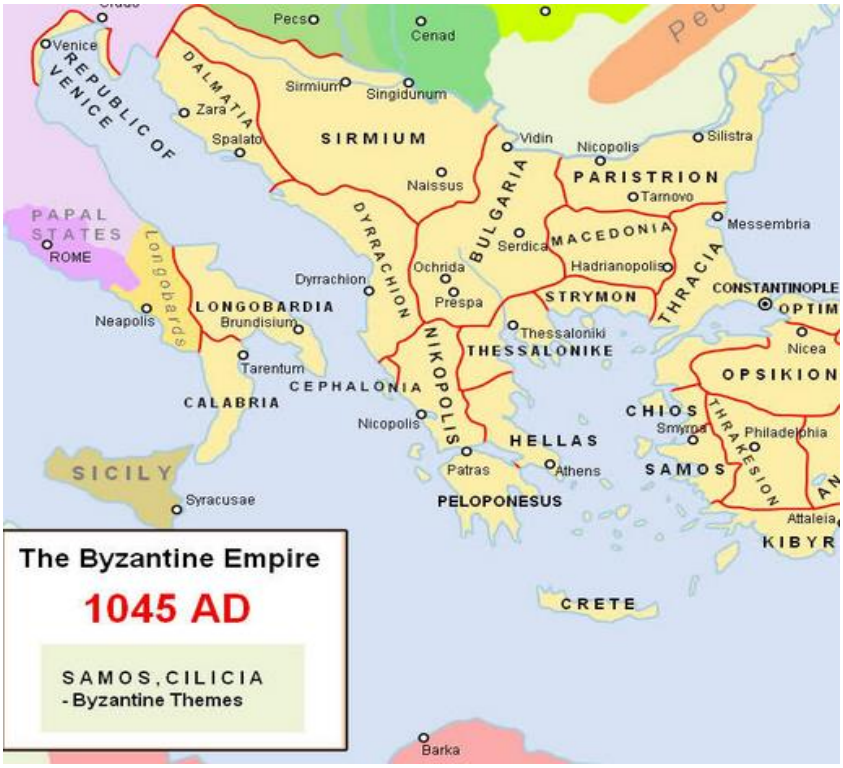
Map 1. The conventional Arvanitika-speaking regions in today's Greece (orange) and the ancient city of Arvon in today's Albania (blue), as reported by several authors (Embirikos *et al*., 2001; Kargakos, 2008; Biris, 1998; Jochalas, 2010; Sella-Mazi, 2016). The map was created by Eleana Tyradelli.

From the 13th century CE, the inhabitants of the southern part of Genousios river, the region extended from lake Ohrid ('Οχρίδα' or 'Αχρίδα) to Dyrrachium (see Map 2),

[15] Biris (1998) states that 'already since antiquity, apart from the terms "Alvanopolis" and "Alvani" (Αλβανόπολις και Αλβανοί) used by Ptolemy, the names "Arvon" and "Arvonites" had also been used, from which the terms "Arvana" and "Arvanites" emerged' (p. 14).

[16] 'Arvanites' is the plural masculine of the noun 'Arvanitis' in Greek. Its feminine equivalent is Arvanitissa in the singular or Arvanitisses in the plural. 'Arvanite', 'Arvanitika speakers' or 'Arvanites' are some of the names used to describe the members and/or speakers of the Arvanitika community in Greece.

today's Elbasan, were reported by the Byzantine historian, George Kedrenos, as *military leaders*, *Arvanites* (Biris, 1998). This remains to date the widely known name describing people of Arvanitika origin and/or speakers of Arvanitika (Kargakos, 2008).



Map 2. The Byzantine Empire in 1045 AD. From 'Byzantine Military' by Gary (2015). (http://byzantinemilitary.blogspot.com/2015/01/kanine-castle-albania-roman-and.html)

In the 12th century CE, the Byzantine historian and scholar, Anna Komnene, had also used the term 'Arvanites' along with the name 'Arvana', in 'Alexiada', to describe the region where this population resided (Biris, 1998; Kargakos, 2008). Biris (1998) argues that the name 'Arvanites' originates from the word 'Arvon' (Άρβων ή Αρβών) and its derivative 'Arvonitis', while Tosks used the word 'Arber' or 'Arberesh'. Meyer (1894, as cited in Biris, 1998) stated that in his era, in the end of the 19th century, Arvanitika speakers of both Greece and Italy self-identified as Arber and/or Arbëreshë, something which, at least today, does not apply to the Arvanitika-speaking community in Greece – yet it does to the equivalent language and its speakers in Italy. It is worth mentioning that most members of the Arvanite community in Greece – as reported by speakers themselves in several studies (e.g., Tsitsipis, 1998; Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1975), including the present study, as well as by other authors (Kargakos, 2008; Biris, 1998)

– self-identify as Greeks (or as Arvanites and Greek). According to Kargakos (2008), Arvanites, also, actively participated in the Greek War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire, between 1821 and 1830, in which most of the military leaders were of Arvanite origin.

Tsitsipis (1998) states that Arvanitika speakers today refer to their language in two different ways; either 'through the use of directly referential terms', or 'through that of more descriptively transparent terms that carry emotional or ideological connotations' (p. 9). The most prevailing, yet, at the same time, unmarked term is 'Arvanitika', 'taking over the Albanian grammatical shape "Arvanite" when it occurs in an Albanian speech segment' (Tsitsipis, 1998, p. 9). Furthermore, Albanian scholars call the language spoken in Greece and Italy 'Arberishte' (Tsitsipis, 1998).

3.3.4. The Arvanitika-speaking community in Greece: historical and geographic background

There have been several different views regarding the migration of Arvanites to Greece and the time when it took place. Kargakos (2008) adopts the view of Phourikis who claims that the first wave of the migration of Arvanites to Greece goes back to the early 10th century. Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) argue that the first wave of Albanian immigrants to Greece was during the 11th and 12th century, but they also agree that the main influx was during the 14th century. Biris (1998) comments on the first influx of Arvanites at the beginning of the 11th century, claiming that they first settled in Epirus invited by Emperor Basil II[17] who wanted to reinforce the power of Epirus against the invasions of the Bulgarian and Normand tribes –, yet the same author also points out that a more massive migration of Arvanites took place in the 13th century in Thessaly. Valakopoulos (1961), Tsitsipis (1998) and Gefou-Madianou (1999) conclude that despite the different views on the ancestry and migration of the Arvanitika-speaking population in Greece, it is generally accepted that today's Arvanites are the descendants of Albanian-speaking Orthodox Christian immigrants who massively migrated to Greece from the 14th to the 16th century. Although there are sources indicating even

[17] Basil II Porphyrogenitus, also known as Bulgar Slayer.

earlier dates of migration waves to what is now Greece, specifically during the 8th century, they seem to be doubtful (Tsitsipis, 1998).

According to Biris (1998), 'Ancient and byzantine geographers (Strabo, Pliny, Claudius Ptolemy & Chalkokondyles) extended the name of Macedonia to Dyrrachium since during its Roman occupation the region from Drinos river to Tomaros river was named New Epirus' (p. 14) (see Map 2). At that time, Illyria was limited to the northern part of the region up to Danube (Biris, 1998). As Biris (1998) argues, this geographical distinction also applies during the Byzantine era. New Epirus extended to Macedonia with Dyrrachium as its capital. The people living in the New (southern part) and the Old (northern part) Epirus are referred to by historians as two different tribes, the Tosks and the Gegs, respectively. According to Biris (1998), this distinction seems to be very old, going back to the period when ancient Greek geographer Stravon set Egnatia Odos as the border dividing the two tribes, calling the north tribe (Gegs) Illyrians, and the south tribe (Tosks) Epirotes. Genousios river was the natural border between the two tribes. This study is focusing on the southern tribe, the Tosk population, ancestors of today's Arvanitika-speakers of Greece. Procopius of Caesarea, the prominent late antique-byzantine Greek scholar, also calls the south tribe of Tosks 'Greek Epirotes' and the north tribe of Gegs 'Illyrians' (Biris, 1998). Kargakos (2008) further argues that Tosks, after moving to Epirus, lived alongside the local (Greek) population for many centuries, something that led to their constant relations and mixed marriages.

In the transitional period between the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire, the culture, lifestyle, dressing, and language of the ancestors of Arvanites was described by Stravon as similar to these of the Macedonians. During the Roman Empire, from the 2nd century CE onwards, the inhabitants of the region that would be later known as New Epirus, were influenced by the Greek Church and Byzantium.

According to Biris (1998), during the Byzantine era, today's south Albania, where Arvanites migrated from, used to be a Byzantine territory for as long as the Crusades lasted. In the era of Michael Dukas (1071-1078) and later on of Manuel Komninos (1143-1180), when the military divisions – also known as 'themes' (θέματα) – took place, the Arvanitika-speaking populations were granted military land (Biris, 1998). Following the fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople in 1204, the region was passed to the Greek Despotate of Epirus, and later on, it changed hands again and came

under the jurisdiction of the Capetian House of Anjou in 1272 who created the Regnum Albaniae.[18] At the time, northern Albania was under the Serbs' occupation. After the repossession of Constantinople in 1261 by Michael VIII Palaiologos, Albania became part of Byzantium again. However, this lasted only for a short period of time, since the Serbs occupied the whole region of Albania and used the Albanian population in their military operations, while in return they got land in the Greek territories. It was then that the permanent establishment of this population in Epirus took place. At the time, pastoralist population movements – through which Albanians arrived to the regions of Epirus and Thessaly – were common (Biris, 1998). Jochalas (2010) and Kargakos (2008) report that there were new influxes of Albanian populations during the time of Stefan Dušan[19], the leader of Serbs, in the mid-14th century. The Serb leader having occupied the region where Albania is currently situated, as well as Thessaly and Epirus, provided these populations with land.

Kargakos (2008) reports that when Stefan Dušan passed away in 1355, the Ottomans appeared and threatened the Balkans. Albanians were among the few people who persistently fought against the Ottomans. Their deep desire to save the Byzantine Empire and their denial to be under the Ottoman rule contributed to their developing good relations with the locals. More specifically, 'Bouas and Rallis' movements in the Peloponnese were the first ones to oppose the Ottoman thrall' (Kargakos, 2008, p. 27). This being said, a few centuries later, the leading figures of the Greek War of Independence, namely Tzavellas, Miaoulis, Botsaris, and Bouboulina were also of Arvanitika origin (Biris, 1998).

[18] The Kingdom of Albania (Regnum Albaniae) was created by Charles of Anjou in the region he conquered from the Despotate of Epirus in 1271. It extended from the region of Dyrrachium to Butrint.
[19] Stefan Dušan was the King of Serbia and Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks from 1331 until his death in 1355.



Map 3. Occupied territories of Greece in 1388. From 'Arvanites: Dorians of Modern Greece' by Biris (1998, p. 97).

According to Kargakos (2008), from Epirus and Thessaly, sub-groups of Albanians started moving towards the southern areas of Greece, Attica and the Peloponnese, where they reinforced the Greek population and contributed to the cultivation of the land. As mentioned above, it is widely accepted among scholars that the first massive Arvanites' establishment in Greece dates to the 14th CE – under the Empire of Ioannis Katakouzinos (Kargakos, 2008; Biris, 1998; Tsitsipis, 1998). The despot of the Despotate of the Morea[20] at the time, Katakouzinos, called in 10.000 Albanians to settle in the south peninsula of Greece, namely the Peloponnese, which was ruined during the wars (Kargakos, 2008). Another 10.000 Albanians moved in and established in the same region in the era of Palaiologos who then became the new despot of the Morea (1383-1407). These populations formed the core of the Albanian settlements in the Peloponnese.

[20] The Despotate of the Morea or Mystras was a province of the Byzantine Empire during the mid-14th and mid-15th centuries CE. It extended to approximately the whole territory of the Peloponnese. It was ruled by the sons of the then Byzantine Emperor, under the title of despots.

During that period, part of mainland Greece was under the Frankish rule when a new migration of Albanians took place. The new migrants settled in the Eastern part of Central Greece and they were offered complete sovereignty over the land (Kargakos, 2008). In 1382, the first settlement in the Attica region took place and culminated after 1402. Furthermore, Venetians who had occupied Euboea and the Cyclades in 1402, invited these Albanian populations to settle in these regions and offered them land (Jochalas, 2010). Kargakos (2008) mentions that Arvanites' migration to Attica took place due to intra-Albania conflicts and the connection of powerful Albanian military leaders with abolitionist leading families[21]. From Attica and Euboea, subgroups of Albanians crossed over to the Argo-Saronic Islands[22] and to several islands in the Aegean Sea, such as Andros (Kargakos, 2008; Jochalas, 2010).

It is likely that, during the Venetian Rule in Greece, Arvanites were subsidised by Venetian and Tosk potentates to carry out agricultural and stock breeding works in rural areas, since the local Greek population had been deracinated or moved to the urban centres and/or mountainous regions for safety reasons (Jochalas, 1971; Biris, 1998; Harzisotiriou 1973; Xhufi 1991; Ducellier;1994, as cited in Liosis, 2007).

Settling in the area of Thessaly and then moving towards Southern Greece, Attica, the Peloponnese, Southern Euboea, Cyclades and the Argo-Saronic islands, Arvanites first stumbled upon the Frankish occupants, whose establishment in the area was the after-effect of the dissolution of the formerly dominant Byzantine State following the Crusades (Tsitsipis, 1998; Liosis, 2007). In fact, Jochalas (2010) points out that the initial mobility of the Albanian populations to the South (Thessalia and Akarnania) was facilitated by the upheavals caused by the fourth Crusade (1203-1204) in the region of today's Albania.

As Tsitsipis (1998) reports, Arvanites covered the needs in agriculture and the military, as they were known for their valor. This was conducive to the survival of the language, since urbanisation taking place later on worked as a catalyst for their shift away from Arvanitika and into the Greek language. In fact, urbanisation led to the abandoning of

[21] Stefan Dušan's brother attempted to restrict the Albanian expansion and attacked the tribal leaders Ginis Bouas and Petros Liosas in Epirus. This led to the movement of the Albanians towards Attica. The names Spata and Liosia in Attica originate from this settlement.

[22] Islands located in the Argo-Saronic Gulf abreast Greek mainland. The Argo-Saronic islands are Salamis, Aegina, Agistri, Poros, as well as, Hydra, Spetses and Dokos, which are in the northeast tip of the Peloponnese.

bilingualism as the Arvanitika speakers started shifting to Greek (Sella-Mazi, 2016; Liosis, 2007). Today, the Arvanitika-speaking population is distributed in several regions throughout Greece (see Map 1), something that does not apply to all linguistic minorities in Greece (e.g., speakers of Macedonian reside in north-western and north-eastern Greece).

3.3.4.1. The population

It is hard to provide exact figures on the number of the Arvanitika speakers today. However, evidence from different censuses and studies clearly shows the dramatic decline in the use of the language across time. According to the 1879 census, the number of Arvanitika speakers residing in the Peloponnese, Central Greece, Euboea and Andros was approximately 225.000 (Zervas, 2014). In the census of 1940, 49.632 people throughout Greece reported that their mother tongue was Arvanitika (Liosis, 2007). According to the last census in 1951 including questions on the spoken languages, only 22.736 Arvanites were reported. Liosis (2007) argues that the lack of censuses that include questions on mother tongue in the post-1951 period was a deterrent to reporting the decline of the Arvanitika-speaking population in Greece.

In addition to the censuses, there are a few population estimates from several researchers and organisations, yet they most likely do not capture the actual number of Arvanitika speakers as they have not always been based on official reports and censuses. For example, Phourikis (1934, as cited in Botsi, 2003) argues that – possibly in his era, at the beginning of the 20th century, – the number of the Arvanites residing in Attica and Boeotia was approximately 70.000 (p. 97). Trudgill (1983) states that during his work with Tzavaras on the Arvanitika-speaking communities of Attica and Boeotia – around 1975 –, they estimated that there were nearly 140.000 speakers in these regions. Furthermore, Sasse (1991, as cited in Botsi, 2003) concluded that the Arvanitika speakers across the whole country during his period reached 50.000, while the World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples of Minority Rights Group International (n.d.) reported 95.000 Arvanites in Greece. Finally, Ethnologue (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig, 2021) reports 150.000 members of the Arvanitika 'ethnic population', which would be construed as the members of the Arvanitika community, thus, not necessarily those who speak the language. Therefore, given the wide range of

numerical estimates, it is hard to know the exact numbers of today's Arvanitika-speaking population. However, the large discrepancies on the population estimates raise questions on their validity, especially, if one takes into consideration the great socio-political upheavals including the demise of minority languages during the Metaxas dictatorship followed by WWII and the Greek Civil War. The bar graph below shows the numbers of the Arvanitika community members across the years according to a number of sources and in reference to the aforementioned critical historical periods.

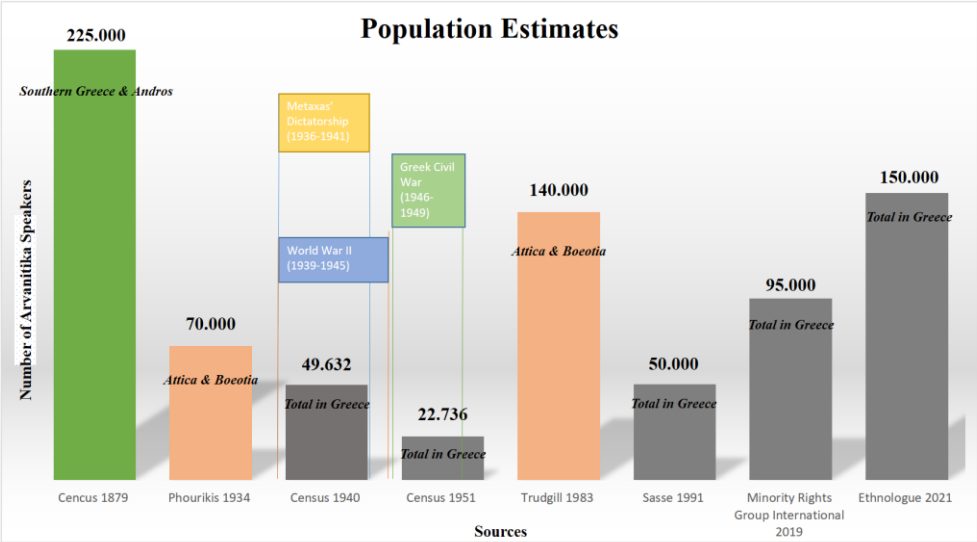


Figure 1. Estimates on the number of Arvanitika speakers emerging from different sources.

The problem regarding population estimates as far as (ethno-)linguistic minorities are concerned has been the case in other countries, too. This is the reason why the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages launched by the EU – and more particularly its UK Committee in collaboration with the University of Hertfordshire – organised a colloquium on the censuses needed for linguistic minorities (Coulmas, 1997). Concisely, the need to include groups using lesser-used languages is highlighted in the general censuses questions in order to report the demographic data of these populations, which also enable sociolinguistic studies to proactively aid language planning (Coulmas, 1997). Finally, by making comparisons between the different linguistic groups, these data could provide important insights on the competence of the speakers, their language use, and their economic background, while they could be further compared to several demographic data, such as age, gender and level of education (Coulmas, 1997).

The answer to why official censuses in many countries do not include the languages of linguistic minorities might be found in Haugen's (2003) statement:

> The dialects, at least if they threaten to become languages, are potentially disruptive forces in a unified nation: they appeal to local loyalties, which could conceivably come into conflict with national loyalty. This is presumably the reason that France even now refuses to count the number of Breton speakers in its censuses… (p. 416).

Haugen's argument on the interference of the nation-state in the recognition and the counting of minority language speakers highlights that even in a typical demographic process like a census, nationhood ideas might intervene in order for fundamental rights of specific minorities not to be recognised, since these are seen as a potential threat to the nation-state (see section 2.2.).

As mentioned above, today's Arvanitika-speaking communities are dispersed throughout Greece. As shown in Map 1, the Arvanitika-speaking regions extend from Attica and Boeotia to the Aegean islands, Florina, the Peloponnese, Western Greece (Epirus) and the Ionian Islands, Thessaly, Central Greece, south Euboea and Salamis islands, Korinthia and Argolis areas, Cyclades, as well as Andros island (Simons & Fennig, 2019; Jochalas, 2010; Tsitsipis, 1998).

However, it should be mentioned that the Arvanitika varieties spoken in each of the aforementioned regions differ from one another. For example, Hamp (1965, as cited in Liosis, 2007) argues that in Mandres, Kilkis, the Arvanitika variety is highly influenced by the Turkish language, while Liosis (2007) – based on Jochalas' work on the Arvanitika of Thesprotia – supports that in the villages of Kanalaki and Anthousa, Thesprotia, the Arvanitika varieties are closely related to the Cham variety, the variety spoken by Chamides[23], rather than to the Arvanitika varieties of southern Greece.

With regards to the number of speakers in the Arvanitika-speaking regions, first seems to be the Arvanitika-speaking community in Southern Greece, extending from the town

[23] Chamides (plural masculine of the noun Cham in Greek) were the inhabitants of the region called Chamouria in north-western Greece, mainly in the province of Thesprotia. According to Kargakos (2008), Chamides was a mix Greek-Albanian population part of whom were Islamised of their own free will during the 17th century. During the WWII, after collaborating with the Italians against Greeks, Muslim Chams fled to Albania (some of them returned later on). Chamides are considered to be the peak of the Albanian territorial claims over Greece (Kargakos, 2008, p. 288).

of Livanates, Fthiotis, to the villages of Messinia and Lakonia, in the Peloponnese. However, in this area the language is only spoken by a limited number of elder speakers (Embirikos *et al.*, 2001). Language maintenance depends on the region, as well as on how densely populated an area is by the Arvanitika-speaking communities. The second most populated Arvanitika-speaking region is Epirus in north-western Greece. This Arvanitika community extends from the village of Loutsa, Preveza, to the town of Filiates, Thesprotia. The language continuum was, notably, disrupted after the outflow of Chams sweeping down to the villages of Delvino and Vouthroto, south Albania. More particularly, this region extends to the towns of Filiates, Parga, Margaritio and Paramythia, or else the area of Ancient Thesprotia (Embirikos *et al*., 2001). This area is of historical interest regarding the geographic coherence and continuum of the Arvanitika language, which is most likely due to its territorial connection with Albania. According to Embirikos *et al.* (2001), the third most populated Arvanitika-speaking region is in the prefecture of Evros, Serres, and other surrounding regions whose population consists of refugees coming from eastern Thrace. Furthermore, there are three Arvanitika-speaking villages in Florina, namely Lehovo, Flabouro, and Drosopigi, the village of Mandres in Kilkis, and the village of Plikati in Konitsa (Embirikos *et al*., 2001).

A brief overview of the Arvanite population in the three main Arvanitika-speaking regions of the present study is to be presented below. It is worth mentioning that the Arvanitika-speaking participants of this study originated from various regions, yet the three regions presented below are the ones where the main face-to-face fieldwork took place. These regions are Attica and Boeotia, the Peloponnese, and Florina. Attica and Boeotia are presented together as their Arvanite population appears to have common historical grounds.

3.3.4.1.1. Arvanites of Attica and Boeotia

According to Sasse, (1991, as cited in Liosis, 2007) there used to be 300 Arvanitika-speaking settlements in South and Central Greece. When the region of Arta, Epirus, suffered from pestilence in the 14th century, certain Arvanite families relocated to Attica and named the regions where they settled in after their family names[24] (Kargakos, 2008). Kargakos (2008) mentions that this population who moved to Attica and Boeotia resisted Islamisation during the Ottoman Empire wishing to diverge from the Albanians who converted and later allied themselves with the Ottomans (e.g., Chamides). This decision made them start self-identifying as 'Arvanites', a term which linked them to Arvon, as referred above (see section 3.3.3.). A group of the Arvanites residing in Attica and Boeotia moved to Euboea and the surrounding islands, and became exceptional mariners (Kargakos, 2008). As opposed to the north Albanians, Arvanites led the revolution and liberated Athens under the leadership of Meletis Vasiliou. Arvanites originating from South Albania – a region highly influenced by the Byzantine element – along with their Christian Orthodox religion, at least in their majority, were assimilated to the local Greek population (Kyriazis, 1996, as cited in Liosis, 2007). Kargakos (2008) further underlines the importance of religion in the Greek identification of the Arvanitika communities, since they have constructed various monasteries, chapels, and churches in the places where they inhabited. Furthermore, as also mentioned above, Arvanites were in the frontline of the Greek War of Independence and prior to that they had also fought against the Franks. Arvanites of Athens worked as farmers and shepherds in the land of Greeks and Franks, and from there they moved to Euboea (Kargakos, 2008). Up to the mid-20th century, Arvanitika was the prevailing language in the region of Menidi, Athens, especially among the agricultural and shepherd populations (Kargakos, 2008).

[24] For example, the region of Athens called Liosia was named after the family 'Liosides' ('Λίοσηδες') or 'Liosei' ('Λιωσαίοι'), as well as the region of Malakasa after the family of 'Malakasei' ('Μαλακασαίοι') and, so on, Spata, Vari, Koropi etc. (Kargakos, 2008).

3.3.4.1.2. Arvanites of the Peloponnese

As previously mentioned, the first massive establishment of Arvanites in Greece dates back to the 14th century CE during the Empire of Ioannis Katakouzinos. Nonetheless, with respect to the Arvanitika-speaking population of the Peloponnese, Biris (1998) reports – based on different sources – that the first migratory waves took place in the late 6th century, along with the Slavs descent, during the Avars invasion. According to the same author, Arvanites resided in the peninsula earlier than the 13th century CE, yet the first known massive settlements of Arvanites in the Peloponnese took place in the middle of the 14th century (Biris, 1998). The despot of the Despotate of the Morea[25] (see Map 3) at the time (1341-1355), Manuel Katakouzinos, son of Ioannis Katakouzinos, called in 10.000 Tosk Albanians – expelled by Stefan Dušan from Thessaly in 1350 – to settle in the south peninsula of Greece, the Peloponnese, which had been hit by the wars (Kargakos, 2008; Biris, 1998). Biris (1998), however, refers to a number of sources, which indicate that the real number of Arvanites migrating towards today's Greece in the era of Katakouzinos was much lower.

According to Kargakos (2008), another 10.000 Albanians moved from Akarnania and Thessaly to the Peloponnese during the period of Theodore I Palaiologos, who then became the new despot of Morea (1383-1407). These populations formed the core of the Albanian settlements in the Peloponnese and they were experts in agricultural activities, farming and hunting, while they further contributed to the development of the region by transmitting their skills and virtuosity to the local population (Kargakos, 2008; Biris, 1998). According to Liosis (2007), Arvanites reached the Peloponnese passing through Achaia and Corinth until they spread all over the peninsula. Part of this population left the Peloponnese in the 16th century CE and moved to southern Italy and Sicily (Liosis, 2007). This population migrating to Italy are ancestors of today's speakers of Arbëresh, the 'sister language' of Arvanitika in the South of Italy and Sicily, the speakers of which are called Arbëreshë (Liosis, 2007; Derhemi, 2002).

[25] The Despotate of the Morea or Mystras was a province of the Byzantine Empire during the mid-14th and mid-15th centuries CE. It extended to approximately the whole territory of the Peloponnese. It was ruled by the sons of the then Byzantine Emperor, under the title of despots.

3.3.4.1.3. Arvanites of Florina

Since the middle of the 19th century there have been two settlements in Florina, Belkameni and Negrovani, today called Drosopigi and Flabouro, respectively. Before Arvanites settled in these two villages, they had built a purely Arvanitika-speaking community at the village of Lehovo, which still exists to date (Embirikos *et al*., 2001). Arvanites of Drosopigi and Flabouro originate from Plikati of Konitsa, Epirus, which was a purely Arvanitika-speaking village. Its inhabitants worked mainly as builders, something that also applies to the aforementioned three Arvanitika-speaking villages of Florina. The Arvanitika-speaking communities of these villages were rarely in contact with the other linguistic minorities of Florina (e.g., the Macedonian-speaking and the Vlach-speaking communities of the surrounding villages) until 1960. Following WWII and the Greek Civil War, and mainly after 1960, the Arvanitika communities all around Greece, including Florina, started coming into contact with other linguistic communities (Embirikos *et al.*, 2001).

3.3.5. The Sociolinguistic status of Arvanitika: decline and Degree of Endangerment

3.3.5.1. Contributing factors to the decline of Arvanitika

The contemporary sociolinguistic status of Arvanitika is inextricably linked to the socio-historical past of Greece, which affected the fate of most minority languages found on Greek territory. A number of historical events during the 20th century led to an increase of the intention on the part of the Greek nation-state to strengthen the Greek national ideal in the country and contributed to the formation of Greece's monolingual sociolinguistic landscape: the Metaxas' dictatorship from 1936 to 1941; the WWII from 1939 to 1945; the Greek Civil War in 1946–1949; and, assimilative policies adopted by the Greek State as early as 1936 – during the dictatorship – and throughout the Cold War (Robou-Levidi, 2017). The turbulence caused by these events allowed for *assimilative policies* to be implemented, which led linguistic minorities and their languages to become *minoritised and marginalised* (see section 3.2.).

As Haugen (2003) argues the *nation-state* is built on the ideal of *nationhood*, and it embraces the notion of 'not only having one language, but having one's own language,

which secludes a population from other populations who might undermine its loyalty' (p. 416). Therefore, in the name of the 'one language-one nation' ideal adopted by the Greek State, Arvanitika – as other minority languages in Greece – was subject to constant *minoritisation* as well as *politicisation* (see section 3.2.).

Today, Arvanitika, being in contact with the Greek language for more than seven centuries, has been facing constant attrition (Tsitsipis, 1998). In fact, the Arvanitika language appears to be one of the most endangered minority languages in Greece with Ethnologue – in its classification of language's endangerment four years ago – reporting it as a 'moribund' language (Simons & Fennig, 2019). However, today, Ethnologue provides a broader classification of languages' degree of endangerment, reporting Arvanitika as 'endangered' language (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig, 2023). Tsitsipis (1998) states that there has been a rapidly growing *language shift* towards the socially dominant language, Greek, while Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) had made the assumption that Arvanitika would 'quite probably die out completely in the next two or three generations' (p. 138).

The socio-political setting in which minority languages are found is of utmost importance to their trajectory. For example, Arvanitika in Greece is rapidly dying out as opposed to its 'sister' language in Italy, Arbëresh, that is not threatened as much. An explanation to this was given by Hamp (1978) who attributes the more 'advantaged' status of Arbëresh to the medieval division of 'city-states', according to which, people of each locality maintained their own linguistic habits, including both Italian and non-Italian dialects. More recent reports by Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig, 2019) also confirm the difference between Arvanitika and Arbëresh as concerns their state of endangerment. For example, Arbëresh appears to have 380.000 speakers, according to the 2012 census, while it is also taught in some local public schools and is spoken by a number of young people and the majority of adults. Arbëresh is spoken in the regions of Calabria, Molise Sicily, Palermo, and possibly in Apulia and Basilicata (Simons & Fennig, 2019).

According to Tsitsipis (1998), Greece, as opposed to Italy, has never implemented a recognised policy on speech heterogeneity in light of its linguistic diversity. As is the case with most minority languages spoken in Greece, the use and study of the Arvanitika language has never been integrated in the educational system of Greece,

while the geographic dispersion might have also played an important role in the lack of language continuum, and hence, contributed to the dying status of the language. To be more precise, the lack of a compact space within which the language could be legitimised and protected with specific actions could be considered as a contributing factor for the endangered status of Arvanitika. Additional socio-economic factors, such as *urbanisation and the social obsolescence* on the use of Arvanitika did not allow for the development of tight links between the Arvanitika community and language in order for the language continuum to be maintained. These developments were followed by the assimilation of Arvanites into the dominant monolingual Greek society (Tsitsipis, 1998).

Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) list a number of different factors that appeared to be instrumental in this assimilation. A key factor seems to have been the Ottoman occupation, which brought together the Greek and the Albanian ethnic groups under the umbrella of a common religious community, that of the Greek Orthodox Church (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983). 'The Greek Orthodox Church and the clergy of this body have typically tended to play down the fact of ethnic differences and to emphasise the religious similarities' (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983, p. 128).

By drawing on the concept of assimilation, Tsitsipis (1998), and Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) highlight the key role of the end of WWII and the aftermath of the Greek Civil War in Hellenization taking place on Greek territory. Valakopoulos (1979, as cited in Tsitsipis 1998) refers to Metaxas stating that

> In spite of the fact that he leaned heavily towards western democracies, he did not avoid influences from the ideological trends and institutions of the totalitarian state. He cultivated the idea of the third Greek civilization after the first of ancient Greece and the second of Byzantium (p. 14).

Tsitsipis (1998) reports that Metaxas' nationalistic policy, including the sponsorship of the publication of a grammar in the *demotic* form of Greek, obliged Arvanites to face the dominance of Greek, and as a result to sustain an heteroglossic awareness. Gefou-Madianou (1999) further argues that 'Arvanitika being an Albanian idiom, with mixture of some Turkish and Greek words, raised the question of the very heritage upon which the new nation's identity was being forged' (p. 420).

Adding in Tsitsipis' (1998) argument on the reasons why Arvanitika has been endangered, Liosis (2007) identifies four factors contributing to the endangerment state of Arvanitika in the past years, namely *(a) industrialisation, (b) urbanisation, (c) education, and (d) contact with other communities.* With respect to the former two factors, industrialisation and urbanisation, Dimmendaal (1989) illustrates the diffusion of the languages of East Africa through these procedures, which led to the dominance of some languages over others, adumbrating the latter. Tsitsipis and Elmendorf (1983) refer to the establishment of an industrial unit in an Arvanitika-speaking village that was isolated until then, something that deterred Arvanitika residents from moving to large urban centres in the 1960s. This industrial unit attracted a large number of male Arvanites for years, until WWII and the Greek Civil War had an impact on the life of the village. In this case, Arvanitika was preserved as people could find work in the vicinity of their homes and they did not need to move away into other places; therefore, they were able to keep using Arvanitika between them and kept a closely knit social network.

In terms of the educational dimension, Liosis (2007) argues that the communication contexts of a speaking community have to be accepted on a supra-local level (e.g., schools) and go beyond the private contexts (e.g., family). Liosis (2007) further underlines the key role of educational institutions in such a process. The educational dimension in the case of Arvanitika lies on the fact that not only the language was never included in education but, on the contrary, the educational context was one of the basic means used for its oppression. Embirikos *et al.* (2001) state that, especially in the years after WWII and the Greek Civil War, teachers applied determent tactics to prevent students from speaking Arvanitika at school since it was considered a 'barbarian' language. Similar findings were underlined by Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) drawing on the responses of participants in their study, who testified that they experienced discrimination and offending comments by their teachers for speaking Arvanitika at school or for using Arvanitika words instead of Greek ones when encountering difficulties in speaking Greek. It is important to recall that Trudgill and Tzavaras' participants were bilingual in both Greek and Arvanitika – while the eldest ones had Arvanitika as their L1. Thus, there was a hostile environment in the school context for those who were used to speaking Arvanitika in most contexts of their social life.

Regarding the dimension of linguistic minorities' contact with other communities, Dorian (1981, as cited in Liosis 2007) argues that a language policy that limits the speaking of a minority language at home and excludes it from school, does not necessarily lead to the displacement of that language, yet in combination with other factors, such as the potential *discrimination against the language and/or its speakers*, could definitely contribute to such a process. The factor of discrimination has been the case with Arvanitika speakers who, as mentioned above, have been discriminated against at school for speaking their heritage language. Liosis (2007) points out that school was the place where negative attitudes towards Arvanitika were amplified as the Greek language policy was and is still based on an ethnic ideal, promoting the instruction of only standardised Modern Greek. The contact of Arvanitika speakers with the Greek-speaking community appears to have contributed to its gradual decline. Tsitsipis and Elmendorf (1983) place emphasis on the contrast between Kiriaki, a formerly isolated village, and Spata, an industrial region right outside Athens, in that the latter ensured regular interactions with the 'monolingual' Greek-speaking community due to its proximity to Athens. Tsitsipis (1981, as cited in Liosis, 2007) also illustrates that, as opposed to Spata, in the case of the villages in Boeotia, such as Kyriaki, the lack of a road network for many decades delayed the contact of Arvanites with the non-Arvanitika-speaking population, something that led to the preservation of Arvanitika for a longer period in these regions. In this vein, Fishman (1971, as cited in Liosis, 2007) points out that physical isolation appears to be a prerequisite for the preservation of minority languages.

3.3.5.2. Arvanitika's Degree of Endangerment

In order to understand the degree of endangerment of the Arvanitika language, a close look at the degrees of endangerment of languages as described by the UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages should be taken (UNESCO, 2003). The six degrees of languages' endangerment are measured in reference to their intergenerational transmission as listed below.

Degree of Endangerment	Intergenerational Language Transmission
1. safe	When a language is spoken by all generations
2. vulnerable	When most children speak the language, but it may not be used in some domains
3. definitely endangered	When the youngest generation does not learn the language as mother tongue
4. severely endangered	When language is spoken by the oldest speakers; middle-aged speakers may understand it, yet they do not transmit it to their descendants
5. critically endangered	When the youngest speakers are of the eldest generation, and they speak the language rarely and partially
6. extinct	When there are no speakers left to speak the language

Figure 2. Six Degrees of Languages' Endangerment in reference to Intergenerational Language Transmission as described by UNESCO (2003, p.8).

According to this classification by UNESCO and based on the sociolinguistic studies conducted in the past (e.g., Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1975; Tsitsipis, 1998; Liosis, 2007), yet most importantly, on the current sociolinguistic status of Arvanitika and its linguistic community, as reported in the present study (see 'Chapter 5'), one could assume that Arvanitika is found in the above classification between the 'severely endangered' and the 'critically endangered' status. In a different and broader classification (e.g., institutional-stable-endangered-extinct), Ethnologue classifies Arvanitika as 'endangered' language (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig, 2023). Regardless of the classification one follows, the endangerment of Arvanitika can be justified by both the aforementioned sources as much as by participants of the present study, something that could lead to a further assumption, that is, that today's Arvanitika speakers – the eldest ones who are bilingual in both Arvanitika and Greek – are possibly the last generation to speak the language.

3.3.6. Linguistic attitudes within the Arvanitika-speaking community

There have been a few (socio-)linguistic studies[26] recounting the attitudes of Arvanitika speakers towards their language (e.g., Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983; Tsitsipis 1998; Botsi, 2003; Liosis, 2007). I will, here, focus on some of their relevant findings as regards the linguistic attitudes towards Arvanitika, the ones containing the key dimensions on which this study was based.

The first study on the linguistic attitudes towards the Arvanitika language was a study carried out between 1973 and 1975 by Trudgill and Tzavaras (1975). The study took place in a number of Arvanitika villages in Attica and Boeotia; its main aim was to scrutinise the extent of language maintenance in Arvanitika, the level and nature of code-switching[27] occurring between Greek and Arvanitika, the linguistic change and intervention in Arvanitika, as well as the sociopolitical and educational discrimination of Arvanitika and its speakers as a linguistic minority in Greece (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983). The findings, particularly, included the attitudes of Arvanites towards their language, which seemed to be affected by the relation between language and identity.

Trudgill and Tzavaras (1975) found that there was a strong shift from Arvanitika to Greek, which appeared to be, partially, reflected in speakers' attitudes and, partially, caused by them. The results indicated negative attitudes towards the language on the part of younger in age Arvanitika speakers, neutral attitudes on the part of the middle-aged ones, and relatively positive attitudes on the part of the eldest ones (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983). According to Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983), negative attitudes included Arvanitika speakers' perception of the 'inferiority' of Arvanitika, something that was juxtaposed with and justified by the 'superiority' of Greek as a more classical, expressive language, which has a written status in contrast to Arvanitika. Furthermore, the answers were indicative of the ethnic group membership with Arvanites confirming their Greek ethnic identity, particularly stressing that they are not Albanians or Turks (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983). The arguments used by the eldest participants to support their use of Arvanitika included their perception of Arvanitika being more expressive

[26] It should be noted that Botsi's (2003) sociolinguistic study on the Arvanitika communities of Attica (Vilia) provides further insights on the sociolinguistic background of the linguistic community in question; yet its results were not included in this dissertation due to the fact that it is written in German, a language that is not included in the researcher's linguistic repertoire, which is why it was not possible to be cautiously studied.

[27] Code-switching describes the process of alternating languages in a conversation.

than Greek, more picturesque, better to use in certain topics, and a legacy they inherited by their ancestors. Such answers reveal the grading of the Arvanitika language as a solidarity code and Greek as a code of distance and power, as also explicitly described by Tsitsipis (1998).

With regards to the questions related to the disadvantages of speaking Arvanitika, younger participants pointed to the 'problems with children, with the opposite sex, and making a bad impression' as their opposing arguments (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983, p. 134). Contrarily, supporting arguments of the use of the language had to do with the solidarity use of the language such as that the language is more suitable for telling jokes and secrets, for talking to older people, and for fostering feelings of closeness to others (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983). The value speakers pay to the solidarity role of Arvanitika could be connected with the frequency of using it or the attitudes towards the intergenerational transmission and the maintenance of the language. Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) point out that during their research 'there were no signs of any Arvanitika revival movement' but they accepted the possibility that the covertly favourable expressed attitudes related with traits of solidarity, honesty and relationship of familiarity could contribute to the language's revival (p. 138).

According to Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983), the findings concerning the Arvanitika speakers' attitudes towards their language were, to a certain extent, controversial, divulging a conflict on their ethnic identity. Most informants answered that they are proud to be Arvanites, something which would normally oppose their negative attitudes towards the language. However, as Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) underline, at the same time they wanted to make clear that they are Greek.

Most importantly, the findings of Trudgill and Tzavaras' (1983) study showed an important, yet worrying outcome; younger speakers were not interested in transmitting Arvanitika to their descendants, as they believed that the language is of low status and it does not serve as a useful code to their social life and professional development. Another interesting issue arising in that study was the contradiction between ethnic and linguistic awareness; while most participants stated that they feel proud of their Arvanitika identity, at the same time, they did not attach much value to speaking the language (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983).

Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) identified a number of reasons, which led the younger terminal speakers of Arvanitika to express negative attitudes. Notably, the researchers attributed these attitudes to the eliminative policy of the Greek governments towards minority languages since WWII, with the educational system and the media being at the core of it. Moreover, the intolerance on the part of the Greek State towards linguistic and ethnic diversity has isolated minority languages in Greece as rural languages, which might have led to their further isolation as outdated, not sophisticated languages bearing low status (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983).

Another systematic sociolinguistic study on the Arvanitika language is that of Tsitsipis (1998) taking place in Kiriaki and Spata, Boeotia and Attica, respectively. Tsitsipis' work lies in the field of anthropological sociolinguistics, mainly focusing on linguistic ideologies and linguistic shift in the discourse of the speakers from Arvanitika to Greek as *societal praxis*. Moreover, Tsitsipis (1998) employs the terms *self-deprecation* and *subordination* to portray the speakers' view of the language as an inferior one. This reflects language shift to the dominant and more prestigious Greek and *linguistic ideology*, a term which has been formulated by Silverstein (1979) as 'any set of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use' (p. 193). Another concept in Tsitsipis' (1998) study is *heteroglossia,* which he described as the transition from the once 'peaceful coexistence of languages in a pre-industrial socio-economic mode of production by a battlefield in which the one linguistic code for intracommunity use is now opposing Greek, which expresses distance and power' (Tsitsipis, 1995, p. 546).

Tsitsipis did not aim at particularly investigating the Arvanitika speakers' attitudes towards Arvanitika, but since the notion of linguistic shift also entails latent information on the sociocultural framework of a language and its linguistic community, several features regarding the attitudes of Arvanites emerged among his findings. More specifically, negative attitudes towards Arvanitika were expressed by both fluent and terminal speakers. Their overt low esteem about Arvanitika, beside its solidarity use, was attributed by Tsitsipis to the long process of subordination resulting in self-depreciation (Tsitsipis, 1998). The outcome related to the terminal speakers described by Tsitsipis as *across-the-border voice* is of particular interest. In his review on Tsitsipis' work, Trudgill (2001) explains the term as:

> A way of expressing themselves and behaving linguistically which enables them to fullfil a dual role, that of a community insider, but an insider with a certain degree of critical distance. This is manifested not only in their relative linguistic incompetence but also in what they actually say, often expressed in what the author calls 'slim texts', meaning short utterances which express this critical distance (p. 115).

Tsitsipis (1998) further states that terminal speakers apart from being inadequate in their linguistic performance in Arvanitika, they were incompetent in their engagement to the narratives. An across-the-border voice, as it is observed in terminal speakers' narratives, was most likely the outcome of an objectivating attitude and conduct, which is explained by Tsitsipis (1998) as 'a universal of speakers' language awareness' (p. 99). Yet, at the same time, their speech included an intersubjective component. These two attitudes' coexistence indicated their struggle to 'negotiate a certain type of flexible group identity' (Tsitsipis, 1998, p. 101). Such ambivalent stances show both support and deprecation of their language and, according to Trudgill (2001), are very common in communities undergoing language shift, since people try to address a transitional situation, in which they also ought to be aware of the extent they consent to.

Tsitsipis (1998) further pointed to the fluent Arvanitika speakers' attitudes as also being quite ambiguous but surely to a lesser extent than those of the terminal speakers. Notably, fluent speakers expressed a positive cultural stance towards Arvanitika, but also pragmatism with respect to the linguistic and social change their community has been undergoing. Therefore, they seem to be shifting to Greek, as if they accept this shift as an expected consequence (Tsitsipis, 1998). Finally, Tsitsipis (1998) underlines that the solidarity use of Arvanitika did not serve as a deterrent to the expression of negative attitudes on the part of both fluent and terminal speakers.

Liosis' (2007) study revealed ambiguous attitudes on the part of the Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika. On the one hand, the speakers were negative towards their language and the Albanian-related identities attached to it so as to avoid stigmatisation. Liosis (2007) argues that the presence of Albanian migrants in Greece might have acted as a catalyst for Arvanitika's demise due to its effect on speakers' self-esteem and self-identification. The author underlines the negative connotation of the term 'Albanian' in the contemporary Greek society which is accompanied by preconceptions that are

unfavourable to the Albanian community and subsequently to the Arvanitika speakers due to their identification with the former. Liosis (2007) points out that such prejudices and stereotypes might have led the Arvanitika speakers to distance themselves from the Albanian identity/-ies often by pointing to the difficulties in mutual intelligibility between Arvanitika and Albanian, or by being dismissive of the Albanian language. These stereotypes may be to blame for the Arvanitika speakers' wish to distance themselves from the Albanian and, consequently, from the Arvanitika identity, too (Liosis, 2007).

On the other hand, the elder in age Arvanitika speakers were nostalgic about the past as a period when Arvanitika enjoyed some level of prestige and support. For those speakers, Arvanitika was attached to traditional ethics and solidarity among the members of the Arvanitika community, which ceased to exist along with the language (Liosis, 2007). According to Liosis (2007), several old speakers' strong emotional attachment to Arvanitika, their age, as well as their competence in Arvanitika were some of the reasons why they displayed positive attitudes. Younger 'terminal' speakers, however, also exhibited favourable attitudes towards Arvanitika, suggesting that the emotional attachment to the language may not necessarily be connected to speakers' level of competence. Positive attitudes were further related to Arvanitika being useful in conversing with Albanians, to its use as a secret communication and protection code mainly in the past, and to the fact that it is a language that you can learn for free. This latter viewpoint is in contrast to the speakers' view of Arvanitika being an 'inferior' language when contrasted to languages of a 'superior' status such as English and German which, according to several participants, are more useful languages than Arvanitika due to the tourism development, their teaching at school and their promotion through the media (Liosis, 2007). The Arvanitika speakers further juxtaposed Arvanitika with the 'superior' Greek language (and culture) attributing Arvanitika's 'inferiority' to its lack of written form, lack of official status and its non-equivalence to the Greek history and culture.

Liosis (2007) underlines that positive attitudes might have been superficial due to the formality of the questionnaire as much as due to a posteriori and positive attitudes towards Arvanitika exhibited from a safe distance regardless of speakers' competence and the spontaneous discourse of the interviews.

Liosis (2007) did not directly investigate the non-Arvanitika speakers' attitudes towards Arvanitika, but rather investigated them by means of asking the Arvanitika speakers about the formers' perception on the Arvanitika language and community. The author highlights that the said negative attitudes exhibited by part of the non-Arvanitika community towards Arvanitika and its speakers were expressed by his participants by means of referring specific terms used to stigmatise Arvanitika speakers as people of low cultural level. According to Liosis (2007), most Arvanitika speakers expressed their view that the members of the wider Greek society hold negative attitudes towards the Arvanitika community, language and origin.

The vast majority of the Arvanitika speakers participating in Liosis' (2007) study appeared to be aware of the upcoming extinction of their language. Regarding the use of Arvanitika, Liosis (2007) points out that the language has been either used in the form of jokes, curses and other similar forms of communication or has been just used by very old speakers, confirming the findings of the two aforementioned studies and signaling Arvanitika's fate.

3.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I first presented the sociolinguistic setting in Greece, referring to the (non)-protection of minority languages, as these have not been recognised by the Greek state. Moreover, I highlighted the negative impact of the dominant political attitudes on the trajectory of minority languages, in the sense that the latter has been dictated by a nation-centered ideology. In other words, I made the point that the State's intolerance of linguistic diversity, as well as past hostile policies in the name of Hellenization, the violation of linguistic rights, especially during the dictatorships, and the assimilative tactics such as the ban of speaking minority languages at school affected the trajectory of minority languages found on Greek territory.

Furthermore, I introduced the socio-historical and socio-linguistic background of Arvanitika. Regarding the former, I presented the sociohistorical course of Arvanitika, mentioning also the discrepancies on the population estimates that may be connected with the State's intolerance of minority languages. Regarding the socio-linguistic background of Arvanitika, a Tosk variety of Albanian, I highlighted the fact that the seven centuries long presence of Arvanites on the Greek territory has led to the loan and adoption of many Greek words as well as to the language's reduction and simplification.

Another point of interest I introduced in this chapter concerns the factors that contributed to Arvanitika's declining trajectory and to its current endangered status. Quite important among them are the turbulence caused by historical events that led to assimilation policies and to the minoritisation of Arvanitika and its speakers, the monolingual system of education, the speakers' experiences of discrimination, the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation, as well as the contact with other linguistic communities.

Finally, I provided insights emerging from past sociolinguistic studies on the ambiguous attitudes of Arvanitika speakers' regarding Arvanitika. Several speakers were found to perceive Arvanitika as inferior and not be willing to transmit it, while the more positive attitudes applied mainly to the solidarity use of Arvanitika with their close ones. What is more, terminal speakers showed a certain extent of self-deprecation and a struggle in negotiating a flexible group identity. While showing an ambiguity in their attitudes towards Arvanitika, old fluent speakers appeared to have positive

attitudes regarding their Arvanitika-related culture and they were nostalgic about the past when Arvanitika enjoyed some level of prestige and support. Moreover, several old speakers appeared to have a strong emotional bond with Arvanitika, which might be also connected with their high fluency in the language; yet as several younger speakers also showed positive attitudes, competence did not appear as an exclusive criterion for one's positive attitude towards the language. At the same time, speakers were found to be characterised by certain degree of pragmatism, something that also explains their shift towards the Greek language. Lastly, there is an assumption that the Albanian migration to Greece might have affected Arvanitika's demise. These findings are of great interest and they are going to be compared with the findings of the present study in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4. Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter, I explicitly present all the methodological steps of the present study. This begins with the rationale (see section 4.1.), followed by an introduction of the research design, recruitment methods (see sections 4.2. - 4.5.2.), research procedures of the pilot and main studies (see sections 4.6. - 4.6.2.2.), ethical considerations (see section 4.7.), and finally, the methodological approaches used for the analyses of the data (see sections 4.8. - 4.8.2.3.). The present chapter presents all processes taken place during the implementation of the study through their step-by-step description, as well as the thoughts and the outcomes of how and why the methods, the research questions, the changes upon the pilot studies and other procedures were employed.

4.1. Rationale

According to previous sociolinguistic studies on the Arvanitika community and language, it has been observed that older speakers' attitudes tended to shift from positive to negative and ambiguous attitudes over the years (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983; Tsitsipis, 1998; Liosis, 2007). Thus, the present study initially aimed at investigating the *current* linguistic attitudes of the Arvanitika-speaking community towards their language in order to provide *up to date* insights regarding today's sociolinguistic status of the Arvanitika language. Regardless of the fact that language attitudes of the Arvanitika linguistic community have been, to a certain extent, investigated in some of the past studies, their further investigation seemed important in order to see how the new generation of 'speakers' view Arvanitika. This research aims to contribute to our understanding of the trajectory of Arvanitika across time, and to, thoroughly, examine the reasons why it is as such through the investigation of the language attitudes of today's Arvanitika community. Furthermore, the present study includes regions that had not been investigated in older studies (Tsitsipis, 1998; Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1975; Liosis, 2007), such as the prefecture of Florina. Most importantly, this study investigates a variety of different regions and therefore a range of Arvanitika communities around Greece, which were now studied synchronically. Indeed, further

results have been collected by employing both qualitative and quantitative approaches, using the measures of semi-structured interviews, focus group sessions and questionnaires – the Matched-Guise Technique (MGT) initially included in the pilot studies was, eventually, excluded from the main study for the reasons explained in the relevant sub-chapter (see section 4.6.1.3.).

In addition to reporting new results on the Arvanitika communities' attitudes after a long gap in the relevant sociolinguistic research, and after having studied the available research of the past, I chanced upon research gaps, which I considered to be of great importance. These research gaps are dictated by the lack of studies on *a) the attitudes of the non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika,* and *b) the effect of the Albanian migration wave in the '90s on Arvanitika's trajectory towards endangerment/extinction. Question (a)* regarding the non-Arvanitika speakers' attitudes arose from the previously mentioned studies and the pilot results of the present study, reporting, for example, on oppression practices within the Greek monolingual context, such as education, as well as stigmatisation incidents that some of the speakers experienced in the past. In view of today's Arvanitika's endangered status, *question (a)* was viewed as potentially providing fruitful information in relation to the role of the wider community in the process of Arvanitika's decline. *Question (b)* regarding the effect of the '90s-Albanian migration on Arvanitika's declining trajectory and endangerment state arose from our knowledge that there is, undoubtedly, mutual intelligibility between (Tosk) Albanian and Arvanitika, as was, also, reported by participants of the present study. What was further reported by participants in the pilot studies is that, at least during the first years of the Albanian migration to Greece, Arvanitika served as the *basic means of communication* between the Albanian migrants and the Arvanitika speakers in Greece. Thus, it is striking how the language has reached its current dying status even though it has, supposedly, been used once as the only means of communication between the Arvanitika speakers and the Albanian migrants. The assumption one could make is that mutual intelligibility and the use of Arvanitika as a Lingua Franca between the two aforementioned groups of speakers has led to a temporary 'revival' of Arvanitika even for a short period of time. However, after that temporary 'revival', what were the reasons why the Arvanitika language has followed a declining trajectory in the years following the migration and onwards, leading to its endangerment today? Therefore, this study addresses this crucial question, as well.

With respect to the timing of this study, this was considered critical given that the eldest speakers – in this study those taking part in the interviews and the focus group sessions – represent the last generation of fluent Arvanitika speakers and the last generation to have experienced both the linguistic oppression in the past, from the Metaxas dictatorship (1936-1941) onwards, and the Albanian migration to Greece during the '90s. Assimilation practices that today's older speakers of Arvanitika had experienced in the past are considered crucial in potentially having an effect on their attitudes, yet, also on the attitudes of the middle-aged and younger generation(s) of Arvanitika speakers which might have been shaped through their post-memory, even though they were not directly exposed to those practices.

Finally, the lack of recently reported sociolinguistic studies on the Arvanitika communities of Greece played a major role in my decision to carry out the pilot studies, which proved to be invaluable for the formation of purposeful research questions adapted to the linguistic community and language in question.

4.2. Participants

4.2.1. Sample size

The sample size of the present study was estimated with respect to the target population(s) taking into consideration the sociocultural setting in which participants are found. Dörnyei (2007) recommends investigating between 1% and 10% of the population in question and 'a minimum of 100 participants as a rule of thumb' to adequately describe its features (p. 99). Nonetheless, it would not be wise to generalise this or any other models suggesting specific percentages of participants to be recruited in studies, as each population has unique sociocultural, linguistic, and geographical features, while other factors at play are also significant, such as the lack of recent and reliable censuses to serve as a basis. The sociocultural, linguistic and geographical characteristics of the Arvanitika-speaking community in Greece are unique as they constitute an under-investigated linguistic community, the population of which remains vague to date. Furthermore, the closeness of this community, at times, brought about several challenges for the researcher in attempting to approach them as an outsider of

their community. Taking the aforementioned facts into consideration, it could be argued that the response rate on the part of the Arvanitika-speaking participants to the questionnaires turned out to be considerably high, as 105 Arvanitika speakers participated in the quantitative part of the study. When speaking of a linguistic minority of an endangered language like Arvanitika, this number could be perceived as an adequate number of participants. Nevertheless, in any case, the employment of triangulation – the combination of both quantitative and qualitative approaches – could overcome the potential limitations of a small-scale sample. With respect to the non-Arvanitika speakers, 194 could be considered as a rather adequate number of participants, as well, given the COVID-19 limitations, which, however, also offered the advantage of recruiting participants from various regions and backgrounds, as the questionnaires of the main study were distributed online (see section 4.6.2.1.).

4.2.1.1. Participants taking part in the questionnaire task: Arvanitika and non-Arvanitika speakers

4.2.1.1.1. Arvanitika speakers

The Arvanitika-speaking participants taking part in the quantitative part of this study were 105 in total, 47 of which were females and 58 were males. The age of the Arvanitika speakers who filled in the questionnaire ranged between 18 and 88 years old and their average age was 48.5 years. The vast majority of the Arvanitika speakers who participated in the questionnaire task originate from Attica, Florina, Argolis, Euboea, Boeotia, Thessaloniki, Thesprotia, Salamis island, and Fthiotis.

4.2.1.1.2. Non-Arvanitika speakers

Out of the 194 non-Arvanitika-speaking participants who completed the second questionnaire, 138 were females and 56 were males. Their age ranged from 18 to 83 years old and their average age was 37.5 years. Participants of this group originate from various regions, such as Thesprotia, Kavala, Larisa, Rodopi, Arkadia, Albania, Kithira, Ioannina, Argolis, Lakonia, Serres, Crete, Achaia, Attica, Boeotia, Corinth, Ptolemais, Corfu, Florina, Kozani, Thessaloniki, Orestias, Pella, Alexandroupolis, Magnesia, and Tripolis.

4.2.1.2. Participants taking part in the interviews and focus groups: Arvanitika speakers

As regards the qualitative part of the study, 10 interviews with 21 Arvanitika speakers were carried out in total, of which 8 participants were interviewed in the form of individual interviews and 13 in the form of two focus group sessions. The first focus group (FG1) consisted of 2 participants while the second focus group (FG2) consisted of 11 participants. All interviews were conducted face-to-face, as opposed to the collection of the questionnaires, which, for the most part, were distributed and completed online. The Arvanitika-speaking participants taking part in the interviews and focus groups were between 46 and 107 years old, and they were of different backgrounds (e.g., origin, level of education, socioeconomic background). Participants of this group originate from Attica, Florina, Argolis and Boeotia. The profile of the Arvanitika-speaking participants who took part in the qualitative part of this study is the following:

4.2.1.2.1. One-to-one interviews

Participant 1: 96-year-old female from Attica, former owner of a shop.

Participant 2: 107-year-old female from Attica, former public servant.

Participant 3: 93-year-old male from Attica, former shepherd.

Participant 4: 62-year-old male from Boeotia, former military officer.

Participant 5: 96-year-old female from Attica, former farmer.

Participant 6: 73-year-old male from Attica, former driver of municipal vehicles.

Participant 7: 87-year-old female from Attica, former farmer.

Participant 8: 50-year-old male from Florina, instructor.

4.2.1.2.2. Focus groups

Focus Group 1: 2 females between 83 and 87 years old from Florina, former farmer and former teaching assistant.

Focus Group 2: 2 females and 9 males between 46 and 90 years old from Argolis. Among them, there was a teacher, a priest and most of the other participants were farmers.

To sum up, the total sample in the present study consisted of 320 participants, of which 21 participants participated in the qualitative part – either in one-to-one interviews or focus group sessions – and 299 took part in the quantitative part, the questionnaire task. The two samples are distinct which means that the 21 participants of the qualitative part of the study did not take part in the quantitative part and vice versa.

4.2.2. Selection criteria

The Arvanitika-speaking participants of this study were members of the Arvanitika communities in Greece. Thus, the only criterion for their participation was to be a *member of the Arvanitika community* and to be able to *speak at least a few words* in Arvanitika. This wide range of participants' competence in Arvanitika was allowed for three reasons: First, because if the semi-speakers were excluded, there would most likely not be a decent number of participants available, as fluent speakers are currently rarely found and these are, for the most part, of the eldest generation; Second, if just the eldest members of the Arvanitika community took part in the study, there would be no comparisons between the different age groups' attitudes. This being said, 'Age' was proven to be a key variable in previous sociolinguistic studies on the Arvanitika language (e.g., Tsitsipis, 1998; Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1975); most importantly, the attitudes of today's youngest generation of Arvanitika speakers are of equal importance as those of the eldest generation speakers, particularly, as this study's interest also includes Arvanitika's trajectory. Indeed, comparisons between different age groups appear to be crucial in this linguistic community as the language has been experienced in different ways by participants of different age groups across time, including in the '90s when Arvanitika temporarily flourished and then followed a declining trajectory. Thirdly, as language is not an exclusive indicator of one's membership in a linguistic and cultural community, attitudes of the semi-speakers – thus, for the most part, of those who belong in the youngest generation – could be also fruitful in understanding their sense of belonging and their positioning(s) within the Arvanitika community as well as their perception of the Arvanitika language. In other words, other aspects might appear as consequential or necessary for Arvanitika participants in considering themselves members of the Arvanitika community (e.g., origin). The views of these participants

are also of utmost importance for the present study, especially bearing in mind that these are encompassed in their attitudes towards their language, which is the key topic under investigation in the present study.

With respect to the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, these were members of the wider Greek community, thus the only criterion for their selection was for them to *reside in Greece*, and *not to be members of the Arvanitika community*, meaning neither having origin from an Arvanitika family nor speaking the Arvanitika language. Furthermore, I chose not to limit the sample of this group of participants in terms of their location (e.g., only participants living nearby Arvanitika-speaking regions). Thus, there are participants coming from villages that surround several Arvanitika-speaking villages, as well as participants from a variety of other regions throughout Greece. This range in participants' place of origin or residence allows for comparisons between non-Arvanitika speakers who, for instance, hold relationships with Arvanitika speakers or come from the surrounding to the Arvanitika-speaking regions, and those who do not have any tights with the Arvanitika communities or are not exposed to the Arvanitika language, whatsoever.

4.2.3. Extending the sample: inclusion of the non-Arvanitika speakers

The non-Arvanitika speakers were initially not included in the target sample of this study. However, upon analysing the pilot questionnaires and interviews with regard to the attitudes of the Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika, a new question came to the fore: *what are the attitudes of the non-Arvanitika-speaking community, thus of the wider Greek society, towards the Arvanitika language?* This question arose from one critical theme that emerged from the pilot studies and was related to the *discrimination* that Arvanitika speakers have experienced due to speaking Arvanitika. Furthermore, to date, the non-Arvanitika community *has not been investigated* with respect to this group's language attitudes and views towards Arvanitika, something that could potentially provide fruitful information on the trajectory of the language over the years as well as serve as a *supportive argument* for the interpretation of the overall results of this study. With regard to the role of the social setting and of the wider community in the sustainability of endangered languages, Crystal (2000) describes endangered languages

as the languages 'spoken by enough people to make survival a possibility, but only in favourable circumstances and with a growth in community support' (p. 20). Therefore, it was considered important to investigate – along with the Arvanitika speakers – the members of the wider Greek society, the non-speakers of Arvanitika, in order to elicit information regarding their role – if any – in Arvanitika's decline.

The preliminary finding of 'discrimination' in the pilot studies was the one that raised the question of whether, and to what extent, the non-Arvanitika-speaking community has had an impact on the endangerment of the Arvanitika language. Despite the logical implications stated in previous studies (Tsitsipis, 1983; Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1975; Tsitsipis, 1998; Liosis, 2007), no systematic studies have been found to have investigated the attitudes of non-Arvanitika-speaking people towards Arvanitika by including this population in their sample[28]. In several studies investigating language attitudes, worldwide, significant differences in attitudes were found between speakers and non-speakers of the language under investigation. For example, in their study on teachers' attitudes towards Welsh, Coupland, Williams and Garrett (1994) reported significant differences between the Welsh-speaking and non-Welsh-speaking teachers. Non-Welsh speakers downgraded the prestige and dynamism of the Cardiff and north-east varieties of Welsh.

The hypothesis that people's attitudes outside the linguistic community in question play a role to the trajectory of the latter (minority) language along with the lack of studies on the attitudes of the non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika indicated the need for the examination of this group of participants' perceptions and attitudes towards the Arvanitika language.

Furthermore, the initial aim of the present study was, among others, to investigate the attitudes of the non-Arvanitika speakers who reside nearby Arvanitika speakers, as in the Arvanitika-speaking regions where the pilot studies took place – face-to-face prior to the COVID-19 outbreak – a great number of the neighbouring villages are inhabited by bilingual speakers of both Greek and other minority languages, such as Vlach, Pontic Greek, and Macedonian. However, it was then decided for the sample of these participants to be further extended to the non-Arvanitika speakers who are not just from

[28] Liosis (2007) investigated, to a certain extent, attitudes on non-speakers towards Arvanitika, yet by means of asking Arvanitika speakers about the formers' views regarding Arvanitika, and not by directly asking them as a second group of participants.

the surrounding to Arvanitika-speaking regions, as this would allow for comparisons between those who are neighbours to Arvanitika speakers or are exposed to the language, and those who do not have any relations with members of the Arvanitika community. Therefore, participants of this group were not necessarily speakers of other minority language(s). The only criterion for their recruitment was *not to be members of the Arvanitika community* – and, consequently, *not to be speakers of Arvanitika*.

4.3. Recruitment method

For the recruitment of participants, the *Snowball Sampling* was employed. The Snowball Sampling is 'a non-probability sampling technique where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances' (Denzin, 2010, p. 67). This recruitment method was chosen as the number of the actual Arvanitika speakers appears to be limited and vague, according to previous censuses and studies (see Figure 1), as well as because a number of Arvanitika-speaking participants appeared *reluctant* in taking part in the study, mainly due to the fact that the researcher, myself, is an *outsider* to their community. The same recruitment method was further used for the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, and allowed for the recruitment of a large number of participants during the COVID-19 pandemic.

4.4. Key people

During the informant-seeking process, the role of key people proved to be determinant. In each region where the study took place – especially when I visited the Arvanitika-speaking villages in person – there was at least one person who helped me meet up with participants who would then be interviewed or that would be administered a questionnaire. A major key person in this study, who accompanied me in the area of Attica, was a female Arvanitika speaker at her 60s from an Arvanitika community in a suburb of Athens of approximately 30.000 inhabitants. This particular key person assisted in recruiting the majority of the interviewees coming from Attica but also in administering questionnaires, as well as in recruiting participants for the pilot MGT. Moreover, part of the field work took place in this key person's residence, while, in

other cases, being the main link between participants and the researcher, she attended several interviews that took place in participants' residences and in coffee houses. In other regions, such as Argolis, the key person was a fellow student of the researcher who helped in the recruitment of participants from an Arvanitika-speaking village in the Argolis prefecture. In the region of Florina, the key person was an acquaintance of the researcher who lives and works in the Florina prefecture.

4.5. Measures in data collection

4.5.1. Triangulation

I chose to implement the *methods triangulation* in the form of both qualitative and quantitative approaches for the data collection (and the analyses), using the respective qualitative measures of one-to-one semi-structured interviews and focus group sessions, and the quantitative measures of questionnaires and the Matched-Guise Technique; yet the latter was only used in the pilot study and was then excluded from the main study. 'Methods triangulation', the combination of different methods in research, was chosen in order to extract more accurate results as this model of research aims to combine and accentuate the strengths of each separate method while it, simultaneously, minimises their possible shortcomings and partiality (Denzin, 2010). For example, qualitative methods, such as interviews, are more likely to appertain to *social desirability bias* (Oppenheim, 1992), which occurs in instances when participants are reluctant to express their real views to the researcher (e.g., providing information which they think that would please the researcher), as interviews allow for participants' identification (Grimm, 2010). An example of social desirability bias could be that, in a study investigating attitudes towards the environment, participants might respond in a way showing they care for the environment as they think that society or the researcher expects them to do so, yet in reality they might be indifferent towards it (Grimm, 2010). Due to such potential weaknesses of the qualitative approaches, the quantitative method of questionnaires is also used complementarily to the interviews and confirms or questions the results of the latter. By the same token, questionnaires have been related to *acquisition bias* as they often 'present moderate, middle-of-the-road responses, or affirmative responses' in a more exaggerated light or significance

(Hui & Triandis, 1989, as cited in Hua, 2016, p. 168). An example of acquisition bias could be that most participants in a study choose neutral responses. Some researchers address this issue by removing neutral items from a Likert scale (Hua, 2016), yet such a strategy would not allow for potential neutrality in participants' attitudes to be expressed. Therefore, in this case semi-structured interviews could enhance and clarify such results. It is evident that no perfect method exists, as the avoidance of any kind of bias cannot be fully guaranteed. For this reason, the best we can do is minimise bias as much as possible by using triangulation or by assuring anonymity and confidentiality so that participants feel comfortable to report their real attitudes, beliefs and/or opinions (Hua, 2016). Especially for a small-scale study, triangulation seems suitable in order to confirm the suppositions made in the interviews or focus groups sessions through the questionnaire results (Hua, 2016).

4.5.2. Questionnaires

The questionnaires were chosen as a suitable quantitative means for measuring the attitudes of the participants through Likert-scale statements and collecting a large number of participants' demographic data. Apart from the Likert scale statements, the questionnaires included open-ended and multiple-choice questions. The questionnaires aimed at providing solid results on the attitudes of the Arvanitika population, which were then compared with the results emerging from the interviews and the focus group sessions (see Chapter 6).

Regarding the Likert scale attitudinal statements, both questionnaires – the one distributed to the Arvanitika speakers and the one distributed to the non-Arvanitika speakers – were, partially, based on Schmied's (1991) study on attitudes towards English in Africa (for the type of questions), and on Trudgill and Tzavaras' (1983) and Liosis' (2007) studies (for part of the content of the questions). Schmied's (1991) questionnaire consisted of Likert scale statements representing principal thematic categories as well as both negative and positive connotations in their wording. This means that a number of statements were worded in a way expressing negative attitudes towards English while the rest of the statements were worded in a way expressing positive attitudes towards English. However, unlike the questionnaire(s) used in the

present study, Schmied's statements derived from several media sources and were classified in categories such as 'communicative arguments', 'national arguments' and 'personal arguments'.

In the present study, with regard to the Likert scale statements, I opted for the thematic categories (or factors) which emerged from the Factor Analysis of the pilot questionnaire (see section 4.8.1.1.). These thematic categories also aligned with some of the themes emerging from the one-to-one pilot interviews (e.g., 'language maintenance, preservation and revival' and 'official recognition'). This process made the formation of the main tool (specifically the Likert scale statements) more purposeful for the current study on today's Arvanitika-speaking communities. Moreover, the use of both negative and positive wording in the statements aided in avoiding bias in participants' choices as well as potential bias that could also occur on the part of the researcher. Furthermore, the attitudinal statements were presented on a 5-point Likert scale with number 1 coinciding with 'I strongly agree' and number 5 with 'I strongly disagree'. I did not include numbers nor labels between these two extremes as I rather intended to elicit the *trends* of participants' attitudes instead of specifying them with providing a specific label (e.g., I agree). The *order* of the attitudinal statements was also *not random*. I deliberately avoided placing statements of the same factor (thematic category) in a row or statements bearing positive/negative connotation for Arvanitika in a row (e.g., three statements of negative connotation in a row). Despite their apparent randomised order, statements were presented in a way that would keep participants on the qui vive in order not to lapse into bias.

The final questionnaire administered to the Arvanitika speakers consisted of 48 items in total (Appendix A). Three types of questions were included in the questionnaire: *(a)* open-ended questions, *(b)* multiple-choice questions, and *(c)* Likert scale statements. With respect to *(a)*, the open-ended questions, these concerned: 1) participants' perceptions of the number of the Arvanitika speakers and the Arvanitika-speaking regions they are aware of, 2) demographic questions, 3) how they would characterise someone speaking Arvanitika, 4) whether the Albanian migration have had an impact on the trajectory of Arvanitika towards its extinction, and 5) what reasons for Arvanitika was led to its decline according to participants. With regard to *(b)*, the multiple-choice questions, these concerned: 1) demographic questions, 2) questions on the Arvanitika language use (e.g., fluency, contexts, frequency), 3) questions on participants' mother

tongue, 4) questions on intergenerational transmission, and 5) questions aiming to elicit what Arvanitika means to them. Regarding *(c)*, the 28 Likert scale statements aimed at eliciting participants' attitudes towards Arvanitika. Each statement belongs in one of the thematic categories (factors) that emerged from the Factor Analysis after the pilot studies were conducted (see section 5.4.).

The final questionnaire administered to the non-Arvanitika speakers consisted of 36 items in total (Appendix A). Based on the first questionnaire, this second questionnaire also included the following three types of questions: *(a)* open-ended questions, *(b)* multiple-choice questions, and *(c)* Likert scale statements. With respect to (*a)*, the open-ended questions, these concerned: 1) participants' perceptions of the number of the Arvanitika speakers and the Arvanitika-speaking regions they are aware of, 2) demographic questions, 3) how they would characterise someone speaking Arvanitika, 4) whether the Albanian migration have had an impact on the trajectory of Arvanitika towards its extinction, 5) what reasons for Arvanitika came to its decline according to participants, 6) what participants think of Arvanitika, and 7) questions on the languages they speak, other than their mother tongue. With regard to *(b)*, the multiple-choice questions, these concerned: 1) demographic questions, 2) questions on participants' mother tongue, 3) questions on their potential contact or relation with Arvanitika speakers, 4) questions on their exposure to Arvanitika, and 5) whether they attempted learning and/or speaking Arvanitika. Regarding *(c)*, the 15 Likert scale statements aimed at eliciting participants' attitudes towards Arvanitika. Each statement belongs in one of the thematic categories (factors) that emerged from the Factor Analysis after the pilot studies were conducted (see section 5.4.). Two thematic categories were not included in the questionnaire of this group of participants, namely 'Oppression, discrimination and stigmatisation' and 'Solidarity use of Arvanitika', as the non-Arvanitika speakers could not have any relevant experiences dictated by these specific themes.

4.5.3. Interviews and focus groups

In this study, the interviews and the focus group sessions were conducted as qualitative approaches provide rich data on the nature of particular settings that quantitative methods cannot provide in such depth.

Semi-structured interviews were preferred to structured ones, as these provided the space for village communities to feel more comfortable in expressing their opinions and emotions (Spardley, 1979). A second reason why semi-structured interviews were chosen was for 'the interview to be guided by the schedule rather than be dictated by it' and as an attempt to build rapport with the interviewees, shed light on interesting matters that arise during the procedure, as well as, to encourage the informants to talk about their concerns on the issue (Smith, 2008, p. 58). Therefore, semi-structured interviews were expected to follow a bottom-up path, allowing participants to be heard and feel free to tell their own stories. These stories might have been connected to the initial research questions but, allow for *further themes* to come up. The *bottom-up or data driven approach* was, thus, chosen as 'it allows patterns and tentative hypothesis to emerge from analysis' that could not be identified in the beginning of the study (Hua, 2016, p. 182). More importantly, the perceptions and thoughts of the participants were considered as equally important to the initial research questions aiding in the *emergence of new thematic categories*, which are *meaningful* to the Arvanitika community and, consequently, to the present study.

For clarification purposes, it is important to, first, explain what constitutes a focus group. According to Hua (2016) 'a focus group interview is a type of interview, which is an organised discussion with a selected group of individuals to elicit their views on a topic' (p. 182). The focus group sessions were chosen as they allow for participants' interaction providing, at the same time, diversity in the discussion that potentially leads to the elicitation of further consequential concepts (Hua, 2016). Moreover, the focus groups proved useful in one other way, that is, when, in a few cases, the researcher's access to the community was denied, participants felt secure and provided access in the presence of other speakers of their community (e.g., their relatives or friends) who then participated in the focus group sessions.

The final set of questions that was used in both the interviews and the focus group sessions consisted of 25 questions (Appendix A). These included several demographic questions (e.g., age, sex, education, occupation), questions on the participants' mother tongue and the regions where Arvanitika is spoken according to participants' perception, questions on their competence in Arvanitika, and questions on the contexts in which they use(d) it in the past and at present. The above questions were similar to the ones in the quantitative tool in order to compare the data emerging from both methods (see Chapter 6). The same applies for the questions that followed, which were partially based on the questionnaires of Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) and Liosis (2007), including questions about Arvanitika being taught at school, participants' experiences regarding speaking Arvanitika at school in the past, questions on the preservation of Arvanitika, on its intergenerational transmission, and questions about the role of the State in potentially protecting and preserving the language. This was done for the purpose of comparing the new results with the relevant results of the past studies, when applicable. Furthermore, there were questions on the lack of Arvanitika's written status and on whether this has affected the language's trajectory, questions on the potential revival of Arvanitika, its state of endangerment, whether participants spoke it with Albanian migrants and whether the Albanian migration to Greece has had an impact on Arvanitika's trajectory.

It is important to mention that participants of the interviews were of the eldest generation of Arvanitika speakers, which means that they form an excellent source of information as some of them have experienced past events, such as the language oppression during the Metaxas dictatorship, the post-war period, as well as the Albanian migration to Greece in the '90s.

4.6. Research procedures

4.6.1. Pilot studies

The two pilot studies included both qualitative and quantitative approaches, more specifically interviews and questionnaires, in order to put together a valid protocol for the measures of the main study. The need of conducting two pilot studies was dictated by the fact that the questionnaire(s) – even though partially based on Schmied's (1991) study (regarding the type of questions), and on Trudgill and Tzavaras' (1983) and Liosis' (2007) studies (regarding the content of the questions) – was constructed from scratch, thus, the reliability and validity of the tool needed to be tested. Reliability refers to the stability and consistency in participants' answers, while validity confirms that the tool measures what it aimed to measure (Hua, 2016).

The first pilot study was carried out in March 2019 in a suburb of Athens, a small town of approximately 30.000 residents, and the second one in August 2019 in a village in Florina of approximately 1.000 residents. Furthermore, one of the pilot interviews took place in Athens in April 2019 with a participant from a village in Boeotia of approximately 3.300 residents. Both pilot studies were carried out face-to-face a few months before the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak.

4.6.1.1. Pilot questionnaires

The pilot studies raised several thematic categories according to which the final questionnaire(s) was formed. Pencil-and-paper questionnaires were administered to 17 Arvanitika-speaking participants, 5 in the first pilot study in Attica, and 12 in the second pilot study in Florina. The two questionnaires – one for each pilot study – were slightly different, since several questions were added to the second one in order to accommodate all emerging themes from the first pilot study. The second tool – the one used in the second pilot study – consisted of more than 60 questions in total (the Likert scale items alone were 51).

4.6.1.1.1. Outcome of pilot questionnaire(s): weaknesses and modification of the initial tool

Fatigue effect & social desirability bias: The length of the pilot questionnaire led to the *fatigue effect*. This applied to all participants taking part in the pilot study regardless of their age, yet especially to the eldest ones. For this reason, it was decided to trim the questionnaire down. Another outcome of the pilot studies was the potential *social desirability bias* on the part of both the researcher and the participants, as eldest participants – over 80 years old – were orally asked the questions (including the Likert scale statements) and answers were often vaguely given. For instance, when participants were asked to indicate a number on the 5-point Likert scale, it was not always easy for them to do so, as they did not fill in the questionnaire on their own, thus they ended up answering vaguely; under these circumstances, it was on the researcher's judgment which number would be circled according to what was perceived from participants' reaction.

Re-evaluation of inclusion criteria: For the above reason it seemed relevant to prioritise participants of younger and middle-aged groups in the questionnaire task of the main study, yet not excluding the old ones in case some of them were able to fill in the questionnaire on their own. The variable of 'Age' was used in comparing participants' attitudes of all age groups, younger, middle-aged and older ones, as these emerged from the questionnaires and the interviews. The demographic question of 'Age' was left open

and participants' age was classified into three categories corresponding to younger, middle-aged and older participants for the purposes of the analysis of the main study.

4.6.1.2. Pilot interviews

For the purposes of the pilot studies, one-to-one interviews with four Arvanitika speakers were carried out, of whom three were from Attica and one from Boeotia. These are participants 1, 2, 3 and 4 (see section 4.2.1.2.1.). The pilot interviews remain part of the data of the main study for five reasons: *(a)* their rich content was considered of utmost importance for the study, *(b)* as some of the participants were over 80 years old, the time they dedicated for the interviews was considered invaluable, *(c)* a second interview might have led to a bias as participants would be aware of the questions asked, *(d)* due to the pandemic outbreak a few months after the pilot studies, it would be rather difficult to meet these participants in person again, *(e)* fluent Arvanitika speakers who belong in the eldest generation and form a great source of information were difficult to find, which along with the reluctance of several Arvanitika-speaking participants in speaking to the researcher as an outsider of their community led to the decision of including the pilot interviews in the main study.

4.6.1.2.1. Outcome of pilot interviews: weaknesses and modification of the initial tool

As regards the weaknesses of the old set of questions that were revealed during the pilot interviews as well as the modifications that were made onwards, a few examples are presented below.

Removing questions: One question was completely removed as it was proved to be challenging for participants to understand the meaning it conveyed, most likely due to the non-clear wording of it. The initial question was 'Could you tell us some of the features of the Arvanitika language and tradition?'. This question was replaced by a similar one that was more focused on the Arvanitika people, that is, 'Are there any personality traits connected with the Arvanitika speakers?'. That question was accompanied by an example of a characteristic phrase connected with the Arvanitika

people in order to assist the participants' understanding of the connotation (e.g., in Greek: 'αρβανίτικο κεφάλι', in English: 'stubborn as a mule'). This specific question was added in order to elicit personality traits – attached to members of the Arvanitika communities – as these are perceived by speakers themselves and it was first thought that it could be compared with the results emerging from the MGT (e.g., labels representing speakers' views on the Arvanitika community and language). Despite the fact that the MGT was, eventually, removed from the main study (see section 4.6.1.3.), the question asking about Arvanitika people's personality traits managed to elicit speakers' attitudes towards Arvanitika with respect to several features like the role of the Arvanite women in the Arvanitika community (see section 5.16.).

Adding questions: Apart from modifying questions such as the above, during the pilot interviews, a number of participants felt the need to express their emotions about Arvanitika. This observation led to including further questions in the final set that would aim at eliciting participants' feeling towards their language such as 'What does Arvanitika mean to you?'. As the study followed a bottom-up approach, it was considered important to include questions like the aforementioned one in the sense of respecting and being consistent with participants' needs, as well as in terms of deploying a great source of data connected with their attitudes and views towards the Arvanitika community and language. This was viewed as a great opportunity for investigating aspects of participants' views on Arvanitika that are truly meaningful to them, and as a consequence, purposeful for the study per se.

Furthermore, outcomes emerging from the pilot interviews led to the formation of new questions that were then included in the quantitative tool, the final questionnaire(s). For example, during the pilot interviews, Arvanitika speakers stated that they had used the Arvanitika language extensively in the '90s to communicate with Albanian migrants. Such a statement leads to the logical assumption that the language flourished during that period. Therefore, a question was added that aimed at eliciting participants' views and attitudes regarding the unexpected decline of Arvanitika upon its temporary 'revival' during the Albanian migration to Greece, that is, 'Did the Albanian migration affect the trajectory of Arvanitika towards its extinction? If so, in what way?'. This question was included in the questionnaire(s) of both the Arvanitika and the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants as an open-ended question.

4.6.1.3. Pilot Matched-Guise Technique

4.6.1.3.1. The method

Apart from the pilot interviews and pilot questionnaires, the indirect method called the Matched-Guise Technique was also used to elucidate speakers' attitudes towards their language. Due to research technical issues that I explain here, this technique was not included later in the main study. However, the relevant research process is worth mentioning. MGT belongs to the approaches that intend to elicit and evaluate speakers' attitudes with the *speaker evaluation paradigm*, an umbrella term used to describe all the indirect methods of attitude elicitation of speech perception experiments (Hua, 2016). It is a tool initially employed by Lambert and his associates in the 1960s (Lambert *et al.,* 1960) to investigate people's attitudes toward social, geographical, or ethnic language varieties – English and Canadian French – in bi-multilingual environments. This indirect method is 'considered to form the foundation of the social psychological perspective of language attitudes' (Ryan, Hewstone, & Giles, 1984, as cited in Hua, 2016, p. 198). In the present study, the MGT was expected to provide indications on the expressed attitudes of the Arvanitika speakers through the evaluative dimensions of 'solidarity' and 'status', which have been shown to be key dimensions related to the Arvanitika-speaking community in the past (Tsitsipis, 1998).

MGT avoids conscious reflection by compelling participants to listen to examples of the varieties under investigation – in this case Arvanitika and Greek, the latter as a control language – structured as recorded text clauses. The recordings were produced by bilingual speakers – in both Arvanitika and Greek – who delivered the same text twice, once in each language. Those recordings constitute the *experimental stimuli* (Hua, 2016). The 'judges' – as the participants whose attitudes are being investigated are called – would be then asked to assess the recorded speakers under the criteria of personality traits (e.g., 'leadership', 'intelligence', 'sociability' etc.) ranked in the categories of different evaluative dimensions. An example of this is the three-dimensional frame of language attitudes' evaluation introduced by Giles (1970, as cited in Hua, 2016), also called 'pleasantness-comfort-status'. To avoid any potential bias in the experiment, the respondents remained unaware of the fact that each of the passages is performed by the same speaker twice, in matched-guises. It is important for the two

samples to be perfectly identical in terms of the content and pace of reading with the only exception being the language. In this way, the language becomes the only differential variable, the only criterion in the informants' evaluation. Thence, the effects of the speakers' voices and the semantic content of the text would be decreased and other possibly influential aspects (e.g., physical appearance) would be ruled out (Hua, 2016).

Even though the MGT has been extensively used in 'language attitudes' studies, it has also been criticised by some researchers. For instance, Agheyisi and Fishman (1970, as cited in Hua, 2016), argue that the MGT cannot elicit reliable results regarding attitudes in a bilingual environment as 'in such settings, language choices are highly dependent on factors such as domain, topic, location, role and interaction type' (p. 205).

4.6.1.3.2. The text

The neutrality of the text was an issue that had to be taken into consideration. In order to diminish the risk of the respondents' judgment being affected by other variables of the experiment (e.g., the content of the text) rather than focusing on the speaker, a factually neutral, uncontroversial, unpolitical, and trivial text had to be chosen. Most importantly, the text had to be language-unrelated and it should not include 'any lexical items that identify it as originating from, or being more appropriate for one of the varieties under investigation' – in our case Greek and Arvanitika (Hua, 2016, p. 199).

Therefore, in an effort to avoid such risks, a text of a paragraph length was, initially, composed from scratch in the Greek language and was then translated into the Arvanitika language with the assistance of my Director of Studies, a member of the Arvanitika community herself, as well as of five more Arvanitika speakers, aged between 60 and 70 years, two of which evaluate themselves as fluent speakers of Arvanitika, while the other three as semi-speakers. Also, all participants claimed to have good listening comprehension skills in Arvanitika. All speakers assisting in the translation of the text into Arvanitika were from a specific town located in the suburbs of Athens, Attica, and not from any surrounding regions. This was a deliberate choice as, according to participants, there are differences from one region to another, especially in the vocabulary, despite the language continuum among the neighbouring villages and

other towns in Attica and Boeotia. Thus, by limiting the choice of speakers' origin to this small town, the text strived for homogeneity in its content and for the lexical items to be comprehensible to the participants that would then listen to the recordings.

Under the above criteria, it was decided that the description of a house would serve as an appropriate text. The initial text was one-paragraph and was composed by myself in Greek. For the purposes of the translation into Arvanitika, the Greek text was attempted to consist of plain lexical items and syntax, short sentences, as well as, a content suitable for both language communities – Arvanitika and Greek –, which in this setting would be the description of a house potentially belonging to either of the two cultural communities. The Arvanitika text was written in the Greek alphabet (see the following section).

4.6.1.3.3. Outcomes of the MGT recordings: limitations and challenges

Notwithstanding the employment of these criteria, the initial text was not possible to be translated into Arvanitika due to the fact that many of the Greek words either did no longer exist, were simplified, or reduced in Arvanitika, or the speakers, regardless of their fluency, were not familiar with. Another difficulty emerging at that point was that the house in the initial description could not possibly belong to an Arvanitika-speaking family, which means that the text would be unable to stay neutral. For this reason, the speakers assigned to help in the design of the text, adapted the content and the language so that it could sound authentic to the Arvanitika community of this town in the suburb of Athens where part of the study took place, while maintaining the existing lexical items and description of the parts of the house that could originate from both the Greek and the Arvanitika speaking communities. This was also tested by asking a few members of the non-Arvanitika-speaking community who do not hold any relation neither have been in contact with the Arvanitika culture. These participants were asked whether the house in the description could respond to their cultural perceptions, something that they confirmed. Finally, the fact that not all sounds of Arvanitika can be captured in the Greek alphabet, as well as the fact that the participants did not know how to read a text in the Latin alphabet, and as a consequence, they were not able to read a potentially hybrid text in both the Greek and the Latin alphabets, was an extra

deterrent to the accomplishment of the recording task and the MGT as a whole. The final versions of the Greek and the Arvanitika texts are presented below:

English

On a hill, they had a house with two rooms, one above and one below. They had a large staircase on the side that went to the second room. On the bottom, they had a large room. There they cooked food, ate and slept. They had a big 'sofra' (low round table) with three, four chairs where they sat, ate and drank. They also had a storeroom where they put the wine, oil, onions, flour, garlic and all their necessary belongings.

Greek

Πάνω σε ένα λόφο είχαν ένα σπίτι με δύο δωμάτια, ένα πάνω, ένα κάτω. Είχε μια σκάλα από δίπλα που πήγαινε στο δεύτερο δωμάτιο. Από κάτω είχαν ένα δωμάτιο μεγάλο. Εκεί έκαναν φαΐ, έτρωγαν και κοιμόντουσαν. Είχαν ένα μεγάλο σοφρά (χαμηλό στρογγυλό τραπέζι) με τρεις, τέσσερις καρέκλες όπου καθόντουσαν, τρώγανε και πίνανε. Είχανε και ένα δωμάτιο αποθήκης όπου έβαζαν το κρασί, το λάδι, τα κρεμμύδια, το αλεύρι, τα σκόρδα και όλα τα αναγκαία υπάρχοντα.

Arvanitika

Λιαρτ ΝΕ νι τζούμπ κέιν νί στ'πί με ντί κουφόμ νί λιάρτ,νί πόστ. Κέι νί σκάλ γκά πρ' γιάστ τσ βέι γκά σίπρ κουφόμ. Γκαρπόστ κέι νί κουφόμ ε μάδε, ατιέ ντρέιν φαίν,χάιν εδέ φλίιν. Κέιν νί σοφρά τ'μάδε με τρέ ,κάτρ θρόνε τσ ρίν ,χάιν εδέ πίν. Κέιν εδέ νί κουφόμ φούντι ατιέ βίην βερ ν,βάλιν,κεπ τ,χούδρα ,μίελ εδέ τσ νιάτρ κέιν.

After composing the text, five bilingual speakers, in both Arvanitika and Greek, were recruited for the recording of the text, that would later serve as the experimental stimuli for the listeners. In order to avoid the influence of any possible confounding variables, I tried for the participants to ideally share similar characteristics, such as age, gender, and socioeconomic background. With respect to the gender of participants, Hua (2016) points out that 'In case of choosing to recruit individuals of both genders, equal number of women and men should be included because previous studies have shown that there are systematic differences in the manner in which female and male speakers of the same variety are evaluated' (p. 199). As five participants took part in the MGT, two females and three males were recruited.

The very limiting criteria required for the MGT led to the rise of further limitations. In an attempt to choose suitable speakers for the recordings, it was rather challenging to find fully bilingual speakers who were able to read the text *written* in Arvanitika. The problem here was mainly the pace of orally delivering the text, which should, ideally, be equivalent in all recordings. Another difficulty in the process of choosing the speakers for the recordings was to find someone who originates only from this suburb of Athens where the study took place, is fluent in both languages, and is also able to *read* the Arvanitika text. Most importantly, this particular challenge was, to a certain extent, expected, given that Arvanitika is a language that has never acquired written status, thus, speakers would not be familiar with its writing form, neither in the Greek alphabet – as it does not capture all the Arvanitika sounds – nor in the Latin alphabet – as participants were not familiar with it either.

Nonetheless, the recordings were accomplished with speakers that have lived in this small town in the suburb of Athens for most of their lives, yet originated from neighbouring regions. The profile and the background of the speakers are briefly presented below:

Speaker 1: 75-year-old male, fluent in Arvanitika whose origin is from southern Boeotia. He has lived in a small town in the suburbs of Athens where the study took place for the last 40 years.

Speaker 2: 71-year-old female, fluent in Arvanitika, also originating from the same region of southern Boeotia and has lived in the suburb of Athens where the study took place for the last 40 years.

Speaker 3: 71-year-old male, fluent in Arvanitika who was born and has lived in the same suburb of Athens where the study took place for more than 40 years.

Speaker 4: 70-year-old male, possibly the most fluent in Arvanitika out of all five speakers. He originates from two different but neighbouring regions of Attica and has lived in the suburb of Athens where the study took place for more than 30 years.

Speaker 5: 60-year-old female fluent in Arvanitika who was born and has only lived in this suburb of Athens where the study took place.

The recordings took place in the residence of speaker 5, who is also one of the key people in the study, providing great assistance in recruiting participants for all three

data collection methods that were employed in this study (see section 4.4.). The recordings were conducted in the presence of one participant each time, along with the researcher, in a quiet living room at the key participant's residence.

During these preliminary recordings, all five participants (speakers) struggled with reading the Arvanitika text *written* in the Greek alphabet. This resulted in the pace of the reading being very slow – even though participants rehearsed reading the text several times –, and, thus, in the text being delivered in an unnatural way. In fact, here comes out the criticism that MGT has received by some scholars. More particularly, some researchers view the MGT as 'a method a bit far from real-life contexts' (Fasold, 1984, as cited in Hua, 2016, p. 205). This is due to the artificiality of the method, as for example, it requires perfect organisation of the recordings in terms of the specific pace of reading and the choice of the text, which provides maximum control over the influential variables, rather than the reading of a random text in a less controlled environment or even the delivery of spontaneous speech on the part of participants (speakers). This was described by Garrett (2010) as *the style-authenticity question*. The style implications of reading a text aloud suggest that spontaneous speech (possibly in a real-life environment) could be judged differently. Such problems due to the artificiality of the MGT came up in this first stage – the recordings – as the participants having had practiced for several minutes reading the text in a 'natural' way and pace, still struggled reading it as such.

For the above reasons, it was considered wise for the purposes of this dissertation to remove the MGT from the main study and instead recruit a larger number of participants in the questionnaire task. Ultimately, triangulation with the employment of both interviews and questionnaires provided an adequate pool of data with rich and insightful outcomes on the contemporary sociolinguistic profile of Arvanitika and its speakers.

However, a new MGT could be of utmost interest for scholars conducting relevant sociolinguistic research applying potential adaptations, for example, by creating a hybrid text in both the Latin and the Greek alphabets and/or by recruiting participants who are familiar with both alphabets.

4.6.2. Main study

4.6.2.1. Questionnaires

The collection of the quantitative data of the main study was conducted, for the most part, during the pandemic break-out with the employment of online questionnaires on 'Google Forms'. Using the snowball sampling, the questionnaires were forwarded to participants' social media accounts like Messenger or to their e-mails in the form of a link. Due to the data being collected online and, thus, from distance, the environment and circumstances of the completion procedure could not be known. Therefore, the drawback of the online data collection was that the environment of the questionnaire completion could not be supervised by the researcher in order to avoid potential bias. Nonetheless, there was the advantage of distributing a large number of questionnaires as opposed to their face-to-face distribution which could be time-consuming or difficult to occur as many of the participants resided in a variety of regions which were far from one another, all the more so upon the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak. The few questionnaires that were collected prior to the pandemic were then transferred into the 'Google Forms' as well. The questions were presented in the exact same order as in the 'pencil-and-paper' questionnaire, thus, the online questionnaire was identical to the first one so as to foster reliability. Furthermore, using 'Google Forms' led to recruiting participants of younger ages, who are more familiar with such tools. Nevertheless, there were also cases of very few participants of the eldest generation that were orally asked the questions by their relatives, who would then fill in the questionnaire on their behalf.

Participants were recruited by being referred by other participants (see section 4.3.) whom I was introduced to by the key people, and who, in turn, forwarded it to their friends, relatives, acquaintances, fellow students or neighbours, always under the condition of them conforming to the criteria of participating in the study (see section 4.2.2.). The average time of the questionnaire task as tested in the second pilot study – which was face-to-face – was around 25 minutes for the Arvanitika speakers and 15 minutes for the non-Arvanitika speakers, which is due to the smaller length of the latter questionnaire. The exact duration of the questionnaire task, as this was completed online later on in the main study through 'Google Forms', was not tested.

4.6.2.2. Interviews and focus groups

Interviews of the main study included the pilot interviews as well, for the five reasons said above (see section 4.6.1.2.). This being said, the first interview was conducted – as a part of the pilot studies – in March 2019 and the last one in May 2021. Six individual interviews took place in a suburb of Athens, one in Thessaloniki with a participant from a village in Florina and one in Athens with a participant from Boeotia. The two focus groups took place in two villages, one in Florina and one in Argolis, respectively. The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to one hour and 50 minutes. The focus group sessions were the ones to last longer, as expected.

Moreover, all the interviews and focus group sessions were carried out face-to-face including the few that took place during the pandemic, always in compliance with the suggested measures. All the interviews and focus group sessions were conducted in quiet places, where interviewees felt comfortable in order for their engagement and openness to be secured as well as for potential distractions to be avoided. For these reasons, most of them took place in participants' residences, while only three individual interviews took place in local cafés introduced by the interviewees, and one of the focus group sessions took place in the yard of one of the participants.

Upon the sessions, Field Notes were used (Appendix C). These included comments regarding potential challenges and limitations, remarkable points made by the participants or observed by the researcher, a brief description of the environment where the session(s) took place, impressions shaped for each participant by the researcher, themes that stood out, as well as the demographic information of the participants. Field Notes proved to be of utmost importance since details that could not be captured in the audio-recordings were written down (e.g., non-verbal language), as well as because remarkable points that would be useful for the qualitative analysis were reported (e.g., emotional status of participants). Concerning Field Notes, Hua (2016) points out that they constitute 'a post-mortem recording details about the interview process, a tool which proves to be invaluable especially because it helps in improving techniques as each interview informs the next' (p. 189).

All the interviews were audio-recorded with the written consent of the interviewees upon signing the Informed Consent Forms and reading the Information Sheets

(Appendix C). Then, interviews were transcribed by hand verbatim in a Word document, meaning that potential pauses, hesitations, repetitions, syntactic mistakes, emotionally charged reactions and idiomatic expressions were fully transferred from the audio file to the Word document. Such details proved to be very insightful for the methods of the analysis that were employed in the interviews (see section 4.8.2.).

4.7. Ethics considerations

Ethical issues constitute a significant part of research which was cautiously taken into consideration in the present study. Approval was sought and provided by the Ethics Committee of the Ionian University. As mentioned above, to confirm anonymity and protect the rights of the participants, Informed Consent Forms (Appendix C) were administered which all participants signed before being interviewed or completing the questionnaires. In the online questionnaire, the Consent Forms were provided at the beginning of the task as a prerequisite to access the main task of the questionnaire. Furthermore, in order to brief the participants on the basic points of the study, they were given an Information Sheet of a paragraph length (Appendix C), which was a short overview of the aim of the study. In 'Google Forms' the Information Sheet was placed at the beginning of the questionnaires along with the Consent Form. In the interviewing process, when needed (e.g., with the eldest participants), I shared this information orally in a quick briefing prior to the interview. Both sheets, the Information Sheets and the Consent Forms, had been previously administered in the pilot studies as well.

4.8. Data analysis

4.8.1. Quantitative analysis: factor analysis, reliability test, frequencies and cross-tabulation analysis

4.8.1.1. Pilot studies: factor analysis and reliability test

Following the data collection of the pilot questionnaires, Factor Analysis (Factor Rotation Varimax) was run on SPSS 24.0 for Windows (SPSS Inc., Chicago, IL, USA), This was considered consequential in order to categorise the Likert scale statements into different thematic categories which would reflect the key themes of the study. In order to be able to evaluate the reliability of the items, it is crucial to mention the Cronbach's alpha coefficient's values that confirm reliability or consistency. According to Adeniran (2019), 'the value of the Cronbach's alpha is, usually, expressed as a number between .00 and 1.0. A value of .00 means that there is no consistency in measurement, while a value of 1.0 indicates perfect consistency in measurement; the acceptable range is between 0.70 and 0.90 or higher depending on the type of research' (p.2). Furthermore, 'alpha values of 0.7 and above indicate that all the variable indices dimensions demonstrate acceptable internal consistency' (Adeniran, 2019, p.4). All items were run through a reliability test having the Cronbach's alpha at 0.78, thus between 0.7 and 0.90, confirming reliability, as there was consistency between the speakers' answers.

The Factor Analysis of the Likert scale attitudinal statements revealed the following seven factors:

1. Language maintenance, preservation & revival (intergenerational transmission included)
2. Official recognition of Arvanitika
3. Solidarity use
4. Oppression, discrimination and stigmatisation
5. Value that speakers/non speakers attach to (speaking/listening to) the Arvanitika language
6. Connection of Arvanitika with social status & education
7. Use of Arvanitika during the Albanian migration wave

The questions were not, equally, classified into each factor (e.g., three items into each factor). For example, the factor 'Language maintenance, preservation & revival' consists of seven items, while the factor 'Solidarity use' consists of four items (see sections 5.4. & 5.6.). Factor analysis assisted in categorising and organising the Likert scale items, the results of which are presented one-by-one in the analysis (see sections 5.4. – 5.10.). Nevertheless, it was decided for the next step, that is, the cross-tabulation analysis, that all the Likert scale items would be analysed as *one sole* category regardless of the factor in which they belonged. More specifically, in the cross-tabulation analysis all the 28 attitudinal statements – for the Arvanitika speakers' questionnaires – and the 15 items – for the non-Arvanitika speakers' questionnaires – were merged into one variable, namely 'Attitudes' which were analysed with respect to the demographic variables (e.g., age, gender). This was done accordingly to what Pietersen (1969) did in his study in Friesland, in which there was a questionnaire comprising of 49 opinion-items and questions on various themes, such as 'Proficiency in Frisian', 'Ability to read in Frisian' or 'Aspects of language use', which were then merged into *one sole* factor called 'Language ideology'. This method of merging all Likert scale items into one variable, namely 'Attitudes' was chosen by the researcher as it allows for the attitudes of participants to be studied holistically, and thus provides a rounded view of the subject; yet the results of the items are also individually presented in Part A of Chapter 5. Part B includes the cross-tabulation analysis between the variable 'Attitudes' and the demographic variables (see section 5.11.).

4.8.1.2. Main study: reliability analysis, frequencies and cross-tabulation analysis[29]

A second reliability analysis was carried out, this time for the final tool. Therefore, the internal consistency of the two different final questionnaires – of both the Arvanitika and the non-Arvanitika speakers – was assessed with the use of the Cronbach's alpha coefficient, so as to further measure the extent to which each Likert scale item correlated with the sum of the remainders. The results of the reliability analyses can be found in the tables 1 and 4 (Appendix A), for the Arvanitika and the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, respectively, and they are explained at the beginning of Chapter 5 (see section 5.1.). Additionally, correlations between the questions from the

[29] Cross-tabulation analysis here refers to the Chi-square test that was run to test the potential relationships between variables. The tables of this analysis can be found in Appendix A.

correlation table were investigated. Questions (items) with very low correlations should be considered for possible rejection of the questionnaire.

Upon the conduction of the reliability test, the main analysis of both questionnaires – for the Arvanitika and the non-Arvanitika-speaking populations – was carried out. As per the types of questions in the questionnaire, this comprised of: *(a) multiple choice questions, (b) open-ended questions,* and *(c) 5-point Likert-scale items/questions.* The results of all three categories of questions are individually presented in Section 1-Part A of Chapter 5 where the results are shown.

With respect to the Likert scale statements, by summing up the total items for each questionnaire – 28 items for the Arvanitika-speaking and 15 items for the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants –, the total scores of the Likert scale items were classified under the variable 'Attitudes'. For this variable, *Chi-square test(s)* were run to investigate either positive or negative correlation(s) between the variable 'Attitudes' and the demographic variables for the two different groups of participants. Upon the summing of the items (for each scale), the total 'Attitude' scores were classified in the 5-point Likert scale. The range of the classification of the scores for the first questionnaire with the sum of 28 items was set as (max. value-min. value)/5. Therefore, scores from 28-50.4 represent the 1st interval of scale: strong agreement, 50.5-72.9 represent the 2nd interval of scale: tendency towards strong agreement, 73-95.4 the 3rd interval of scale: neutrality or indecisiveness, 95.5-117.9 the 4th interval of scale: tendency towards disagreement, and 118-140 the 5th interval of scale: strong disagreement. Similarly, the classification applied to the second questionnaire with the sum of 15 items was carried out as follows: scores from 15-27 represent the 1st interval of scale: strong agreement, 27.1-39.1 the 2nd interval of scale: tendency towards strong agreement, 39.2-51.2 the 3rd interval of scale: neutrality or indecisiveness, 51.3-63.3 the 4th interval of scale: tendency towards strong disagreement and 63.4-75 the 5th interval of scale: strong disagreement. Furthermore, 'Age' was divided into three subgroups (<40 years, 40-60 years, >60 years old); the minimum value for 'Age' was '18 years old' and the maximum value was '88 years old'.

Chi-square test was applied for the analysis of the data. The Chi-square is a non-parametric statistical test which determines whether two or more categorical variables are independent (Zibran, 2007). The null hypothesis is that the two variables are independent, which is rejected if the *p*-value probability is less than or equal to .05. In

addition to the Chi-square, Cramer's V was used to measure the strength of the relationship between the two variables (Bryman & Cramer, 2002). The Cramer's V can range from 0 (no association) to 1 (perfect association) and it can be interpreted similarly to a correlation analysis result (yet Cramer's V, unlike Pearsons's r, does not assume linearity); the larger the value of Cramer's V, the stronger the association between the variables. The rule that applies only for nominal data was followed: A Cramer's V value of 0 = No association, 0.2 or less = Weak association, from 0.21 to 0.3 = Moderate association, and above 0.3 = Strong association.

The statistics were carried out using the software package SPSS 24.0 for Windows (SPSS Inc., Chicago, IL, USA). *P*-values less than .05 were considered statistically significant.

4.8.2. Qualitative analysis: analysis of the interviews and focus groups

With respect to the analysis of the qualitative data emerging from the interviews and the focus group sessions, the method of discourse analysis was employed. More specifically, a combination of three different discourse-based approaches to language attitudes – yet complementary to one another – was applied. Triangulation of these discourse-based methods was chosen as the qualitative data, in particular participants' discourse, appeared to have an analytical interest in various ways; that is, not just the pure content of participants' discourse but rather their use of linguistic elements, the verbal and non-verbal language, and most importantly, the interactional sociolinguistic context in which participants' attitudes were shaped. The latter refers to both the wider context of participants' lives in which their language attitudes were constructed, as well as – in some cases – the interactional context of the interviews and the focus group sessions (e.g., turn-taking discourse between participants). For these reasons, I chose three different – yet complementary to one another – discourse-based approaches, namely *(a) content-based approaches, (b) turn-internal semantic and pragmatic approaches, and (c) interactional approaches.* These three discourse-based approaches were used, in fact, as three different levels of analysis as suggested by Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain (2009) who, specifically, state that:

> a content-based approach, which looks only at the content of the expressed language attitudes, is also encompassed by a semantic and pragmatic approach,

> and an interactional analysis must look at not just interactional features, but also at both the content and the turn-internal linguistic details within the interaction (p. 197).

The three levels of analysis were *not equally used* in the analysis of the qualitative data, as this depended on the analytical interest of each extract according to the emphasis given by the researcher. This being said, the first level of analysis, the content-based approaches, was the lead method of analysis while the other two were used selectively in specific extracts in which I considered them as complementing the content analysis in a meaningful way, as 'dictated' by the discourse of the participants in those extracts.

It should be mentioned that most categories of both the qualitative and the quantitative results (see section 5.4. & Section's 2 'introduction') are comparable, except for some, which were related to themes that, for obvious reasons, could not apply to the non-Arvanitika-speaking group of participants, such as the 'construction of ethnolinguistic identity', *experienced* 'oppression, stigmatisation and discrimination' and the 'Arvanitika language use' (e.g., 'solidarity use'). For the Arvanitika-speaking group of participants, the thematic categories 'construction of ethnolinguistic identity' and 'politicisation of Arvanitika' were only included in the qualitative part of the study as emerging outcomes, thus, there were not similar questions within the quantitative part of the study, the questionnaire task. For most of the other categories, there were sub-themes emerging in both the questionnaires and the interviews/focus groups.

4.8.2.1. Content-based approaches

Content-based approaches applied to the analysis of overtly expressed linguistic attitudes have been used to support arguments of quantitative results (Hoare, 2000, as cited in Dailey-O'Cain, 1997; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009) or to identify patterns appearing in the discourse of participants. The advantage of these approaches lies in the fact that, unlike the quantitative approaches to language attitudes (e.g., questionnaires or the Matched-guise technique), they provide in-depth insights on the reasons why participants exhibit specific attitudes, and give researchers a more focused direction in

terms of interpreting quantitative data that lack this analytical aspect (Dailey-O'Cain, 1997; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009).

In the present study, content-based approaches were applied in order to analyse participants' directly expressed attitudes and to lend weight to the quantitative results emerging from the questionnaires. It should be noted that this was the main approach used in the parts of the qualitative analysis for which extracts were not provided within the main text – yet they are presented in Appendix B – that is the first thematic category 'Arvanitika language use' and the subcategory 'Mixed marriages' of the third thematic category 'Contributing Factors to the Decline of Arvanitika'. In these categories, a periphrastic description of the content of participants' discourse was primarily used, as participants' discourse was not of as much analytical interest as of other extracts, which were presented as such. Thus, it was rather the content per se providing the information that was considered fruitful rather than the way participants expressed this content. However, as mentioned above, all three approaches were used in several parts of the qualitative analysis, as the interactional aspect – the context-based one – and the pure linguistic features, also, provided rich data.

4.8.2.2. Turn-internal semantic and pragmatic approaches

Turn-internal semantic and pragmatic approaches refer to the discourse-based approaches which, in addition to the content-based approaches, provide an analysis of the linguistic elements appearing in participants' attitudes as these are expressed in their discourse (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). Therefore, this level of analysis goes beyond the content of participants' discourse per se, digging into the function of language features in their discursive practices. The advantage of this approach is that, unlike the quantitative analysis or the above-mentioned content-based approaches, it can unfold the attitudes *hidden within the linguistic features* uttered by the participants (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009).

In the present study, turn-internal semantic and pragmatic approaches were, often, employed in participants' discourse and were used alongside the analysis of their non-verbal language like pauses in their narratives, their emotional state or the tone of their voice. The choice of particular linguistic features (e.g., words, phrases) on the part of

the participants can provide insights on their attitudes, whether these are expressed overtly or covertly. Nevertheless, these linguistic features were analysed as part of a context in which participants belong (e.g., their community, the wider Greek monolingual context or even the context where the interview/focus group session took place). The latter contextual dimension of the analysis was added in the content-based and the turn-internal semantic and pragmatic approaches, and it was applied with the use of the interactional approaches, as a third level of analysis, as presented below.

4.8.2.3. Interactional approaches

Interactional approaches to language attitudes can be found – among others – in the Interactional Sociolinguistics approach of discourse analysis (Ceccoli, 2019; Gumperz, 2015). These approaches go beyond the content-based and the turn-internal semantic and pragmatic approaches, deepening the analysis onto a third level. Interactional approaches require the analysis of 'features of discourse into account that are either simplified or not observed when the analyst looks only at individual speaker turns (e.g., laughter, interruptions, pauses, pitch changes, intensity changes, conversational overlap)' (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009, p. 199). The interactional approaches analyse participants' attitudes as dynamic, taking into consideration the interactions between participants and how their interlocutors perceive their expressed attitudes. Attitudes in interactional analysis are viewed through the lens of *the context* in which they are expressed. Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain (2009) point out that 'Language attitudes are created through interaction, and it is through interaction that they are later negotiated' (p. 200). The second way attitudes are perceived in the interactional analysis is, in that, they are 'expressed under the influence of the situational context, which includes both larger ideologies present in a culture' (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009, p. 217). In this way, attitudes are also viewed through the lens of the wider context in which they have been shaped within a particular community and sociolinguistic setting.

In the present study, interactional approaches to investigate participants' attitudes were employed in the sense of the sociolinguistic setting in which Arvanitika speakers' attitudes were shaped. Furthermore, in just a few cases, it was also used as a way to interpret attitudes within the interactional context between the participants or the

participants and the researcher, mostly in the extracts emerging from the focus group sessions, yet also in some of the individual interviews. The sociolinguistic setting in which the Arvanitika-speaking community has been found was of utmost importance for the in-depth interpretation of participants' attitudes – whether these were overtly or covertly expressed –, which is why this third level of analysis dictated by the interactional approaches was considered necessary.

4.9. Research questions

Following the emergent themes of the pilot studies, as well as the findings of the past studies, the main research questions addressed in the present study, in both the quantitative and the qualitative parts, yet only for the Arvanitika speakers were:

1. How do Arvanitika speakers use the Arvanitika language today? In which contexts do they speak it and with whom?
2. What factors do Arvanitika and non-Arvanitika speakers think that have contributed to the declining trajectory of Arvanitika? What other contributing to the Arvanitika's decline factors emerge from the Arvanitika speakers' discursive practices?
3. Did the Albanian economic migration to Greece have an effect on the trajectory of the Arvanitika language towards its extinction according to the Arvanitika and non-Arvanitika speakers? What reasons for do they think that the Arvanitika language has followed a declining trajectory in the post-migration period, even though it had initially served as the basic means of communication between Albanians and Arvanitika speakers?
4. What are the attitudes of today's Arvanitika-speaking communities of Greece towards Arvanitika? Why have they been shaped and negotiated in such way?
5. How do Arvanitika speakers feel about their language?

Following previous findings on the attitudes of the Arvanitika speakers, as well as the results of our pilot studies and the lack of studies on how the wider Greek community views the Arvanitika language, the following research questions - investigated in the quantitative part through the questionnaires - were formed:

6. What are the language attitudes of the Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika with respect to their *(a)* sex,

(b) age, *(c)* level of education, *(d)* place of origin, *(e)* multiple places of residence, *(f)* fluency in Arvanitika, *(g)* frequency of speaking Arvanitika, and *(h)* mother tongue?

7. What are the attitudes of the Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika regarding *(a)* language maintenance, preservation and revival, *(b)* official recognition of Arvanitika, *(c)* solidarity use of Arvanitika, *(d)* oppression, discrimination and stigmatisation of speaking Arvanitika, *(e)* Value they attach to speaking the Arvanitika language, *(f)* connection of Arvanitika with social status and education, *(g)* the use of Arvanitika during the Albanian migration?
8. What are the attitudes of non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika with respect to their *(a)* sex, *(b)* age, *(c)* level of educational, *(d)* multiple places of residence, *(e)* contact with Arvanitika speakers, *(f)* relationship with Arvanitika speakers, *(g)* exposure to the Arvanitika language, *(h)* attempt to learn and/or speak Arvanitika?
9. What are the attitudes of the non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika regarding *(a)* language maintenance, preservation and revival, *(b)* official recognition of Arvanitika, *(c)* connection of Arvanitika with social status and education, *(d)* value they attach to listening to Arvanitika, and *(e)* the use of Arvanitika during the Albanian migration?

4.10. Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the methodological procedures and tools that allowed me to study the trajectory of Arvanitika in the post-Albanian migration era in Greece, in an effort to cover the gap left by the scarcity of recent relevant sociolinguistic studies by means of an attempt to also include in the sample of participants non-speakers of Arvanitika as well as speakers from the northern part of Greece (e.g., Florina).

In line with earlier sociolinguistic studies the findings of which suggested the existence of ambiguity in the Arvanitika speakers' attitudes as well as a variation of these attitudes along different age groups, I explained that my study focused mainly on the participants' attitudes towards Arvanitika, which I explored by means of a mixed methods approach. I also referred to the snowball sampling procedure I used in order to recruit participants of all ages so as to be able to compare the attitudes towards Arvanitika of different age groups.

After highlighting the importance of the use of triangulation in both data collection and analysis so as to limit any potential social desirability and acquisition biases, I explained the procedures of the two pilot studies that led to the creation of the two main tools used in the study and proceeded in presenting them as follows: *a)* questionnaire(s), which, although partially informed by previous studies, were made from scratch and included multiple choice questions, Likert statements and open-ended questions, and *b)* semi-structured interviews and focus groups with the use of questions that were partially informed by previous findings on attitudes towards Arvanitika.

Furthermore, I discussed the fact that pilot studies testing the validity and reliability of the questions resulted in: *a)* the re-evaluation of inclusion criteria (i.e., young and middle-aged speakers for the questionnaires and middle-aged as well as older speakers for the interviews and focus groups) and *b)* the removal of certain questions and the re-wording and addition of others in order to follow the participants' need to express their feelings towards Arvanitika. Regarding the MGT, I explicitly presented the procedures followed and the reasons why it failed and thus it was removed from the main study.

In addition to the above, I presented the procedures of the main study that took place both in-person (interviews & focus groups) and online (questionnaires), and I also discussed the methods used for the analysis of the collected data referring to: *a)* the use

of the SPSS statistical software to run Chi-Square correlation tests for the analysis of the quantitative data and *b)* three discourse-based approaches for the analysis of the qualitative data, namely content-based approaches (in-depth insights on the reasons why attitudes are expressed as such), turn-internal semantic and pragmatic approaches (analysis of linguistic elements revealing attitudes beyond the surface) and interactional approaches (attitudes as dynamic and constructs by interactions between participants alone or with the researcher and/or the social context).

Following all the above, I finally presented the research questions as these had been formed through the pilot studies.

Chapter 5. Results and analyses

Introduction

In this chapter, I present the results of the present study in two sections. The first section, Section 1, focuses on the quantitative results emerging from the analysis of the questionnaires completed by both Arvanitika-speaking and non-Arvanitika-speaking participants (see sections 5.1. – 5.11.). The second section, Section 2, is devoted to the qualitative results obtained exclusively from the Arvanitika-speaking participants via the interviews and the focus groups (see sections 5.12. – 5.16.).

I subsequently present the results of the quantitative part of the study (Section 1), classified into two sub-sections: Parts A and B. Part A includes the results derived from individual questions/statements in the questionnaires, which include demographic, multiple-choice, Likert-scale and open-ended questions (see sections 5.1. – 5.10.). In contrast, part B includes the results of the cross-tabulation analysis (see section 5.11.), particularly the analysis of the variable titled 'Attitudes'. This variable includes the sum of participants' attitudes towards Arvanitika, as indicated by their attitudinal Likert-scale statements, with respect to the demographic variables (e.g., sex and age). Prior to presenting the details of parts A and B, I present the results of the reliability test. This test was needed based on the design of the questionnaires to ensure a robust analysis of the quantitative data (see section 5.1.).

Section 1. Quantitative results and analysis: questionnaires

5.1. Results of reliability test

A reliability analysis was conducted on the two different scales. The first scale comprised 28 Likert-scale items in the Arvanitika speakers' questionnaire, while the second had 15 Likert-scale items for the non-Arvanitika speakers' questionnaire. Participants responded to all items on a Likert scale from 1 to 5, where 1 = I strongly agree and 5 = I strongly disagree. *Asterisked items show a reverse score, signifying that their phrasing expresses negative attitudes towards Arvanitika. For example, if participants strongly disagree with a negative statement, their attitude towards Arvanitika is deemed positive. These items were appropriately adjusted in the cross-tabulation analysis to harmonise with the other statements whose wording bears positive connotations regarding Arvanitika.

In the 28-item questionnaire administered to the Arvanitika speakers, Cronbach's alpha showed good reliability, achieving a score of $\alpha = 0.861$ from the total responses of 105 participants (see Table 1 in Appendix A). Although most items were reliable, as previously shown by Cronbach's alpha reliability, there were a few exceptions. Notably, items 10, 12, 13, 14, 20 and 26, if excluded, would increase the reliability value. As Table 3 in Appendix A shows, these items could have been removed. However, by removing item 12 ('Arvanitika is an undervalued language due to its lack of written status'), the alpha value reached 0.866. Thus, the difference was negligible, and the item was not excluded. Similarly, correlating items that could have been excluded (10, 13, 14, 20, 26; Table 3; Appendix A) from an inter-correlation analysis provided additional evidence supporting the decision *not to exclude* any of these items, as the rise in reliability was not substantial.

Regarding the 15-item Likert scale questionnaire administered to the 194 non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, the reliability test yielded results similar to the Arvanitika speakers' questionnaire, with $\alpha = 0.892$ (see Table 4 in Appendix A), indicating significant scale reliability. As shown in Table 5 (Appendix A) and similar to the aforementioned rationale, item 7 ('Arvanitika is an undervalued language due to its lack of written status') was initially considered for removal, as its exclusion would elevate Cronbach's alpha to 0.901. However, this item was eventually included in the

analysis because the difference in reliability did not have an impact on the overall reliability, and it was somewhat insightful.

Part A

5.2. Demographics of both groups

The first sample consisted of 105 Arvanitika-speaking participants with a mean age of 48.31±15.6 years, while the second sample consisted of 194 non-Arvanitika-speaking participants with a mean age of 37.82±16.02 years. The demographic characteristics of both groups of participants, the Arvanitika-speaking and non-Arvanitika-speaking populations, are depicted in the pie charts below. The numbering of these figures commences from 3 in continuity with the two figures previously presented in this dissertation.

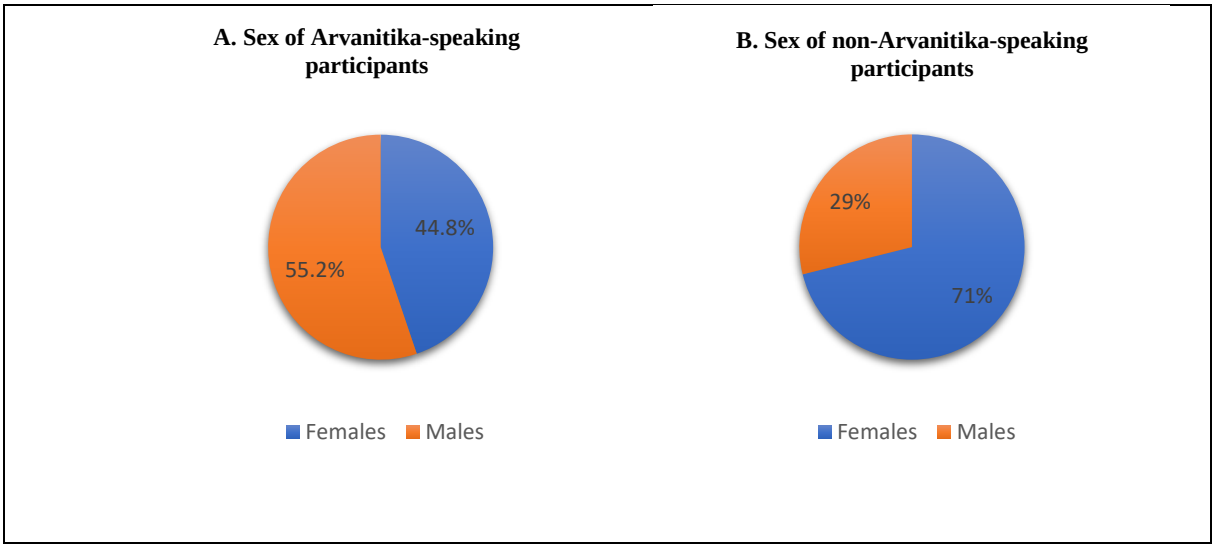


Figure 3 **A**. Pie chart showing demographics on the sex of the Arvanitika-speaking participants. **B.** Pie chart showing demographics on the sex of the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants.

As depicted in Figure 3 **A**, the Arvanitika-speaking group of participants consists of 55.2% males and 44.8% females; thus, there is a small difference between the genders. Conversely, Figure 3**B** shows that 71% females and 29% males were included in the non-Arvanitika-speaking group of participants. Notably, the non-equal distribution of participants in terms of gender should be taken into consideration for potential biases. For instance, the results in their attitudes with reference to participants' sex (see section 5.11.) might have been slightly different if the numbers of females and males participating in the study were equal or distributed the other way around for both groups

(e.g., more females than males in the Arvanitika-speaking group or more males than females in the non-Arvanitika-speaking group).

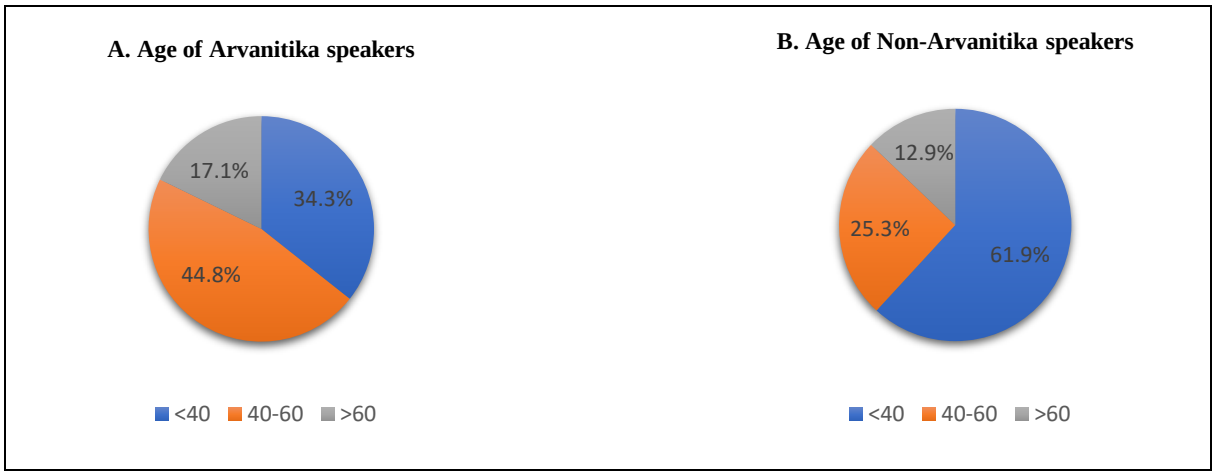


Figure 4 **A**. Pie chart showing demographics on the age of the Arvanitika-speaking participants. **B.** Pie chart showing demographics on the age of the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants.

As depicted in Figure 4 **A**, the majority of the Arvanitika-speaking participants from the questionnaire task consisted of middle-aged and young participants, at 44.8% and 34.3%, respectively. Conversely, Figure 4 **B** reveals that the vast majority of the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, 61.9%, are young, while merely 25.3% of the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants are middle-aged. Notably, in both groups of participants, the percentages of the eldest generation are low compared to the other two age groups. This diminished participation could be attributed to the complexity of the questionnaire task, which was not easy for the older individuals to complete unless they were given the questions orally. Such a process might have led to potential biases, as, for example, the purposes of Likert-scale statements would not have been served in the most effective way (e.g., answers might be influenced by the person delivering the oral questions). Moreover, it should be noted that the non-equal distribution of participants in terms of their age, as shown above, might also be considered for potential biases. For example, the results in participants' attitudes based on age (see section 5.11.) might have been different if the numbers of the three age groups participating in the study were equal or distributed differently for both groups of participants (e.g., if the majority of participants in the questionnaire task consisted of the eldest group).

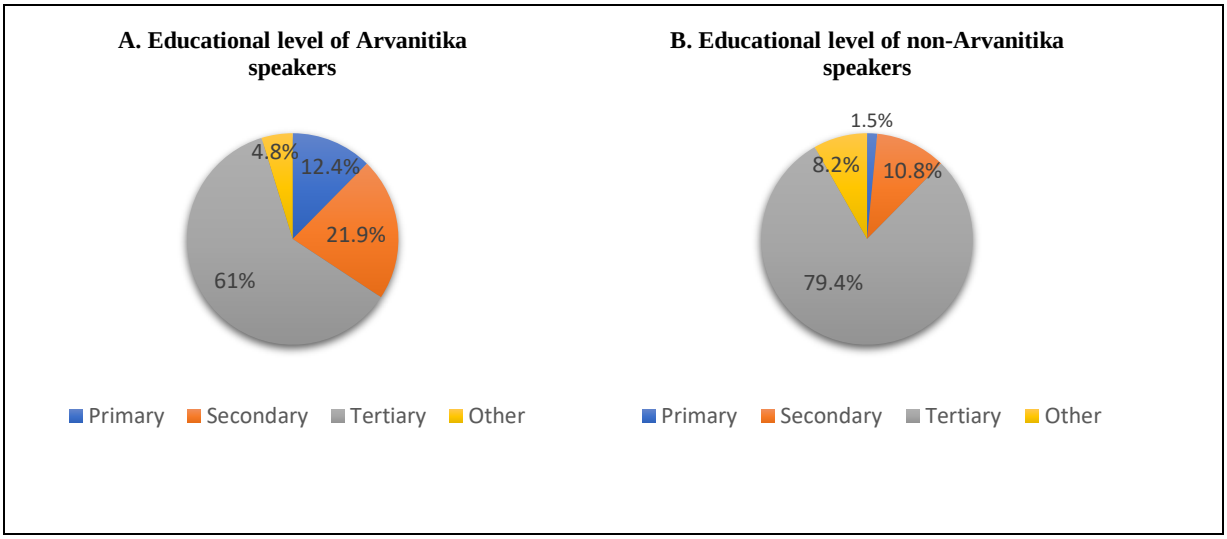


Figure 5 **A**. Pie chart showing demographics on the education of the Arvanitika-speaking participants. **B.** Pie chart showing demographics on the education of the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants.

As Figure 5 illustrates, the overwhelming majority of participants of both groups attended tertiary education, although the proportions differ. In the Arvanitika-speaking group, 61% completed the highest level of education, as opposed to the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants at 79.4%. Therefore, the non-equal distribution of participants in terms of their education level, as shown above, might also be taken into consideration for potential biases. For example, the results in participants' attitudes with reference to their level of education (see section 5.11.) might have been different had the education levels been equally or differently distributed (e.g., if the majority of participants in the questionnaire attended secondary education).

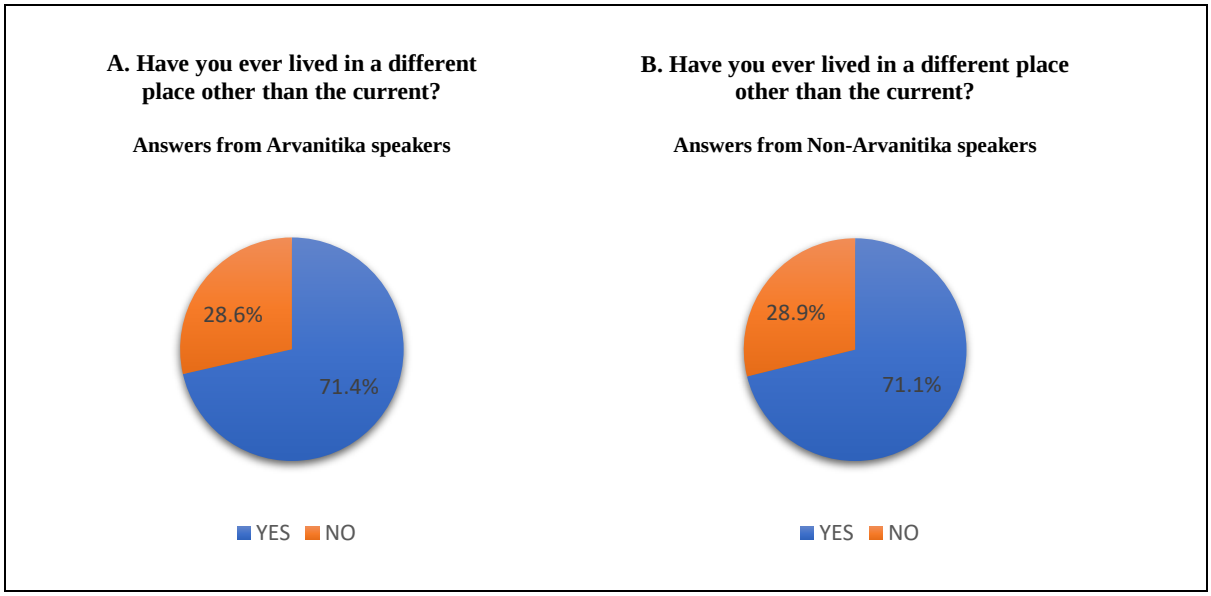


Figure 6 **A**. Pie chart showing the Arvanitika-speaking participants' answers to the question 'Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current?' **B.** Pie chart showing the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants' answers to the question 'Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current?'

As illustrated in Figure 6, the overwhelming majority of participants in both groups have lived in locations other than their current residence, with the Arvanitika-speaking participants at 71.4% and the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants at 71.1%. This nearly equal distribution for this question among both groups of participants allows for safe conclusions regarding their attitudes in terms of the demographic variable of participants' multiple places of residence (see section 5.11.).

The following results exclusively apply to the Arvanitika-speaking participants. The questions presented below were either included only in the questionnaire distributed to the Arvanitika speakers or were included in the questionnaire of the non-Arvanitika speakers but deemed non-significant for the latter population and the purposes of the present study, so they were excluded from the analysis. For example, the question on participants' L1 was deemed insignificant for analysis as the vast majority of the non-Arvanitika speakers had Greek as their mother tongue.

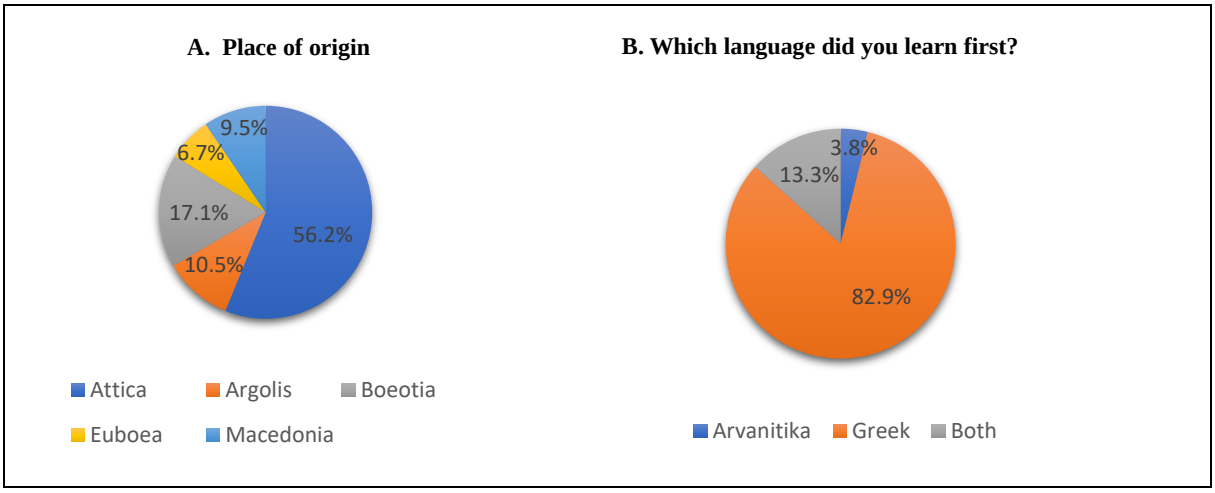


Figure 7 **A**. Pie chart showing the places of origin of the Arvanitika-speaking participants. **B.** Pie chart showing the Arvanitika-speaking participants' answers to the question 'Which language did you learn first?'

As depicted in Figure 7 **A**, the vast majority of Arvanitika-speaking participants come from Attica, 56.2%. The remaining percentages correspond to different places of origin. Figure 7 **B** shows that the overwhelming majority of Arvanitika speakers participating in the study, 82.9%, have Greek as their L1, while 13.3% learned both Arvanitika and Greek as their first languages. This finding is indicative of the decline Arvanitika has undergone, as well as highlighting that there are only a few young and middle-aged speakers of Arvanitika left. This is noteworthy, considering that the sample of participants in the questionnaire predominantly consists of these two age groups. In a different scenario, if the participants' L1s were equal or distributed differently (e.g., more participants having Arvanitika as their L1), the results of the cross-tabulation analysis (see section 5.11.s) might have been different.

5.3. Arvanitika language use

This subsection includes Arvanitika speakers' answers regarding their use of Arvanitika. Figure 8 below indicates Arvanitika-speaking participants' self-evaluation of their competence in Arvanitika (see Figures 8 A & 8 B) as elicited from two similar questions in the questionnaire, as depicted below.

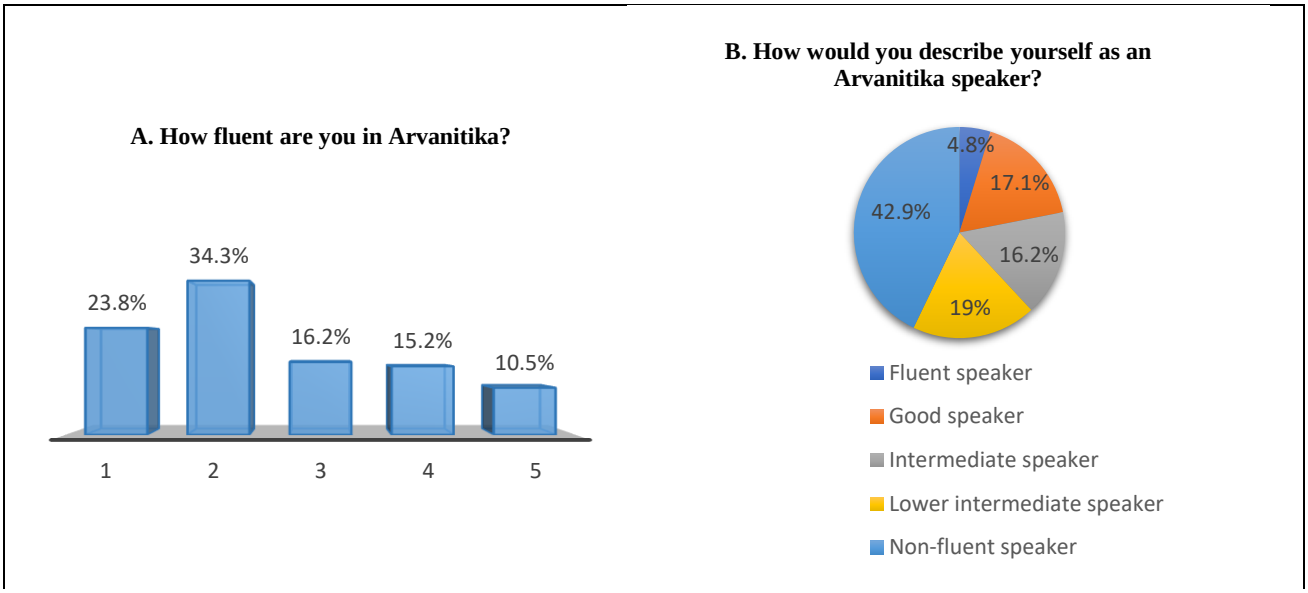


Figure 8 **A.** Bar graph showing the responses to the question 'How fluent are you in Arvanitika?' The answers range from 1= not at all to 5= excellent. Scores falling under 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two extremes and 3 is categorised as neutral. Figure 8 **B.** Pie chart showing the responses to the question 'How would you describe yourself as an Arvanitika speaker?'. The multiple-choice answers depicted on the graph reflect participants' answers according to the labels 'fluent speaker', 'good speaker', 'intermediate speaker', 'lower intermediate speaker' and 'non-fluent speaker'.

As shown in Figure 8 **A,** only 10.5% of the Arvanitika speakers self-evaluate as speaking Arvanitika excellently, while 23.8% do not speak the language at all. The 16.2% neutral answers might be related to self-evaluation, which determines an intermediate level of competence in Arvanitika. The remaining percentages are distributed into two categories of 34.3% and 15.2%, which do not depict a clear level of speaking competency but show a tendency towards one end (not at all) or the other (excellent), respectively. Notably, the levels indicated as 2 and 4 represent participants who neither speak 'Not at all' nor 'Excellent'; nonetheless, they also do not fit into the 'neutral' category denoted by the score of 3.

In Figure 8 **B**, concerning a similar question, 'How would you describe yourself as an Arvanitika speaker?', participants self–evaluated their competence in Arvanitika by choosing one of the given labels shown in the pie chart above. The results indicate that

the majority of the respondents, 42.9%, regard themselves as 'Non-fluent speakers' of Arvanitika, while a scant 5% of the sample perceive themselves as fluent in the language. Additionally, 17.1% consider themselves as 'good speakers' of the Arvanitika language, 16.2% self-evaluated as 'intermediate speakers' and 19% as 'lower intermediate speakers'. In the same question, there was the option 'other' where participants could give an open-ended response. These answers are not present in the above graph (Figure 8 **B**), as they represent a very small percentage, each one reflecting merely 1% of the total answers. However, their inclusion is noteworthy. These answers include the following: *(a) I understand Arvanitika but find it difficult to speak it*; *(b) I can communicate in Arvanitika*; *(c) I do not speak Arvanitika but sometimes I understand it*; *(d) I do not consider myself an Arvanitika speaker*; *(e) I use a few words and phrases as just my mother spoke it, yet not at home*; *(f) I do not speak Arvanitika*. Some of these answers could be subjectively included in a few of the labelled categories presented in the graph in Figure 8 **B**. However, given the negligible percentage, there would be a non-significant difference in the results presented in the graph; thus, it was decided to mention them separately.

The two similar questions illustrated in the graphs of Figure 8 A and B indicate very similar answers from the participants. For example, the percentages of number 3 [neutral] responses in graph A and 'Intermediate speaker' responses in graph B are identical at 16.2%, showing that there is consistency in the participants' answers regarding their intermediate level of competence in Arvanitika. Furthermore, the sum of answers 1 and 2 of the Likert scale of Figure 8 **A** showing a tendency towards non-fluency in Arvanitika, 58.1%, is very close to the sum of the respective labelled categories of Figure 8 **B**, 'Lower intermediate' and 'non-fluent speaker' at 61.9%, showing consistency in participants answers concerning the tendency to non-fluency in Arvanitika. Similarly, the sum of answers 4 and 5 of the Likert scale in Figure 8 A, 25.7%, is very close to the sum of the labelled categories 'Fluent speaker' and 'Good speaker' at 21.9%, showing consistency in participants' answers regarding their low percentage of fluency in Arvanitika. The slight differences between the two sets of percentages might be attributable to the labelling of multiple-choice answers in the question of Figure 8 **B,** as opposed to the unlabelled question of Figure 8 **A** in the numbers 2, 3 and 4. Thus, participants' answers could easily fluctuate between any of the surrounding numbers.

Furthermore, Arvanitika-speaking participants were asked both how often they speak Arvanitika and what they use it for. The latter was an open-ended question, which participants answered in the form of a text. More than one answer was valid for this question, so the percentages in the pie chart below represent the answers rather than the participants. A total of 108 answers were reported. Participants' answers were then categorised, as shown in Figure 9B.

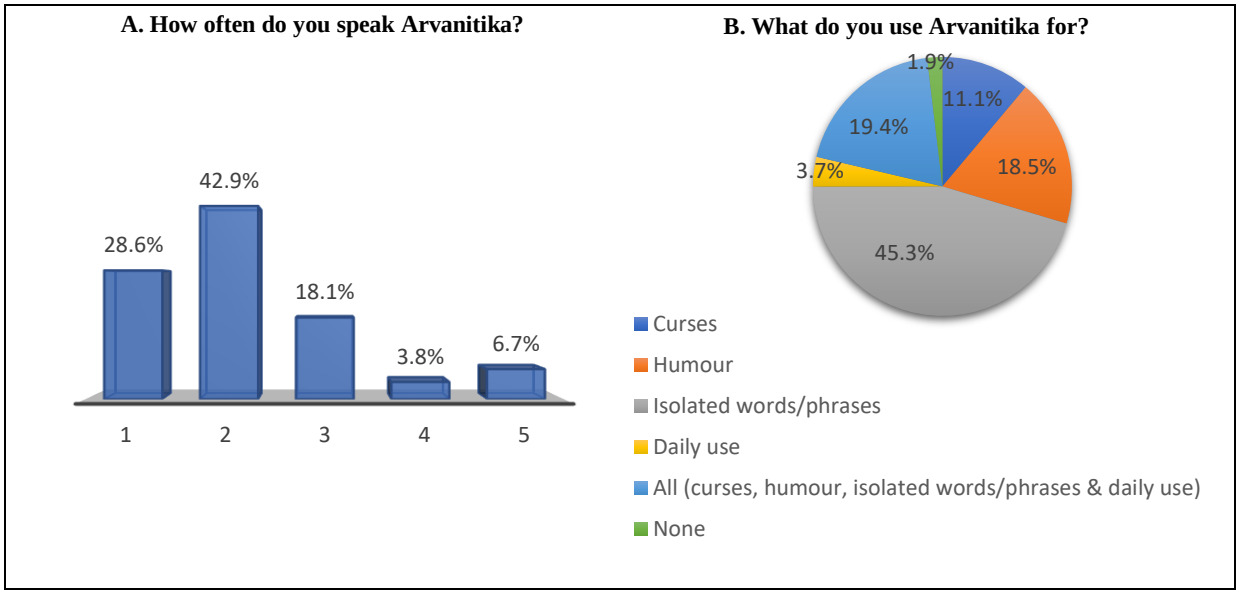


Figure 9 **A**. Bar graph showing the answers to the question 'How often do you speak Arvanitika?'. **B**. Pie chart showing contemporary use of Arvanitika among its speakers classified into the following categories: a) Curses, b) Humour, c) Isolated words/phrases, d) Daily use, e) All, f) None. The range of Figure **A** is depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= never to 5= always. The answers found under points 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two extremes, while a score of 3 is considered neutral.

As shown in Figure 9 **A**, a high percentage of the answers fell into category 2, representing 42.9% of the total answers. These answers found in the purposely undefined [without labelling] category 2 indicate that most participants tend to rarely use Arvanitika. Notably, categories with the lowest percentages of 6.7% and 3.8% show that very few participants 'always' speak Arvanitika, and likewise, only a few tend to seldomly speak it (3.8% showing a tendency toward the 'always' extreme). Moreover, category 3, representing neutral answers between the 'always' and 'never', indicates that participants' answers neither tend towards 'never' nor 'always'. These answers represented 18.1% of the responses, not a negligible percentage, indicating that speakers might be indecisive about their frequency of using Arvanitika, or they might not wish to indicate a specific direction of frequency. Strikingly, among Arvanitika

speakers' responses, a high percentage of 28.6% confirmed that they never speak the language.

As shown in Figure 9 **B,** 45.3% of participants' answers included the use of Arvanitika in the form of isolated words or phrases. Out of the total answers, 18.5% pertained to the use of the language for humour, 11.4% for Arvanitika in curses, 3.7% for daily communication. Moreover, 19.4% of responses included all the aforementioned categories, while only 1.9% of participants indicated no use of Arvanitika at all. The results suggest a fragmented use of Arvanitika among Arvanitika speakers today to be predominant, as participants stated they use it in the form of isolated words/phrases, humorous contexts, or curses rather than in their everyday communication. These results indicate a symbolic use of the language rather than a pragmatic one.

The questionnaire included a multiple-choice question aimed to elicit what Arvanitika means to the Arvanitika-speaking participants. More than one answer was valid; thus, the percentages in the graph below represent participants' answers rather than the number of participants. The total answers to this question were 396.

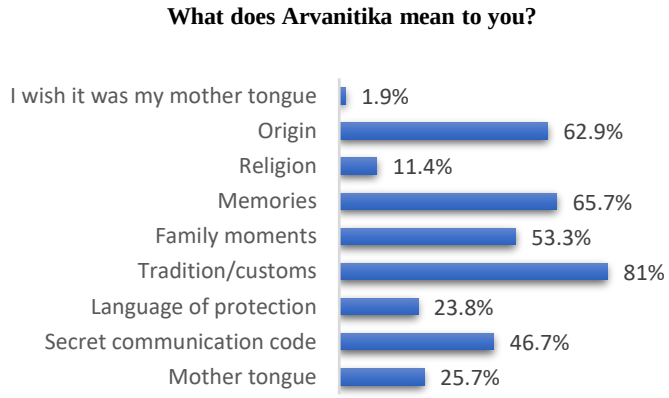


Figure 10. Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the question 'What does Arvanitika mean to you?' More than one answer was valid. The percentages represent the answers of participants out of a total of 396.

As Figure 10 illustrates, the vast majority of participants' answers (81%) indicate that they connect Arvanitika with tradition and/or customs, while 65.7% and 62.9% of the answers were included in the categories of memories and origin, respectively. Furthermore, 53.3% of the answers indicate that Arvanitika is connected to participants' family moments, and 46.7% of the answers represent the perception of Arvanitika as a secret communication code. Fewer answers, specifically 25.7%, showed participants' perception of Arvanitika as their mother tongue, which was expected considering that

most participants did not belong to the eldest generation of Arvanitika speakers to whom Arvanitika is their mother tongue. Lower percentages of the answers, specifically 23.8% and 11.4%, fell into the categories 'language of protection' and 'religion', respectively. Finally, under the option 'other', 1.9% of the answers represented participants' wish for Arvanitika to be their mother tongue, implying the opposite. Single answers given under the category 'other', not included in the graph, included the statements: *Arvanitika is what I heard from my grandmother; Meanings that cannot be expressed/uttered; Arvanitika is the subject of my work; It is the history of Greece;* and *A language that I am not familiar with.*

The results presented below apply exclusively to the second group of participants, the non-Arvanitika speakers.

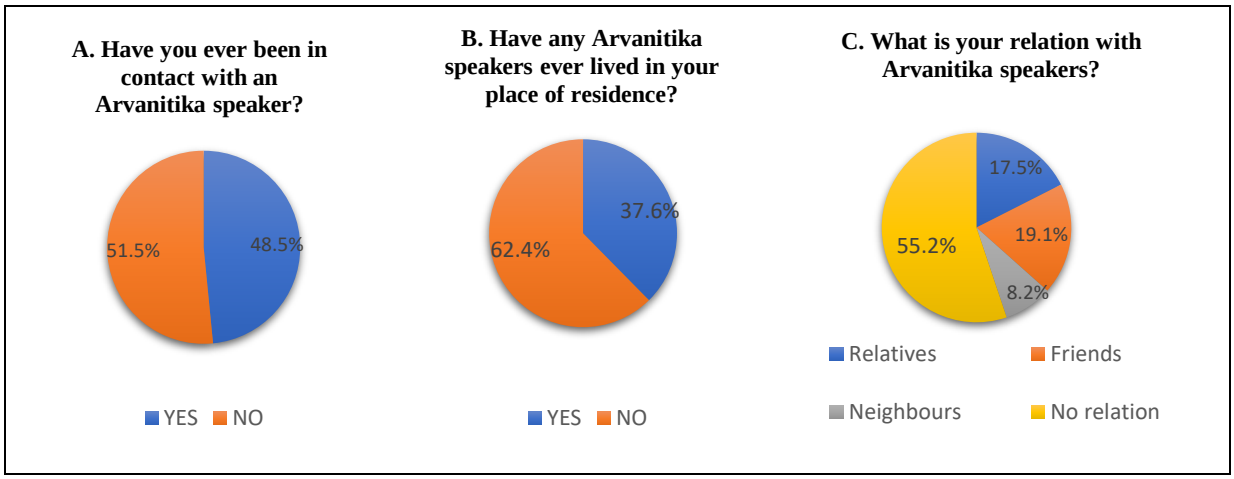


Figure 11 **A**. Pie chart showing the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers to the question 'Have you ever been in contact with an Arvanitika speaker?' **B**. Pie chart showing the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers to the question 'Have any Arvanitika speakers ever lived in your place of residence?' **C**. Pie chart showing the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers to the question 'What is your relation with Arvanitika speakers?'

As indicated in Figure 11 **A**, the percentages of non-Arvanitika speakers' answers on whether they have been in contact with Arvanitika speakers or not are almost equal, with 51.5% answering *no* and 48.5% answering *yes.*

Figure 11 **B** shows that the majority of non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, 62.4%, have lived in the same place as Arvanitika speakers, while almost half of this number have not.

Figure 11 **C** indicates that the largest percentage of non-Arvanitika-speaking respondents, 55.2%, have no relationship with Arvanitika speakers. Of the remaining participants, 19.1% answered that they have Arvanitika-speaking friends, 17.5% said

they have Arvanitika-speaking relatives, and the lowest percentage, 8.2%, said they have Arvanitika-speaking neighbours.

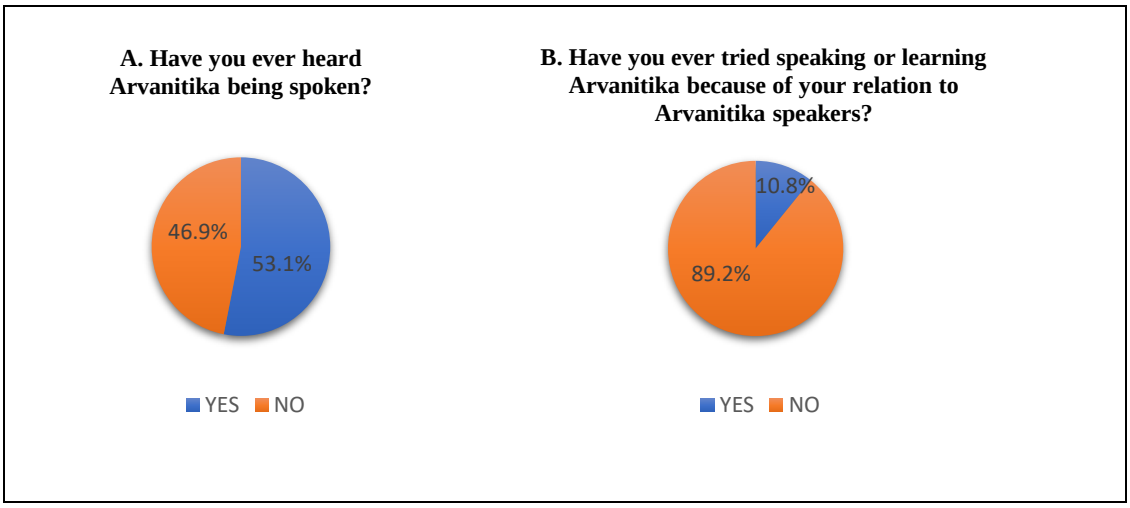


Figure 12 **A**. Pie chart showing the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers to the question 'Have you ever heard Arvanitika being spoken?' **B.** Pie chart showing the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers to the question 'Have you ever tried speaking or learning Arvanitika because of your relation to Arvanitika speakers?'

As Figure 12 **A** illustrates, the percentages of non-Arvanitika speakers' answers to the question of whether they have heard Arvanitika being spoken or not are very close, with 46.9% answering *no* and 53.1% answering *yes*. As Figure 12 **B** highlights, out of the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, the vast majority, 89.2%, answered that they have never tried speaking or learning Arvanitika, while merely 10.8% answered that they have tried learning or speaking the language.

5.4. Language maintenance, preservation and revival (intergenerational transmission included)

After having presented the demographic questions of both the Arvanitika-speaking and non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, as well as the questions related to Arvanitika language use among its speakers, attention is now given to the items of the attitudinal questionnaire. These statements, directly related to the participants' attitudes towards Arvanitika, along with the multiple-choice and the open-ended questions, are individually presented below.

These questions are organised thematically in accordance with the factors emerging from the *factor analysis* of the pilot studies, as presented below. Notably, some items fell into more than one category. For this reason, they are presented under the category

in which they best fit (according to my own evaluation). Furthermore, items are comparatively presented for both populations, with Arvanitika speakers' answers displayed in the blue graphs and non-Arvanitika speakers' answers in the red graphs. Accordingly, figures including answers from both populations to the same statements are included in one table. However, due to the exclusion of certain items from the non-Arvanitika speakers' questionnaire, some items are only presented for the Arvanitika-speaking group.

The following factors/categories emerged from the factor analysis of the pilot questionnaires (see section 4.8.1.1.):

- Language maintenance, preservation and revival (intergenerational transmission included)
- Official recognition of Arvanitika
- Solidarity use
- Oppression, discrimination and stigmatisation
- Value that speakers and non-speakers attach to (speaking/listening to) the Arvanitika language
- Connection of Arvanitika with social status and education
- Use of Arvanitika during the Albanian migration wave

In the umbrella category titled 'Language maintenance, preservation & revival', the 'intergenerational transmission' of Arvanitika is included. Concerning this facet, a multiple-choice question in the questionnaire for the Arvanitika-speaking participants aimed to elicit their answers on who they learned the language from. The graph below represents participants' answers to the question 'Who did you learn Arvanitika from?'. The options given in the question are presented in the bar graph below, along with the respective percentages of the answers. Given that more than one answer was valid in this question, the percentages represent the volume of responses rather than the number of participants. The total number of answers received for this question was 220.

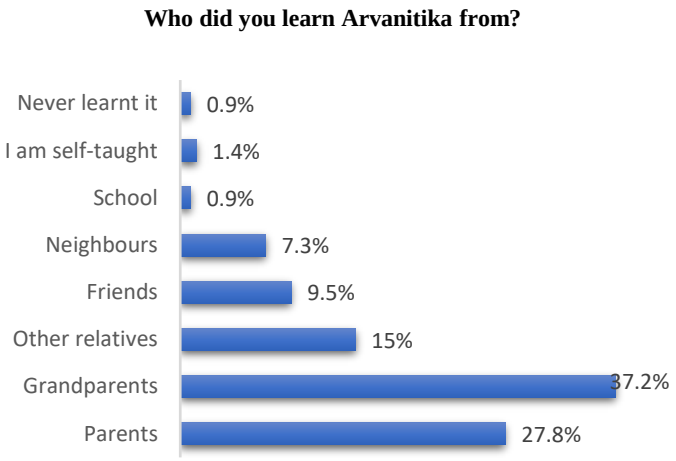


Figure 13 Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the question 'Who did you learn Arvanitika from?'. Multiple answers were valid. The percentages represent the answers of participants out of a total of 220 answers.

As illustrated in Figure 13, the vast majority of participants' answers, 37.2%, indicated that grandparents were the main source of transmitting the language. Furthermore, 27.8% of the answers indicated parental transmission of Arvanitika, while 15% of the answers indicate, to a certain extent, transmission by other relatives. A lower number of answers, 9.5% and 7.3%, indicated that there was limited transmission of the language to participants via friends and neighbours, respectively. Notably, a very low percentage of 0.9% indicated school as a means of transmission of Arvanitika, which is an expected finding given the oppression of minority languages in the Greek education system in the past, including Arvanitika. Moreover, under the category 'other', few participants provided some extra answers, namely 'I am self-taught' representing 1.4% of the answers to this question, and 'Never learnt' representing 0.9% of the total answers. Finally, solitary answers such as 'from birth' and 'from Albanians' were recorded, although they are not included in the graph.

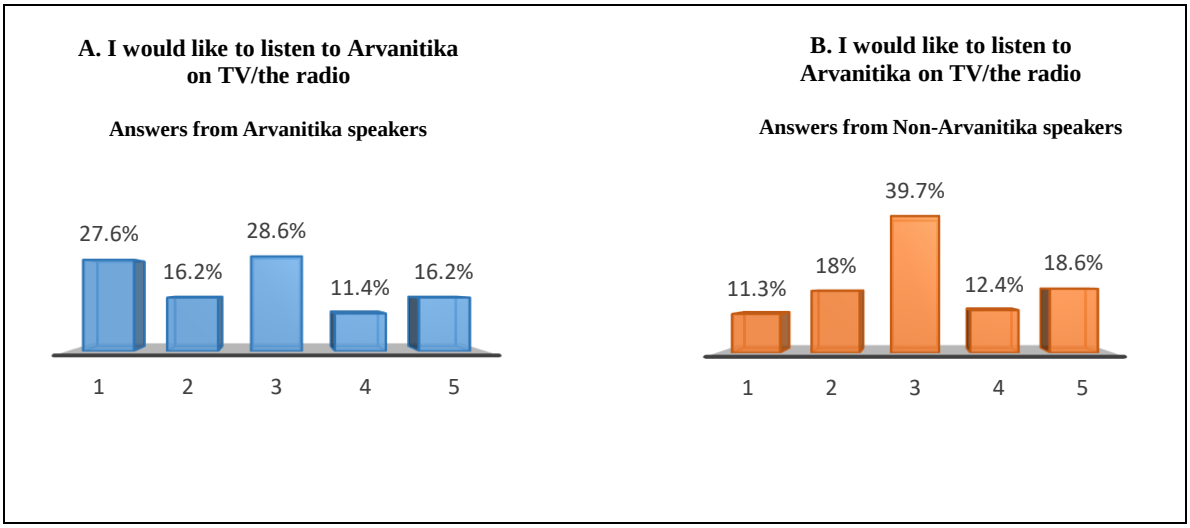


Figure 14 **A**. Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'I would like to listen to Arvanitika on TV/the radio'. **B.** Bar graph showing the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'I would like to listen to Arvanitika on TV/the radio'. The range is depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. Numbers 2 and 4 on the scale show tendencies towards one of the two extremes, while a response of 3 reflects a neutral position.

As shown in Figure 14 **A**, in response to the statement whether they would like to listen to Arvanitika on TV or the radio, participants' answers indicate a strong agreement at 28.6%, showing positive attitudes towards the preservation of Arvanitika through the media. Conversely, a lower percentage, 16.2%, answered that they totally disagree, showing negative attitudes. Intriguingly, the exact same percentage, 16.2%, fell into the number 2 category. Summarily, these results indicate that the majority of Arvanitika-speaking participants display positive attitudes towards preserving Arvanitika through the media, as evidenced by 27.6% choosing number 1 and 16.2% choosing the adjacent number 2, thus strongly agreeing with the statement. Interestingly, the highest percentage, 28.6%, –almost equal to the answers of number 1 on the scale – falls into number 3 on the Likert scale, indicating neutral attitudes towards preserving Arvanitika through the media. This high number of neutral responses might indicate that participants neither agree nor disagree with the statement, or it might show that they were indecisive. Furthermore, these neutral attitudes towards preserving Arvanitika through the media could mean that the answers falling into categories 2 and 4, which would normally be interpreted as attitudes leaning towards one of the two extremes, might, at least partially, also incline towards the neutral category.

As depicted in Figure 14 **B**, the answers of the non-Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'I would like to listen to Arvanitika on TV/the radio' indicate that the vast majority of participants, 39.7%, hold neutral attitudes towards the preservation of Arvanitika through media platforms. The remaining responses were almost equally distributed on both sides of the scale; approximately half correspond to numbers 1 and 2, while the remaining half belong to numbers 4 and 5, respectively. This distribution could suggest that the responses falling into numbers 2 and 4 might also lean towards number 3, thus signalling participants' indecisiveness.

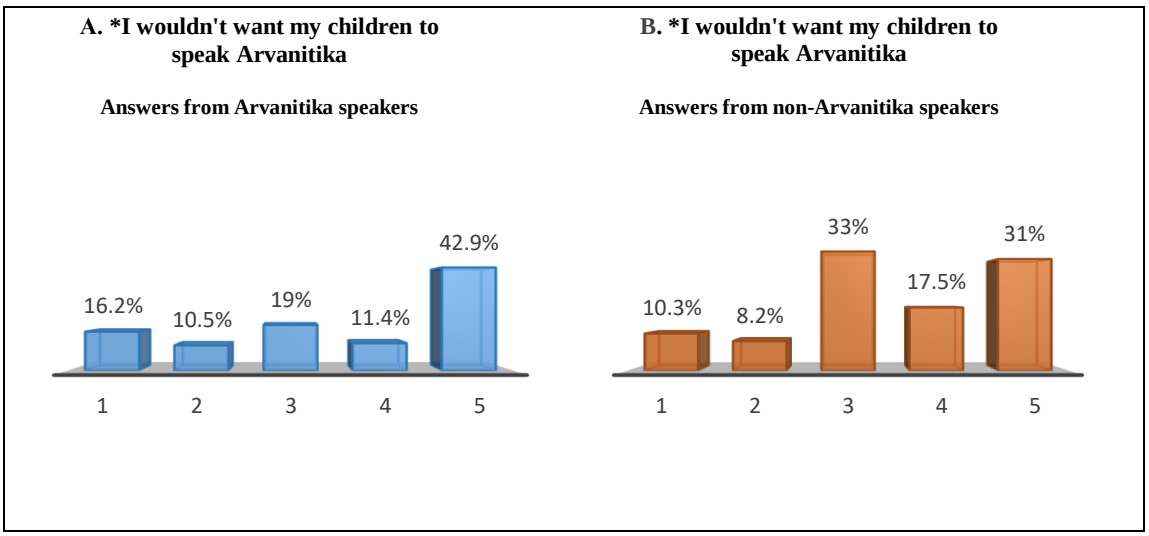


Figure 15 **A**. Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'I wouldn't want my children to speak Arvanitika'. **B.** Bar graph showing the answers of non-Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'I wouldn't want my children to speak Arvanitika'. Responses are depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two extremes, whereas number 3 is considered neutral.

As shown in Figure 15 **A,** in response to the negatively worded statement 'I wouldn't want my children to speak Arvanitika' [negative statements are shown with an asterisk], the vast majority of participants strongly disagreed, with 42.9% of the answers falling under number 5. Given that the statement is framed negatively, number 5 on the Likert scale actually reflects a positive attitude towards transmitting Arvanitika to the next generation. Conversely, only 16.2% of the Arvanitika-speaking participants showed negative attitudes towards the transmission of Arvanitika to their children. The remaining answers were distributed across numbers 2, 3 and 4. Neutral attitudes, falling into category 3 at 19%, showed that participants were either indecisive or that they neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement. Notably, numbers 2 and 4, showing a tendency towards the two extremes of 1 and 5, received nearly equal percentages at 10.5% and 11.4%, respectively.

As shown in Figure 15 **B,** in responding to the same statement, the highest percentage of the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers fell under number 3, displaying neutral attitudes towards the intergenerational transmission of Arvanitika. However, an almost equal percentage, 31%, fell under number 5 on the scale, indicating positive attitudes towards the intergenerational transmission of Arvanitika. Notably, merely 10.3% of the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers fell into category 1, indicating negative attitudes towards the intergenerational transmission of Arvanitika. Part of the answers falling into number 4 showed a tendency towards positive attitudes, leaning towards the extreme number 5 on the scale. However, given the high percentage of neutral responses, these answers might also be leaning towards number 3, signalling neutral attitudes to this statement.

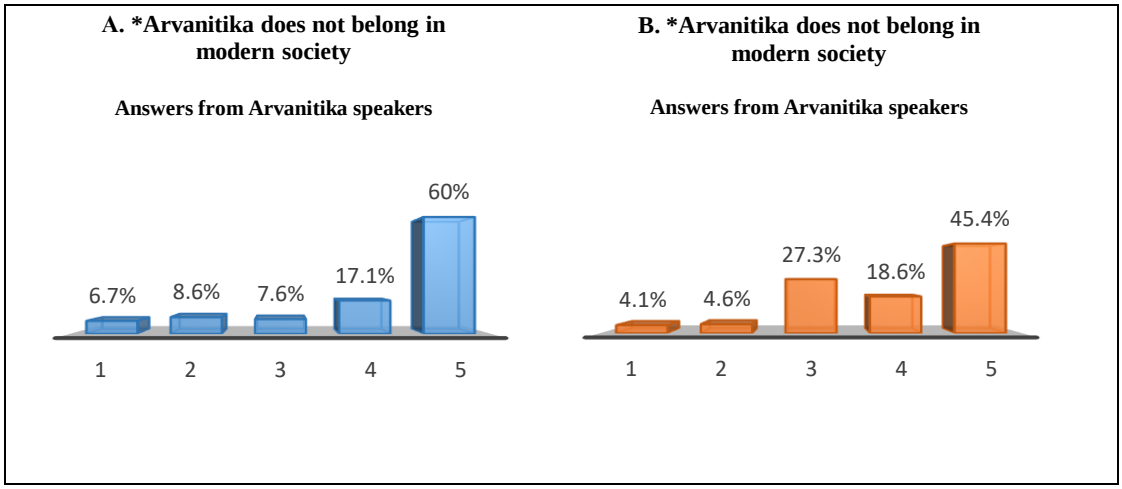


Figure 16 **A**. Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'Arvanitika does not belong in modern society'. **B.** Bar graph showing the answers of non-Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'Arvanitika does not belong in modern society'. The range is depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 indicate direction towards one of the two extremes, and number 3 is considered neutral.

As illustrated in Figure 16 **A**, the vast majority of Arvanitika-speaking participants, 60%, answered that they strongly disagree with the negative statement 'Arvanitika does not belong in modern society', revealing positive attitudes towards preserving Arvanitika. The second highest percentage, 17.1%, fell into number 4, indicating a tendency towards strongly disagreeing with the statement. Very low and almost equivalent were the percentages for the answers falling into numbers 1, 2 and 3, the first two indicating negative attitudes towards the preservation of Arvanitika in modern society and the latter showing neutral attitudes among Arvanitika-speaking participants.

As depicted in Figure 16 **B**, the highest percentage of non-Arvanitika speakers' answers to the same negative statement, 45.4%, fell into number 5, thereby indicating positive attitudes towards preserving Arvanitika at present. Moreover, another 27.3% of the answers revealed neutral attitudes towards preserving Arvanitika at present, meaning that participants are either indifferent or indecisive or that their attitudes neither lean strongly for or against the statement. Notably, 18.6% of the responses fell into category 4, answers that could fall either toward the neutral category 3 or strong disagreement, as represented by number 5. The very low percentages of answers falling into numbers 1 and 2 were negligible, showing that the majority of the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants do not hold negative attitudes towards the presence of Arvanitika in modern society.

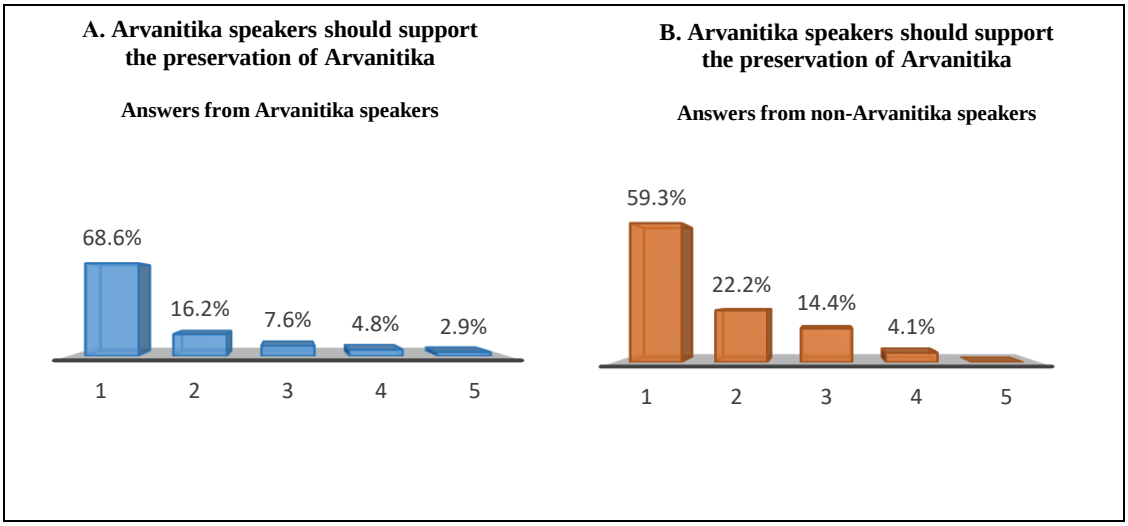


Figure 17 **A**. Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'Arvanitika speakers should support the preservation of Arvanitika'. **B.** Bar graph showing the answers of non-Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'Arvanitika speakers should support the preservation of Arvanitika'. The range is depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As displayed in Figure 17 **A,** the overwhelming majority of Arvanitika-speaking participants, 68.6%, strongly agreed with the statement 'Arvanitika speakers should support the preservation of Arvanitika', thereby showing positive attitudes towards the language's preservation among the speakers themselves. Additionally, a lower percentage of 16.2% exhibited positive attitudes, as their answers fell into category 2, leaning towards strongly agreeing with the statement. The percentages of participants' answers landing in numbers 3, 4 and 5 are negligible, showing neutral or negative attitudes towards Arvanitika's preservation among its speakers.

As indicated in Figure 17 **B**, similar to the first population, a significant 59.3% of non-Arvanitika-speaking participants strongly agreed with the same statement, showing positive attitudes towards Arvanitika's preservation by its speakers. Positive attitudes are further illustrated by 22.2% of the responses falling into category 2, showing a tendency towards strong agreement. However, the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants showed neutral attitudes towards preserving the language by its speakers, at 14.4%, showing indecisiveness, indifference, or neutral answers, not leaning towards either of the edges, 1 or 5. The percentage of answers falling into category 4 was very low, showing that very few non-Arvanitika-speaking participants held negative attitudes leaning towards number 5. Interestingly, no participants from the second group, the non-Arvanitika speakers, strongly disagreed with preserving the language by its speakers, something that indicates the lack of any extremely negative attitudes on the part of this population towards preserving Arvanitika.

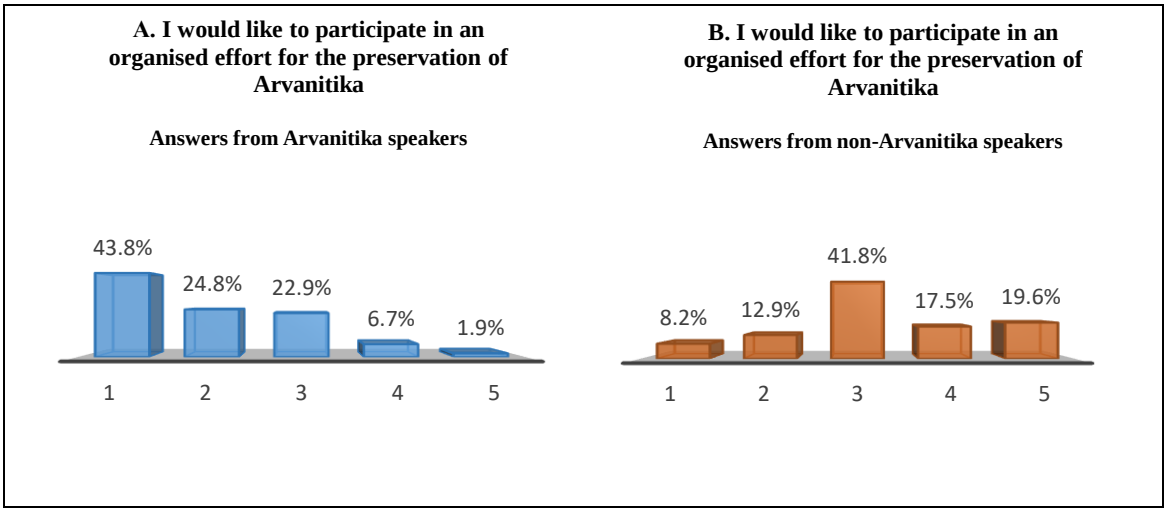


Figure 18 **A**. Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'I would like to participate in an organised effort for the preservation of Arvanitika'. **B.** Bar graph showing the answers of non-Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'I would like to participate in an organised effort for the preservation of Arvanitika'. The range is depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As shown in Figure 18 **A,** a notable 43.8% of Arvanitika speakers strongly agreed with the statement 'I would like to participate in an organised effort for the preservation of Arvanitika', indicating positive attitudes towards preserving the language. Furthermore, a relatively high percentage, 24.8%, of the Arvanitika-speaking participants appeared to also hold positive attitudes towards participating in preserving Arvanitika by choosing number 2 on the scale, leaning towards strong agreement. As opposed to the aforementioned majority of answers showing positive attitudes towards Arvanitika's

preservation, the percentages of participants' answers indicating negative attitudes were rather negligible, as only 6.7% of the total answers fell into category 4, showing a tendency to strong disagreement. Moreover, only 1.9% of the answers fell into category 5, showing strong disagreement with the statement. However, a medium percentage, 22.9%, revealed neutral attitudes, which may imply indecisiveness, indifference, or answers that lean neither towards strong agreement nor disagreement with the statement.

As illustrated in Figure 18 **B,** the overwhelming majority of the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, 41.8%, showed neutral attitudes towards active participation in preserving Arvanitika. The remaining answers fell into the other 4 categories, with most showing a tendency towards strong disagreement or strong agreement, thus suggesting largely negative attitudes, with 17.5% and 19.6% of participants' answers falling into categories 4 and 5, respectively. The percentages of answers falling into categories 1 and 2 were lower, 8.2% and 12.9%, respectively, revealing that fewer participants in this group hold positive attitudes towards actively participating in efforts to preserve Arvanitika.

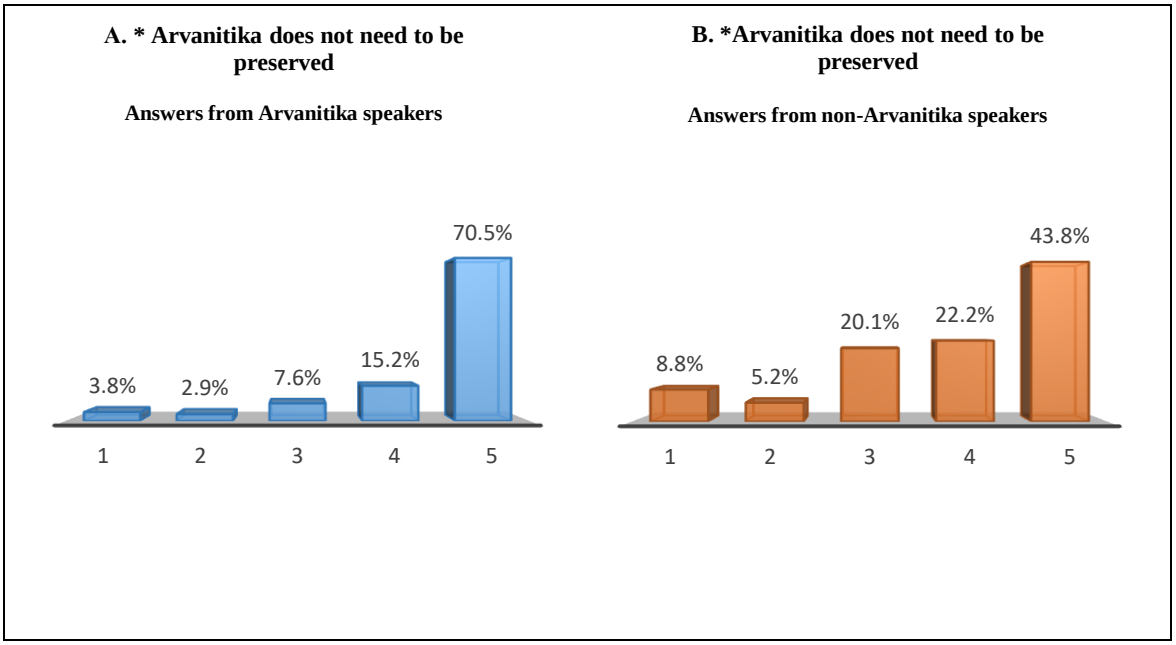


Figure 19 **A**. Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'Arvanitika does not need to be preserved'. **B.** Bar graph showing the answers of non-Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'Arvanitika does not need to be preserved'. The range is depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As depicted in Figure 19 **A**, the overwhelming majority of Arvanitika-speaking participants, 70.5%, strongly disagreed with the negative statement 'Arvanitika does not need to be preserved', exhibiting positive attitudes towards preserving Arvanitika. Notably, another 15.2% of the answers fell into category 4, also indicating positive attitudes towards preserving the language. The numbers for the rest of the answers were negligible, with only 7.6% of participants reporting neutral attitudes, 3.8% strongly agreeing with the statement, and 2.9% leaning towards strong disagreement, thus holding negative attitudes towards Arvanitika's preservation.

Similarly, as shown in Figure 19 **B**, most non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, 43.8%, strongly disagreed with the statement, thereby exhibiting positive attitudes towards preserving the language. Moreover, 20% of the total answers fell into category 3, expressing neutral attitudes towards Arvanitika's preservation or indecisiveness. As this neutral percentage is not negligible, of the 22.2% falling under number 4, leaning towards strong disagreement, it is plausible that part of this percentage leans towards number 3, indicating neutral attitudes, while another part leans towards number 5, indicating positive attitudes towards preserving the Arvanitika language. The percentages of 8.8% and 5.2% for categories 1 and 2, respectively, reveal that only a

very small minority of non-Arvanitika-speaking participants appear to hold negative attitudes towards preserving the language.

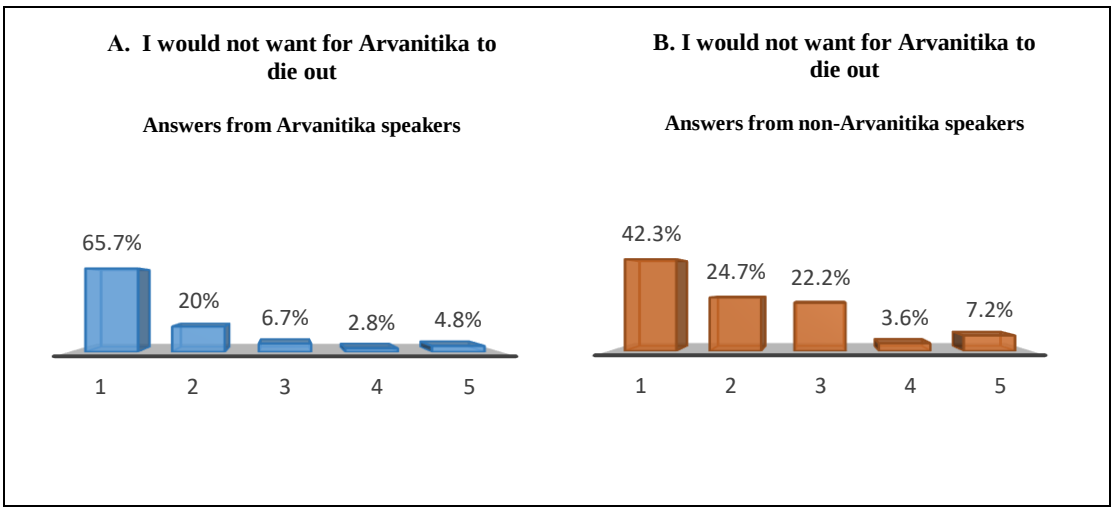


Figure 20 **A**. Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'I would not want for Arvanitika to die out'. **B.** Bar graph showing the answers of non-Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'I would not want for Arvanitika to die out'. The range is depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As depicted in Figure 20 **A**, a large percentage of the Arvanitika speakers, 65.7%, strongly agree with the statement 'I would not want for Arvanitika to die out', indicating positive attitudes towards Arvanitika's preservation or, at the very least, a desire to prevent its extinction. Following this substantial proportion, an additional 20% of the participants showed positive attitudes, with answers falling into category 2, indicating a tendency towards strong agreement with the statement. The remaining answers falling into categories 3, 4 and 5 displayed negligible percentages; thus, only a small minority of participants exhibited either neutral or negative attitudes towards Arvanitika's preservation.

Correspondingly, Figure 20 **B** reveals that the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, for the most part, also showed positive attitudes towards preserving the Arvanitika language, as 42.3% strongly agreed with the statement that they would not want Arvanitika to become extinct. However, 22.2% of the participants' answers fell into category 3, indicating neutral attitudes, which could either be interpreted as participants being indecisive or their attitudes being neither positive nor negative towards Arvanitika's preservation. Given the high percentage of neutral answers, part of the 24.7% of participants' category 2 responses could indicate a tendency towards strong agreement and a positive attitude towards preservation, while another part of this

category 2 response might indicate a leaning towards number 3, expressing neutral attitudes towards Arvanitika's preservation.

In the questionnaire, one open-ended question pointed to the state of Arvanitika's endangerment. Specifically, the question asked why Arvanitika is under the threat of extinction according to participants' perceptions. Participants' answers were grouped and classified into the emerging categories, as shown in Figure 21.

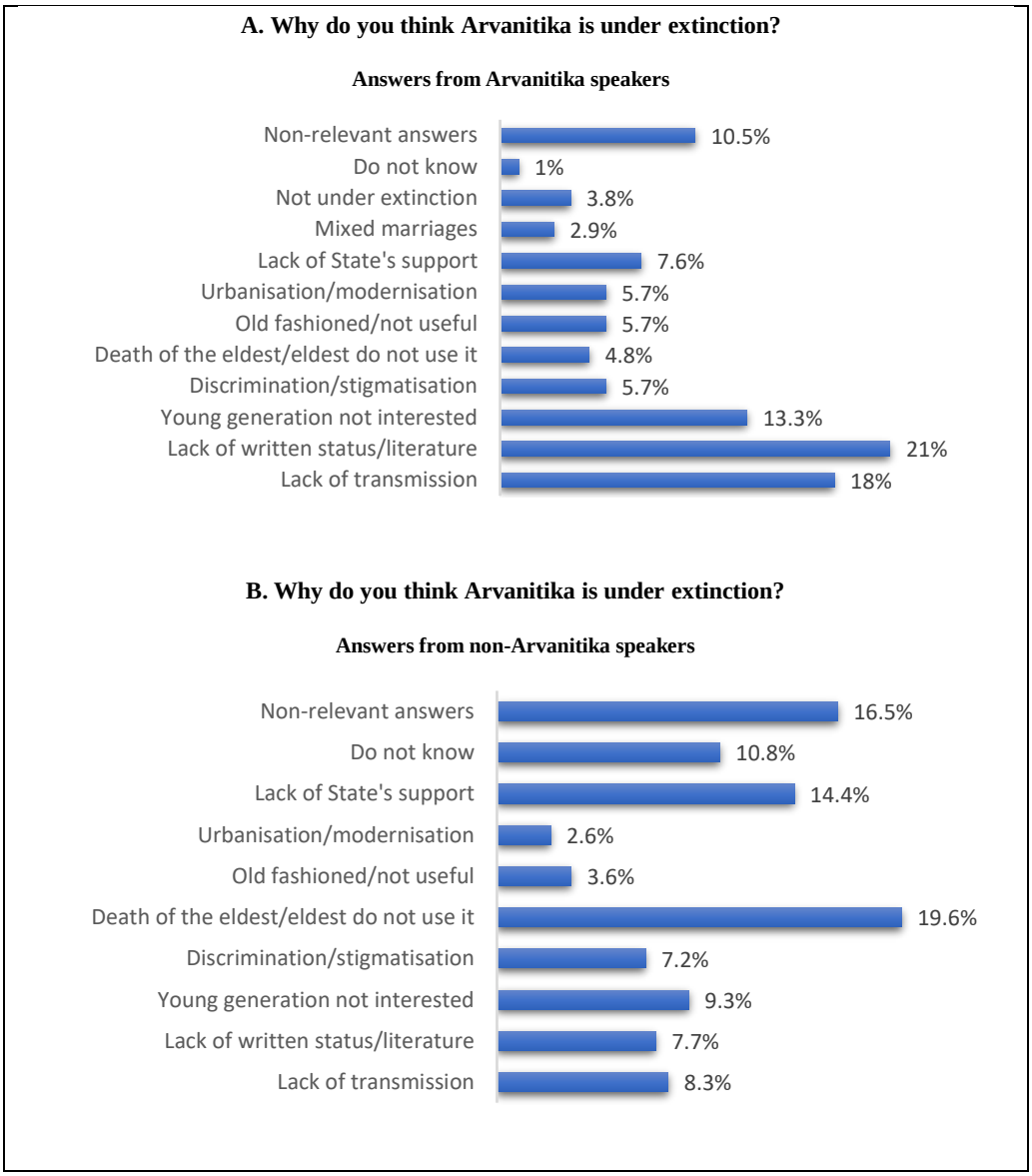


Figure 21 **A**. Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the open-ended question, 'Why do you think Arvanitika is under extinction?'. The answers were classified into the categories emerging from the following participants' answers: a) Lack of transmission, b) Lack of written status/literature, c) Young generation not interested, d) Discrimination/stigmatisation, e) Death of the eldest/eldest do not use it, f) Old fashioned/not useful, g) Urbanisation/modernisation, h) Lack of the state's support, i) Mixed marriages, j) Not under extinction, k) Do not know, and l) Non-relevant answers. The percentages reflect participants' answers out of the 105 responses. **B.** Bar graph showing the answers of non-Arvanitika speakers to the open-ended question, 'Why do you think Arvanitika is under extinction?'. The answers were classified into the categories emerging from the following participants'

answers: a) Lack of transmission, b) Lack of written status/literature, c) Young generation not interested, d) Discrimination/stigmatisation, e) Death of the eldest/eldest do not use it, f) Old fashioned/not useful, g) Urbanisation/modernisation, h) Lack of the state's support, i) Do not know, and j) Non-relevant answers. The percentages reflect participants' answers out of the 194 responses.

As shown in Figure 21 **A**, most of the Arvanitika-speaking participants' answers, specifically 21%, fell into the category 'Lack of written status/literature'. The second prevailing reason given by this group of participants was the 'Lack of transmission' from one generation to the next at 18%, while the third reason for Arvanitika's endangerment state given by participants was 'Younger generation not interested' at 13.3%. The 'Non-relevant answers' category includes answers that were totally irrelevant to the asked question, such as 'observe', 'eeeee' and blank. This could be explained by either the *fatigue effect* or by the fact that some participants did not wish to answer this question for various reasons.

As shown in Figure 21 **B**, most answers the non-Arvanitika speakers gave, specifically 19.6%, fell into the category 'Death of the eldest/eldest do not use it'. The second highest percentage comprised the 'Non-relevant answers' responses at 16.5%. This prevalence of non-relevant answers might be due to the fact that the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, as outsiders of the Arvanitika community, do not know much about the Arvanitika language and its sociolinguistic context. Therefore, they cannot express their views on its endangerment. Interestingly, as a third reason for the endangerment state of Arvanitika, 14.4% of non-Arvanitika-speaking participants referred to the 'Lack of the state's support'.

Furthermore, in addition to these main categories, new concepts were observed in the participants' answers, although they were not included in the above graphs. This exclusion was because either the answers were very few, they did not match with the leading emergent categories, or they were barely included in an abstract way in one of the emergent categories. These new concepts include the following:

1. 'Native language superiority' – 14 answers

2. 'Considered Slavic or foreign language/not very useful to use' – 6 answers

3. 'Spoken by dispersed population' – 5 answers

4. 'Considered disadvantaged for professional development' – 2 answers

5. ‘Not useful or/and not well-sounding’ – 2 answers.

5.5.Official recognition of Arvanitika

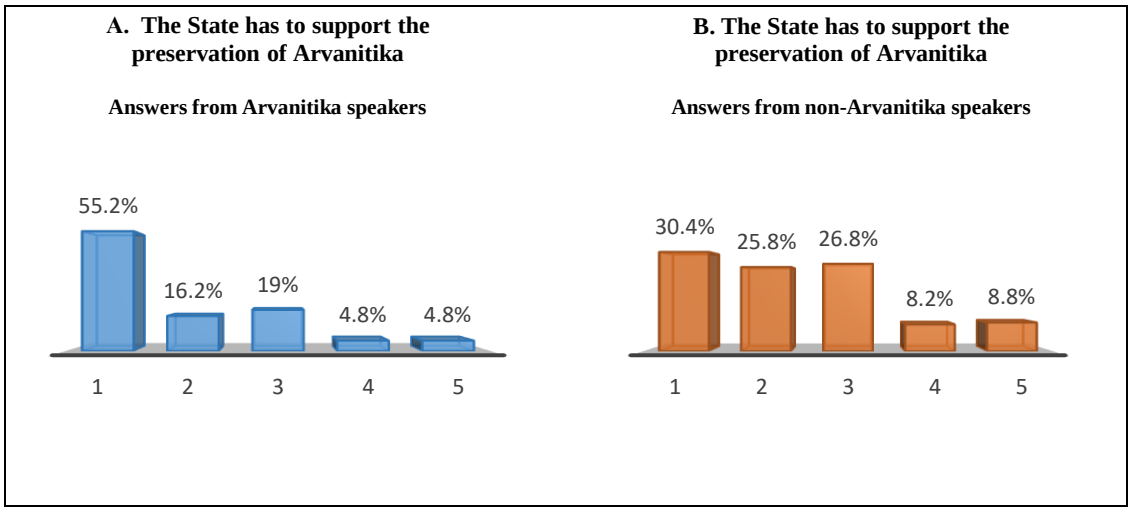


Figure 22 **A**. Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the statement ‘The State has to support the preservation of Arvanitika’. **B.** Bar graph showing the answers of non-Arvanitika speakers to the statement ‘The State has to support the preservation of Arvanitika’. The range is depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As Figure 22 **A** illustrates, the majority of Arvanitika speakers, 55.2%, strongly agreed with the statement ‘The State has to support the preservation of Arvanitika’. This response demonstrates positive attitudes towards the potential of the Greek state officially recognising or supporting Arvanitika. Additionally, 16.2% of Arvanitika speakers expressed positive attitudes, with answers indicating a tendency towards strong agreement with the statement. Conversely, 19% of the participants showed neutral attitudes or indecisiveness towards official recognition of the Arvanitika language. The percentages of the answers falling into categories 4 and 5 were negligible, indicating that very few Arvanitika-speaking participants hold negative attitudes towards the language’s official recognition.

Similarly, Figure 22 **B** indicates that 30.4 % of the non-Arvanitika speakers strongly agreed with the potential official recognition of Arvanitika. An additional 25.8% showed a tendency towards strong agreement, thereby expressing positive attitudes towards Arvanitika's official recognition. Furthermore, an almost equal percentage, 26.8%, showed neutral attitudes or indecisiveness. The percentages of 8.2% and 8.8%

of participants' answers fell into categories 4 and 5, respectively, indicating that very few non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, yet twice as many as Arvanitika speakers, hold negative attitudes towards the language's official recognition.

5.6. Solidarity use of Arvanitika

One of the thematic categories included in the questionnaire was the concept of 'Solidarity use' of Arvanitika, which appears to be predominant within the Arvanitika-speaking community. The term 'Solidarity use' indicates participants' use of Arvanitika with their close contacts, such as family members, friends and relatives.

The questionnaire contained a multiple-choice question/statement phrased as 'I speak/spoke Arvanitika with/at…' aiming to elicit whom participants speak the language with and/or in what contexts. The options given to respondents are presented in the graph below and its accompanying caption. Given that multiple answers were permissible, the percentages represent the answers given rather than the number of participants. Additionally, one last option, 'other', gave participants the chance to write an extra answer. Two answers under this 'other' option were given, which I named 'I am studying it', as they both pertained to participants studying the Arvanitika language. The total answers to this question/statement amounted to 277.

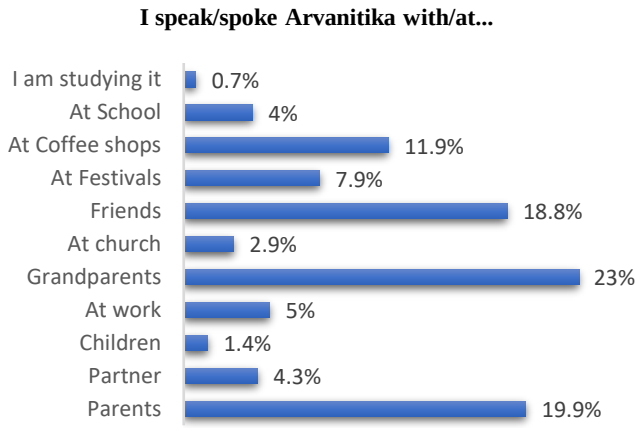


Figure 23. Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the question/statement 'I speak/spoke Arvanitika with/at…'. Multiple answers were valid. The percentages represent the participants' responses comprising a total of 277 answers.

As shown in Figure 23, most participants' answers, specifically 23%, indicated their extended use of Arvanitika with their grandparents, while 19.9% of the answers indicated an average number of participants used Arvanitika with their parents.

Furthermore, 18.8% of the answers reveal that quite a high percentage of participants use Arvanitika with their friends, and 11.9% represent answers indicating its use in coffee shops. Of interest is the very low percentage, 4%, representing the use of Arvanitika at school, with an even lower amount, 1.4%, representing participants speaking Arvanitika with their children. This latter statistic is indicative of the language's declining transmission to the younger generations. A further 7.9% of the answers indicated the low use of the language in festivals, while 4.3% concerned the use of Arvanitika with partners, 5% to its use at work, and a scant 2.9% to its use at church. Finally, merely 0.7% of the answers indicate that a minority of participants study the Arvanitika language. Single answers not included in the graph include speaking Arvanitika with 'siblings', 'cousins', 'neighbours', 'Albanian workers' or the 'online use' of Arvanitika and 'non-use at all'.

As expected, responses to the attitudinal questionnaire belonging to the thematic category 'Solidarity use' of Arvanitika apply *only* to the questionnaire distributed to the Arvanitika-speaking participants. Consequently, the following figures include solely the Arvanitika speakers' answers.

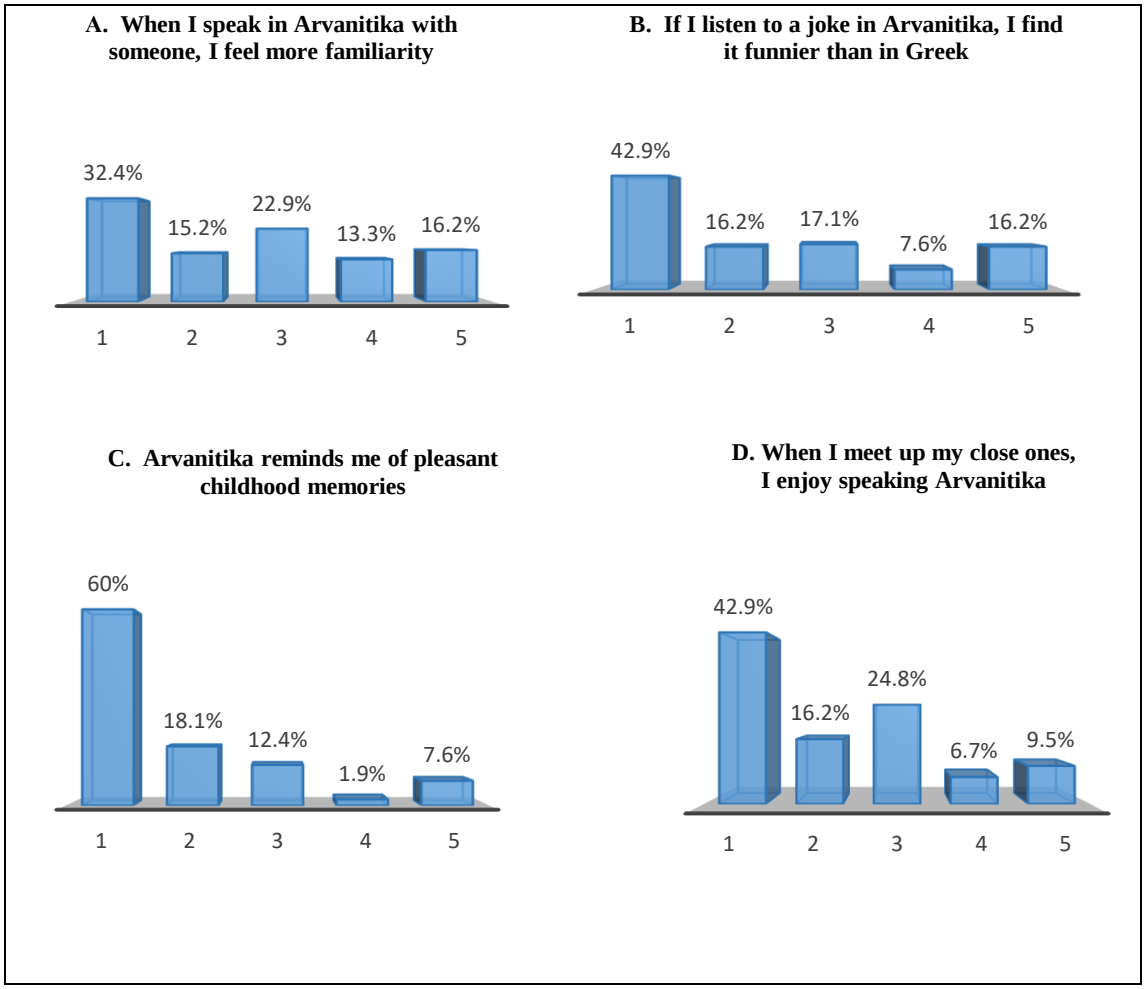


Figure 24 **A**. Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'When I speak Arvanitika with someone, I feel more familiarity'. **B.** Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'If I listen to a joke in Arvanitika, I find it funnier than in Greek'. **C**. Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'Arvanitika reminds me of pleasant childhood memories'. **D.** Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'When I meet up my close ones, I enjoy speaking Arvanitika'. The range depicted on the graph is a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As shown in Figure 24 **A**, most Arvanitika-speaking participants, 32.4%, strongly agreed with the statement that they feel more familiar speaking Arvanitika with someone, revealing positive attitudes towards using Arvanitika as a code of solidarity. An additional 15.2% displayed a tendency towards strong agreement with the statement, holding positive attitudes towards feeling familiarity when speaking the language. Conversely, a rather high percentage, 22.9%, of participants showed neutral attitudes or indecisiveness, choosing number 3 on the scale. Less prominent, but not negligible, were the percentages of 13.3% and 16.2% for scale numbers 4 and 5, respectively, which indicate negative participant attitudes regarding their feeling of familiarity when speaking Arvanitika.

Correspondingly, Figure 24 **B** reveals that the vast majority of Arvanitika-speaking participants, 42.9%, strongly agreed with the statement 'If I listen to a joke in Arvanitika, I find it funnier than in Greek', not only revealing positive attitudes but also confirming their feeling of familiarity when listening to Arvanitika in entertaining contexts such as humour. Subsequently, 16.2% of the answers indicated a tendency towards strong agreement with the statement, adding to the pool of positive attitudes. In contrast, 17.1% of Arvanitika-speaking participants expressed neutral attitudes, which could also be interpreted as indecisiveness in answering the statement. An almost equal percentage of participants,16.2%, answered that they strongly disagree with the statement, indicating negative attitudes towards Arvanitika's role as a solidarity code when used in jokes. A smaller 7.6% of responses showed a tendency to strong disagreement, echoing similar negative attitudes.

As shown in Figure 24 **C**, 60% of the Arvanitika-speaking participants strongly agreed with the statement, 'Arvanitika reminds me of pleasant childhood memories'. Additionally, 18.1% of the responses fell into category 2, showing positive attitudes towards Arvanitika as a vessel for pleasant childhood memories. A relatively lower percentage of the respondents, 12.4%, displayed neutral attitudes or indecisiveness, with answers falling into category 3. Conversely, the percentages of answers falling into categories 4 and 5 were considerably lower, 1.9% and 7.6%, respectively, indicating that participants do not associate the Arvanitika language with pleasant childhood memories.

As shown in Figure 24 **D**, in response to the statement 'When I meet up my close ones, I enjoy speaking Arvanitika', the overwhelming majority of Arvanitika speakers, 42.9%, answered that they strongly agree, indicating positive attitudes towards Arvanitika's solidarity use and their pleasant feelings when speaking it in intimate social contexts. An additional 16.2% of the participants exhibited positive attitudes towards Arvanitika's solidarity use, as answers falling into number 2 represent a tendency towards strong agreement with the aforementioned statement. However, the percentage of the answers falling into category 3 on the scale was relatively high, 24.8%, indicating neutral attitudes towards feeling pleasant when using Arvanitika as a solidarity code or indecisiveness when answering the statement. Smaller percentages of the answers fell into categories 4 and 5, 6.7% and 9.5%, respectively, indicating negative attitudes towards participants feeling pleasure when speaking Arvanitika with their close ones.

5.7.Oppression, discrimination and stigmatisation

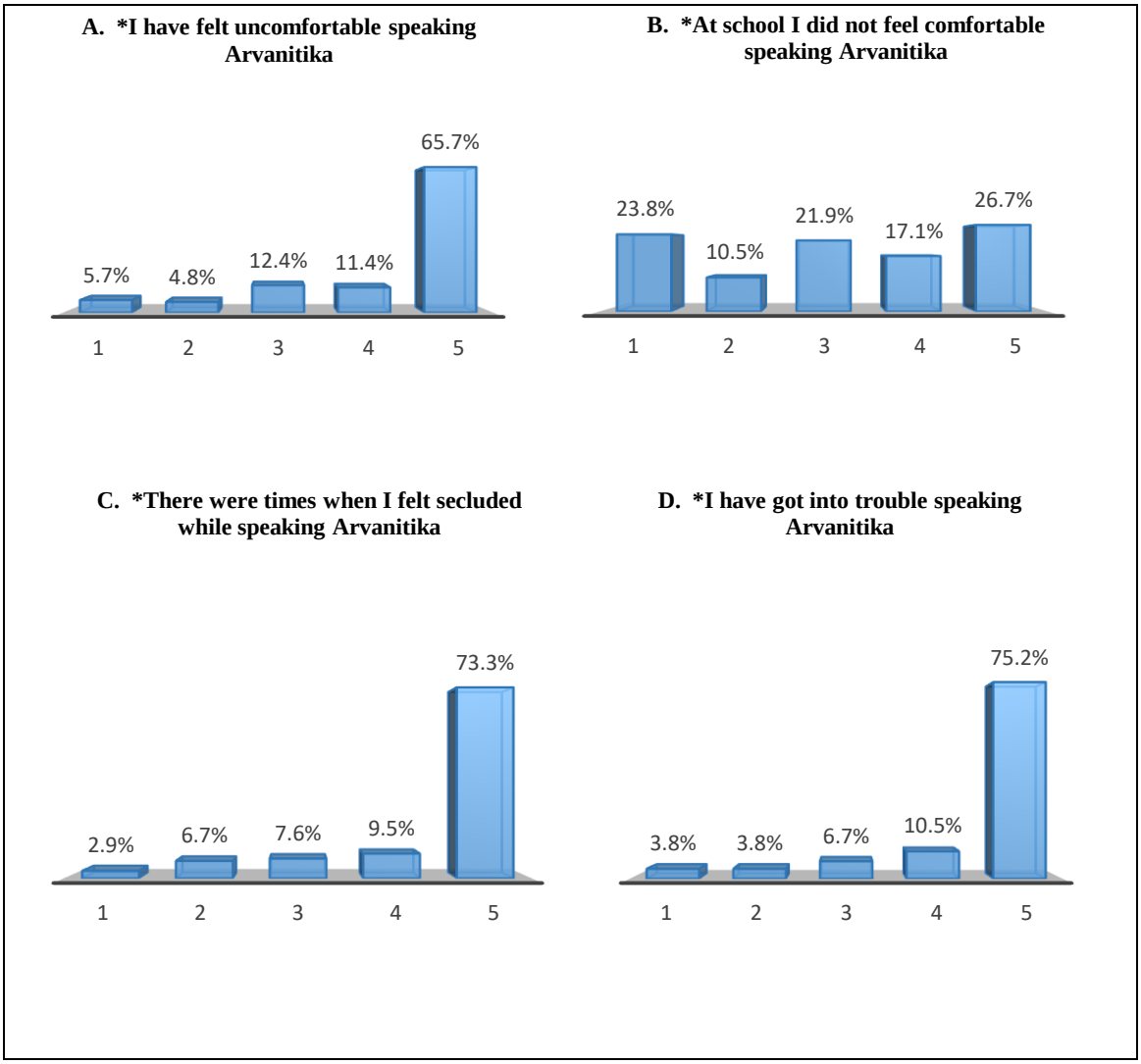


Figure 25 **A**. Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'I have felt uncomfortable speaking Arvanitika'. **B.** Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'At school I did not feel comfortable speaking Arvanitika'. **C**. Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'There were times when I felt secluded while speaking Arvanitika'. **D.** Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'I have got into trouble speaking Arvanitika'. The range is depicted on the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As illustrated in Figure 25 **A**, the vast majority of Arvanitika-speaking participants, 65.7%, replied that they strongly disagreed with the statement 'I have felt uncomfortable speaking Arvanitika', indicating that they did not experience discomfort in speaking Arvanitika publicly. Conversely, a much lower percentage, 11.4%, fell into category 4, revealing a tendency towards strong disagreement with the statement, thereby indicating positive attitudes towards not having experienced any discomfort speaking the language publicly. Neutral attitudes were expressed by 12.4% of the

Arvanitika-speaking participants, which could also be interpreted as participants being indecisive about answering the statement. The percentages falling into categories 1 and 2 on the Likert scale were negligible, 5.7% and 4.8%, respectively, revealing that only a small minority of participants have felt uncomfortable publicly speaking Arvanitika.

Similarly, Figure 25 **B** illustrates that 26.7% of the participants strongly disagreed with the statement 'At school I did not feel comfortable speaking Arvanitika'. According to the graph, responses are dispersed across the Likert scale, with minimal differences in percentages. However, the percentage of the opposite edge in category 1 was almost equally high as the aforementioned percentage, with 23.8% of the participants responding that they strongly agreed with the statement, showing that they did not feel comfortable speaking Arvanitika at school. Interestingly, if the answers to numbers 1 and 2 are aggregated, noting this represents the participants' tendency to agree with the statement, this represents 34.3% of the answers, which is close to the total number from combining the responses of numbers 4 and 5, 43.8%, representing the participants' tendency to disagree with the statement. Accordingly, it could be concluded that participants were somewhat equally divided between the scale's two extremes. Neutral answers were also notable, with a high percentage of 21.9%, indicating either indecisiveness or neutral attitudes.

As Figure 25 **C** illustrates, the overwhelming majority of Arvanitika speakers, a substantial 73.3%, answered that they strongly disagree with the statement 'There were times when I felt secluded while speaking Arvanitika', with an additional 9.5% also indicating a tendency towards strong disagreement. Therefore, most participants indicated positive attitudes towards not having experienced seclusion due to speaking the Arvanitika language. The remaining percentages falling into categories 1, 2 and 3 were rather negligible, with the first one being the lowest at 2.9%, indicating strong agreement with the statement. This data suggests that very few participants have experienced seclusion from speaking the language.

As depicted in Figure 25 **D**, a striking 75.2% of responses fell into category 5, substantiating that the vast majority of the participants have not encountered trouble when speaking Arvanitika. Furthermore, 10.5% of the participants showed a tendency towards strong disagreement with the statement 'I have got into trouble speaking Arvanitika', adding to the former high percentage. Consequently, it can be inferred that

most participants appear not to have experienced discrimination from speaking the Arvanitika language. The percentages of answers falling into categories 1, 2 and 3 were very low, indicating that very few participants experienced trouble from speaking Arvanitika. Moreover, only a few participants showed neutral attitudes towards having experienced discrimination, with just 6.7% of the answers falling into category 3 on the scale.

5.8. Value that speakers/non-speakers attach to (speaking/listening to) the Arvanitika language

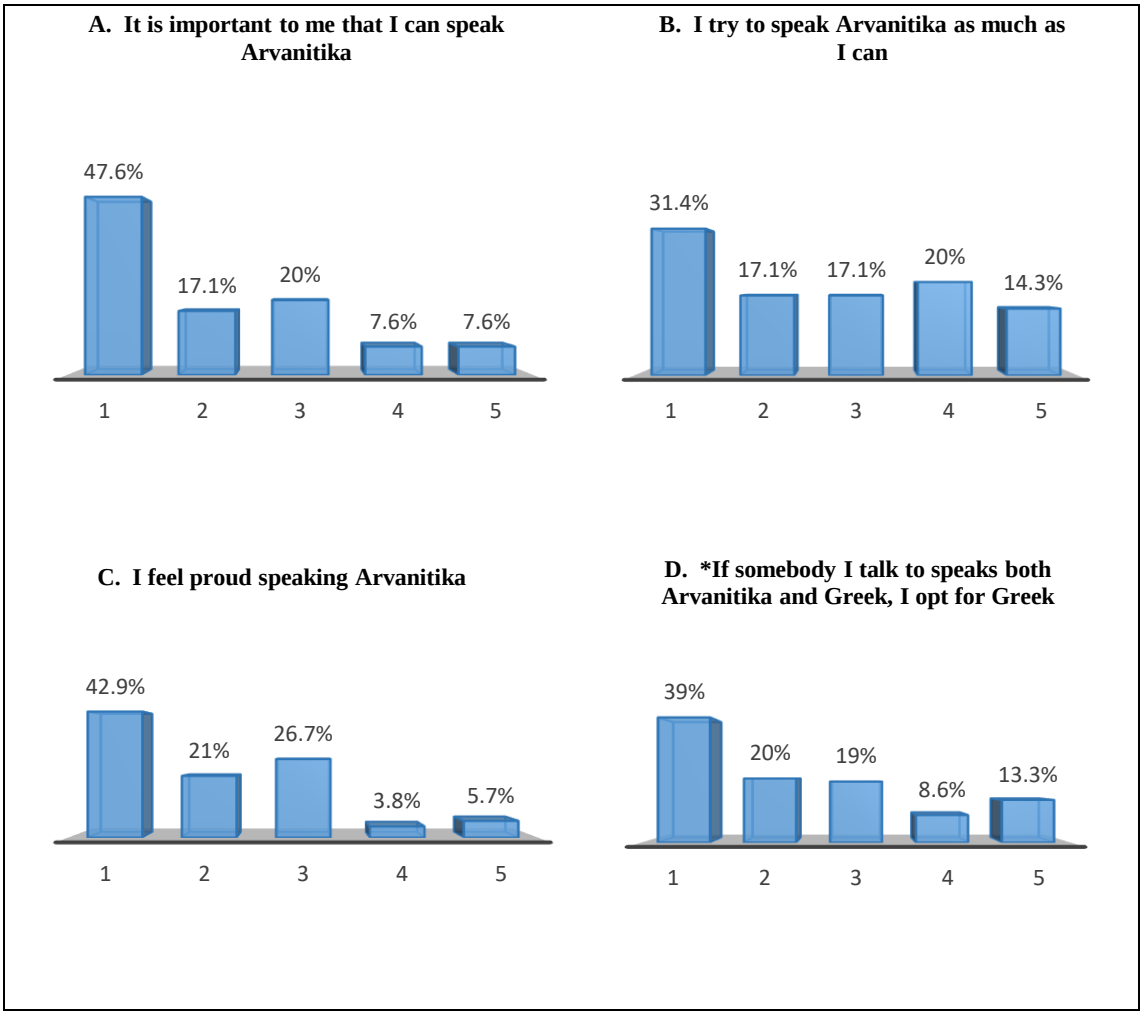


Figure 26 **A.** Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'It is important to me that I can speak Arvanitika'. **B**. Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'I try to speak Arvanitika as much as I can'. **C**. Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'I feel proud speaking Arvanitika'. **D**. Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'If somebody I talk to speaks both Arvanitika and Greek, I opt for Greek'. The range shown on the graph indicates the answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5=I strongly disagree, where responses under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As shown in Figure 26 **A**, the overwhelming majority of Arvanitika-speaking participants, at a high percentage of 47.6%, strongly agreed with the statement 'It is important to me that I can speak Arvanitika', indicating positive attitudes towards the value they attach to speaking Arvanitika. An additional 17.1% of the answers fell into category 2, denoting participants' tendency towards strong agreement with the statement and, by extension, positive attitudes towards the value of speaking the language. Notably, a rather high percentage of the answers, 20%, fell into category 3,

revealing either the participants' neutral attitudes towards their value of speaking the language or their indecisiveness in answering the statement. The percentages of the answers falling into categories 4 and 5 were low, with equal percentages of 7.6% each, indicating very few participants strongly disagreed with or showed a tendency towards strong disagreement with the statement, thus exhibiting negative attitudes towards valuing their ability to speak Arvanitika.

As depicted in Figure 26 **B**, in response to the statement 'I try to speak Arvanitika as much as I can', most participants, 31.4%, chose number 1 on the scale, showing they strongly agree with the statement. Furthermore, 17.1% of the participants demonstrated a tendency towards strong agreement with the statement, albeit without reaching the level of strong agreement. Conversely, only 14.3% of the participants strongly disagreed with the statement, while another 20% slightly disagreed, as indicated by choosing number 4 in the scale. Intriguingly, an equal percentage to that of category 2 (17.1%) fell into category 3, a neutral response, without displaying any tendency towards either edge. Participants lingering between categories 1 and 2 and their final choice, which sum up to 34.2% of the answers, shows that the main tendency was directed towards agreeing with the statement and, thereby, indicating participants' willingness to speak Arvanitika as much as possible.

As shown in Figure 26 **C**, most Arvanitika-speaking participants, 42.9%, strongly agreed with the statement 'I feel proud speaking Arvanitika', while 21% tended towards strong agreement by choosing number 2 on the scale. The neutral answers constituted a relatively high percentage, 26.7%, showing either participants' indecisiveness or a genuine lack of preference. Only a very small number of respondents, 5.7%, strongly disagreed with the statement, indicating only a small minority hold negative attitudes towards deriving pride from speaking Arvanitika.

As illustrated in Figure 26 **D**, interestingly, in response to the statement, 'If somebody I talk to speaks both Arvanitika and Greek, I opt for Greek', the majority of participants, 39%, stated that they strongly agreed, with another 20% of the participants slightly agreeing. Remarkably, almost equal to the former were the neutral answers, 19%, indicating participants were either indecisive or their answers did not lean towards either edge, 1 or 5, neither strong agreement nor strong disagreement. Conversely, the percentages of answers falling into categories 4 and 5 were much lower, 8.6% and

13.3%, respectively, revealing that fewer participants hold positive attitudes towards speaking Arvanitika with other Arvanitika speakers when the latter also speak Greek. Therefore, answers predominantly indicate a preference for Greek among participants rather than Arvanitika when both are an option.

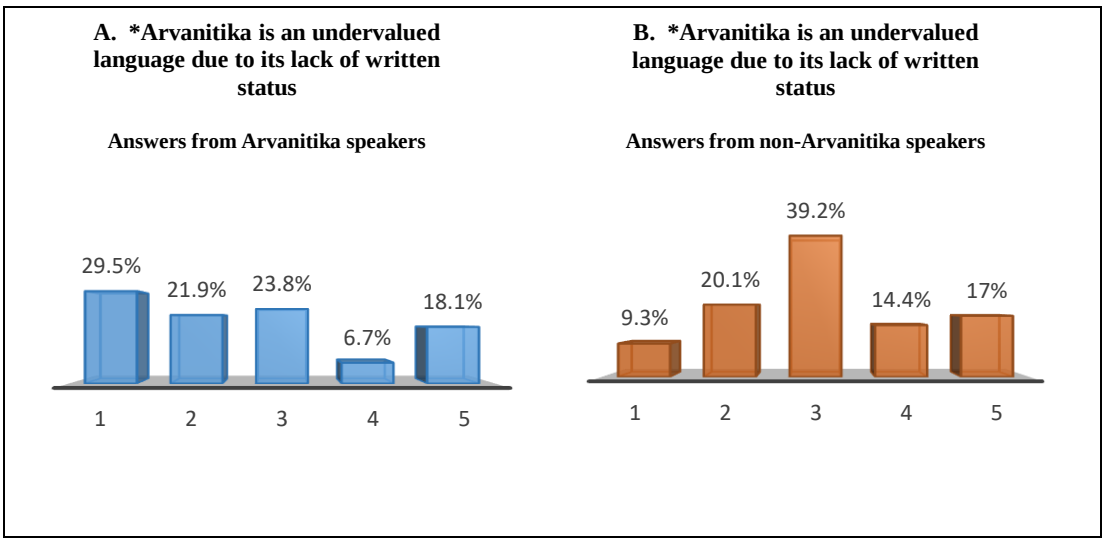


Figure 27 **A**. Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'Arvanitika is an undervalued language due to its lack of written status'. **B.** Bar graph showing the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'Arvanitika is an undervalued language due to its lack of written status'. The range is depicted on the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As shown in Figure 27 **A**, the majority of the Arvanitika-speaking participants, 29.5%, strongly agree that Arvanitika is an undervalued language due to its lack of a written form, associating the non-written status of Arvanitika to the language's 'low' value. Furthermore, a rather high percentage of the participants' answers, 21.9%, fell into category 2, indicating a tendency towards strong agreement, also interpreted as negative attitudes towards Arvanitika due to its lack of a written form. Similarly, a high number of answers fell into number 3 on the scale, indicating either neutral attitudes or indecisiveness from participants in answering the statement. Conversely, 18.1% of the answers fell into category 5, revealing participants' positive attitudes towards Arvanitika, indicating disagreement with Arvanitika being undervalued due to its lack of a written form. A much lower percentage of the Arvanitika speakers, 6.7%, tended towards strong disagreement with the statement, also displaying positive attitudes. Collectively, these results reveal a high tendency among participants to attribute the 'low' status of Arvanitika to its lack of having a written form.

As Figure 27 **B** demonstrates, in response to the same statement, 39.2% of the non-Arvanitika speakers appeared to hold neutral attitudes towards attaching Arvanitika's 'low' status to its non-written status by choosing number 3 on the scale. The remaining answers were almost equally distributed between the two edges of the Likert scale. More specifically, the combined total of 29.4% for numbers 1 and 2, which indicate strong agreement and tendency to strong agreement with the statement, thus negative attitudes towards accounting Arvanitika as an undervalued language due to its lack of written status, almost aligns with the 31.4% of the answers falling into categories 4 and 5, which signify strong disagreement and tendency towards strong disagreement. These latter categories represent positive attitudes, as the participants did not attach the 'low' status of Arvanitika to its non-written nature. Consequently, these results could be interpreted as suggesting that most participants remain indecisive or hold neutral attitudes regarding the connection of Arvanitika's value with its lack of a written form. Moreover, the remaining participants appear to be divided into two groups: one considers the non-written status as a reason for Arvanitika's 'low' status, and the other rejects this association.

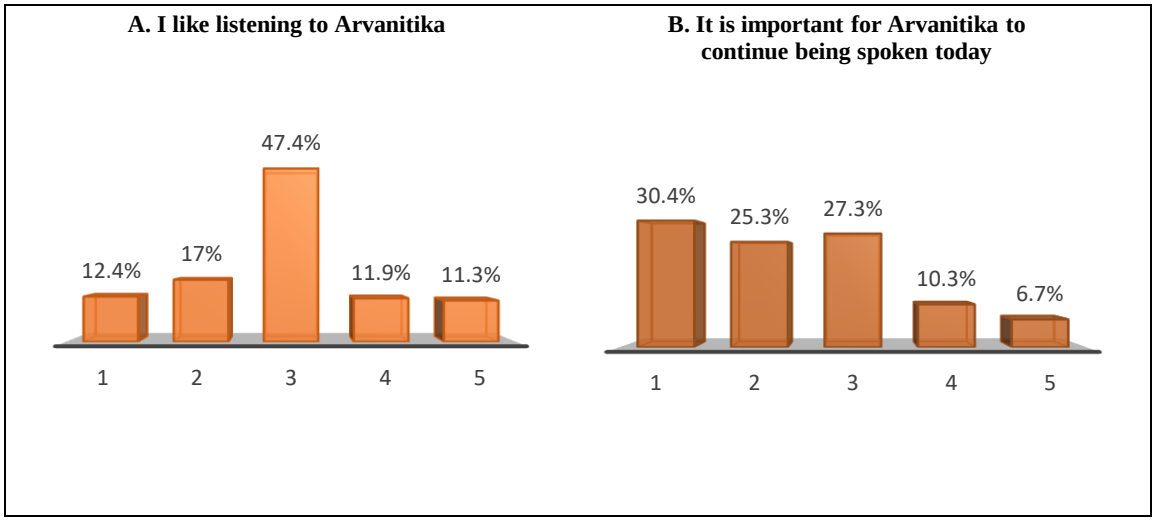


Figure 28 **A**. Bar graph showing the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'I like listening to Arvanitika' given. **B.** Bar graph showing the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'It is important for Arvanitika to continue being spoken today'. The range is depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As shown in Figure 28 **A**, the overwhelming majority of the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, at 47.4%, neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement 'I like listening to Arvanitika', as their responses fell into the neutral category 3 of the Likert scale. This response could be interpreted as indecisiveness among participants in answering this

specific statement. The remaining answers were distributed into two categories: the first, including numbers 1 and 2 in the scale and totalling 29.4%, shows positive attitudes from the participants, as these responses fall into either strong agreement or tendency towards it; the second, amounting to 23.2% and comprising categories 4 and 5, indicates either strong disagreement or tendency towards it, thus signalling participants' negative attitudes towards listening to Arvanitika.

Correspondingly, Figure 28 **B** reveals that 30.4% of the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants strongly agreed with the statement 'It is important for Arvanitika to continue being spoken today', demonstrating positive attitudes towards preserving the language. However, this percentage is almost equal to the combined categories 2 and 3, which represent a tendency towards strong agreement and thus positive attitudes and neutral attitudes or indecisiveness, at 25.3% and 27.3%, respectively. The percentages of the answers falling into categories 4 and 5 were negligible, which indicates strong disagreement and therefore negative attitudes towards the preservation of Arvanitika. Collectively, the results reveal that most of the non-Arvanitika-speaking respondents presently hold mainly positive and neutral attitudes towards preserving the Arvanitika language.

5.9.Connection of Arvanitika with social status and education

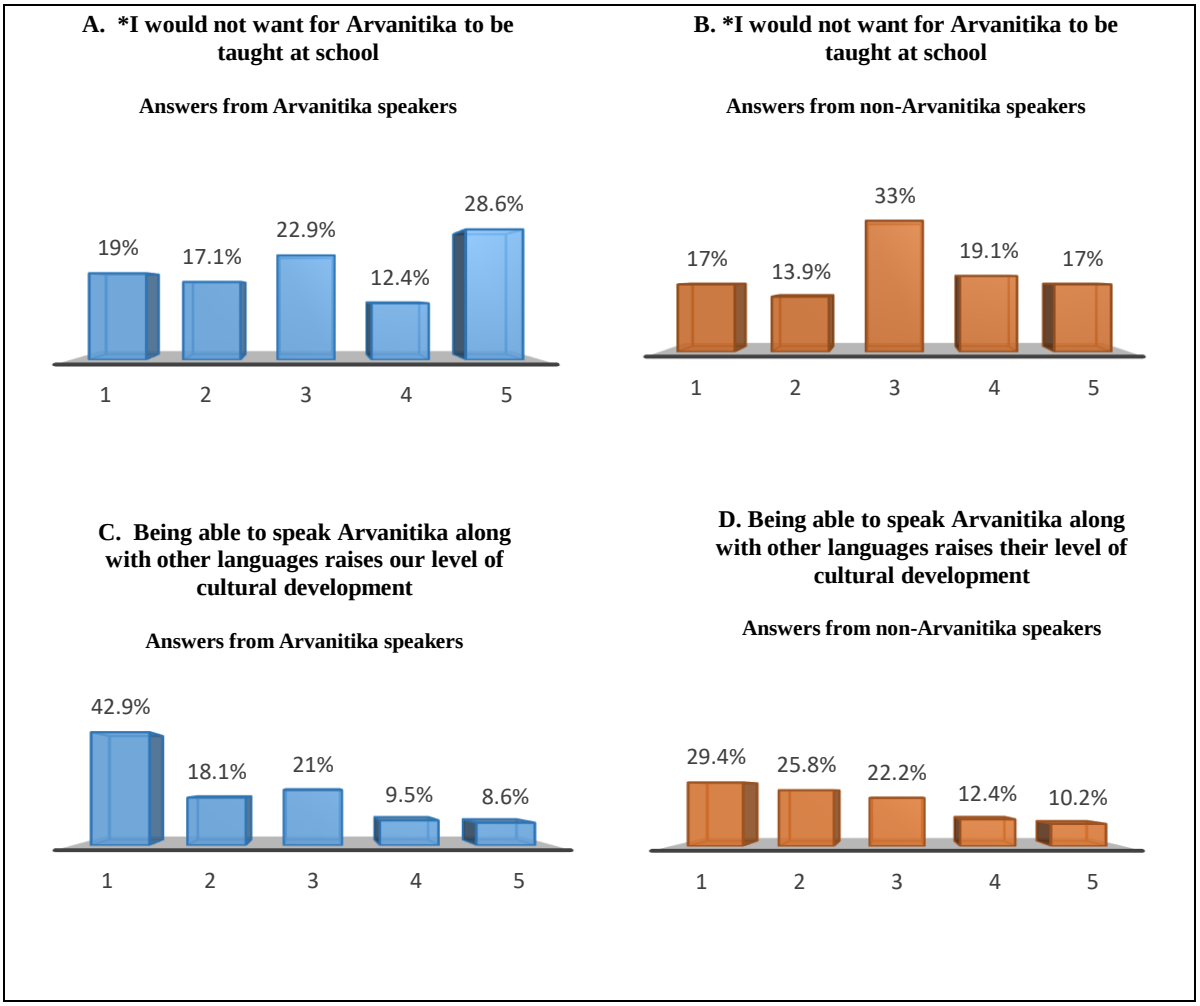


Figure 29 **A**. Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'I would not want for Arvanitika to be taught at school'. **B.** Bar graph showing the answers of non-Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'I would not want for Arvanitika to be taught at school'. **C**. Bar graph showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'Being able to speak Arvanitika along with other languages raises our level of cultural development'. **D.** Bar graph showing the answers of non-Arvanitika speakers to the statement 'Being able to speak Arvanitika along with other languages raises their level of cultural development'. The range is depicted on the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As illustrated in Figure 29 **A**, 28.6% of the Arvanitika-speaking participants strongly disagree with the statement 'I would not want for Arvanitika to be taught at school', thus displaying positive attitudes towards Arvanitika being taught in official educational contexts. However, participants' answers falling into categories 1 and 2, signalling strong agreement or tendency towards it, respectively, were also high, totalling 36.1%, indicating negative attitudes towards the potential instruction of Arvanitika in school. Notably, this percentage is only slightly less than the cumulative

percentages of numbers 4 and 5, at 41%, showing a tendency towards strong disagreement and strong disagreement with the statement, respectively. Furthermore, 22.9% of the Arvanitika-speaking participants' answers fell into category 3, indicating a rather high percentage of either neutral attitudes or indecisiveness towards Arvanitika being taught in school. Collectively, these results reveal an almost equal distribution of answers showing both positive and negative attitudes, as well as neutral attitudes, which precludes drawing safe conclusions regarding speakers' attitudes towards the instruction of Arvanitika at school.

Similarly, Figure 29 **B** demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, 33%, showed either neutral attitudes or indecisiveness towards Arvanitika being taught at school. Their remaining answers were almost equally distributed within categories 1 and 2, and 3 and 4, with the sum of the former two categories being 30.9% and the sum of the latter two categories being 36.1%, indicating a slight tendency towards positive attitudes. These results reflect neutrality or indecisiveness among the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants towards Arvanitika's instruction within an official educational context.

In contrast, Figure 29 **C** demonstrates that the vast majority of Arvanitika-speaking participants, 42.9%, strongly agree with the statement 'Being able to speak Arvanitika along with other languages raises our level of cultural development', indicating positive attitudes towards Arvanitika. Conversely, merely 8.6% of the Arvanitika-speaking participants showed negative attitudes towards the relationship of Arvanitika with a high level of cultural development. Moreover, 21% of the participants showed either neutral attitudes or indecisiveness.

As illustrated in Figure 29 **D**, the majority of the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, 29.4%, showed positive attitudes towards the connection of Arvanitika with cultural development. An additional 25.8% also indicated a tendency towards strong agreement by choosing number 2 on the scale. The percentages for categories 4 and 5 were rather low, at 12.4% and 10.2%, respectively. These results indicate very few negative attitudes towards Arvanitika's connection with social status and education among the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants. However, the answers falling into the neutral category 3 were not negligible, as 22.2% of the participants indicated either neutral

attitudes or indecisiveness towards the correlation between Arvanitika and cultural development.

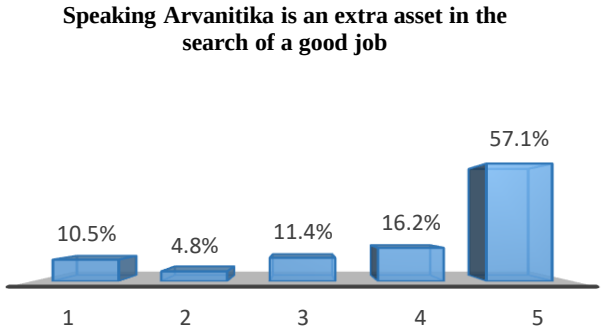


Figure 30 Bar graph showing Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'Speaking Arvanitika is an extra asset in the search of a good job'. The range is depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As indicated in Figure 30, the overwhelming majority of the Arvanitika-speaking participants, specifically 57.1% of this group, strongly disagree with the statement 'Speaking Arvanitika is an extra asset in the search of a good job', while 16.2% of the participants showed a tendency towards strong agreement by choosing number 4 on the scale. Therefore, these results indicate that most Arvanitika-speaking participants hold negative attitudes towards Arvanitika being useful for their professional development. The percentages falling into categories 1, 2 and 3 were much lower (10.5%, 4.8% and 11.4%, respectively) and could be considered rather negligible in comparison to the responses for categories 4 and 5.

5.10. Use of Arvanitika during the Albanian migration wave

This thematic category includes the questions and statements from the questionnaires related to the use of the Arvanitika language during the Albanian migration to Greece in the 1990s. Furthermore, I include here one open-ended question related to the potential effect of the Albanian migration on Arvanitika's state of endangerment. As participants were free to write down their thoughts on the question, I decided upon data collection to group their responses and classify them into the categories appearing in the graphs below. Specifically, the question 'Did the Albanian migration affect the trajectory of Arvanitika towards its extinction' within the questionnaire included a supplementary query: 'If so, in what way?'. While the graphs below represent solely the answers to the first part of the question, the explanation below includes some indicative answers from participants to the follow-up question. The dataset reveals that Arvanitika speakers contributed 105 answers, and non-Arvanitika speakers provided 223 answers.

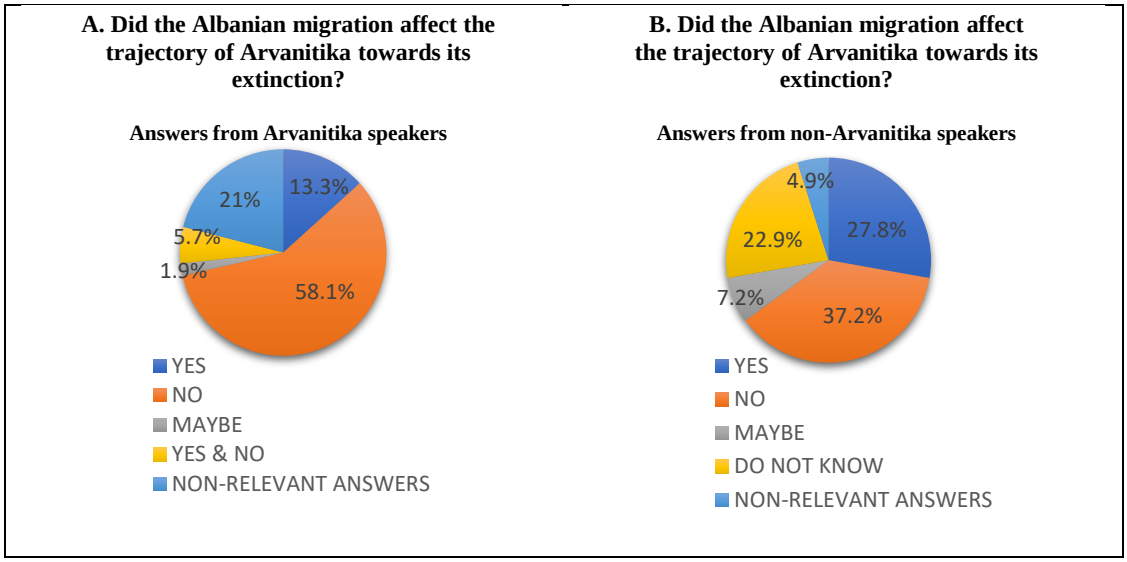


Figure 31 **A**. Pie chart showing the answers of Arvanitika speakers to the open-ended question, 'Did the Albanian migration affect the trajectory of Arvanitika towards its extinction?'. The answers were classified into the following categories: a) YES, b) NO, c) MAYBE, d) YES & NO, e) NON-RELEVANT ANSWERS. The pie chart reflects percentages calculated from the 105 answers obtained for this question. **B.** Pie chart showing answers of non-Arvanitika speakers to the open-ended question 'Did the Albanian migration affect the trajectory of Arvanitika towards its extinction?'. The answers were classified into the following categories: a) YES, b) NO, c) MAYBE, d) DO NOT KNOW, e) NON-RELEVANT ANSWERS. The percentages are based on the 223 answers obtained for this question.

As shown in Figure 31 **A**, the vast majority of Arvanitika-speaking participants' answers, 58.1% in total, reported that the Albanian migration did not impact Arvanitika's trajectory towards extinction. In contrast, merely 13.3% of the answers

from this demographic fell into the 'YES' category, and the percentages of the answers falling into categories 'YES & NO' and 'MAYBE' were negligible.

As the above open-ended question was accompanied by the follow-up query, 'If so, in what way?' participants were provided the chance to justify their answers. Accordingly, I chose some of the participants' statements, which I present here. One illustrative statement comes from the group 'YES & NO' and is articulated as follows: *Yes and no. Yes, because if you spoke with them (Albanians) in Arvanitika, you would be treated with contempt by those who undervalue the Albanians. No, because it was an opportunity for the language to revive* (In Greek: *Και ναι και όχι. Ναι, γιατί αν μιλούσες μαζί τους αρβανίτικα γινόσουν αντικείμενο περιφρόνησης από όσους υποτιμούν τους αλβανούς. Όχι, γιατί δόθηκε η ευκαιρία να ξαναζωντανέψει η γλώσσα*). In this account, the participant clearly discusses the equation of the Arvanite population with Albanians and the stigmatisation the Arvanitika speakers experienced because of their conflation with Albanian speakers, stemming from the derogatory connotation the word 'Albanian' bears in the Greek context. The participant's statement refers to the Greek society's perception of Albanians and – upon equating Arvanitika speakers with the former – Arvanite population, as people of 'low' status and education. Nevertheless, in the second part of his response, the same participant acknowledged that the Albanian migration also provided an opportunity for Arvanitika to 'revive'.

From the participants' answers categorised under 'YES', I, indicatively, present the following response: *Yes, maybe some Arvanitika speakers would not want to be equated with people of Albanian origin, so they stopped speaking it (Arvanitika), but also (they stopped) transmitting the language to the next generations* (In Greek: *Ναι, ίσως κάποιοι αρβανίτες δεν θα ήθελαν να τους συγχέουν με τους αλβανικής καταγωγής ανθρώπους και έτσι σταμάτησαν να μιλούν αλλά και να μεταδίδουν την γλώσσα στις επόμενες γενιές*). As indicated in the aforementioned indicative explanations Arvanitika-speaking participants provided for the question, the themes of *discrimination* and *stigmatisation* emerged, once again, in participants' answers as a *deterrent* for their speaking of Arvanitika.

The majority of the participants' answers classified under 'NO' were given without justification or further explanation. However, there existed a few more explicit responses, exemplified by this one: *Of course not, because the language had already started going extinct before the Albanian migration'* (In Greek: *Όχι βέβαια γιατί η γλώσσα είχε ήδη αρχίσει να χάνεται πριν την αλβανική μετανάστευση*). This participant,

as well as a few others, stated that the Albanian migration did not affect Arvanitika's trajectory towards its extinction, as the decline of the language was already in motion. As illustrated in Figure 31 **B**, 37.2% of the non-Arvanitika speakers' responses fell into the 'NO' category, indicating the belief that the Albanian migration of the '90s did *not* affect the Arvanitika language's trajectory towards its extinction. Furthermore, a relatively high percentage of participants' responses, 27.8%, fell into the 'YES' category, reporting that the Albanian migration *affected* the decline of Arvanitika. Notably, among the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants' answers, 22.9% fell into the 'DO NOT KNOW' category.

There were slight differences in the categories from participants' answers to the same question between the Arvanitika speakers and non-speakers. In the case of non-Arvanitika speakers, there was no 'YES & NO' category; rather, there was a 'DO NOT KNOW' category. It should be noted that among the 'YES' category answers, participants provided explanations addressing the following themes: 'Albanian immigrants being assimilated into Greek language and culture', 'Dominance/Superiority of the Greek language' and 'Xenophobia/Racism and negative connotations of Albanian' to justify their belief that the Albanian migration *did affect* Arvanitika's decline.

Finally, the 'NON-RELEVANT ANSWERS' category included irrelevant responses, such as "*Arvanites can understand Albanian"* and blank answers. Interestingly, the percentage of responses categorised as 'NON-RELEVANT ANSWERS' from the Arvanitika speakers' questionnaire was 21%, quadrupling the percentage of non-Arvanitika speakers' answers, 4.9%. This disparity could possibly be explained by the *emotional involvement* of Arvanitika speakers, which might make it difficult for them to address this question due to the *stigmatisation* that they or other members of their community have experienced. Therefore, many Arvanitika-speaking participants might have avoided answering this question by leaving it *blank*, or they might have given non-relevant answers to *distance* themselves from addressing this theme. Conversely, the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers in the 'NON-RELEVANT ANSWERS' category were very few, which could be justified by their status as outsiders of the Arvanitika community, thus liberating them from the previously mentioned stigma equated with the Arvanite population and Albanians. Therefore, it was not such a challenge for the

non-Arvanitika speakers to address this question, as they are emotionally distanced from such a context.

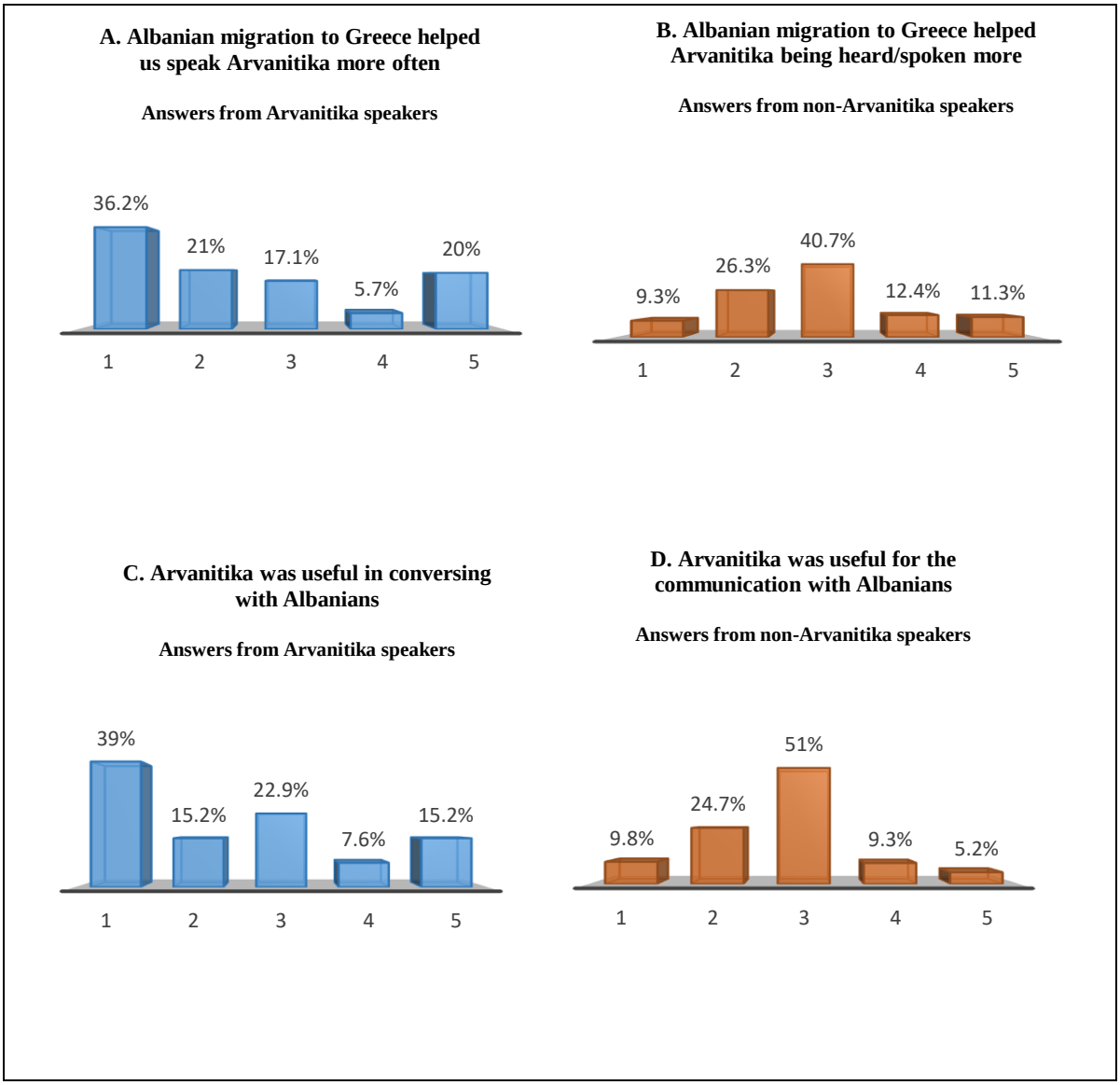


Figure 32 **A**. Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'Albanian migration to Greece helped us speak Arvanitika more often'. **B.** Bar graph showing the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'Albanian migration to Greece helped Arvanitika being heard/spoken more'. **C**. Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'Arvanitika was useful in conversing with Albanians'. **D.** Bar graph showing the non-Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'Arvanitika was useful for the communication with Albanians'. The range is depicted on the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As illustrated in Figure 32 **A**, most Arvanitika-speaking participants, 36.2%, strongly agreed with the statement 'Albanian migration to Greece helped us speak Arvanitika

more often'. An additional 21% of the Arvanitika-speaking participants showed a tendency towards strong agreement by choosing number 2 on the scale. Consequently, these respondents expressed positive attitudes towards the revival of the language through increased communication with Albanians during their migration to Greece. Nevertheless, 20% of participants from this group strongly disagreed with the aforementioned statement, while another 5.7% showed a tendency towards strong disagreement, thus displaying negative attitudes. Furthermore, 17.1% of the Arvanitika-speaking participants showed either neutral attitudes or indecisiveness. The results indicate that the number of Arvanitika-speaking participants who spoke Arvanitika more often with Albanians during the Albanian migration to Greece is double that of those who did not.

As illustrated in Figure 32 **B**, the vast majority of the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, a significant 40.7%, chose number 3 on the scale, showing either neutral attitudes or indecisiveness towards the resurgence of Arvanitika during the Albanian migration to Greece in the 1990s. The remaining participants' answers were distributed across categories 1 and 2, and 4 and 5, with the answers falling into the former two categories slightly outweighing those falling into the latter two. This result means that slightly more participants tended to agree with the revival of Arvanitika during the Albanian migration to Greece than those who disagreed. However, this distribution warrants further interpretation given the neutral attitudes or indecisiveness represented by 40.7% who chose number 3 on the scale.

Correspondingly, Figure 32 **C** reveals that an overwhelming majority of Arvanitika-speaking participants, 39% of this group, strongly agreed with the statement 'Arvanitika was useful in conversing with Albanians'. An additional 15.2% displayed a tendency towards strong agreement, showing positive attitudes towards speaking Arvanitika with Albanians. A smaller percentage, 22.9% of this group of participants, showed either neutral attitudes or indecisiveness by choosing number 3 on the scale. A mere 15.2% and 7.6% of the Arvanitika-speaking participants strongly disagreed and leaned towards strong disagreement, respectively, displaying negative attitudes towards speaking the language with Albanians. The results primarily indicate positive attitudes among this group of participants towards speaking Arvanitika with Albanians, albeit with a rather high percentage of neutral attitudes or indecisiveness.

As illustrated in Figure 32 **D**, a substantial 51% of non-Arvanitika-speaking participants chose number 3 on the scale regarding the statement 'Arvanitika was useful for the communication with Albanians', displaying neutral attitudes or indecisiveness towards the revival of Arvanitika due to the communication between Arvanitika speakers and Albanians. The remaining responses fell into categories 1 and 2, as well as 4 and 5. Notably, the proportion of responses in the former two, which show positive attitudes towards the revival of Arvanitika due to the communication with Albanians, was approximately double the percentage compared to the sum of the answers falling into the latter two categories, which signifies negative attitudes.

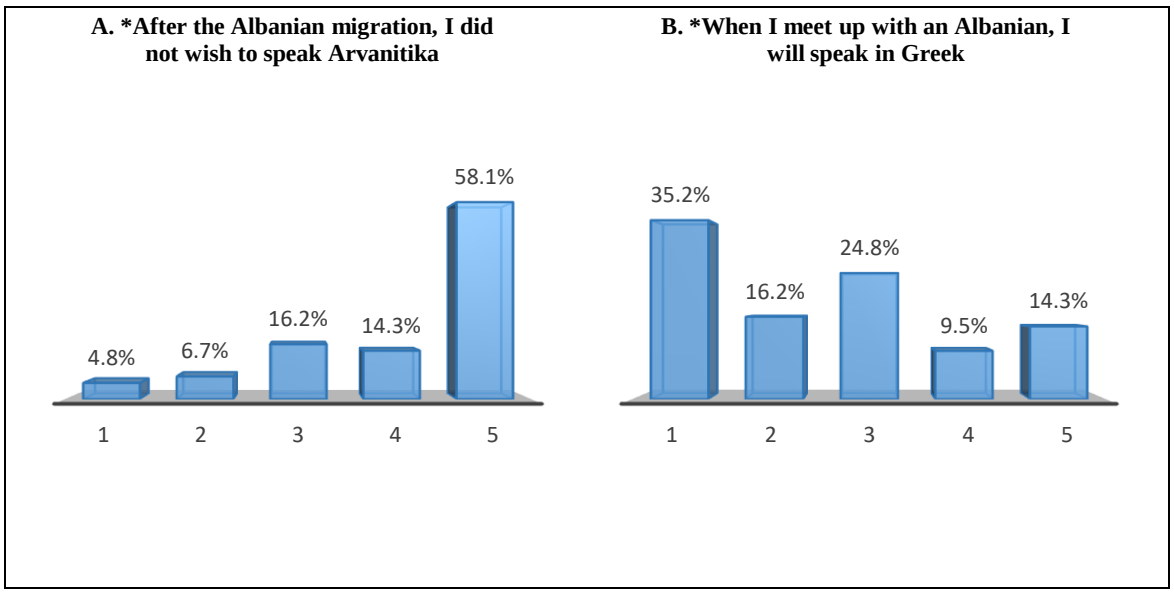


Figure 33 **A**. Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'After the Albanian migration, I did not wish to speak Arvanitika'. **B.** Bar graph showing the Arvanitika speakers' answers to the statement 'When I meet up with an Albanian, I will speak in Greek'. The range is depicted on the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As shown in Figure 33 **A**, the overwhelming majority of Arvanitika-speaking participants, specifically 58.1%, strongly disagreed with the statement 'After the Albanian migration, I did not wish to speak Arvanitika', showing positive attitudes towards speaking Arvanitika in the post-Albanian migration period. An additional 14.3% of participants in this group revealed a tendency towards strong disagreement. A smaller contingent from the Arvanitika-speaking participants, 16.2%, indicated neutral attitudes or indecisiveness. Notably, the percentages falling into categories 1 and 2 were 4.8% and 6.7%, respectively, showing strong agreement with the statement

or a tendency towards it. Consequently, negative attitudes within this group can be considered negligible.

As illustrated in Figure 33 **B**, 35.2% of Arvanitika-speaking participants, interestingly, strongly agreed with the statement ‘When I meet up with an Albanian, I will speak in Greek’. Additionally, 16.2% exhibited a tendency towards strong agreement. Collectively, these results express negative attitudes towards speaking Arvanitika with Albanians if they also speak Greek, demonstrating a preference for speaking with them in Greek. In contrast, a rather high number of participants, 24% of respondents in this group, showed neutral attitudes or indecisiveness by choosing number 3 on the scale. Moreover, 9.5% and 14.3% chose categories 4 and 5, respectively, indicating a tendency towards strong disagreement and, thus, positive attitudes towards speaking with Albanians in Arvanitika rather than in Greek. Notably, the proportion of results indicating negative attitudes towards speaking Arvanitika when conversing with Albanians is twice as large as those showing positive attitudes.

Part B

5.11. Frequencies and cross-tabulation analysis

Below, I present the frequencies of the variable 'Attitudes', which constitutes the sum of the attitudes emerging from the total answers of the Likert-scale items all together for both populations. Number 1 in the scale represents positive attitudes towards Arvanitika, as the phrasing of the statements in the Likert scale inherently suggests positive attitudes. In the same vein, number 5 on the scale represents negative attitudes towards Arvanitika. Items that were phrased to bear a negative connotation, thus showing negative attitudes, were inverted in the data using SPSS. Accordingly, below, across all graphs, the label 'I strongly agree' (number 1 on the graph) always indicates positive attitudes, while 'I strongly disagree' (number 5 on the graph) always indicates negative attitudes. Intermediary numbers 2 and 4 indicate a tendency towards 1 and 5, respectively, while number 3 indicates neutrality or indecisiveness on the part of the participants.

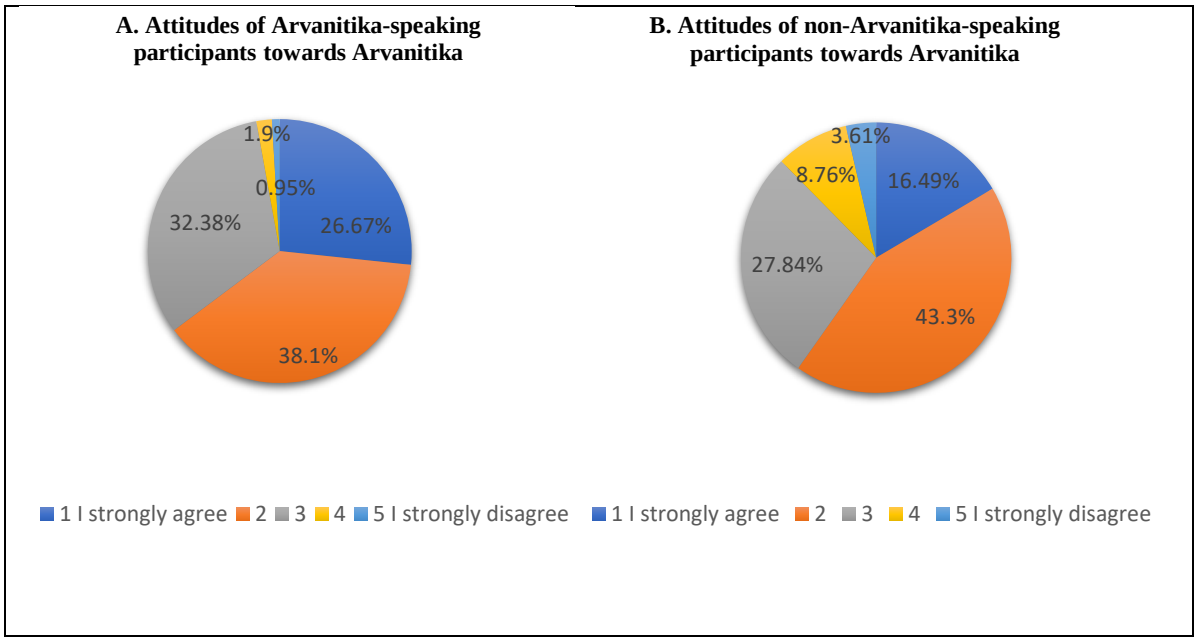


Figure 34 **A**. Pie chart showing the sum of the attitudes of Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika emerging from the 28 Likert-scale items. **B.** Pie chart showing the sum of the attitudes of the non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika emerging from the 15 Likert-scale items. The range is depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As depicted in Figure 34 **A**, the results for the variable 'Attitudes', which consists of the sum of the scores of the 28 Likert-scale items, revealed a predominantly positive

attitude among the Arvanitika-speaking population. Specifically, 64.8% strongly agreed or leaned towards strong agreement, whereas 32.4% expressed indecisiveness or neutral attitudes towards Arvanitika. A mere 2.9% strongly disagreed or leaned towards strong disagreement, thus demonstrating negative attitudes.

Correspondingly, Figure 34 **B** presents remarkably identical results for the second questionnaire, consisting of 15 Likert-scale items, administered to a non-Arvanitika-speaking population. Here, almost 60% showed a positive attitude, strongly agreeing or showing a tendency towards strong agreement; 27.8% exhibited indecisiveness or neutrality towards Arvanitika; and a mere 12.4% strongly disagreed or showed a tendency towards strong disagreement, thus showing negative attitudes.

Subsequently, the accompanying graphs display the percentages of participants' attitudes with respect to the demographic variables (e.g., age and sex). The cross-tabulation analyses are presented in the tables in Appendix A. Furthermore, the percentages of participants' attitudes relative to the demographic variables appear in both the graphs below and the tables in the Appendix.

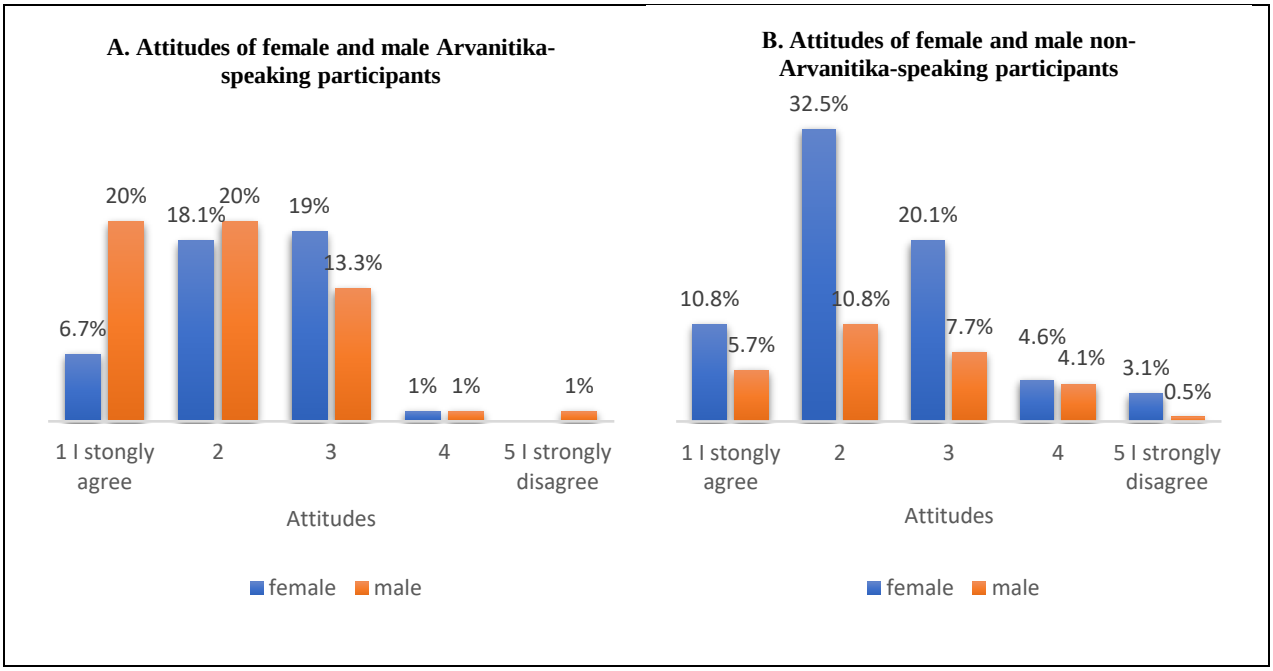


Figure 35 **A**. Graph showing the attitudes of Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on the variable of sex. **B.** Graph showing the attitudes of the non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on the variable of sex. The range is depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As illustrated in Figure 35 **A**, the cross-tabulation analysis of the variables 'Sex' and 'Attitudes' for the Arvanitika speakers – refer to Table 7 in Appendix A – reveals gender-based variations. Specifically, among those who appeared to strongly agree (26.7% of the responses), 20% were males, while only 6.7% were females. Moreover, among those who showed a tendency towards strong agreement (represented by number 2 on the Likert scale and constituting 38.1% of responses), 18.1% were females, and 20% were males. Intriguingly, females appeared more indecisive or neutral than their male counterparts: among those who chose number 3 on the scale, 32.4% were female, while only 13.3% were male.

The chi-square test (see Table 8 in Appendix A) revealed that the category variable 'Attitudes' does not depend on the variable 'Sex'. The null hypothesis asserting that the two variables are independent is not rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(4) = 8.095$, p-value =.088) since the p-value exceeds .05. The value of Cramer's V (0.278; see Table 9 in Appendix A) suggests that there is a moderate to strong relationship between these two variables.

Figure 35 **B** presents the cross-tabulation analysis for the variable 'Sex' and the variable 'Attitudes' (see Table 34 in Appendix A) for the second sample, the non-Arvanitika-speaking population. Among all the respondents who appeared to strongly agree, constituting 16.5% of the sample, 10.8% were females while only 5.7% were males. Moreover, among the participants who showed a tendency towards agreement, 43.3%, a notable 32.5% were females, and merely 10.8% were males. Additionally, women seem to be more indecisive or hold more neutral attitudes compared to men. Of the total 27.8% who chose category 3, indicative of indecisiveness or neutral attitudes towards Arvanitika, 20.1% were females, while only 7.7% were males.

The chi-square test (see Table 35 in Appendix A) corroborates that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' does not depend on the variable 'Sex'. The null hypothesis, asserting that the two variables are independent, again remains unrefuted (Pearson's $\chi^2(4)=4.580$, p-value =.333) since the p-value exceeds the .05 threshold. The value of Cramer's V =0.154 (see Table 36 in Appendix A) suggests only a weak relationship between these variables.

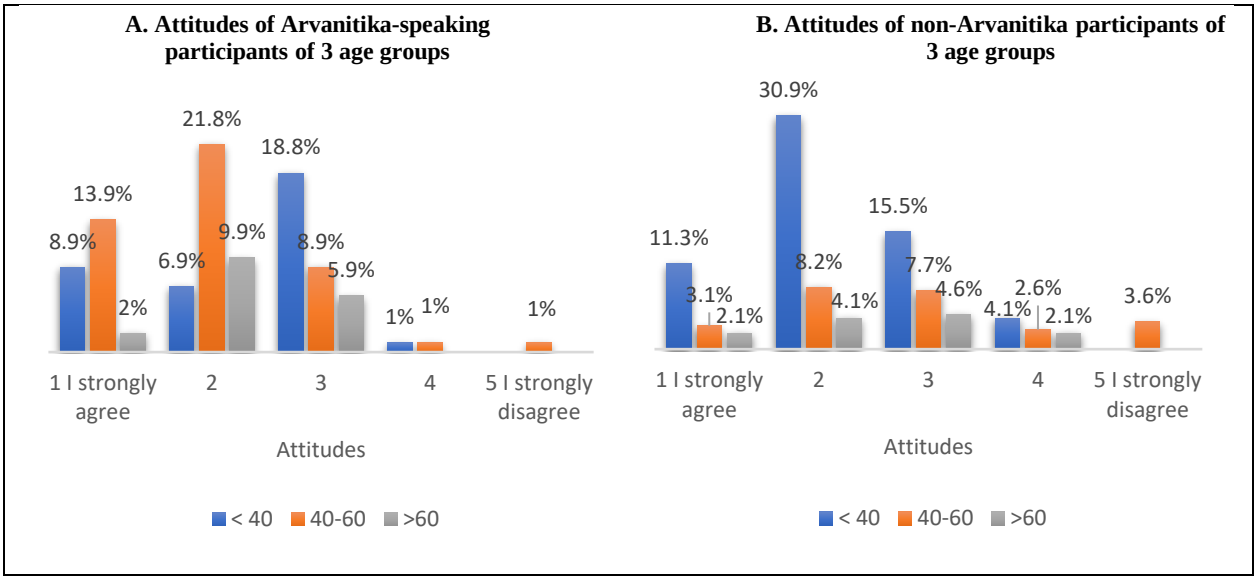


Figure 36 **A**. Graph showing the attitudes of Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on the 'Age' variable. **B.** Graph showing the attitudes of the non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on the 'Age' variable. The range is depicted on the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under intermediary numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two extremes, and 3 is considered neutral.

Figure 36 **A** displays the cross-tabulation of the variable 'Age' and the variable 'Attitudes' for the Arvanitika-speaking participants (see Table 10 in Appendix A). Among those who strongly agreed, comprising 24.8% of respondents, 13.9% were middle-aged, between 40 and 60 years old. The youngest group, those under 40, comprised just 8.9%, while the eldest, over 60 years old, comprised only 2%. This distribution might be due to the low number of elder Arvanitika speakers participating in the questionnaire task (17.1%). Additionally, of the 38.6% majority who tended towards strong agreement (represented by number 2), 21.8% also belonged to the middle-aged group of participants. Moreover, the respondents in the age group below 40 seemed to be more indecisive or hold neutral attitudes compared to the other two age groups. Specifically, this younger demographic accounted for 18.8% of the 33.7% of participants who indicated indecisiveness or neutral attitudes (number 3) towards Arvanitika.

The chi-square test (see Table 11 in Appendix A) indicated that the variable of the 'Attitudes' category depends on the 'Age' variable. The null hypothesis asserting that these two variables are independent is rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(8)=15.892$, p-value =.044) since the p-value is less than .05. The value of Cramer's V=0.280 (see Table 12 in Appendix A) suggested a moderate, almost strong association between these two variables.

As illustrated in Figure 36 **B**, the cross-tabulation of the variable 'Age' and the variable 'Attitudes' for the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants (see Table 37 in Appendix A) yields interesting results. Among those who appeared to tend towards strong agreement (number 2), comprising 43.3% of the respondents, 30.9% are below 40 years old. Moreover, the respondents in the same age group, under 40, seem to display more indecisiveness or more neutral attitudes compared to the other two age groups. Specifically, 15.5% of this group chose number 3 on the Likert scale, which represents neutral attitudes or indecisiveness, out of the total 27.8% of all participants who chose 3. Notably, it was only the middle-aged group of non-Arvanitika-speaking participants that showed strong disagreement, albeit comprising a low percentage, 3.6%, of the sample. This fraction corresponds to the total percentage of respondents showing strong disagreement, indicating the other two age groups did not show strong disagreement or (very) negative attitudes.

Another chi-square test (see Table 38 in Appendix A) confirmed that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' depends on the 'Age' variable. The null hypothesis asserting that the two variables are independent is rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(8)= 28.058$, p-value <.01) since the p-value was less than .05. The value of Cramer's V=0.269 (see Table 39 in Appendix A) suggests that there is a moderate to strong association between these two variables.

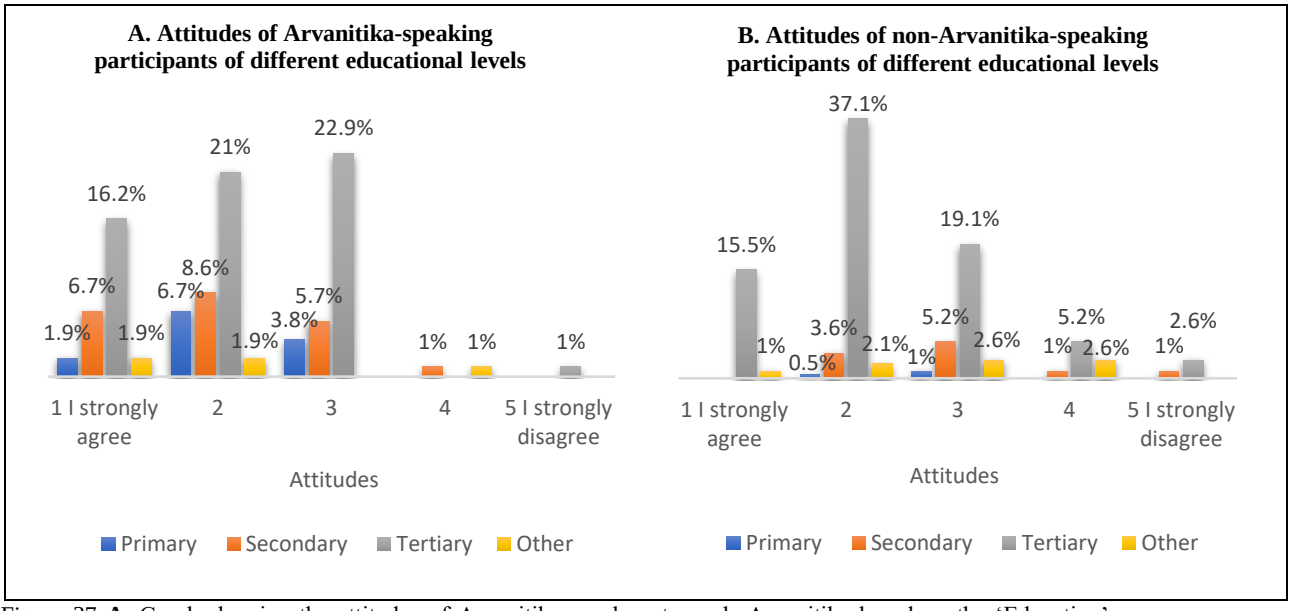


Figure 37 **A**. Graph showing the attitudes of Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on the 'Education' variable. **B.** Graph showing the attitudes of the non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on the 'Education'

variable. The range is depicted on the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two extremes, and 3 is considered neutral.

As shown in Figure 37 **A**, cross-tabulation analysis comparing the variable 'Education' with the variable 'Attitudes' for the Arvanitika-speaking participants (see Table 13 in Appendix A) reveals noteworthy patterns. Among those who showed neutral attitudes or indecisiveness (number 3), comprising 32.4% of respondents, 22.9% attended tertiary education. Similarly, these participants who had attended tertiary education were not only the majority for number 3 but also numbers 1 and 2, showing strong agreement and a tendency towards strong agreement, respectively. More specifically, among the 26.7% of participants who showed strong agreement, 16.2% have attended tertiary education. Additionally, among the 38.1% of respondents who indicated a tendency towards strong agreement, thus also positive attitudes, 21% also attended tertiary education. However, these results do not allow for safe generalisations, as most participants filling out the questionnaire had a university degree.

The chi-square test (see Table 14 in Appendix A) demonstrated that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' does not depend on the education level variable. The null hypothesis that the two variables are independent is not rejected, with Pearson's $\chi^2(12)$ equating to 16.019 and a *p*-value of .190, which exceeds the .05 threshold. Moreover, the value of Cramer's V (0.226; see Table 15 in Appendix A) suggests a weak to moderate relationship between these two variables, which is probably because of the high percentage (approximately 61%) of respondents in the sample with tertiary education.

Correspondingly, Figure 37 **B** presents a cross-tabulation analysis of the variable level 'Education' and the variable 'Attitudes' for the non-Arvanitika speakers (see Table 40 in Appendix A). Among the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants, a staggering majority of 79.4% attended tertiary education. Out of this percentage, 15.5% strongly agreed, 37.1% tended towards strong agreement, 19.1% appeared to be either indecisive or held neutral attitudes, and 5.2% and 2.6% tended towards strong disagreement or strong disagreement, respectively.

The chi-square test (see Table 41 in Appendix A) showed that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' depends on the 'Education' variable. The null hypothesis that the two variables are independent was rejected, as evidenced by Pearson's $\chi^2(12)$ of 25.799

and a *p*-value =.011, falling below the .05 threshold. The value of Cramer's V (0.211; see Table 42 in Appendix A) suggests a weak association between these two variables, which is probably because of the high percentage of participants with tertiary education.

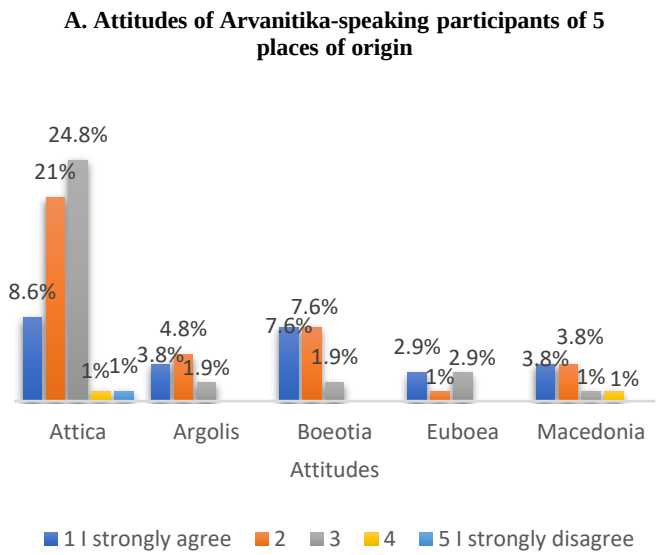


Figure 38. Graph showing the attitudes of Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on their place of origin. The range is depicted on the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

Figure 38 presents the cross-tabulation of the variable 'Place of origin' and the 5-point Likert variable 'Attitudes' for the Arvanitika-speaking participants (see Table 16 in Appendix A). Among the 32.4% of participants who appeared indecisive or held neutral attitudes, 24.8% originated from the Attica region. Furthermore, of the participants who displayed a tendency towards strong agreement, 38.1%, the largest percentage (21%) was also from Attica, while 7.6% were from Boeotia. These results can be justified by noting that the majority of the Arvanitika-speaking participants in the study, specifically 56.2%, were from Attica.

Supplementing these observations, a chi-square test (see Table 17 in Appendix A) indicated that the category of the 'Attitudes' variable does not depend on the 'Place of origin' variable. The null hypothesis asserting that the two variables are independent is not rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(16)= 20.558$, *p*-value =.196) since the *p*-value surpasses the threshold of .05. The value of Cramer's V (0.221; see Table 18 in Appendix A) suggests a weak, almost moderate relationship between these two variables, probably because of

the high percentage of participants whose place of origin was Attica, approximately 56.2%.

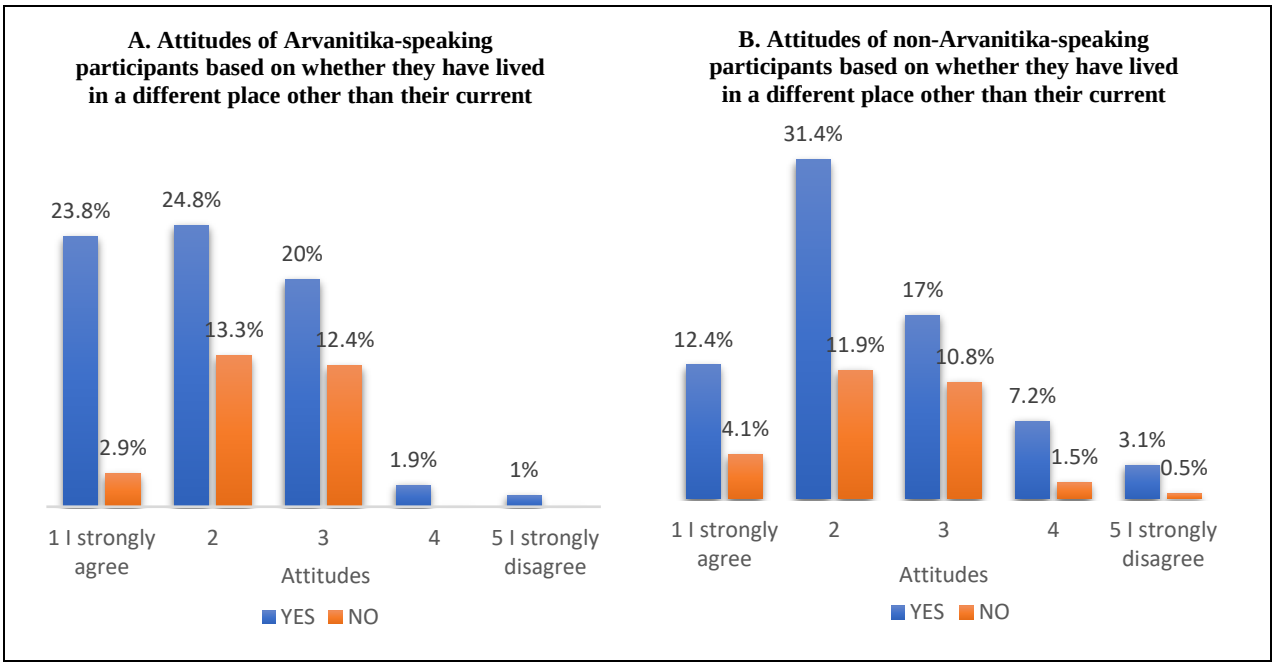


Figure 39 **A.** Graph showing the attitudes of Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on whether they have lived in a different place other than their current residence. **B.** Graph showing the attitudes of non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on whether they have lived in a different place other than their current residence. The range is depicted in the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

As shown in Figure 39 **A**, a cross-tabulation of the question 'Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current?' and the 5-point Likert variable 'Attitudes' (see Table 19 in Appendix A) provides further insights. Among those who tended towards strong agreement (number 2), 38.1% of the respondents, 24.8% stated that they had lived elsewhere, while only 13.3% answered that they had not. This difference becomes greater among those who strongly agreed. Specifically, out of the 26.7% (sum of numbers 1 & 2 in the scale), 23.8% answered *yes* to this question, while only 2.9% answered *no*. These results can be justified by noting that the overwhelming majority of Arvanitika speakers in this study, specifically 71.4%, reported living in locations other than their current residence.

The chi-square test (see Table 20 in Appendix A) showed that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' does not depend on the question variable 'Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current?'. The null hypothesis asserting that the two

variables are independent is not rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(4)= 7.941$), *p*-value =.094) since the *p*-value exceeds the .05 threshold. The value of Cramer's V (0.275; see Table 21 in Appendix A) suggests a moderate relationship between these two variables.

Figure 39 **B** presents the cross-tabulation of the question 'Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current?' and the 5-point Likert variable 'Attitudes' (see Table 43 in Appendix A). Among the 43.3% who appeared to tend towards strong agreement (number 2), 31.4% answered that they had lived in a different place, while only 11.9% answered *no* to this question. Similarly, among the 16.5% who strongly agreed, 12.4% answered *yes*, while only 4.1% answered *no*.

The chi-square test (see Table 44 in Appendix A) revealed that the category of the 'Attitudes' variable does not depend on the question variable 'Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current?'. The null hypothesis asserting that the two variables are independent was not rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(4)= 4.732$, *p*-value =.316) since the *p*-value does not exceed the .05 threshold. The value of Cramer's V (0.156; see Table 45 in Appendix A) suggests a weak relationship between these two variables.

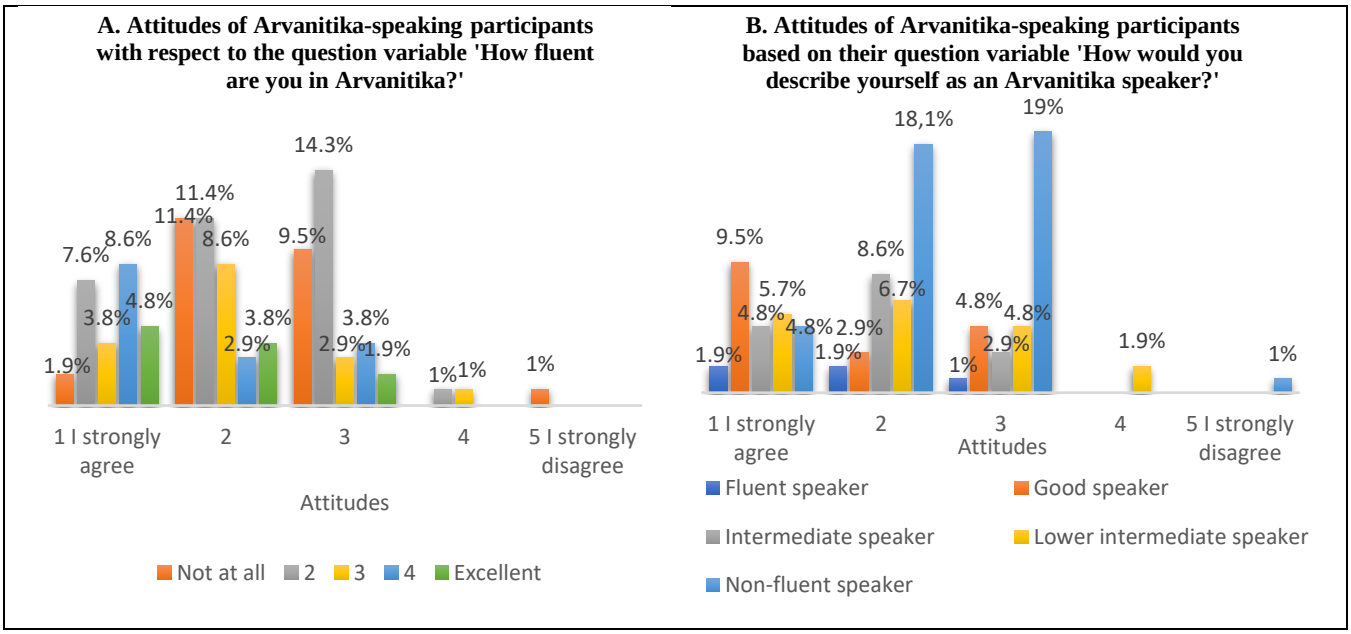


Figure 40 **A.** Graph showing the attitudes of Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on their self-evaluated fluency on a 5-point Likert scale where 1=I strongly agree and 5=I strongly disagree. **B.** Graph showing the attitudes of Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on their self-evaluated fluency represented by the following labels: a) Fluent speaker, b) Good speaker, c) Intermediate speaker, d) Lower intermediate speaker, e) Non-fluent speaker. The range is depicted on the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly

disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

Figure 40 **A** presents a cross-tabulation analysis of the question variable 'How fluent are you in Arvanitika?' and the 5-point Likert variable 'Attitudes' for the Arvanitika speakers (see Table 22 in Appendix A). Among the 32.4% of the Arvanitika speakers who were indecisive or showed neutral attitudes (number 3), 14.3% evaluated their fluency choosing number 2, tending towards 'Not at all', meaning they think they have low fluency in Arvanitika. An additional 9.5% reported their Arvanitika speaking as 'Not at all'. Furthermore, among the 10.5% who reported an 'Excellent' speaking ability, 4.8% indicated strong agreement, 3.8% indicated a tendency towards strong agreement, thus positive attitudes towards Arvanitika, and 1.9% indicated neutral attitudes or indecisiveness. Interestingly, speakers who stated that they speak Arvanitika 'Excellent' or tend to speak it 'Excellent' (number 4) did not display negative attitudes at all.

The chi-square test (see Table 23 in Appendix A) showed that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' does not depend on the question variable 'How fluent are you in Arvanitika? The null hypothesis asserting that the two variables are independent is not rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(16)= 22.972$, *p*-value =.114) since the *p*-value is greater than the .05 threshold. The value of Cramer's V (0.234; see Table 24 in Appendix A) suggests a weak to moderate relationship between these two variables.

Figure 40 **B** illustrates the cross-tabulation analysis of the question variable 'How would you describe yourself as an Arvanitika speaker?' and the 5-point Likert variable 'Attitudes' for the Arvanitika-speaking participants (see Table 28 in Appendix A). Among the total 32.4% of the Arvanitika speakers who were indecisive or showed neutral attitudes, 19% described themselves as 'Non-fluent speakers'. Moreover, 18.1% of the 38.1% who tended towards strong agreement (number 2) described themselves as 'Non-fluent speakers'. Interestingly, 9.5% of those who strongly agreed, comprising 26.7% of the respondents, thus showing positive attitudes, described themselves as 'Good speakers'. It is noteworthy that none of the Arvanitika speakers who regarded their Arvanitika proficiency as 'Excellent' showed negative attitudes (tendency towards disagreement or strong disagreement). Negative attitudes towards Arvanitika were only expressed by 'Lower intermediate' speakers, indicating their tendency towards disagreement (number 4), and 'Non-fluent' speakers with their strong disagreement

(number 5) at 1.9% and 1%, respectively. The remaining speakers' categories only showed neutral or positive attitudes.

The chi-square test (see Table 29 in Appendix A) revealed that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' depends on the question variable 'How would you describe yourself as an Arvanitika speaker?'. The null hypothesis asserting that the two variables are independent is rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(16)= 27.277$, *p*-value =.039) since the *p*-value is less than the .05 threshold. The value of Cramer's V (0.255; see Table 30 in Appendix A) suggests a moderate association between these two variables.

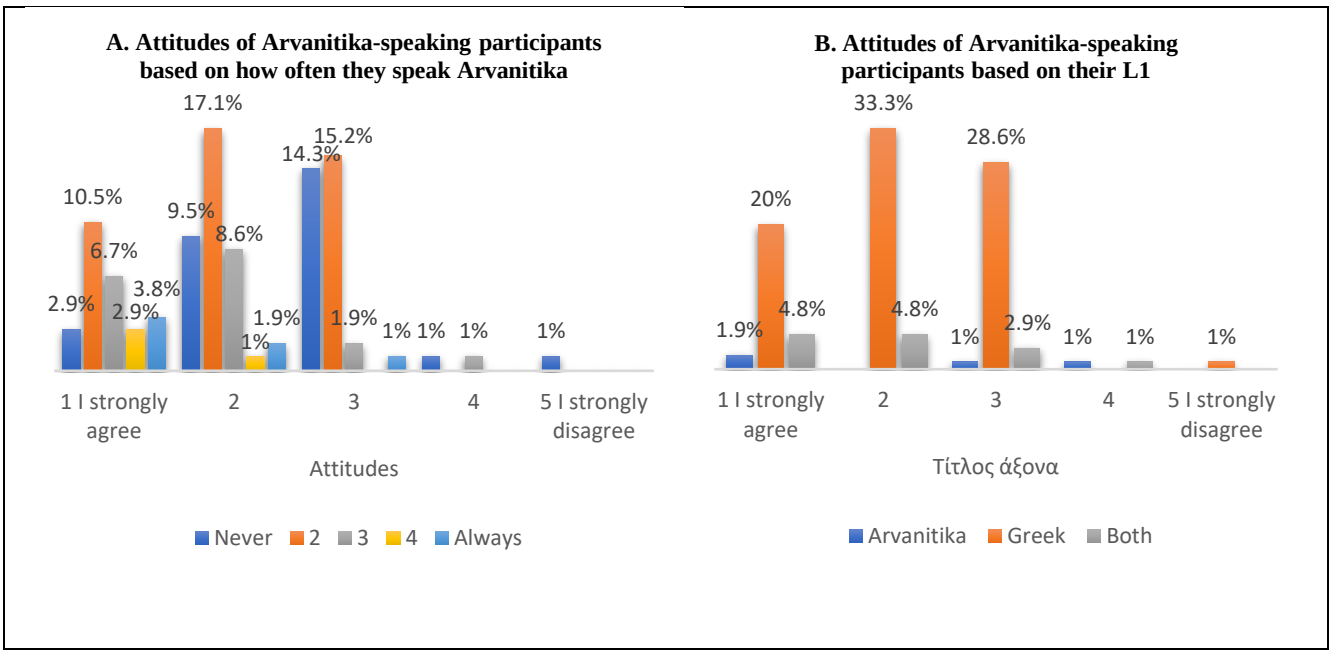


Figure 41 **A.** Graph showing the attitudes of Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on how often they speak Arvanitika on a 5-point Likert scale where 1=I strongly agree and 5=I strongly disagree. **B.** Graph showing the attitudes of Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on the respondents' first L1 language. The range is depicted on the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

Figure 41 **A** presents a cross-tabulation analysis of the question variable 'How often do you speak Arvanitika?' and the 5-point Likert variable 'Attitudes' (see Table 25 in Appendix A). Among the 38.1% of speakers who tended towards strong agreement (number 2), 17.1% tended not to speak the language. Furthermore, of the 32.4% indecisive respondents or those holding neutral attitudes (number 3), 15.2% tended towards not speaking Arvanitika or rarely speaking, while 14.3% answered that they never speak it. Interestingly, among the 26.7% of Arvanitika speakers who strongly agreed, showing positive attitudes, only 3.8% 'Always' speak Arvanitika. Additionally,

out of the 38.1% of those who tended towards strong agreement, only 1.9% 'Always' speak the language.

The chi-square test (see Table 26 in Appendix A) demonstrated that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' does not depend on the question variable 'How often do you speak Arvanitika?'. The null hypothesis asserting that the two variables are independent is not rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(16)= 23.720$, *p*-value =.096) since the *p*-value exceeds the .05 threshold. The value of Cramer's V (0.238; see Table 27 in Appendix A) suggests a moderate relationship between these two variables.

Figure 41 **B** illustrates the cross-tabulation of the question variable 'Which language did you learn first?' and the 5-point Likert variable 'Attitudes' for Arvanitika speakers (see Table 31 in Appendix A). Among those who appeared to strongly agree, 26.7%, a significant 20% learned Greek as their L1, while 4.8% of respondents have both Greek and Arvanitika as their L1. Similarly, out of the total Arvanitika speakers who tended towards strong agreement (number 2), thus showing positive attitudes, 38.1% learned Greek first, while 4.8% initially learned both languages. Moreover, among the 32.4% who were indecisive or held neutral attitudes, 28.6% learned Greek as their L1, while only 2.9% learned both Arvanitika and Greek as their L1. These results reveal that most participants with Greek as their first language showed positive or neutral attitudes towards Arvanitika. However, since most participants have Greek as their L1, these results might not allow for safe generalisations of the results, as would be the case if the number of participants having Arvanitika as their L1 was approximately equal to those having Greek as their L1.

The chi-square test (see Table 32 in Appendix A) revealed that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' depends on the question variable 'Which language did you learn first?'. The null hypothesis asserting that the two variables are independent is rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(8)= 18.890$, *p*-value =.015) since the *p*-value is less than the .05 threshold. The value of Cramer's V (0.300; see Table 33 in Appendix A) suggests a strong association between these two variables.

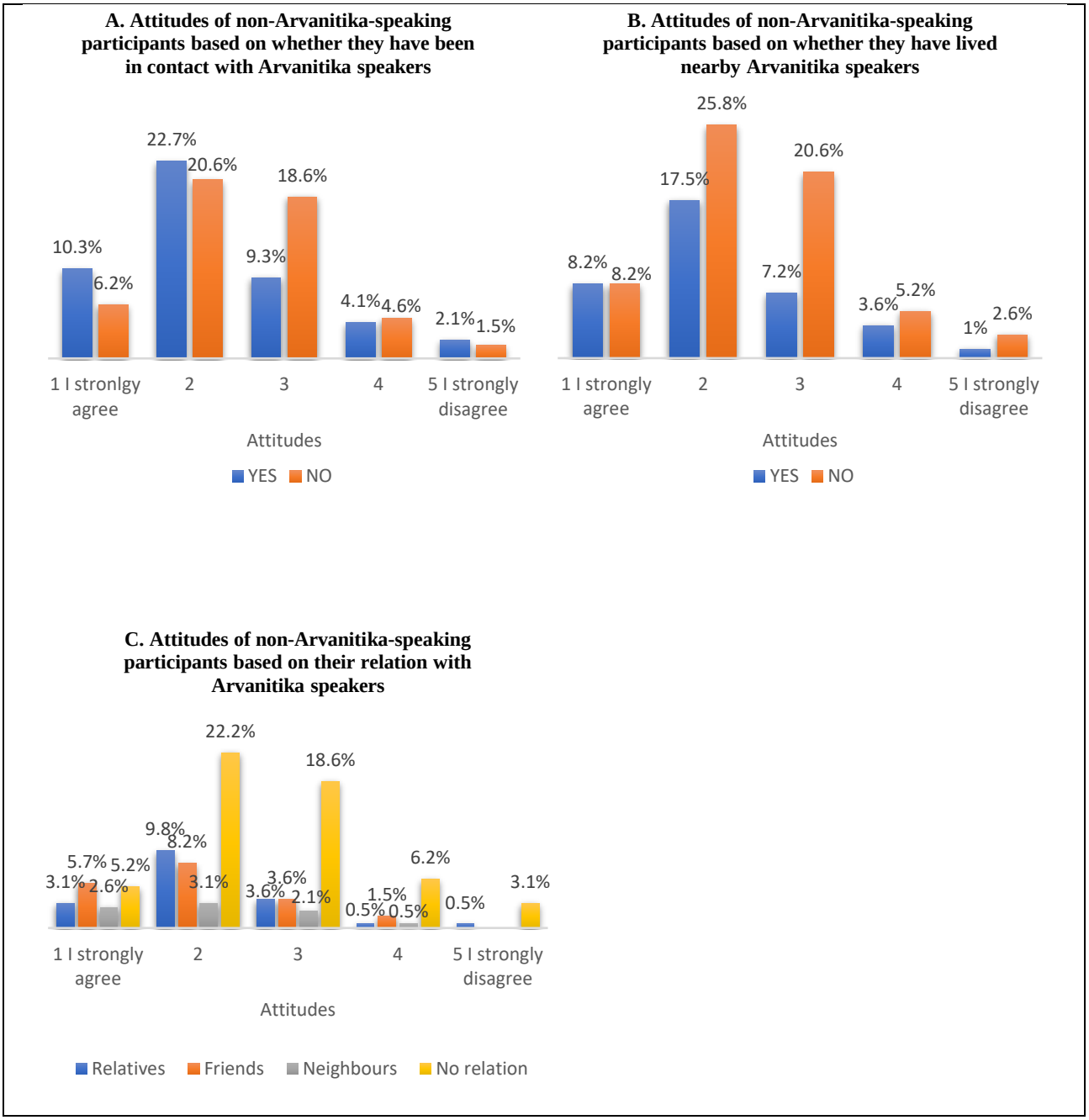


Figure 42 **A.** Graph showing the attitudes of non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on whether they have been in contact with Arvanitika speakers. **B.** Graph showing the attitudes of non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on whether they have lived near Arvanitika speakers. **C.** Graph showing the attitudes of non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on their relationship with Arvanitika speakers. Multiple answers were valid. The range is depicted on the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

Figure 42 **A** presents a cross-tabulation analysis of the question variable 'Have you ever been in contact with an Arvanitika speaker?' and the 5-point Likert variable 'Attitudes' for the non-Arvanitika-speaking participants (see Table 46 in Appendix A). Among the 16.5% of respondents who strongly agreed, 10.3% had been in contact with an

Arvanitika speaker, and only 6.2% had not. Moreover, of those who appeared indecisive or held neutral attitudes (number 3), comprising 27.8% of respondents, 9.3% had been in contact with an Arvanitika speaker, while 18.6% had not. Moreover, among the 43.3% who showed a tendency towards strong agreement, indicating positive attitudes towards Arvanitika, 22.7% answered that they had been in contact with Arvanitika speakers, while 20.6% said they had not.

The chi-square test (see Table 47 in Appendix A) showed that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' does not depend on the question variable 'Have you ever been in contact with an Arvanitika speaker?'. The null hypothesis asserting that the two variables are independent is not rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(4)= 8.214$, *p*-value =.084) since the *p*-value exceeds the .05 threshold. The value of Cramer's V (0.206; see Table 48 in Appendix A) suggests a weak to moderate relationship between these two variables.

Figure 42 **B** depicts the cross-tabulation analysis of the question variable 'Have any Arvanitika speakers ever lived in your place of residence?' and the 5-point Likert variable 'Attitudes' for the non-Arvanitika-speaking population (see Table 49 in Appendix A). Among the 27.8% of respondents who indicated being indecisive or holding neutral attitudes, 20.6% answered *no* to this question, while only 7.2% answered *yes*. Furthermore, of the 43.3% of participants who showed a tendency towards strong agreement (number 2), indicating positive attitudes towards Arvanitika, 25.8% had never lived near Arvanitika speakers, while 17.5% had. With respect to the participants expressing strong agreement, comprising 16.5% of the respondents, the percentages of participants who had lived near Arvanitika speakers and those who had not were equal at 8.2%.

The chi-square test (see Table 50 in Appendix A) showed that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' does not depend on the question variable 'Have any Arvanitika speakers ever lived in your place of residence?'. The null hypothesis asserting that the two variables are independent is not rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(4)= 5.864$, *p*-value =.210) since the *p*-value exceeds the .05 threshold. The value of Cramer's V (0.174; see Table 51 in Appendix A) suggests a weak relationship between these two variables.

Figure 42 **C** illustrates the cross-tabulation of the question variable 'What is your relationship with Arvanitika speakers?' and the 5-point Likert variable 'Attitudes' for the non-Arvanitika speakers of this study (see Table 52 in Appendix A). Among those

who appeared indecisive or holding neutral attitudes, comprising 27.8% of the participants, 18.6% did not have any relationship at all with Arvanitika speakers, while 3.6% have Arvanitika speakers as friends, and another 3.6% have relatives who are speakers of Arvanitika. Furthermore, of those who showed a tendency towards strong agreement, thus positive attitudes towards Arvanitika, comprising 43.3% of the respondents, 22.2% indicated having no relation at all with Arvanitika speakers, while 9.8% have relatives who are speakers of Arvanitika, and 8.2% have Arvanitika-speaking friends. Moreover, among the 8.8% of participants who showed a tendency towards disagreement, thus negative attitudes, 6.2% had no relationship at all with Arvanitika speakers. Similarly, among the 3.6% of participants who strongly disagreed, indicating negative attitudes, 3.1% had no relationship at all with Arvanitika speakers.

The chi-square test (see Table 53 in Appendix A) confirmed that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' does not depend on the question variable 'What is your relationship with Arvanitika speakers?'. The null hypothesis asserting that the two variables are independent is not rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(12)= 19.355$, p-value =.080) since the p-value exceeds the .05 threshold. The value of Cramer's V (0.182; see Table 54 in Appendix A) suggests a weak relationship between these two variables.

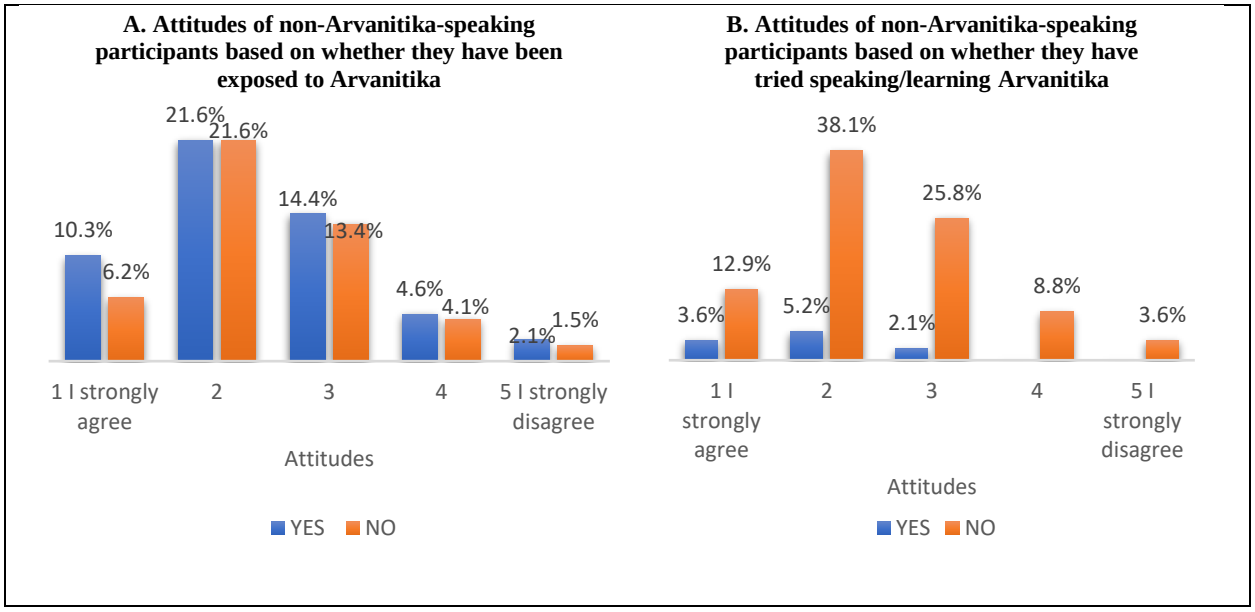


Figure 43 **A.** Graph showing the attitudes of non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on whether they have been exposed to Arvanitika. **B.** Graph showing the attitudes of non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika based on whether they have tried speaking or learning Arvanitika. The range is depicted on the graph on a Likert scale with answers extending from 1= I strongly agree to 5= I strongly disagree. The answers found under numbers 2 and 4 show direction towards one of the two edges, and 3 is considered neutral.

Figure 43 **A** displays a cross-tabulation analysis of the question variable 'Have you ever heard Arvanitika being spoken?' and the 5-point Likert variable 'Attitudes' (see Table 55 in Appendix A). Among the total participants who strongly agreed, 16.5%, indicating positive attitudes, 10.3% had heard Arvanitika being spoken, while only 6.2% answered *no* to this question. As shown in the relevant Figure above, for the remaining attitudes on the scale, there are no important differences with respect to this question variable, whether or not non-Arvanitika-speaking participants have heard Arvanitika being spoken.

The chi-square test (see Table 56 in Appendix A) revealed that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' does not depend on the question variable 'Have you ever heard Arvanitika being spoken?'. The null hypothesis asserting that the two variables are independent is not rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(4)= 1.539$, *p*-value =.820) since the *p*-value exceeds the .05 threshold. The value of Cramer's V (0.089; see Table 57 in Appendix A) suggests absolutely no relationship between these two variables.

Figure 43 **B** illustrates a cross-tabulation analysis of the question variable 'Have you ever tried speaking or learning Arvanitika because of your relationship to Arvanitika speakers?' and the 5-point Likert variable 'Attitudes' (see Table 58 in Appendix A). Among those who tended towards strong disagreement (number 4), comprising 8.8%

of respondents, along with those who strongly disagreed, another 3.6% of respondents, answered that they had never tried speaking or learning Arvanitika because of their relationship with Arvanitika speakers. Notably, 89.2% of this sample, the non-Arvanitika speakers, answered negatively to this question.

The chi-square test (see Table 59 in Appendix A) revealed that the category of the variable 'Attitudes' does not depend on the question variable 'Have you ever tried speaking or learning Arvanitika because of your relationship to Arvanitika speakers?'. The null hypothesis asserting that the two variables are independent is not rejected (Pearson's $\chi^2(4)= 7.716$, p-value =.103) since the p-value exceeds the .05 threshold. The value of Cramer's V (0.199; see Table 60 in Appendix A) suggests an almost weak relationship between these two variables.

Section 2. Qualitative results and analysis: interviews and focus groups

Several thematic categories have emerged from the interview and focus group sessions of this study. The analysis of the qualitative data corresponding to these categories is presented here in two ways: *(a)* with the citation of *exact extracts* from the transcriptions of the interviews and focus group sessions, which is used for the majority of the emerged themes, and *(b)* by means of only a *periphrastic description* of the participants' discourse, in cases where such discourse was considered to be of lesser analytical interest. The latter way is used only for the first thematic category 'Arvanitika language use' and for the subcategory 'Mixed marriages' of the third thematic category 'Factors contributing to the decline of Arvanitika'. The exact transcription extracts corresponding to these two cases of periphrastic description can be found in Appendix B.

The complete set of thematic categories and subcategories that emerged from the interviews and the focus groups is outlined below:

1. Arvanitika language use

- *Pragmatic use*
- *Symbolic use*
- *Solidarity use*

2. Construction of ethnolinguistic identity within Greece's nation-centred ideology

- *Expression of Greekness and indicators of (ethno)-linguistic identity*

3. Factors contributing to the decline of Arvanitika

- *Mixed marriages*
- *Intergenerational transmission in decline*
- *(Non)-preservation, potential extinction and/or revival of Arvanitika & the non-official status of the language*
- *Urbanisation & modernisation*
- *'Creolisation in reverse' & fluctuation between competence & non-desire to speak Arvanitika*
- *Oppression, discrimination & stigmatisation*

- *'Us and them': Arvanitika's perception as an 'inferior' language with a low 'social status'*

- *Politicisation of the Arvanitika language*
- *Arvanitika as an unwritten language*

4. Effect of the Albanian migration in the '90s on the Arvanitika language

5. Pride for the Arvanitika language and nostalgia for the past

Conventions

Italics = Direct speech in the extracts

'Italics' = Direct speech within the main text (a parenthesis)

'…' = Metaphorical use of a word/phrase or terminology (e.g., 'creolisation in reverse') and direct speech in the analysis (text)

"…" = Word/phrase enclosed within another quotation, which is in single quotation marks

… = Removed/skipped text

<...> = Pause

[…] = Explanation or clarification of word/phrase, of emotions or non-verbal language

Bold or **(!)** = Emphasis

UPPER CASE LETTERS = Loud voice

P = Participant

K = Key speaker/Key person

O = Other

R = Researcher

5.12. Arvanitika language use

This thematic category concerns the contexts in which the Arvanitika language was used in the past and is still being used today, as these have emerged from the participants' discourse. The analysis of the relevant transcription extracts (see Appendix B) suggests that there are three such contexts. More specifically, Arvanitika is used: *(a)* for *practical purposes*, mostly related to the need for effective or secretive communication, *(b)* for its *symbolic value*, (i.e., as a reminder of a particular identity or as a preferred language to express humour or certain emotions), and *(c)* as a means to *feel and express solidarity* with specific others who also speak the language. Therefore, this thematic category is split into three subcategories, namely pragmatic use, symbolic use and solidarity use.

5.12.1. Pragmatic use

The pragmatic use of Arvanitika was one of the main issues brought up by the participants in a twofold way. On the one hand, the participants mentioned certain contexts where Arvanitika proved useful for their communication with other speakers for practical purposes and, on the other hand, they exchanged varying opinions on the 'usefulness' or 'uselessness' of the Arvanitika language.

It appears that one of the main contexts in which the participants found Arvanitika to be useful is that of work, when they have to interact either with co-workers or with other persons who speak Arvanitika or Albanian. For example, the daughter of Participant 3 said that their family used to hire *Albanian migrants* to their business, with whom they mainly *communicated in Arvanitika*. Participant 3 himself stated that his granddaughter, who is a doctor in a public hospital in Athens, also found Arvanitika *useful* because she has many Albanian women as patients. Despite his aforementioned statement, however, Participant 3 stressed repeatedly that he does *not care for the preservation of Arvanitika*, as, in his view, Greek is actually their language and there is no need to communicate in Arvanitika with non-Albanians, that is, with fellow residents of his region who do speak Arvanitika (See Appendix B, 5.12.1.).

The context of *migration* was also one in which the usefulness or uselessness of Arvanitika was debated. More specifically, Participant 8 expressed the view that

Arvanitika is *not useful*, stating that, in his mind, Arvanitika would be useful only if there was a vital, in terms of population, space for its use, in which case it would function as a motive for Greek citizens who speak Arvanitika to migrate to countries where this language is spoken. He further noted that Arvanitika is not like the Slavic languages, which are worth being retained and developed as there is 'a market' for them and they would prove useful if, for example, those who speak them decided to migrate to Russia (See Appendix B, 5.12.1., P8).

Another context the interview and focus group participants found Arvanitika to be pragmatically useful is that of adverse and/or dangerous life conditions, in which Arvanitika could function as a language of protection. Several participants made reference to *unsubstantiated accounts* of past or more *contemporary incidents* where the use of Arvanitika ended up having a *life-saving value*. Though their narrations were rather vague and without reference to specific persons or times, the participants related three relevant stories (See Appendix B, 5.12.1., P8, P2, P5).

5.12.2. Symbolic use

During the interviews and focus groups sessions, most participants made the point that nowadays they use Arvanitika mostly in *humorous, festive or ceremonial contexts* rather than in their daily discourse. More specifically, they opt to use the language when they feel like making or saying *jokes*, when they are taking part in a social or commemorative event that may involve singing (e.g., love songs but also laments, carnival songs, saucy songs with sexual connotations, carnival songs etc.), or when they want to express something through the use of a *proverb*.

It is quite interesting that when asked to say something in Arvanitika, even the oldest generation participants, whose fluency in Arvanitika is considerably better than that of the younger ones, tended to give prominence to the symbolic value of the language by choosing to use a proverb or to sing a song instead of using Arvanitika to simply describe or comment on something in the 'here and now'. What should be taken into consideration here, however, is the *social desirability bias* that might have occurred, resulting in the participants' effort to present an outsider and non Arvanitika-speaking person like myself with something special and impressive.

Furthermore, several participants claimed that a joke or a teasing phrase sounds *funnier* when related in Arvanitika rather than in Greek, something that may also be interpreted as an *implicit support* of the *symbolic use* of the language, particularly in the context of humorous discourse. When asked why this may be so, they expressed the opinion that *a joke in Arvanitika reflects better the witty and caustic humour of the Arvanites*, pointing out that if one attempts to translate a humorous word from Arvanitika into Greek, this can only be done in a periphrastic way (See Appendix B, 5.12.2., P1, O1, P2, P3, P5, P7, K1, P4).

In general, most participants appeared to applaud the symbolic use of Arvanitika to the point that one may conclude that this use appears to be the predominant one. Considering, however, that the symbolic use of Arvanitika derives its content mostly from the *past* (traditional songs, legends, anecdotes, etc.), it could be argued that it functions as a 'museum' use of language, exhibited for very specific purposes in limited contexts of discourse, and that it may be partially responsible for the declining state of the Arvanitika language as a whole.

5.12.3. Solidarity use

The interviews and focus group sessions indicate that the majority of the present study's participants mentioned and/or discussed their making a more extensive use of Arvanitika in situations where they share feelings of mutual trust, intimacy, comfort, closeness and a sense of solidarity with the persons whom they are conversing with. Also, a second aspect of the solidarity use of the Arvanitika language that emerged from the responses of the study's participants is its functioning as a *secret communication code* within the family context. More specifically, the participants said that they often use Arvanitika to communicate with their spouses, in cases where the latter are also familiar with the language, with their siblings, as well as with close friends when they find themselves in relaxing environments such as a tavern or a coffee shop. What is more, they mentioned that, in this context of communication, their use of Arvanitika becomes a means towards the preservation of *their memories*, *their tradition* and *their origin*, three notions that are tightly connected with one's *identity.*

As it can be seen on the relevant extracts (Appendix B, 5.12.3), one of the participants (P8) hints at the aforementioned preservative function of the language-use in a somewhat *nostalgic* and *emotional* way, while he also says that when conversing in

Arvanitika he recalls his mother and his grandmother and moments from his childhood. Another participant (P5) recalls memories of her earlier years when, after the service at the church, the members of the congregation would go to the neighbouring coffee shop and exchange greetings and wishes in Arvanitika. In a similar reminiscence, another participant (P7) declared that she had even listened to the Gospel being sung in Arvanitika by an Arvanitika-speaking priest in her hometown.

Regarding now the second aspect of the solidarity use of the Arvanitika language, there were many participants who mentioned that their parents would often speak in Arvanitika when discussing something that they did not want to be understood by their children. An amusing example of this type of language use, however, was related by a third person (O1) present in the interview with one of the participants. As it can be seen in Appendix B (5.12.3, O1), according to her narration, there were many occasions when her whole family played cards and the elders would speak to one another in Arvanitika in order to create a *fun-filled family atmosphere* by cheating the younger ones at the game, as the latter did not speak Arvanitika and could not understand what was going on.

5.13. Construction of ethnolinguistic identity within Greece's nation-centred ideology

5.13.1. Expression of Greekness and indicators of (ethno)-linguistic identity

Extract 1

Gr.

P4: Δεν ξέρω, είναι μια ξεχωριστή γλώσσα ***και τη μιλούσαν****, από αυτά που έχω ψάξει, γιατί τα έψαξα κι εγώ κάποια στιγμή να δω* ***τι*** *διάολο είμαστε οι αρβανίτες. Θα έχετε διαβάσει ότι οι Αρβανίτες ανέκαθεν από…. Ήσανε άριστοι πολεμιστές.*

… Εγώ το μόνο που μπορώ να πω είναι ότι είναι καλά να τη ***δέσουμε*** *αυτή τη γλώσσα, αλλά να τη δέσουμε σαν γλώσσα* ***Ελλήνων*** *και* ***όχι*** *σαν γλώσσα ανθρώπων που ήρθαν από κάποιο ξένο κράτος, γιατί και εκεί πάνω, από κει που ήρθαν, ήταν* ***Ελλάδα****, ήτανε* ***Βυζάντιο****. Άρα λοιπόν να δεθεί αυτό* ***καλά****.*

<u>En.</u>

*P4: I don't know, it's a distinct language, and **they were speaking it**, from what I've searched, because at some point I too searched to see **what** on earth we, the Arvanites, are. You may have read that the Arvanites have always been, since ... They were excellent military leaders.*

*... All I can say is that it is good to secure this language, but to **secure it** as a language **of Greeks** and **not** as the language of people who came from some foreign State, because even up there, from where they came, it was **Greece**, it was **Byzantium!** So, this must be secured **well**.*

In the first part of extract 1, participant 4 states that Arvanitika is a distinct language, which was once spoken. He does not mention explicitly the period of time he refers to, but it is implied that this is the period before and during the Greek War of Independence due to his description of the Arvanites as 'great military leaders'. Of special interest here are *(a)* the participant's stressing of his determination to search 'what the Arvanites are', implying their *origins* and *(b)* the fact that he makes a supposition with regards to my knowledge of the *quality of Arvanites as great military leaders*, aiming to actually test the existence of such knowledge on my part.

A prominent, in my view, aspect of this discourse is the need for an *undisputed identity*, one that the participant hopes to establish by searching to find the origins of the Arvanites, while a second related aspect is the need for other Greeks who are not Arvanites (in this case myself) to acknowledge those qualities which highlight the *Greekness* of Arvanites (in this case, their bravery and their participation in the war for the independence of the Greek State). Also worth noticing is that when participant 4 speaks about the Arvanitika language, he uses the *past tense* (*'…**they were speaking it**...'*) and makes *no* reference to its present status. This is a consistent pattern in the discourse of many participants in the present study and it may suggest a broadly shared perception of Arvanitika as *a language that belongs to the past*.

In the second part of extract 1, participant 4 refers to the language as an issue that still needs some kind of resolution (*'...to secure this language, but **to secure it as** ...'*) denoting an expectation or a wish for the language's future status. However, while he

seems to be making an explicit reference to the Arvanitika language, it is rather evident that it is not the language per se what he has in mind, but, rather, its connection with the notion of *Greekness* (*'…as a language **of Greeks** and **not** as… '*). What is important to him is to 'prove' that, instead of being something foreign, Arvanitika has its roots in the Greek history. For Participant 4, it was not the present-day South Albania the place where the Arvanites came from, but (*'…it was **Byzantium!**'*). It is, therefore, possible that the real issue here is no other than that of the Arvanites' *ethnolinguistic identity*. It is the latter that has to be 'secured' and not so much the language as such. That is, an identity that may still be in need of clarification, or even recognition; a need that testifies to the struggle involved in the process of establishing and consolidating ethnolinguistic identities and the importance of *inclusion* and of a *collective feeling of belonging*.

Extract 2

Gr.

*FG1: Κοίταξε, να **μην** μιλιέται. **Δεν** πρέπει να φανείς ποιος είσαι. Τώρα κάποιος* [θα πει]: *«να, είμαστε αυτό, εκείνο…» <…> Θα συνεχίσουμε να είμαστε Αλβανοί;*

En.

FG1: Look, it should not be spoken. It should not be revealed who you are. <…> Now someone [will say]*: 'Well, we are this, that…' <…> Are we going to continue being Albanians?*

To the question of whether Arvanitika should be spoken today, one of the participants of Focus Group 1 states that Arvanitika should not be spoken. She moves on justifying her statement by saying that it should not be revealed who one is and that someone could say that we are this or the other, when hearing us speak in Arvanitika. She then explicitly expresses what she previously implied by posing the question 'Are we going to continue being Albanians?'. In her discourse, the participant expresses the fear that others will question her ethnic identity by considering her to be an Albanian, something that attests to the *negative connotation* the term 'Albanian' has in the Greek setting. Moreover, the participant's discourse reveals her belief that language is indeed an *indicator of ethnic identity*, or at least that other people consider it as such. Her phrase

'It should not be revealed who you are' is indicative of the *feeling of oppression* entailed in not expressing oneself publicly in Arvanitika. In the participant's mind, the use of Arvanitika could be 'misleading' with regards to what she would truly want to be considered in terms of her ethnicity (i.e., Greek), and perhaps it is exactly this feeling of oppression that functions as a deterrent for some Arvanitika - speaking Greeks to use the language.

Worth mentioning at this point is the fact that when I first approached the people of this participant's village for the purposes of the present study, there were some members of the community who asked to see my identity card. To my question as to why they needed to do that, they replied that a few years earlier two Albanian journalists visited the village and shot a documentary which they later presented in the Albanian TV claiming that the population of this village in Florina speaks Albanian and that they are an Albanian minority. Though I am not in a position to confirm such incident, it is important to note here that the people residing in this village, an unalloyed Arvanitophone village in north-western Greece, in the prefecture of Florina, tend to have a *cautious attitude* towards 'outsiders', fearing that the latter will *question their ethnic identity* as Greeks; a fear that is possibly reinforced by the geographic location of the village, as it is near the Greek - Albanian border.

Extract 3

Gr.

*P8: Κοιτάξτε, η γλώσσα **δεν** καθορίζει ούτε την εθνικότητα ούτε αυτό που είσαι, δηλαδή την εθνότητα. Η γλώσσα είναι κάτι που κουβαλάς **μέσα σου**, που είναι ένα οικείο εργαλείο να εκφράζεσαι με κάποιους ανθρώπους αν θέλεις να πεις κάποια πράγματα, αλλά δεν έχει καμία σχέση να μιλάς απόλυτα αρβανίτικα με αυτό που αισθάνεσαι σαν εθνικότητα <…> **Δεν** είναι το κριτήριο για κάποιον να σε προσδιορίσει το τι είσαι.*

En.

*P8: Look, language **does not** define the nationality or what you are, that is, ethnicity. Language is something you carry **within you**, which is a familiar instrument to express yourself with some people if you want to say some things, but speaking fluently*

Arvanitika has ***nothing*** *to do with what you feel in terms of ethnicity <…>* ***It is not*** *the criterion for someone to define what you are.*

Towards the end of the interview with participant 8, he was asked whether there was anything else he would like to add about the Arvanitika language before the interview ends. As it can be seen from his answer in extract 3 above, what he considered worth adding is his view that *language has nothing to do with one's 'ethnic consciousness'* and that it is not the criterion for defining who someone is. From this excerpt of Participant 8's discourse, one may deduce a position according to which *language is not an indicator* of ethnic identity, expressed in three different ways. First, he starts with a negative clause, explaining what language *does not* do (i.e., define nationality and ethnicity). Moving on in his speech, he uses an affirmative clause to communicate his view of what language actually *is* (i.e., something we carry within us) and he also prioritises the pragmatic use of the language by stating that language is an instrument for one to *communicate* something to other people. It is at this point that he uses the word 'Arvanitika' for the first time, thus narrowing the concept of language in general with which he started to the specific language he was asked to talk about. Finally, in his last and, once more, negative clause, he tells us what one's fluency in Arvanitika *is not* (i.e., the criterion for someone to define what you are), thus coming back to the issue of ethnicity, as he has defined it originally, and disconnecting it from the use of the specific language at issue, that is, Arvanitika.

One could, therefore, argue that the point made here by Participant 8 is that although Arvanitika may be, or has been, linguistically related to Albanian, it is not necessary for one who speaks it fluently to have an 'Albanian ethnic consciousness'. For him, the function of language in general, and consequently of Arvanitika, is to serve the *pragmatic purposes of communication*. The repetition of the same meaning three times in his discourse shows that it is something that he values as important to communicate.

An additional note to be made here is that in the above extract, participant 8 does not make any explicit or implicit reference to his own ethnic identity while in other parts of our interview he did feel the need to claim the *connection of Arvanitika with the Greek culture and history* by emphasising the Arvanites' contribution to the Greek War of Independence, as well as by saying that his father did not speak Arvanitika even

though he knew the language, as he considered it a *hindrance for his proper integration into the broader Greek society*. This latter point is indicative of the reason why many Arvanitika - speakers hold a *negative attitude* towards their language, – which has a lot to do with the policy adopted by the State towards Arvanitika and other minority languages –, thus becoming increasingly reluctant to use it, 'reinforcing', in consequence, its declining trajectory.

Extract 4

Gr.

FG2: ... Επίσης υπάρχει ένα χωριό που έχω ένα φίλο εκεί, το οποίο λέγεται <...> εε <...> στις Σέρρες, στο Νομό Σερρών, λέγεται <...> Παραλίμνιο Σερρών. Λοιπόν, Παραλίμνιο Σερρών, το οποίο<...> Γιατί να μιλήσουν αυτοί; Διότι αυτοί έφυγαν από την Αλβανία, όπως είχαμε φύγει κι εμείς.

FG2: Δεν είμαστε Αλβανοί, όμως!

*FG2: Η καταγωγή μας είναι απ' αυτό που λέγεται σήμερα Αλβανία(!). Έφυγαν αυτοί και πήγαν μετανάστες κοντά στην <...> εεε, στην Αδριανούπολη, που σήμερα ανήκει στην Τουρκία. Με τις ανταλλαγές το 1926, διότι έγιναν τότε οι πόλεμοι…και τους γύρισαν πάλι πίσω, και ριζώσαν εκεί που ήταν τότε η λίμνη, κοντά στο <...> στο ποτάμι το <...> Στρυμώνας. Λοιπόν, εκεί έμειναν… Έτυχε να έχω πάει εγώ δυο φορές γιατί κάποιος παντρεύτηκε, κάποιος <...> Δύο φορές έχω πάει στις Σέρρες… Βρήκα μια γριά, αυτό έγινε το '18, και μίλησα αρβανίτικα λες και μίλαγα με τη μητέρα μου**(!)** Άρα **είναι** η καταγωγή. Οι παππούδες τους κ.λπ. ήταν από την Αλβανία. Είχανε πάει στην Αδριανούπολη, έμειναν λίγα χρόνια και το 1923 γύρισαν στο Παραλίμνιο, στις ανταλλαγές που κάναν τότε Τούρκοι – Έλληνες, αυτά που γίνανε στη Θράκη… Τον φίλο μου τον είδα, στην Αθήνα εδώ…. Μου λέει 'Εμείς <...> δεν έχουμε ταυτότητα εμείς!' Είμαστε λέει 'Ξενομερίτες, Τουρκομερίτες...' Αυτό που είναι όμως <...> το πώς επιβίωσαν(!) τα αρβανίτικα. Βρέθηκαν σε Τούρκικη περιοχή, γύρισαν εδώ… Και **έχουν** αρβανίτικα, και μέσα εκεί έχουνε λίγες περισσότερες τούρκικες λέξεις απ' ό,τι έχουμε εμείς!*

*FG2: Όχι, α πα πα(!) καμία σχέση <...> Αλβανική είναι. **Αλβανική** <...> κι εμείς Αλβανοί είμαστε, όσο αφορά στη γλώσσα μόνο, έτσι;*

FG2: Όχι, εγώ έχω, <…> δε ξέρω, <…> εσύ μπορεί να είσαι διαβασμένος κι εγώ να 'μαι…

FG2: Μόνο για τη γλώσσα είπαμε… [γέλια]

FG2: Για τη γλώσσα, αισθάνομαι Έλληνας ***και*** *Αρβανίτης! Και οι Αλβανοί, για μένανε <...> Ναι, λοιπόν, οι Αλβανοί για μένα δεν υπήρχανε! Με όλα αυτά τα βιώματα που έχω, οι Αλβανοί είναι άθεοι, δεν είναι χριστιανοί(!). Ναι, που είναι το βασικότερο!*

FG2: ...Δεν υπήρχε Αλβανία που είχε γραφτεί από πάνω...

FG2: Έλα βρε… Άσε τα σύνορα… Άσε τ' άλλα...

FG2: Ναι αλλά όταν δεν υπάρχει επίσημο κράτος το οποίο να έχει γλώσσα, δε μπορώ να το δεχτώ(!)

FG2: Το λέω για να καταλάβουνε άλλοι, οι οποίοι δε γνωρίζουνε τα δικά μας τα εσωτερικά <…> σημαίνει ότι εμείς, έχουμε κι εμείς μερίδιο στη <…>, δηλαδή έχουμε την ίδια καταγωγή στη γλώσσα. Επομένως, όταν λέω 'αλβανικής', μπορεί να μου πει ο άλλος 'αρβανίτικης'. Αλλά αν γράφει το λεξικό 'αρβανίτικης', θα μπερδευτεί ο αναγνώστης του λεξικού.

FG2: Διευκρίνηση τώρα, ***ΔΙΕΥΚΡΙΝΙΣΗ****. Τώρα λέμε για Αρβανίτης. Αρβανίτης είναι αυτός που μιλεί <…> αρβανίτικα. Μπορεί να είναι από οικογένεια αρβανίτικη, και να* ***είναι*** *Αρβανίτης, αλλά να ομιλεί ελληνικά.*

FG2: ***Έτσι, δεν*** *χρειάζεται να μιλάς τη γλώσσα(!)*

<u>En.</u>

FG2: ... There is also a village where I have a friend, which is called <...> er <...> in Serres, in the Prefecture of Serres, it is called <...> Paralimnio of Serres. Well, Paralimnio of Serres, which <...> Why should they speak it? Because they left from Albania, just as we had done.

FG2: We are not Albanians, though!

*FG2: Our origin is from what is now called Albania****(!)****. They left and went as migrants near <...> er, Adrianople, which today belongs to Turkey. With the exchanges in 1926, because there were wars then <…> and they turned them back again, and they put down roots where the lake was then, near <…> the river <…> Strymonas. Well, that's*

where they stayed... I happened to go twice because someone got married, someone <...> I went to Serres twice ... I found an old woman, this *happened in '81, and I spoke Arvanitika as if I was speaking with my mother**(!)** So, **it is** the origin. Their grandparents etc. were from Albania. They had gone to Adrianople, they stayed for a few years and in 1923 they returned to Paralimnio, in the exchanges that took place at that time between Turks and Greeks, with what took place in Thrace... I saw my friend here, in Athens... He tells me, 'We, <…> we don't have an identity!' 'We are', he says, 'outlanders, Turkish-landers' … But that which is <...> how the Arvanitika survived(**!**). They found themselves in a Turkish area, they came back here... And they **do** have Arvanitika, and within it they have a few more Turkish words than we have!*

*FG2: No, oh, no, no(**!**) it has nothing to do <...> It is **Albanian**. Albanian <...> We are also Albanians, only as far as the language is concerned, ok?*

FG2: No, I have, <…> I don't know, <…> you might be well read and I might be…

FG2: Just regarding the language, we said… [laughs]

*FG2: As for the language, I feel Greek **and** Arvanitis! And the Albanians, for me <...> Yes, well, the Albanians were non-existent for me! With all these experiences I have, the Albanians are atheists, they are not Christians(**!**). **Yes**, which is the **most important** thing!*

FG2: …There was no Albania written from above…

FG2: Come on... Leave the borders... Leave the rest...

*FG2: Yes, but when there is no official State that has a language, I cannot accept it(**!**)*

FG2: I say this so that others, who do not know our own internal [issues] *<…> it means that we, we **too** have a share in <…>, that is, we have the same origin in terms of the language. Therefore, when I say 'Albanian', the other person may tell me 'Arvanitika'. But if the dictionary writes 'Arvanitis', the reader of the dictionary will be confused.*

*FG2: Clarification now, **CLARIFICATION**. Now we say Arvanitis. An Arvanitis is one who speaks <…> Arvanitika. He may be from an Arvanite family, and he may **be** an Arvanitis, but speak Greek.*

*FG2: **That's the thing**, you don't have to speak the language(**!**)*

In the above extract there takes place an interesting discussion among the participants of Focus Group 2. In the beginning, one of the participants refers to an Arvanitika-speaking village, Paralimnio, in the prefecture of Serres, in northern Greece. He says that they, that is, the Arvanitika speakers from his own village in Argolis, southern Greece, and the Arvanitika speakers from Paralimnio have a common *Albanian origin*. The participant is trying to make a point that the place of *origin* might be an *indicator of a shared identity* between the Arvanitika speakers of his village in Argolis and of Paralimnio, and/or an indicator of common linguistic elements in the variety of the Arvanitika spoken in these two areas. At that point, another participant intervenes, commenting that they are *not* Albanians (*'We are not Albanians, though!'*). This participant wants to clarify that even though the two aforementioned Arvanitika-speaking populations come from the area that is now recognised as Albania, they *do not hold an Albanian (ethno)-linguistic identity*. This dialogue allows us to point out that when it comes to relating the identity of Arvanitika speakers with today's Albania as a place of origin, not all Arvanitika speakers are ready to accept the place of origin as an indicator of their (ethno)-linguistic identity. In other words, for many of the Arvanitika speakers that participated in the present study, any allusion to a possible connection of their identity with Albania or Albanians seemed to present a *threat* to their 'Greekness'.

Moving on with his insistence in using the term 'Albania' to refer to a commonly shared place of origin between the two Arvanitika-speaking communities of his village in Argolis and of Paralimnio, the firstly mentioned participant tries to support his original point by relating a recollection from one of his visits to Serres. He says that in this visit he met an old woman with whom he had a conversation in Arvanitika and he spoke the language as if he was speaking with his mother, finishing this narration of his with the statement: 'So, **it is** the origin', implying Albania.

Another part of this participant's discourse considered of interest here, as it brings into the discussion the *question of identity*, is his recollection of a conversation he had in Athens with his friend from Paralimnio. According to his narration, the Paralimnian friend commented that they (the residents of Paralimnio) are deprived of an identity (*'We, <…> we don't have an identity!' 'We are outlanders, Turkish-landers'*). As it can

be seen in the full extract presented above, this comment is related to the fact that the Paralimnio population had originally migrated from today's Albania to the area of Andrianoupoli, part of today's Turkey under the name Edirne and right on the Greece/Turkey border, but returned back to Greece around 1926, with the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in the aftermath of the Asia Minor Catastrophe, and settled in the prefecture of Serres (*''and they put down roots where the lake was then, near <...> the river <...> Strymonas'*). Apart from its value in offering historical information about the Arvanitika-speaking population of Paralimnio, this part of the participant's discourse is also important because it closes by also bringing into the discussion the issue of the *preservation* of the Arvanitika language, with the participant appearing very impressed by the fact that the Paralimnians managed to preserve the Arvanitika language despite their original movement to Turkey and a second one from Turkey to Greece: (*'… But that which is <...> how the Arvanitika survived(!) They found themselves in a Turkish area, they came back here... And they **do** have Arvanitika, and within it they have a few more Turkish words than we have!')*.

When one of the participants agrees on the Albanian origin of the language by saying: 'We are also Albanians, only as far as the language is concerned, ok?', there begins a spirited discussion about the *(ethno)linguistic identity* of the Arvanitika speakers. At this point, another participant states that as far as the language is concerned, he self-identifies as both Greek and Arvanitis, explicitly claiming a *dual linguistic identity*. Concerning his ethnic identity, however, he rejects the connection made by others with the Albanian element saying that, in his mind, Albanians were 'non-existent' (i.e., as a source of ancestry), as they are not Christians, and emphasising that *religion* is the most important thing (*'And the Albanians, for me <...> Yes, well, the Albanians were non-existent for me! With all the experiences I have, the Albanians are atheists, they are not Christians(!). **Yes**, which is the **most important** thing!'*). So, religion is added here as *one more indicator* of the Arvanitika speakers' identity.

The discussion goes on with another interlocutor rejecting the connection with Albania and/or Albanians by saying that there was no Albanian State in the past and, therefore, he cannot accept the identification of Arvanitika with Albanian: (*'Yes, but when there is no official State that has a language, I cannot accept it(!)'*). It is quite noteworthy that this person appears to consider as 'proper' the formal language spoken in an officially recognised nation-state. Thus, apart from the aforementioned explicit

rejection of the identification of Arvanitika with Albanian, what is found here is also an *implicitly* expressed position with regards to the *non-official status* of the Arvanitika language; a position that might explain a tendency on the part of some participants of the present study to *undervalue* the Arvanitika language as one which, far from having any official status, is not even recognised as a minority language in Greece.

As shown in Extract 4 above, this discussion closes with two participants pointing out the grounds on which people can be identified as Arvanites. One participant expresses the need to clarify this (*'Clarification now,* ***CLARIFICATION****. Now we say Arvanitis. An Arvanitis is one who speaks <…> Arvanitika. He may be from an Arvanite family, and he may* ***be*** *an Arvanitis, but speak Greek'*), and the other agrees by saying: '**That's the thing**, you don't have to speak the language(**!**)'. What one may infer from these two statements is that, while both *family origin and the use of Arvanitika constitute indicators of one's membership in the community of Arvanites*, the knowledge and/or use of Arvanitika is not by itself a necessary and sufficient criterion for such membership.

5.14. Factors contributing to the decline of Arvanitika

5.14.1. Mixed marriages

Mixed marriages, that is, marriages of people from the Arvanitika-speaking community with people who are not members of this community, constitute one of the reasons mentioned by the participants of this study for the declining trajectory of the Arvanitika language. For example, according to participant K1 (see Appendix B, 5.14.1.), Arvanitika was preserved for many years in the area of this suburb in Attica where the study took place, because there were not many mixed marriages, as Arvanitika speakers from that place would either get married with other Arvanitika speakers from the same town or with persons from the surrounding villages who also spoke Arvanitika. In the same extract, Participant 8 overtly expresses his opinion on mixed marriages being a major reason for the 'loss' of Arvanitika, while he also makes an argument for the importance of the mother in the Arvanite families as the parent who is mainly responsible for transmitting the language to the children. Another quite interesting

comment made by the same participant is that, in the past, a marriage with someone from outside the village was considered 'inferior' compared to one between fellow villagers.

Participants of Focus Group 2 from a village in Argolis further confirmed the aforementioned view that mixed marriages are responsible for the decline in the use of Arvanitika (see Appendix B, 5.14.1). According to them, mixed marriages started taking place in their region in the '60s and '70s, and they were mostly between Arvanitika-speaking men from their village and women from different regions who did not speak Arvanitika. With *Greek* being the language spoken in these mixed-marriage families, however, due to the lack of knowledge of Arvanitika on the part of the female partners, the Arvanitika language could not be transmitted to the children of these families and, as a result, it started to lose its predominance in the village. Quite interestingly, when another participant of the same group tries to say that, despite the language related characteristics of mixed-marriage families, it could be to the parents' discretion to teach Arvanitika to their children, mentioning the example of a Greek-English couple who decided that each of the parents should speak to the children in his or her own native language, the discussion moves quickly to the issue of the *value* of the Arvanitika language. This is done through another participant's argument that the aforementioned option would be pointless with regards to Arvanitika as, contrary to the Greek and English languages, Arvanitika is *not an official, broadly useful and of high value language.*

5.14.2. Intergenerational transmission in decline

One of the main reasons leading to the decline of Arvanitika, as it has also been suggested by Tsitsipis (1998) and Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983), is the *decline in the transmission of the language* from one generation to the other. Extracts 5, 6 and 7 below depict how the discourse of the present study's participants reveals such decline as well as the ways in which the latter is perceived by the them. Apart from the fact that most of the older participants stated that they did not transmit Arvanitika to their children, an interesting finding of the present study is the tendency of the participants to *distance* themselves from the use of Arvanitika in the present by associating the language with

the past. The attitudes observed were somewhat *contradictory* in the sense that whereas their present-day distancing from the language might imply a *weakening of their identity* as Arvanites, the participants appeared to have a strong bond with their Arvanitika - speaking ancestors. Below are three representative extracts:

Extract 5

Gr.

P1: Από τη μάνα μου τα έμαθα όλα, μίλαγαν αρβανίτικα...

R: Εσείς στα παιδιά σας τα μιλούσατε;

P1: ...

K1(grandson): Μίλαγε στα κορίτσια της και στα εγγόνια της ελληνικά, οπότε συνήθισε περισσότερο τα ελληνικά.

En.

P1: It was from my mother that I learned them all, they spoke Arvanitika…

R: Did you use it with your children?

P1: ...

K1: (grandson) She talked to her girls and to her grandchildren in Greek, so she got more used to Greek.

The discoursers in the above extract are an elder Arvanitika speaker (Participant 1) and her grandson, who acted as a key person during the interview. In answering the question of how she learned Arvanitika, participant 1 makes a statement according to which it was her mother who transmitted the language to her.
In her discourse, she uses the words 'them all' referring to the Arvanitika language. Though incorrect in English, the use of the neuter plural form to refer to a language (e.g., Greek, English, Turkish, etc.) is compatible with the Greek grammar. Regarding, now, the participant's second clause, she uses the third person plural of the verb ('they spoke'), as opposed to the first clause where she uses the first person singular ('I learned'). Structuring her utterance in this way, it is seen that in the first clause the participant is implicitly placing emphasis to her own *family identity* as a speaker of

Arvanitika, attributing it to the fact that she is the daughter of an Arvanitika-speaking mother, while in the second clause she somehow *dissociates this identity* from the Arvanitika language per se by associating the latter with an *unspecified collective entity* ('they') and with the past ('spoke').

It is worth noting that my consequent question of whether she used the language when talking with her own (now middle-aged) children was 'answered' with *silence*. This silence cannot but be interpreted as an unuttered 'No'. Considering that Participant 1 was 80 years old at the time of the interview, and therefore a member of the oldest generation of Arvanitika-speaking persons alive today, this unuttered 'No' is attesting to the fact of the *decline of the intergenerational transmission* of the Arvanitika language.

The intervention of the participant's grandson in order to explain her silence is interesting in that he moves away from the topic of the discourse, that is, the intergenerational use and/or transmission of the Arvanitika language, by referring to the use /and or transmission of the Greek language. In doing so, he does not provide us with an explanation but, rather, with a justification (*'so she got more used to Greek'*) of his grandmother's silence and he *unintentionally* confirms the aforementioned *decline* of the intergenerational transmission of the Arvanitika language.

It is important to note that during the whole interview Participant 1 showed her distancing from the Arvanitika language and, in some cases, she overtly expressed *negative attitudes* towards it. As it will be discussed later, such distancing from the Arvanitika language has to be examined under the light of the experiences of the Arvanitika-speaking persons in the context of the officially monolingual Greek society.

Extract 6

Gr.

P2: Τα μίλαγε η μαμά, τα μιλάγαμε όλοι εμείς τα αρβανίτικα. Ο αδελφός μου, ο μεγάλος ήταν 9 χρόνια πιο μεγάλος από εμένα, τα ήξερε καλά όπως και ο δεύτερος. Κι ετούτα τα μικρά που ήτανε, τα δύο τα άλλα τα μικρά τα αδέλφια μου τα ξέρανε, αλλά δεν τα μιλάγανε. Δεν τα μιλάγανε και καλά, τα αρβανίτικα, γιατί μιλάγανε ελληνικά. Τα παιδιά μου δε θέλω να τα ξέρουνε απέξω.

En.

P2: Mum used to speak, we all used to speak Arvanitika. My brother, the eldest was 9 years older than me, he knew it well as did the second one. And these two, the younger ones, my two other younger siblings also knew it, but they didn't speak it. They could not speak Arvanitika well, because they spoke Greek. I do not want my children to be fluent in it.

From a grammatical point of view, participant 2 chooses the imperfect past tense for the Greek verbs that describe the use of Arvanitika (*'τα μιλάγανε', 'τα ξέρανε'*), the correct translation of which in English is 'they used to speak it' and 'they used to know it'. This choice serves her association of the Arvanitika language with the *past* and therefore her distancing from it in the present.

In terms of the content of her discourse, it is interesting that participant 2 justifies her younger siblings' non-fluency in Arvanitika by the fact that they spoke Greek. Similar to the discourse of other participants, as it is shown further on, the participant seems to *associate the knowledge of one language with the lack of fluency in another*, in this case, that of Arvanitika. Moreover, she explicitly states that she does not want her children to be fluent in it, thus making it clear that she did not transmit the language to them. Another point of particular interest in the discourse of participant 2 is that it develops in a manner that allows us to detect the gradual and increasingly intense decline of the intergenerational transmission of Arvanitika across three different generations; that is, the generation of her mother, who spoke Arvanitika to her children, that of herself and of her siblings, two of whom knew it but didn't speak it, and the generation of her own children, for whom she wishes to not be fluent in it.

As in the case of participant 1, participant 2, aged over 100 and therefore a member of the oldest generation of Arvanitika - speaking persons alive today, appeared to be one of the several persons who, although fluent in Arvanitika, choose *not* to speak the language or to speak it *very rarely* compared to the past. The potential reasons behind this phenomenon will be elaborated on later, when they will be explicitly revealed as such in the discourse of certain participants.

Extract 7

Gr.

O5: Μα και οι γιαγιάδες και οι παππούδες είχανε σταματήσει να τα μιλάνε στη σχέση με τα παιδιά…γιατί… καθιερώθηκε(!)

P5: Λες και ήτανε… είχε το αρβανίτικο οστρακιά(!)και το … το [λυπημένα] ξορκίσανε…

R: Εσείς στα παιδιά σας τη μιλούσατε τη γλώσσα...

P5: Εεε, [G: Όχι καθημερινά, έτσι;] Όχι, όχι.

O5: Ελληνικά μιλάγανε, αλλά ...

P5: Όταν θέλανε να εκφράσουνε κάτι το οποίο ήταν με βαρύνουσα σημασία, θα το λέγανε αρβανίτικα.

P5: Θέλω, Θέλω(!) να μιλάνε τα παιδιά μου, θέλω, γιατί εκφράζει δυναμισμό, θετικότητα... Άμα και τύχει, άμα λάχει, πώς; Τα μιλάω με τα παιδιά μου … Και ξέρεις ε, ν' ακούς ένα 5χρονο μικράκι να μιλάει αρβανίτικα, ε;(!)

En.

O5: But even grandmothers and grandfathers had stopped speaking [Arvanitika] *to their children… because… it was established(!)*

P5: As if…Arvanitika was the plague(!) … and they … they [with sadness] exorcised it…

R: Did you speak the language with your children …

P5: Well… [G: Not on a daily basis, right?] No, no.

O5: They spoke in Greek.

P5: When they wanted to express something profound and meaningful, they would say it in Arvanitika.

P5: I want, I want(!)my children to speak it, I want, because it expresses dynamism, positivity… If it happens, of ***course****! I speak it with my children … And you know what it is like to listen to a 5-year-old little one speaking Arvanitika, eh? (!)*

Extract 7 starts with a statement by the daughter-in-law of participant 5 that even the elder Arvanitika speakers have stopped using the language, while, after some hesitation, she proceeds to explain and/or justify this development using the passive form of a Greek verb, in the past tense and in the third person singular (*'καθιερώθηκε'*), the literal translation of which is 'it was established'. Such impersonal usage of the verb she chose in order to explain the 'why' behind the non-use of the language is taken here to imply that this is the 'status quo', regardless of who or what may be responsible for it.

At this point, participant 5 intervenes expressing her own view on the current status of the Arvanitika language through a metaphor. Interestingly enough, she does this by attributing to the language the status of a human who suffered from a *contagious disease* (*'As if… Arvanitika was the plague(!)'*) and who was *banished* (*'… they exorcised it'*), in order to point out how badly she thinks the Arvanitika speakers have treated the language. It is worth noting that, in doing this, she is using the third person plural (*'they'*) distancing herself from the abandonment of Arvanitika.

All the above, however, come into contradiction with her answer to the question of whether she herself spoke the language with her children. She is initially hesitant to reply (*'Well…'*) and she only gives an answer after the facilitating intervention of her daughter-in-law (*'not on a daily basis, right?'*). This intervention seems to serve as a mitigation of the significance of participant 5's impending negative answer, in the sense that the 'no, no' on the part of the mother-in-law can now be interpreted as 'not on a daily basis' rather than as a straightforward 'No' (i.e., I didn't speak it with my children).

As it can be seen in Extract 7, the daughter-in-law intervenes again with an attempt to explain the reason of the non-regular use of Arvanitika in participant 5's relationship with her children by saying that 'they spoke Greek'. Once more, the pattern observed is the *juxtaposition of Arvanitika with Greek* as a means to establish the idea of the mutual exclusivity of the two languages, according to which one is expected to use either Arvanitika or Greek but not both. The idea, also *implicit* in the daughter-in-law's statement, that the use of Greek *precludes* the use of Arvanitika, rather than vice versa, was evident in the discourse of most of the participants in the present study. As already mentioned, this can be explained by our finding that in many participants' view Arvanitika is 'inferior' to Greek due to its *non-official status*.

Moving on in her discourse, participant 5 says that 'When they wanted to express something profound and meaningful, they would say it in Arvanitika.' The third person plural that she uses makes her statement somewhat vague, as it is not clear whether she is referring to her children or to the Arvanitika speakers in general, but the grammatical form she uses (would + infinitive) allows us to assume that she is referring to how Arvanitika was used by Arvanitika-speaking persons in *the past*.

The last statement of participant 5, in which she declares her desire for her children to speak Arvanitika as it expresses 'dynamism' and 'positivity', is of considerable importance because it is *not in accord* with the previously established fact that she did not speak Arvanitika with her children 'on a daily basis' when they were younger. More specifically, the attachment on her part of such good qualities to Arvanitika as those of *dynamism* and *positivity* denotes a *pride for her ancestral language*, which appears to be in contradiction with her not being in a position to claim that she has been *responsible* for transmitting this language to her offspring. The very last clause of this statement, however, in the form of a rather rhetorical question addressed to me, (*'And you know what it is like to listen to a 5-year-old little one speaking Arvanitika, eh? (!)'*), reconfirms the aforementioned pride of the participant in her ancestral language and demonstrates that she recognizes the importance of its preservation.

At this point, it is important to note that several of the older in age participants of the present study tended to 'blame' the relatively younger generations for the declining use of the Arvanitika language, often not taking into account that the transmission of an oral language without official status and without institutional support can only be accomplished in the context of the family.

5.14.3. (Non)-preservation, potential extinction and/or revival of Arvanitika & the non-official status of the language

A question that seemed to be of special interest to the participants of the study was the one exploring their views on the *potential extinction* of Arvanitika. There was a noticeable variation in the participants' responses, ranging from the expression of *strongly negative attitudes* to the expression of *neutral or positive* ones. It is worth mentioning that the discourse of the older in age participants was quite intense, in the sense of their expressing quite strongly either *very positive or very negative emotions* regarding the preservation and/or revival of the language. The middle-aged participants were more neutral in their responses, with one of them explicitly stating the reasons why he does not wish to be part of a revival effort. In addition, the latter group of discoursers seems to attach more value to the preservation of the tradition associated with the Arvanitika language rather than the preservation of the language per se. In terms of the reasoning guiding their attitudes regarding the potential extinction of Arvanitika, the older in age participants tended to give more *emotional* rather than rational explanations of their standpoints, perhaps due to their stronger attachment to the language as they are the *last generation* of Arvanites who speak it fluently.

Extract 8

Gr.

FG1-1: Δεν μας έχει έρθει κανένας... Αν ερχόταν ..., ξέρω εγώ; ... Καλό θα ήταν.

FG1-2: Όχι, εμείς θέλουμε να φύγει (η γλώσσα). Να μην... Και οι Αλβανοί που έρχονται, τα μαθαίνουν τα ελληνικά. Δεν μαθαίνουν τ' αρβανίτικα.

R: Άρα, εσείς δεν θέλετε το κράτος να στηρίξει τη γλώσσα, να την βοηθήσει να....

FG1-2: ΟΧΙ! ΟΧΙ! ΈΧΟΥΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ.

En.

FG1-1: No one has come to us… If they came …, how should I know? … It'd be good.

FG1-2: No, we want it gone (the language). Not to… And the Albanians who come here learn Greek. They don't learn Arvanitika.

R: So, you do not want the State to support the language, help it to…

FG1-2: NO! NO! WE HAVE GREEK!

The above extract presents the replies of two participants of Focus Group 1 (two old Arvanitika-speaking women from the region of Florina) to the question of whether they would like to *participate in an organised effort towards the revival of the Arvanitika language* and of whether the latter could potentially acquire *official status*. Participant 1 of the Focus Group says that no one has approached them for such an initiative and that if it happened it would be 'good'. Her stance towards a potential participation of herself in an organised action for the revival of the language seems to be positive but at the same time *not very assertive*, as it contains a contemplative question 'how should I know?'.

To a sequel question addressed to the members of FG1 regarding their feelings about the decline of Arvanitika, the discourse of participant FG1-2 was quite remarkable in that she responded in a very assertive manner expressing the opinion that the language should cease to exist. Her statements 'No, we want it gone' and '… And the Albanians who come here learn Greek. They don't learn Arvanitika' show a *strongly negative attitude* towards the preservation of the language that may even be interpreted as an utter *repudiation* of Arvanitika. In the first clause she is using the first-person plural as if she speaks on behalf of the entire Arvanitika community or at least on behalf of a large number of Arvanites. In the second clause she is justifying the content of the first with the not so rational argument that even people who speak Albanian, a language related to Arvanitika, *choose to learn Greek and not Arvanitika*. The non-rational character of this argument lies mainly in that *(a)* she disregards the obvious reasons why an Albanian migrant would learn Greek, namely that he/she will have to live and work in a society the vast majority of which speaks Greek, and *(b)* she is sweeping aside the fact that the close similarity of the Arvanitika and Albanian languages would make

the Albanians' learning Arvanitika totally unnecessary. More importantly, however, this part of her discourse shows that participant FG1-2 attaches *no value* whatsoever to the Arvanitika language, that is, a language 'not worth to be used even by the Albanian migrants'. In my view, this reasoning carries within it a non-explicitly expressed perception of both the Arvanitika language and the Albanian migrants as *inferior* to the Greek language and to being Greek, respectively.

My last probing remark, aiming to explore whether they would welcome some form of official support by the Greek State for the survival of the Arvanitika language, was abruptly and almost aggressively interrupted by participant FG1-2 with the emphatic and categorical response 'NO! NO! WE HAVE GREEK!', juxtaposing once more Greek against Arvanitika in order to make the point that the Arvanitika language is *superfluous* since they speak Greek. It should also be noted here that, throughout the interview, this specific participant maintained a *defensive stance* and appeared to be annoyed, something which culminated in her leaving the room before the completion of the interview.

Extract 9

Gr.

P4: Όχι, δε θέλω να συμμετέχω γιατί έχει μπει στο πετσί μου πάρα πολύ το τι έχει κάνει αυτό το κράτος, ας πούμε, για την Ελλάδα, για το έθνος, το τι έχει κάνει για το έθνος έχει μπει στο πετσί μου. [χαμηλόφωνα] *Και αν πεις κάποιο «ναι» γι' αυτά τα οποία λέω, εντάξει, να μπούνε τα αλβανικά…, αυτοί θα κατέβουν κάτω στη θάλασσα.*

En.

P4: No, I do not want to participate because it's engraved in my skin what this State has done, let's say, for Greece, for the nation, what it has done for the nation is engraved in my skin. [Lowering his voice voice] *And if you say a 'yes' for what I'm talking about, okay, let's allow Albanians to…, they will even get down to the sea.*

In the first clause of the above extract, participant 4 answers the question of whether he would like to participate in an organised effort towards the revival of the Arvanitika

language by stating clearly that he does not want to participate, proceeding to explain the reason for his *unwillingness* to do so. The logic of this explanation appears to be somewhat *controversial* as he associates his aforementioned unwillingness with the Greek State's policies to 'protect' Greece and/or the nation by not supporting the use of minority languages, making allusions to the *non-beneficial* character of these policies for the Arvanitika-speaking community and its language. His discourse is *emotionally charged* and this is evident both in the relative *lack of syntactical cohesion* in his utterance and in his using twice the expression 'έχει μπει στο πετσί μου'. This phrase, loosely translated here as 'it's engraved in my skin', has a strong emotional weight and it literally means that 'something (usually a bothersome idea, feeling, or memory) got under my skin'.

In the second clause of Extract 9, participant 4 unfolds his thought of what would happen if someone agreed to participate in a language revival effort (*'And if you say a "yes" ...')*. He does this with an equally *non-cohesive utterance* (*'…okay, let's allow Albanian to…, they will even get down to the sea.'*), the point of which is that a revival of the language may lead to the possibility of territorial claims by the Albanian State, something that has also been hinted by other participants, too. In addition, at this point of his utterance he *lowers his voice*, possibly because he does not feel comfortable to talk about this 'sensitive' topic. Worth noting in this last clause is that while referring to the possible revival of the Arvanitika language, participant 4 uses the word 'Albanian' instead of 'Arvanitika', thus allowing us to infer that he considers the two languages to be *identical*.

The rationale behind this whole idea of the connection between the strengthening of the status of the Arvanitika language through organised efforts for its revival and the possibility of territorial claims on the part of the Albanian State could be as follows: Since Arvanitika derives from Tosk Albanian, the southern dialect of the Albanian language, and since there is a geographical continuum between Greece and Albania, then the Albanian State might claim as its own certain neighbouring Greek territories in which there are Arvanitika-speaking communities. This narrative of the danger of *territorial claims* on the part of neighbouring countries is quite popular in Greece, not only in relation to Albania, but also in relation to other neighbouring countries, such as Turkey and North Macedonia. As a result of this narrative, people such as the Arvanitika speakers or the Macedonian-speakers in Greece often find themselves in the

middle of a *political scaremongering* that makes them support the exclusive use of the Greek language to the disadvantage of their minority languages out of the fear that the 'rival' states would *question their national identity*.

Despite the prevalence of negative attitudes towards the revival of Arvanitika, there has also been a smaller number of participants who exhibited positive attitudes towards the preservation and revival of the language, to the point of even hinting at the possibility of Arvanitika acquiring an official status in education, as shown in the following extract.

Extract 10

Gr.

P7: Όχι, όχι να ***διατηρηθεί*** *θέλω εγώ. Να έχουν και δασκάλα εδώ. Εμένα μ' αρέσει, δεν ξέρω... Γιατί να μην έχουν μια δασκάλα να τα μιλάει;*

En.

P7: No, no I want it to be ***preserved****… They should have a teacher here too. I like it, I don't know... Why not have a teacher here to speak it?*

Here, participant 10 states clearly that she wants Arvanitika to be preserved and even taught by a teacher at school, adding that she likes the Arvanitika language. This shows that her attitude towards the preservation and revival of the language is undoubtedly *positive*. Moving to the very last part of this extract, participant 10 actually repeats what she said in her second clause, but this time she expresses it in the form of a question (*'Why not have a teacher here to speak it?'*). In my view, she does this because she wants to give extra emphasis to her idea for the need of a school-teacher for Arvanitika, while, at the same time, her expressing it in the form of a question carries within it an *implicit wish* for an external (possibly mine) confirmation of this idea.

On the whole, the discourse of participant 10 introduces a new dimension regarding the language, namely that it should acquire a sort of an official status in the context of the school instead of being transmitted to the youngsters solely in the context of the family. The possibility of the Arvanitika language being taught at school, however, is

something that most participants of the present study were reluctant to discuss and, as such, a topic that does not offer itself for further analysis.

In this study, there were a considerable number of cases where the primary concern of the participants was not the preservation of the language per se but the *tradition* connected with Arvanitika. The following small extract is a representative example of this observation.

Extract 11

Gr.

P8: Σίγουρα δεν είναι ευχάριστο όταν εξαφανίζεται μια γλώσσα <…> ή όταν πεθαίνει κάποια παράδοση, δεν αισθάνεσαι όμορφα …. Δεν σε επηρεάζει αν χαθεί η γλώσσα, αλλά η διατήρηση της παράδοσης.

En.

P8: It is certainly not pleasant when a language disappears <…> or when a tradition dies out, you don't feel nice … It doesn't affect you if the language is lost, but the preservation of the tradition.

Answering the question of how he feels about the fact that Arvanitika is in danger of extinction, participant 8 says that the disappearance of a language is not something pleasant as it is also not pleasant when a tradition dies out. While it is interesting that he self-willedly brings into the discussion the issue of the tradition, the way in which he does this would allow someone to think that he either considers *language and tradition to be inextricably linked*, or that at least he attaches the same value to them. However, when he then says that one is not affected by the loss of a language but by the non-preservation of the tradition, he appears to be making a distinction the interpretation of which could be that he actually *disconnects* the two concepts, *attributing to the tradition of Arvanites a higher value* than that of the Arvanitika language per se.

One way to make sense of the emphasis placed by participant 8 on the traditons(s) of Arvanites as opposed to their language is to bear in mind that he belongs to the middle-

aged group of Arvanitika speakers, who do not speak the language fluently and their relation to Arvanitika is, in most cases, that of a relatively passive listener in the context of their paternal families rather than that of an active speaker of the language with a personal experience of meaningful communication with others in Arvanitika. Like other participants of his age group, participant 8 left his village in Florina, in order to live in a large *urban centre*, in this case that of the city of Thessaloniki in northern Greece, something that may have also contributed to his *detachment* from the language.

As it became apparent from the discourse of other middle-aged participants, their stance with regards to the Arvanitika language is often *neutral and disinterested*, as opposed to that of older in age participants who, as it was already shown in the analysis of Extract 8, appear to be more interested in the language issue, exhibiting either strongly positive or strongly negative attitudes with respect to the preservation of Arvanitika, or, in some cases, a *contradictory combination of both*.

5.14.4. Urbanisation and modernisation

The participants of the present study have also pointed at *modernisation* and *urbanisation* as additional reasons contributing to the decline of Arvanitika. Extracts 12 and 13 below depict the way in which the aforementioned phenomena have affected the lives of the Arvanitika-speaking people and the state of the Arvanitika language in the regions of the suburb of Athens and the village in Argolis. A common pattern that emerged from the interviews with both groups was their expression of intense feelings of *nostalgia for the past* and of a *profound disappointment for the depopulation of their traditional communities and the consequent decline of the Arvanitika language*.

Extract 12 – Modernisation

Gr.

P5: Το ’50, ’60, το ’70 <…> Μετά το ’70, το '75 αρχίσανε, ήρθαν οι σινεμάδες(!), ήρθε η <…> η δήθεν εξέλιξη <…>, του κόσμου του άρεσε(!). Αυτό ήταν το κακό, ότι του άρεσε, και ο κόσμος πήγε προς τα κει. Μετά το ’60, ήρθανε τα τρακτέρ. Και σιγά-σιγά ***ΕΓΙΝΕ****(!) η περιοχή μας μηχανοκρατούμενη. Ναι. Σιγά-σιγά, σιγά-σιγά, δειλά-δειλά...*

… *Γάλα, γάλα(**!**), εδώ υπήρχε ένα τυροκομικό, ο Ζαχόλιας, ο οποίος ήτανε...πολύ, πολύ διακεκριμένος(**!**), κι όταν έβρεχε το χωριό ήτανε κατηφορικό και όοολο αυτό που είχανε οι δρόμοι, οι αυλές από τα ζώα πήγαινε κάτω απ’ τις γραμμές του τραίνου που ήτανε οι αμπελώνες. Γη Χαναάν, τι δεν είχανε(**!**). Όλες τις ποικιλίες τα αμπέλια…*

En.

*P5: In the ’50s, ’60s, ’70s <…> After the ’70s, in ’75, they started, there came the cinemas(**!**), there came the supposed <…> development <…>, people liked it(!). That was the bad thing, that they liked it, and people went towards that. After the ’60s, there came the tractors. And gradually our region* ***BECAME****(!) mechanised. Yes. Slowly-slowly, hesitantly-hesitantly …*

*…Milk, milk (!) there was a cheese factory, Zacholias, who was… very, very distinguished(!), and when it rained, the village was downhill so all [the water] what the roads held, the backyards and the animals would go under the rails where the vineyards used to be. Holy Land, there was nothing more to ask for(**!**) All the varieties of wine grapes...*

To the question ‘when did the decline of Arvanitika begin’, participant 5 stated that it was in the ’50s, ’60s and ’70s, immediately incorporating in her answer her opinion on the reasons of the decline of Arvanitika. In her phrases ‘…there came the cinemas(!), there came the supposed <…> development’ and ‘After the ’60s, there came the tractors. And gradually our region **BECAME** mechanised’, she appears to be *linking the decline of Arvanitika with modernisation*. Her negative feelings for the changes she has mentioned are expressed by her qualifying the noun ‘development’ with the

adjective ‘supposed’ in the first of the above phrases and by using the verb ‘became’ with an ironic emphasis in the second. Moreover, her negative stance towards what she considers to be only ‘supposed’ development is made very clear and explicit in her phrase: ‘That was the bad thing, that they liked it, and people went towards that’.

However, in the second part of the extract, the participant appears to momentarily *contradict* her previously expressed negative feelings for the effects of modernisation on her place of residence when she proudly refers to the cheese factory that was established in her region, a small town in the suburbs of Athens.

Throughout the long interview with participant 5, she expressed *strong emotions* in favour of the Arvanitika language and a *deep feeling of nostalgia for the past*, perhaps because it was in the past that the language was ‘alive’ and widely spoken, while her speech was passionate and impressively lyrical in style, something that is evident even in the small excerpt presented above.

Moving on to the extract that follows, other participants referred to the effect of urbanisation and of the population decline in their region as factors that contributed to the gradual ‘loss’ of Arvanitika.

Extract 13 - Urbanisation

Gr.

FG2: Αδυνατίσανε [τα αρβανίτικα] *γιατί είναι και μικρότερο* [το χωριό]*, κι έχουνε φύγει πιο νωρίς από το Αραχναίο, το αδειάσανε.*

FG2: Φύγανε κάτω.

*FG2: Ναι φύγανε, κι έχουνε μείνει λίγοι. Σε σχέση, μόνο το Σοφικό κρατήθηκε καλύτερα, της Κορινθίας, γιατί ήταν πιο μεγάλο, και κρατήθηκε τ’ αρβανίτικα, και κρατήθηκαν ακόμα, ο πληθυσμός, και τα μιλάγανε… Ένα φίλο που έχω, 50 χρονών, μιλάω αρβανίτικα μαζί του(!). Κι εγώ είμαι **65**! Και μιλάω αρβανίτικα(!) Η γενιά του 50ρη μιλάει εκεί(!)*

FG2: Οι Σοφικίτες εκεί μιλάνε στους Αλβανούς που παίρνουν εργάτες μόνο αρβανίτικα! Δεν καταλαβαίνουν ελληνικά!

FG2: Γιατί όταν πριν 30 και 40 χρόνια το χωριό είχε 2000 κατοίκους…

FG (host): Πήρε και λιγοστεύει…

*FG2: …και σήμερα έχει 500 ή 600(!). Σίγουρα **ό**λα αυτ**ά** φέρνουνε τη φτώχεια, τη φτώχεια…*

FG 2(host): Έχουμε λίγους! Μόνιμους έχουμε πιο λίγους! Θα 'ναι 450 αν είναι οι μόνιμοι…

<u>En.</u>

FG2: It has been weakened [the Arvanitika language] *also because it is smaller* [the village] *and they had already left earlier from Arachnaio, they left it empty.*

FG2: They went south [to the city].

Fg2: Yes, they left, and only a few are left behind. To compare things, only Sofiko did better, in Korinthia, because it was larger, and Arvanitika was maintained, and even the population was maintained and they spoke it…. I've got a friend, 50 years old, I speak with him Arvanitika(!). And I'm 65! And I speak Arvanitika (!). The 50-year-old generation speaks it there(!)

FG2: There, the Sofiko people talk to the Albanians they employ only in Arvanitika! They don't understand Greek!

FG2: Because when 30 and 40 years ago the village had 2000 residents…

FG (host): It's started getting smaller…

*FG2: … and today it has 500 or 600(!). Surely **all this** brings about the poverty, the poverty…*

FG2 (host): We have few! Permanent ones even fewer! The permanent ones should be 450, if at all...

In the above extract, the members of Focus Group 2 take turns in discussing the decline of Arvanitika in their village in Argolis. From the very beginning, it is made clear that they see this decline as a *result of the village's low population*, since a large number of people moved to urban centres. They also mention another village, Arachnaio, which

experienced the same thing even earlier. To strengthen their point on the role played by the size of a population in maintaining the language, they compare their case with that of Sofiko, a larger in population village of the neighbouring prefecture of Korinthia. What they appear to find of particular interest in this comparison is that the residents of Sofiko continue to use the Arvanitika language and, more importantly, that this is the case with the middle-aged residents of Sofiko, while the fluent in Arvanitika residents of the village in Argolis where part of the study took place are quite older. They also point out that the residents of Sofiko speak with their Albanian employees *only* in Arvanitika. This discussion ends with their reminiscence of the time when their village had a population of 2000 people, 30 or 40 years ago, and with their reconfirming to one another how low the present population of the village is, approximately 450 permanent residents.

One point in this discussion that I find not only interesting but also particularly moving are the words of one participant who closes his statement regarding the present low population of the village by saying 'surely **all this** brings about poverty, poverty…'. Apart from my recollection of the *sadness* with which he uttered these words, his 'choice' of the word 'poverty' shows a *deep emotional connection with Arvanitika*, as it is obvious that he used this word metaphorically in order to describe the extent of the decline of the Arvanitika language in his village; in other words, in order to share with his fellow villagers and myself how poorer he believes the village community has become in terms of its *cultural/linguistic wealth* with less and less people speaking the language today.

Focus Group 2 consisted of several residents of a village in the Regional Unit of Argolis, in Peloponnese, who, as a group, gave me the impression that they fervently embrace the Arvanitika language and tradition, as they spoke of the language as an inextricable part of their identity, shared their pride for the cultural centre of the village, and emphasised their efforts to involve the younger generation in the village's Arvanitika-related cultural activities (e.g., singing and dancing to Arvanitika songs).

5.14.5. 'Creolisation in reverse' and fluctuation between competence and non-desire to speak Arvanitika

The theme of 'creolisation in reverse', as Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) called it to describe the choice of the speakers of Arvanitika to not speak it and thus abandon it, came up often in the discourse of the present study's participants, either directly (i.e., in expressing their personal stance towards the Arvanitika language), or indirectly (i.e., in their commenting on the attitudes of other members of the Arvanitika linguistic community).

For this thematic subcategory, I chose three extracts to show the participants' *ambiguous* and sometimes *negative attitudes* with regards to the trajectory of the Arvanitika language, their abandonment of the language and their *unwillingness to speak it.* In the first two extracts (14 & 15), each participant unfolds her own personal stance towards Arvanitika, while in the third extract (16) the participant offers an account of the declining trajectory of Arvanitika in her region by referring to the attitudes of *others* and by attributing the aforementioned decline to such attitudes, thus also revealing her *personal stance* with regards to Arvanitika, albeit in an indirect manner.

Extract 14

Gr.

P1: …τώρα δε μπορώ να τα γυρίσω τα αρβανίτικα, να μιλήσω…

P1: Δε μ' αρέσουν, πιο βαριά τα αρβανίτικα από τα ελληνικά. Ήρθε ένας απ' τα Βίλια και μου μίλαγε. Και του έλεγα «έχω κουφαθεί, δε μπορώ τα αρβανίτικα, τα ξέρω» του λέω «αλλά δε θέλω να τα μιλήσω, δε σου χρειάζονται κάτι, και ΔΕ ΜΠΟΡΩ» του λέω.

P1: Ελληνικά [θέλω να μιλάω]. *Είναι βαριά τα αρβανίτικα,* ***σιχαμένα*** *είναι.*

En.

P1: … I can't turn to Arvanitika now, to speak it…

P1: I don't like it, Arvanitika is heavier than Greek. Someone came from Vilia and was talking [in Arvanitika] *to me. 'I've gone deaf, I can't stand Arvanitika, I know it*

though', I said to him, 'but I don't want to speak it, you don't need it for anything, and I CANNOT' I said.

P1: Greek [is what I want to speak]. *Arvanitika is heavy, it is* ***disgusting***.

In the above extract, participant 1 overtly expresses a *very negative stance* towards Arvanitika, a stance which she unwaveringly kept throughout my interview with her. In her discourse, she first says that she cannot 'turn to Arvanitika, to speak it', a statement that leaves some space for us to assume that perhaps she refers to her not having the ability to speak it. But she very soon makes it clear that this is not the case, as she proceeds to declare that she does not like it, offering at the same time the reason why (*'Arvanitika is heavier than Greek'*). The adjective 'heavy' has also been used in descriptions of the Arvanitika language by other participants in this study, as well as by participants in the study of Tsitsipis (1998). In our case, however, the participant uses the comparative form of this adjective so as to *contrast Arvanitika with Greek*, thus indirectly declaring in the same clause her preference for the latter. Continuing her speech, she describes a scene from her past, when an Arvanitika speaker from a neighbouring village, Vilia, attempted to talk to her in Arvanitika and she bluntly told him that she had 'gone deaf' and that she could 'not stand' Arvanitika, even though she knows it. In her narration of this incident, what is evident again is how strongly negative her attitude towards Arvanitika is because she expresses her dislike of the language twice in the same short clause, once in a metaphorical way (*'I've gone deaf'*), since she is not physically deaf but only deaf to Arvanitika, and once with a bald and intense explicitness (*'I can't stand Arvanitika, I know it though'*). Here, apart from the very strong expression 'I can't stand', the participant's adding the fact that she knows the language makes her dislike of it even more profound. A rather interesting added element in the last part of this short narration is the justification of her statement 'I don't want to speak it' with her view that Arvanitika is useless (*'you don't need it for anything'*). Moreover, the loudness of her voice when she repeats that she cannot speak it (*'… and I CANNOT'*) could, in my view, be interpreted in a twofold and somewhat contradictory manner. That is, on a first level, as a *reinforcement of her choice not to speak Arvanitika*, and on a second level, as an *unconscious attempt to deny her responsibility for not speaking it.*

At the end of the extract, participant 1 returns to the comparison between Arvanitika and Greek saying for a second time that she chooses Greek because 'Arvanitika is heavy'. The involvement of an often made non-solid, from a linguistic point of view, argument that a language 'does not sound nice' in this explanation allows us to interpret the participant's assertion about the 'heaviness' of Arvanitika as one more unconscious attempt to *deny* her responsibility for not speaking the language, in the sense that this is not her fault but 'the fault of the language as such'. Finally, of great interest in this very last part of Extract 14 is the participant's characterisation of Arvanitika as 'disgusting'. The use of this adjective and the intense and emphatic way in which she utters it leave no doubt about the participant's strongly negative attitude towards the Arvanitika language.

Extract 15

Gr.

P3: Ε δεν τη θέλανε [τα παιδιά]*, δεν την ήθελα αυτή τη γλώσσα, δεν την ήθελα… Ε, με Αλβανούς ναι, ναι. Καλό είναι, που μιλάμε με τους Αλβανούς. Καλό είναι. Αλλά εδώ με τους ντόπιους γιατί να μιλάμε αρβανίτικα?... Ε, εμένα δε με ενδιαφέρει* [αν εξαφανιστεί]*. Εμένα δε με ενδιαφέρει. Τι μου χρειάζεται η αρβανίτικη?*

En.

P3: Well, they did not want it [the children]*, I did not want this language, I didn't… Well, with the Albanians yes, yes. It's a good thing that we talk with the Albanians. It's good. But here with the locals, why should we speak in Arvanitika? … Well, I don't care* [if it disappears]*. I don't care. Why do I need Arvanitika?*

To the question of why he did not speak Arvanitika to his children, participant 3 initially says that it was his children who 'did not want the language', possibly in an attempt to *abdicate his responsibility* for transmitting it to them. Yet, in the very same sentence he goes on saying 'I did not want this language, I didn't…', perhaps realising that he does want to express his real opinion about the Arvanitika language. After this statement, participant 3 proceeds to actually express his undoubtedly *negative attitude* towards

Arvanitika in three distinct, and escalating in terms of the degree of negativity, steps: First, he says that 'it's a good thing' to use the language with the Albanians, most probably referring to the Albanian migrants working in his region. In view of the rest of his discourse, this statement cannot but be interpreted as a belief on his part that the Arvanitika language has indeed some value other than its usefulness as the easiest way to communicate with this aforementioned group of people. The second step is his use of a rhetorical question 'But here with the locals, why should we speak in Arvanitika?' through which the participant clearly makes the point that Arvanitika is not necessary as a means of communication with the locals. Of course, the implicit meaning of the point he made is that *the mutually shared knowledge of Greek renders the Arvanitika language useless*. The third and final step is the participant's reaction when the potential extinction of Arvanitika comes up in the conversation, which is an emphatic statement that he does not care if Arvanitika disappears, repeating his relevant phrase twice (*'Well, I don't care. I don't care.'*) and justifying it with one more question, this time using the first person singular (*'Why do I need Arvanitika?'*).

At this point I must note that, throughout the interview, his overall discourse was characterised by a *latent contradiction*. That is, an overtly stated *indifference* for the language and its grim prospects and an underlying *emotional attachment* to it, evident in his eagerness to share detailed information about Arvanitika, which he did with an emotionally charged voice. Quite characteristic of this contradiction is that towards the end of interview he wanted us to listen to Arvanitika songs and he played a CD with a collection of such songs at full blast in his tavern, where the interview took place.

Extract 16

Gr.

P5: Φθίνουσα [πορεία μετά το 70']. [με πεσμένη και λυπημένη φωνή] *Δυστυχώς(!)… Ε, τα μιλήσαμε και μερικά χρόνια πιο μετά, <…> αλλά με ερωτηματικό… Όχι πρόσχαρα… Εδώ στον τόπο (στον Ασπρόπυργο) μας τα αρβανίτικα μέχρι το '65 - '70 ήτανε μία γλώσσα κατά 70%. Μετά σιγά-σιγά άρχισε να φθίνει(!). Ο κόσμος άρχισε να τα αποφεύγει τεχνηέντως, λες και ήτανε αφορισμένα(!)*

...Και τα παράτησε [η νέα γενιά] *τα αρβανίτικα <...> για να έρθει σήμερα η ώρα να μην υπάρχει <...> μία φωνή, μία σκέψη <...> γιατί πολεμιέται(!) από τους ίδιους τους εεε... <...> αυτούς που τη διαδέχθηκαν, που οι προγενέστεροί τους ήταν Αρβανίτες(!) Άσε τους άλλους! Αλλά, ας πάρουμε αυτούς που ήτανε(!). Ήταν ένα ποσοστό στην Ελλάδα ικανό για να τη διασώσει.* ***Ικανό*** *μιλάμε, ικανό(!)*

...Είχανε την ψευδαίσθηση ότι στόμα το οποίο μιλάει αρβανίτικα λαθεύει στα ελληνικά. Εγώ ***δε*** *συμφωνώ.*

O5: Ναι, το θεωρούσανε δευτέρας κατηγορίας...

<u>En.</u>

P5: Declining [trajectory after the '70s]. [in a low and sad voice] *Unfortunately (!)... Well, we spoke it for a few more years later too <...> but with a question mark... Not jovially... Here in our land* [name of a suburb of Athens]*, Arvanitika was until '65 - '70 the language at around 70%. Then gradually it began to decline(!). People began to artfully avoid it as if it was excommunicated(!)*

...And they [the new generation] *gave up on Arvanitika <...> so that today there came the time that there is not <...> a voice, or a single thought <...> because there is a war waging against it(!) by the same the uh... <...> the people who inherited it, whose ancestors were Arvanites(!). Let aside the others! But let's consider the ones that were(!)* [Arvanitika-speakers]*. There was a percentage in Greece capable enough to preserve it.* ***Capable****, I'm telling you, capable(!)*

...They were under the illusion that a mouth speaking Arvanitika would make mistakes in Greek. I ***do not*** *agree(!)*

O5: Yes, they regarded it as second class...

The content of Extract 16 offers an example of what Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) had previously observed in the Arvanitika-speaking community and called it 'creolisation in reverse' in order to describe the situation of the 'loss of a language by its native speakers' (p. 109). Participant 5 states that the decline of Arvanitika started in the '70s

and that the people of her hometown spoke it for a few more years after that, but with ‘a question mark’ and ‘not jovially’, meaning with reservation and no exhilaration. She does not explain the reasons for this change but she argues that the speakers of the language ‘began to artfully avoid it’, which shows that she perceives this avoidance as something *intentional.* She finishes this clause with a metaphor, saying that people avoided Arvanitika as if it was ‘excommunicated’. It should be noted here that, throughout the interview, participant 5 used *religious terminology*, while she also highlighted the tight connection of the Arvanitika community with the Christian Orthodox religion and the Greek Orthodox Church. As mentioned earlier, her discourse was lyrical and sententious, using metaphors and a narrative style as if she related the story of a novel. Moreover, the pace of her narration, the voice fluctuations and the intonation, as well as the many pauses in her speech, indicate *emotional attachment* with what her actual words attempt to describe, namely the declining trajectory of Arvanitika.

In the second part of Extract 16, she names the group of people who abandoned Arvanitika and who she is talking about, and this is the younger generation of her community. She continues to lyrically describe the outcome of this abandonment (*‘…so that today there came the time that there is not <…> a voice, or a single thought…’*) to be expressed in Arvanitika, and she offers her opinion of the *why* behind the abandonment of the language with the expression ‘because there is a war waging against it(!)’, a war the fault for which lies with ‘the people who inherited it, whose ancestors were Arvanites(!)’. Moving further in her discourse on the decline of Arvanitika, participant 5 expresses her belief that the speakers of Arvanitika in Greece were numerically enough to preserve the language and capable to have done it, using the word ‘capable’ three times, thus stressing that the decline of Arvanitika is not justified by a supposedly low number of speakers. In this way, she allows us to think that, in her mind, the abandonment of the language was a *conscious choice* on the part of the Arvanitika speakers themselves.

In the last part of Extract 16, participant 5 presents the reason why she believes such a choice was made in the phrase ‘They were under the illusion that a mouth speaking Arvanitika would make mistakes in Greek’. Although the view that the use of Arvanitika would undermine the knowledge and use of Greek on the part of the Arvanite population has also emerged in interviews with other participants of this study,

the way in which this view is expressed by participant 5 is quite remarkable in terms of the aesthetics of her utterance. Faithful to her lyrical and metaphorical manner of speech, she uses the phrase 'under the illusion' instead, for example, 'they thought', and the word 'mouth' instead of the indefinite pronouns 'someone' or 'somebody'. Immediately after that, participant 5 *disassociates herself* from the aforementioned view stating emphatically that she does not agree (*'I **do not** agree(!)'*).

Although not included in the extract, the daughter-in-law of participant 5, who was present during the interview, attempted to elaborate on her mother-in-law's argument that 'they were under the illusion that a mouth speaking Arvanitika would make mistakes in Greek', by saying: 'That is, the reason why Arvanitika speakers chose not to speak Arvanitika was that they considered it to be a second-class language'. If contrasting the wording of this intervention by the daughter-in-law to the emotionally charged and engaging discourse of participant 5, we can get an idea of how each generation connects with the Arvanitika language. Undoubtedly, the more romantic and emotional speech of the older generation is rooted in the fact that the members of the older generation have the *personal experience of the language* as they used it to communicate their thoughts and feelings to their families and peers in the times when it was regularly spoken.

5.14.6. Oppression, discrimination and stigmatisation

5.14.6.1. 'Us and them': Arvanitika's perception as an 'inferior' language with a low 'social status'.

Extract 17

Gr.

P5: Τα σχολεία, έτσι και ακούγανε μια λέξη αρβανίτικη, ή έξω στη συνομιλία, κάποιοι που συνομιλούσανε <...> να [τους] *ακούν* [να μιλούν] *αρβανίτικα, ήτανε πολίτες διαλογής, ήτανε πολίτες **δεύτεροι**.*

...Ο σύζυγός μου στο σχολείο: Λέει η <...> «Από ποιο δρόμο είναι πιο εύκολο να έρθουμε στην Αθήνα, από τη Θήβα να 'ρθουμε στην Αθήνα και, δε θυμάμαι, ή από τη

*Λάρισα …» Και πετάχτηκε μία συμμαθήτρια και είπε «γιοοό». Ε, το ξύλο(!) που έφαγε, το ξύλο(!) που έφαγε. «**Κουταρβανίτες**».*

<u>En.</u>

*P5: Schools, even at the sound of a single Arvanitika word, or outside while chatting, while some were chatting <…> to be heard speaking Arvanitika, they were second-grade citizens, **second**-class(!) citizens of a **second class**.*

*My husband at school: 'Which Road will take us more easily to Athens, from Thebes to Athens, and <…> I don't remember, or from Larisa…' she <…> said. And a classmate barged in and said 'yooo'. Well, what a walloping she got(!), what a walloping indeed(!) '**Dumb Arvanites**'.*

In the above extract, participant 5 remembers what the situation was like with Arvanitika when she was at school. She says that when students were heard using Arvanitika, they were considered 'second-class citizens' and she stresses it with her voice, thus emphasising the notion of 'inferiority' implied by the word 'second' in this specific context.

In the second part of Extract 17, participant 5 gives an example of the kind of stigmatisation the Arvanitika-speakers used to experience at school. She recalls an incident from when her husband was still a student. In this, while a classmate of his was asking for directions on how to travel easily to Athens, another classmate interfered by uttering a word in Arvanitika ('yo') and she got physically punished for that. While narrating this incident, participant 5 refers to the walloping the second classmate received, and she repeats the word 'walloping' twice, accentuating it strongly. Right when she finishes her narration, she utters a compound Greek word, an *offensive label* which was used by non-Arvanites to describe the Arvanitika-speaking persons, the English translation of which is 'dumb Arvanites', strongly stressing it with a relatively loud voice. After uttering this word, participant 5 goes silent and leaves the word hanging there alone, revealing all the *painful emotion* she had managed to control in her previously lively discourse.

Extract 18

Gr.

P6: Όταν πήγαινα δημοτικό εγώ, η δασκάλα έπιανε τη γιαγιά και της έλεγε: «Διώχτον από το σπίτι, μην του μιλάς αρβανίτικα». Φαίνεται δεν ταυτίζονται η αρβανίτικη με την ελληνική.

...Εγώ είχα μεγάλο πρόβλημα, γιατί τα έξι χρόνια που πήγα δημοτικό, <…> στην πρώτη [τάξη] *δεν μίλαγα άλλη γλώσσα, μόνο αρβανίτικα, δεν ήξερα ελληνικά. Εγώ ζούσα με την γιαγιά, μιλάγαμε αρβανίτικα <…> όταν πήγα στο σχολείο, εεε, τι να πω τώρα ξέρω εγώ, τους τα πέταγα αρβανίτικα. Και της έλεγε της γιαγιάς: «Μακριά, μακριά το παιδί, γιατί έχει μπλέξει τις γλώσσες», ξέρω εγώ. «Κι αυτό δεν πρέπει να...» <…> δεν ξέρω εγώ τώρα.*

...Με κυνήγαγε [ο δάσκαλος]*, είχαν και ξύλο τότε. Γιατί την είχανε για μια γλώσσα απαγορευτική, ρε παιδί μου.*

En.

P6: When I was in elementary school, my teacher would go to my grandma and tell her 'Kick him out of the house, don't talk to him in Arvanitika'. It seems that Arvanitika and Greek are not the same thing.

I had a big problem, because in the six years I went to primary school, <...> in the first [grade] I didn't speak any other language, only Arvanitika, I didn't know Greek. I lived with my grandma; we talked in Arvanitika <…> eh, what do I know, I don't know, I'd blurt out Arvanitika. And she used to say to my grandma: 'Keep the kid away, away from it, because he has mixed up the languages', something like that. 'And this must not…' <…> I don't know now.

… The teacher would chase me; they had a cane back then. Because they considered it as a forbidden language, you know.

In Extract 18, participant 6 says that when he attended school, the teacher urged his grandmother, whom he was living with, to not talk with him in Arvanitika. Participant 6 belongs to the generation of middle-aged Arvanitika-speakers, which means that he is describing his experience from around the early '70s, when, as it has also been stated

by other participants, Arvanitika started being used less and less. The hostile behaviour of the teacher towards the Arvanitika-speaking child is representative of the *hostile educational environment* at that time with regards to linguistic diversity in the classroom. Participant 6 closes his first reference to his school experience with the phrase 'It seems that Arvanitika and Greek are not the same thing'. In my view, this phrase implies that the two languages are *not considered equal*, and the participant's use of the expression 'It seems' is aimed to show that the idea that Arvanitika and Greek are not equal is not his own but a belief held by *others.*

In the second part of extract 18, participant 6 'confesses' that the prohibition of Arvanitika at school posed a big problem for him, as at that age Arvanitika was the only language he spoke, having learnt it from his grandmother with whom he lived. He then goes on to say that the teacher urged his grandmother to keep him away from Arvanitika because he had mixed up the two languages. As also shown in previous extracts, it appears that this argument on the part of teachers and others about the negative effect of the use of Arvanitika (i.e., the mixing up of the two languages) was internalised and accepted by the presently middle-aged participants as a 'logical reason' for them to avoid speaking Arvanitika. In this same part of extract 18, participant 6 uses filler words and phrases in his speech such as 'eh, what do I know, I don't know' which point to his experiencing certain *emotions* (e.g., sadness, discomfort, guilt) while he is speaking. Another indication of his distressed emotional state is that while presenting the manner in which the teacher talked to his grandmother, using direct speech, he stops abruptly, leaving the last clause unfinished (*'And this must not…' <…> I don't know now'*).

In the last part of extract 18, participant 6 states that the teacher used to chase him so as to not speak Arvanitika at school, and that he would even beat him up (*'they had a cane back then'*), thus revealing the fact that, apart from the psychological coercion, the punishment for speaking Arvanitika at school involved physical violence too. In his last clause, participant 6 explains the reason of such punishment by saying: 'Because they considered it as a forbidden language, you know.', with the use of the personal pronoun in the third person singular ('*they'*) clearly implying his disagreement with the consideration of Arvanitika as a *forbidden language*.

Throughout the interview, the discourse of participant 6 revealed an *inner conflict* between his strong bond to Arvanitika, as the language in which he communicated with

his grandmother who raised him, and his being coerced by others to not speak it. Even though he did not express explicitly his disagreement with the hostile practices against the use of Arvanitika in the school context, his emotionally charged speech and tone of voice indicated a conflict between the feeling 'I want to speak Arvanitika' and the thought 'It may not be right for me to speak Arvanitika'.

Extract 19

Gr.

P8: Κοίταξε, παλιά στο σχολείο, κυρίως όταν ήμασταν στη Φλώρινα ή στο Αμύνταιο, μας χαρακτήριζαν Αλβανούς, μας λέγανε χίλια δύο πράγματα. Εμείς απαντούσαμε [χαρακτηρίζοντας] *ως Βούλγαρους τους άλλους που μιλούσαν σλαβικά. Εντάξει, ήταν αυτά τα παιχνίδια τα δικά μας, γιατί κυρίως στο παιχνίδι της γλώσσας παιχτήκανε ταυτότητες, παιχτήκανε συμφέροντα…Μόνο στο σχολείο. Δεν είχαμε κανένα θέμα.*

En.

P8: Look, in the old days at school, mostly when we were in Florina or Amyntaio, they called us Albanians, they called us by a million names. We, in turn, called the others who spoke Slavic [Macedonian] *'Bulgarians'. Well, these were our games, mainly because in the game of language identities were gambled, interests were gambled… Only at school. We didn't have any issues.*

Regarding the situation with Arvanitika at school, participant 8 mentions that he experienced *discriminatory behaviours* by others as a student in the town of Amyntaio and in the city of Florina. More specifically, he says that he and his Arvanitika-speaking peers were 'labelled Albanians' and they were called 'a million names' which he does not specify. Labelling someone an 'Albanian' is considered discriminatory as, in Greece, the word 'Albanian' connotes something *negative*, especially after the massive economic migration of Albanians to Greece during the '90s, with the collapse of Communism in the neighbouring country. Participant 8 raises the issue of *othering*, which he and his peers experienced both as something they were subject to by their classmates in Amyntaio and Florina and as something that they themselves applied on

those classmates. For him, the 'others' were the Macedonian speakers of the prefecture of Florina, as Macedonian is spoken in many villages in the Florina prefecture whereas the same prefecture has only three Arvanitika-speaking villages. According to the participant's narration, the way in which he and his Arvanitika-speaking peers dealt with their being called Albanians was to label their Macedonian-speaking classmates 'Bulgarians'. Labelling someone a 'Bulgarian' in Greece is also considered discriminatory, for the exact same reason it is discriminatory to label someone 'Albanian'. That is, both these two characterisations imply that the person who is labelled does not have a Greek ethnic identity. As such, the experience described by participant 8 points to the fact that both minority language speakers seem to question the other minority's ethnic identity in an effort to protect their own. Quite interestingly, however, in this case, the seemingly conflicting ethnic identities are the same.

This brings us to that part of Extract 19 where participant 8 moves from his merely narrating his experience of the discriminatory behaviour of his classmates to explaining it. In this attempt, participant 8 first moderates the responsibility of the non-Arvanites classmates for the discrimination he experienced by saying 'Well, these were our games…', a clause in which the word 'games' seems to be used in its original meaning, that is, a form of a fun activity. Continuing his phrase, however, by saying '…mainly because in the game of language identities were gambled, interests were gambled…', he actually explains the *othering* he introduced in his discourse as a game played for the interests of the nation-state, this time using the word 'game' in its secondary meaning as a scheme or a strategy. Although he does not utter the term 'nation-state', it is almost certain that this is what his discourse implies, as the Greek State has been anything but supportive of minority languages. Participant 8's unwillingness to make an explicit reference to the Greek State is evident from his use of the passive voice (i.e., 'identities were gambled, interests were gambled'). Such unwillingness to make explicit references to the Greek State's policies regarding minority languages in general and the Arvanitika language in particular has also been found in many of the participants in this study. As it will be analysed a little further below, this finding may signify one more level of discrimination endured by the Arvanitika-speaking people, namely the discrimination that has been perpetrated on them by the official Greek State and its representatives.

Finally, towards the end of his discourse, participant 8 appears to have the need to clarify that it was only at school where he and his peers experienced the discriminatory behaviours he described (*'Only at school. We didn't have any issues.'*). Considering that the school is a formal institution governed by the authority of the State, the choice of participant 8 to close his speech with the above short phrases could be interpreted as his need to draw a *contrast* between the State's responsibility and that of the individual persons who found themselves trapped in 'the game of language', so as to assign the role of the offender to the former and the role of the victim to the latter.

Extract 20

Gr.

FG2: *...αργότερα, στο λύκειο, ήτανε τότε <...> εκεί βίωνες εε... λίγο, γιατί γύρω από τους Αρβανίτες δεν είναι μόνο το <...> η γλώσσα, έχει φτιαχτεί κι ένας ολόκληρος μύθος(!). Σχετικά με το <...> με τον τρόπο <...> πώς λειτουργούν, με τον χαρακτήρα τους, κτλ. Αλλά ειδικά το να έχεις κι αυτήν την εε <...>, ότι είσαι από ένα χωριό Αρβανιτών οι οποίοι είναι κλέφτες, εεε δε θα σου φερθούν καλά, κοιτάνε μόνο τον εαυτό τους <...> Αυτό τουλάχιστον βίωσα εγώ στο λύκειο! Ήταν λογικό ότι δημιουργούσε κάποιες..., πώς να το πω, κάποια απόσταση σχετικά με τους άλλους συμμαθητές.*

...Μετά, μετά τα 12, κατευθείαν στο γυμνάσιο Ναυπλίου... [Εκεί] *Δεν υπήρχε αρβανίτικα... Και ήταν και λίγοοο <...> μειονέκτημα άμα έλεγες ότι μιλάς αρβανίτικα!... Γιατί αμέσως σε λέγανε 'βλάχο'(!)*

FG2: *Πέρναγε μέσα μας αυτό! Περνούσε μέσα μας αυτό!*

FG2: *... Πολλά παιδιά κλαίγανε άμα τους λέγανε 'βλάχο'!*

FG2: *Δηλαδή, όλα τα χωριά τα αντιμετώπιζαν έτσι, πιστεύω, κι ακόμα περισσότερο κάποιους Αρβανίτες! Το οποίο έδειχνε ότι 'δεν είσαι ίδιος μ' εμάς!*

FG2: *Αυτό βρισκόταν υπό διωγμό στο σχολείο όταν πήγαινα εγώ(!) –'Επ!' – 'Τι είπες δάσκαλε; Λιόλο, ρε Λιόλο! (Λιόλος είναι ο Γιώργος στ' αρβανίτικα, τα Λιμνιάτικα τα δικά μας τώρα). - 'Έλα δω, έλα δω, τι είπες; Τι είναι αυτό το Λιόλος!' Ε, γκάπα γκούπα με τη βέργα! Ήρθε ο πατέρας – 'Τι έγινε;' – 'Μιλάει αρβανίτικα κύριε*

Παπαγεωργόπουλε(!) – 'Σκότωσέ τον' λέει, 'τον στέλνω στο σχολείο... ' ο Πατέρας(!). Αρνητικά. Αυτό το πράγμα γινότανε πολύ.

FG2: *...οι πόλεις τα χωριά τα θεωρούσαν υποδεέστερα πάντα! Κι ακόμα πιο πολύ αν ήσουνα κι Αρβανίτης!*

<u>En.</u>

FG2: *... Later, at high school, it was then <...> well, there you could experience it eh... to some extent, because the Arvanites are not only surrounded by the <...> the language, a whole myth has been created around them(!). Regarding the <...> the way <...> how they function, their character, etc. But especially, having also this eh... <...> that you come from a village of Arvanites, who are thieves, eh, they won't treat you well, they only look after themselves <...> At least this is what I experienced at high school! It was normal that it created some <...>, how to say this, some distance from the other classmates.*

... Then, after I became 12 years old, directly to the high school of Nafplio... [There] *Arvanitika did not exist <...> And it was also a little of a <...> drawback if you said you spoke Arvanitika! <...> Because you were immediately called 'Vlach' (!)*

FG2: *This was getting under our skin! It was getting under our skin!*

FG2: *... Many kids used to cry when they were called 'Vlach'!*

FG2: *That is, all the villages were treated in the same way, I believe, and even more so some Arvanites! Which showed that 'you are not the same with us'!*

FG2: *... Cities always considered the villages inferior! And even more so if you were Arvanitis!*

FG2: *This was under attack when I was at school(!) - 'Hey!' - 'What did you say, teacher? Liolo, dude, Liolo! (Liolos in Arvanitika is George, in our Limniotika, that is.) - 'Come here, come here, what did you say? What is this word Liolos?' Well, bang bang, there came the walloping with the rod! Then* [my] *father came - 'What happened?' - 'He speaks Arvanitika, Mr. Papageorgopoulos (!) - 'Kill him', he says, 'I'm sending him to school...' the* ***father***!. *Negative things. This was quite common.*

Focus Group 2 of this study consisted of several residents of a village in the Regional Unit of Argolis, in the Peloponnese. The long interview I had with Focus Group 2 was very lively and interactive, as most participants were very eager to talk about Arvanitika. I chose to present here the above excerpt of that interview because it provides insights on the stigmatisation experienced by the Arvanitika speakers of this region.

The first speaker from FG2 worked in the school of the village. What is immediately observed in his discourse is a lack of narrative flow, as it is characterised by many pauses, incomplete sentences, repetitions, etc., which could be indicative of the memories and feelings that the topic of discussion evoked in him. At the same time, however, and despite his obviously *charged emotional state* during the interview, he was more than willing to share his thoughts in a lively interaction with the other participants. As shown in Extract 20, he first says that, contrary to the situation at the village's elementary school when he was a pupil, the experiences he and his peers had as high school students in terms of discriminatory behaviours against them were to some extent problematic. This was due to the fact that they could only attend high school in nearby towns, such as Nafplio and Argos, where the dominant language was Greek. According to him, however, apart from the issue of language as such, the aforementioned attitudes and behaviours were also related to the myths that were created about the Arvanitika-speakers, as, for example, that they behave badly, are self-centred, thieves, etc. (*'…that you come from a village of Arvanites, who are thieves, eh, they won't treat you well, they only look after themselves…'*). Right after the above statement, the participant went on to express his thought with regards to the effect of such myths, saying 'It was normal that it created some <…>, how to say this, some distance from the other classmates', as well as to offer a small example of how Arvanitika-speaking high school students were characterised by their non-Arvanite classmates if they mentioned that they spoke Arvanitika (*'And it was also a little of a <…> drawback if you said you spoke Arvanitika! <…> Because you were immediately called "Vlach" (!)'*). It should be noted here that the term 'Vlach' or 'Vlachos' in Greek literally describes someone who is a member of a southern European (ethnic)-linguistic group, the Vlachs. Although the latter live also in other, mostly Balkan, countries, the language spoken by the Vlachs residing in Greece is called 'Vlachika' (or Aromanian or Vlach). Unfortunately, however, the same term (Vlach) is used in a *derogatory* way

in Greece, denoting someone who has a rural background, who is uneducated, unfit to live in big cities, etc. The bitterly ironic fact, therefore, is that in the present case, such derogatory use of the term 'Vlachos' *stigmatises* simultaneously two (ethno)-linguistic minorities; that is, not only the Arvanites but also the Vlachs.

After the first speaker's reference to his experiences as a high school student, two other participants entered the discussion, confirming in their own way the teacher's account of what it meant to be an Arvanitika-speaking high school student in a predominantly Greek-speaking school environment. In a highly emotional tone of voice, the first of them exclaimed 'This was getting under our skin! It was getting under our skin!' and the other one responded by saying 'Many kids used to cry when they were called "Vlach"!'. Both these statements show how *traumatic* such discriminatory behaviours were for them. However, the second one is also an indicator of the unfortunate phenomenon where, in the context of an officially monolingual nation-state, the members of one (ethno)-linguistic minority internalise and accept as 'true' the derogatory qualities attributed by the linguistically dominant group of said nation-state to the members of another (ethno)-linguistic minority.

After the aforementioned statements, the village's teacher intervened with a comment according to which the experience of being looked down by others was one also shared by the residents of all villages, but perhaps it was more intense for some Arvanites. He then completed his intervention by saying: 'Which showed that "you are not the same as us"!' In my view, the importance of this last phrase is that *(a) it voices his reflection on prejudice and discrimination*, the outcome of which appears to be that these phenomena do not affect only the Arvanites, and *(b) offers a simple but accurate explanation of the misuse of the term 'Vlachos'*; that is, the one who is 'not the same as us'. As shown in Extract 20, still another participant of the same group agreed with the aforementioned comment, by repeating its meaning using his own words (*'Cities always considered the villages inferior! And even more so if you were Arvanitis!'*).

Finally, in the last part of Extract 20, there is another participant relating a personal incident connected with the forbidden use of Arvanitika at school. He described his experience as if it was part of a theatrical play, using mostly direct speech, so that despite the unpleasant truths hidden in it, his account of the incident ended up lightening the mood of the discussion. According to this 'theatrical' account, when he called a

classmate by shouting his Arvanitika name ‘Liolos’, which corresponds to the Greek name Yorgos/George, his teacher got angry and asked him very aggressively: ‘What is this word Liolos?’. Most probably, however, this was anything but a real question and it rather meant ‘how do you dare using this word!’, as what followed was his being beaten up by the teacher with the rod (*‘Well, bang - bang, there came the walloping with the rod!’*), a beating up vividly described by the participant by means of his using onomatopoeic words to imitate the sound produced by the teacher’s rod. At this point, the narration allows one to assume that the participant’s father was summoned to the school to be informed about his son’s behaviour (*‘Then father came’*), and there is also the following father - teacher dialogue, as described by the participant, (- *‘What happened?’* - *‘He speaks Arvanitika, Mr. Papageorgopoulos(!)* - *‘Kill him’, he says, ‘I’m sending him to school...’*), as well as his own very short but significant comment regarding this dialogue (‘*the **father!**’*).

A very interesting observation here is the father’s rather intense agreement with the teacher’s stance towards his son’s use of Arvanitika at school. Moreover, in his reproduction of this dialogue, the participant left the last phrase of his father unfinished (*‘I’m sending him to school...’)*. Judging by the participant's emotionally charged voice at that moment, the fact that he left this last sentence unfinished may be attributed to his experiencing a certain degree of discomfort in recollecting this dialogue. Based on the context of the incident described by the participant, it can be easily assumed that the complete sentence would be ‘I’m sending him to school to learn Greek and not to speak Arvanitika’. Given that this specific participant was in his sixties, the incident he described must have occurred sometime between the 1960s and 1970s, something that makes the father's desire for his son to learn Greek to be consistent and coincident with the fact that it was precisely in the aforementioned period when the decline in the use of Arvanitika became very apparent. Finally, the intensely stressed very short comment ‘the **father**!’ with which the participant ended his narration of the incident is indicative of his emotionally charged state, which is probably due to the harsh words (‘Kill him’) with which the father encouraged the teacher to punish him.

The purpose of the interview excerpts presented above was to demonstrate the way in which the middle-aged participants of this study experienced the phenomenon of *othering* when they were young, by highlighting the discriminatory attitudes and behaviours of school teachers and classmates when they dared to speak Arvanitika at

school. Quite often, however, people's behaviours and attitudes are formed through the internalisation and acceptance on their part of some formal authority's position as to what is right or wrong. It is for this reason that section 5.14.7. below deals with the issue of the *politicisation* of the Arvanitika language and the role of the Greek State in it.

5.14.7. Politicisation of the Arvanitika language

Extract 21

Gr

P8: ...ούτε στα σχολεία, ούτε αν σε άκουγαν οι λεγόμενοι κρατικοί χωροφύλακες να λες οποιοδήποτε σλαβικό <...> πάνω στη Μακεδονία, ή οποιοδήποτε αρβανίτικο, δεν ξέρω για τα βλάχικα. Ναι, στην ίδια μοίρα τα αρβανίτικα. Μάλιστα υπήρχαν και μια, δυο τρεις γυναίκες που είχαν τιμωρηθεί. Είχανε μεταβεί στην αστυνομική διοίκηση Κλεισούρας, εκεί μεταγωγή κάνανε στην Καστοριά, τους απαγγέλθηκαν κατηγορίες. Αρβανίτισσα, ναι, η οποία είχε στοχοποιηθεί και μάλιστα είχε καταγγελθεί.

En

P8: ...neither at schools, nor if the so-called State gendarmes heard you speak anything Slavic [Macedonian] *<...> up in Macedonia, or anything in Arvanitika, I don't know about Vlachika. Yes, Arvanitika had the same fate. In fact, there were one, two or three women that had been punished. They had been taken to the police station of Klisoura, then they were transferred to Kastoria, where they were charged. An Arvanite woman, yes, who had been targeted and, as a matter of fact, denounced.*

Participant 8 talked about the ban on using Arvanitika in public in the past, without specifying when exactly this ban was enforced. According to him, the State police used to arrest those who spoke Arvanitika or Macedonian (i.e., the minority language spoken mostly in the Greek prefectures of Florina, Kastoria and Pella) in public. To make his claim clearer, he then mentioned a case he was aware of in which two to three women from around his place of origin, a village in Florina, had been arrested, taken to the

police station of Klisoura, a neighbouring Vlachika-speaking village that belongs to the prefecture of Kastoria, and from there to the city of Kastoria, where there were charges brought against them. Moreover, he argued that one of these women was an Arvanitika speaker who had been targeted and reported to the police for speaking Arvanitika in public.

On the whole, this participant's discourse was calm, with no signs of heightened emotions. More specifically, it was not characterised by any pauses, any hesitation markers, any incoherence or lack of flow.

Participant 8 has been living in the city of Thessaloniki since he was a university student and he has, therefore, distanced himself from the Arvanitika-speaking environment of the village he originates from in the Florina prefecture. Most importantly, however, his calm and collected way of speaking may be related to the fact that he belongs to the middled-aged generation of Arvanitika-speakers. The association of the participant's style of discourse with his age is consistent with the present study's finding that middle-aged and/or younger participants tended to be more at ease speaking about sensitive issues relevant to their (ethno)-linguistic descent when compared to participants who belong to the eldest generation of Arvanitika speakers. This finding can most probably be explained by the fact that the participants of the elder generation of Arvanitika-speakers, most of whom still live in their place of origin, were born and grew up in families whose main language of communication was Arvanitika. This means that their experiences of their interaction with members of the broader Greek-speaking society (e.g., at school) were more distressing and emotionally charged than those of their descendants, thus rendering their speaking about those experiences more distressing and emotionally charged.

It could, therefore, be claimed that *age* and *closeness* to the Arvanitika community play an important role as factors affecting both the content and the manner of the participants' discourse.

Extract 22

Gr.

R: Το κράτος τι ρόλο έπαιξε στη διατήρηση της γλώσσας;

FG2: Καταστροφικό(!) [Γέλια]

FG2: Καμία διατήρηση...

FG2: Αφού τα φάγαμε εμείς μόνοι μας, τα σβήσαμε, το κράτος τι να βοηθήσει; Πάντα ήτανε απόν(!). Και τώρα είναι απόν(!)...

FG2: ... δεν έχω στοιχεία που να μπορούν ν' αποδείξουν ότι το κράτος εε… πήρε κάποιες αποφάσεις, πολιτικές κ.λπ., να χτυπήσει τ' αρβανίτικα… Δε το γνωρίζω <…> Δε θεωρώ ότι ήταν [η μη διατήρηση] *απόφαση του κράτους. Δε θεωρώ ότι ήταν απόφαση του κράτους.*

FG2: ... ένας Αρβανίτης από το Λέχοβο ... μου είπε ότι στα χρόνια του ήτανε γραμμή ... Αυτός πίστευε ότι ήταν κρατική απόφαση γραμμή ...

FG2: Κοίταξε, είναι συνοριακός νομός, έτσι; [Φλώρινα] *Οπότε εκεί παίρνονται και ιδιαίτερα μέτρα. Εμείς εδώ δεν έχουμε προβλήματα. Εγώ έχω την αίσθηση εδώ ότι δε μας <…> δεν μπήκε μία πολιτική εναντίον του 'αρβανίτικου'! Παρ' όλα αυτά, για το τελευταίο, μπορεί να υπήρχε 'κάτω από το τραπέζι', κι επειδή δηλαδή εμείς δεν αντιδρούσαμε, δε μιλάγαμε, σου λέει 'αυτοί, εντάξει!'*

En.

R: What role did the State play in preserving the language?

FG2: Disastrous (!) [Laughter]

FG2: No preservation at all...

FG2: After we killed it ourselves, we wiped it out, what can the State do to help? It was always absent (!). It's absent now too(!)...

FG2: ...I don't have evidence to prove that the State, uh… made any decisions, political etc., to strike a blow against Arvanitika… I don't know of any <…> I don't think it [the non-preservation] *was State decision. I don't think it was State decision.*

FG2: … an Arvanite from [name of the village in Florina] ... told me that in his time it was policy line... He believed it was State decision line.…

FG2: Look, it is a border prefecture, right? [Florina] *So special measures are taken there. We don't have problems here. I've got the feeling that here we don't… there hasn't been applied any policy against Arvanitika! Nonetheless, regarding the latter, there might have been something 'behind-the-scenes', and as we didn't react, we didn't speak out, they might have thought 'it's okay with them!'*

In this village of Argolis, the members of Focus Group 2 responded eagerly to the question about 'the role of the Greek State in preserving the language'. Focus Group 2 was comprised of participants of all ages, though the majority of them were middle-aged. The discussion around the aforementioned question was long and lively, with the entire group being fully engaged in it. However, extract 22 includes only those responses which I consider as representative of the answers given by the majority of the participants in FG2.

The first response in Extract 22 was a spontaneous and, at the same time, very assertive reaction by one of the participants, who expressed his opinion by using only the adjective 'disastrous'. The element of spontaneity and his use of only one word to describe the role of the Greek State towards Arvanitika made the rest of the participants burst into laughter. In turn, another participant, also not extravagant in his words, appeared to somehow explain the one-word statement of the former by saying 'No preservation at all', obviously meaning that there were no efforts towards the preservation of the Arvanitika language on the part of the Greek State. At that point, the participants started talking all together and there was some confusion as to who was saying what, something that I find indicative of the group's keen interest in the topic and of their willingness to express their opinions on it. However, as it becomes obvious from the two other responses included in Extract 22, the confusion that was created due to the overlapping speech of the participants could also be the result of disagreement among them on the role played by the State with regards to Arvanitika.

A point of interest in the third response presented in the extract is that the participant who gave it appears to simultaneously agree and disagree with the viewpoints of the two previous speakers. His disagreement is expressed in the first part of his response,

where he attributes the non-preservation of Arvanitika to the Arvanitika speakers, wondering what the State could do to help when they themselves have already abandoned the language (‘*After we killed it ourselves, we wiped it out, what can the State do to help?’*). Having stated this, however, he goes on with actually commenting on the role of the State by saying: ‘It was always absent (!). It’s absent now too(!)’. Through this latter statement, he seems to, partially, agree with the two previous speakers by also attributing some responsibility to the State, but, unlike them, he sees this responsibility to lie in the State’s complete lack of concern about the language and not in some purposeful action on its part against the preservation of Arvanitika.

Moving now to the fourth response presented in Extract 22, there is another participant entering the discussion to express his opinion, through which he appears to confirm as well as reinforce the viewpoint of the previous speaker on the role of the Greek State with regards to the *preservation* (or not) of the Arvanitika language. He argued that he had no evidence showing that the Greek State took an active position against Arvanitika (‘*I don’t have evidence to prove that the State, uh… made any decisions, political etc., to strike a blow against Arvanitika… I don’t know of any’*), and after a small pause he continued with what can be seen as a logically formed personal stance based on the non-existence of such evidence, which he expressed twice: ‘I don’t think it [the non-preservation] was State decision. I don’t think it was State decision.’ Worth noting in the response presented above is that it contains an element of *objectivity* (the non-existence of evidence) as well as an element of *subjectivity* (‘I don’t think that…’). Moreover, the fact that he repeats his last phrase twice is also interesting, as it could be interpreted in two different ways. One possible interpretation could be that the repetition of this phrase reflects the participant’s effort to convince the other discussants of the credibility of his own conviction that the non-preservation of Arvanitika is not the result of State policies. Another interpretation, however, could be that such repetition is the vocal expression of his on-the-spot reflection on the actual role of the State in the non-preservation of Arvanitika. According to this second interpretation, the repetition of the phrase ‘I don’t think it was State decision’ could be signifying his effort to convince his own self that the non-preservation of Arvanitika is not the result of State policies. Yet, regardless of which of these two different interpretations one would consider correct, the discourse of this participant is representative of this study’s finding that a considerable proportion of Arvanitika speakers who were interviewed appeared

to not hold the Greek State's minority policies responsible for the decline of Arvanitika. This finding is curiously very interesting when considering that, in response to other questions exploring their personal experiences as Arvanitika speakers in an officially monolingual country, many of the same interviewees made clear reference to hostile practices towards the Arvanitika language in the context of a State-run institution such as the school. This contradiction in their stance could be indicative of a potential *inner conflict* present in the Arvanitika speakers between their distressing experiences of discrimination and oppression and their hesitancy in openly attributing the cause of these experiences to State policies.

As it can be seen in the last part of extract 22, when prompted by the intervention of another participant who said that an Arvanitika speaker from a village in Florina had told him that in his time the non-use of Arvanitika was a policy line dictated by the State, the same participant justified a possible State intervention in the area of this village in Florina by saying that 'special measures are taken there' because it is a border region. In so doing, he clearly attributed the application or not of State policies on minority languages to geographical factors, thus basing his argument about the non-intervention of the State in the use of Arvanitika in the Argolis region to the fact that this is a non-border region, as opposed to the Arvanitika or Macedonian or Vlachika speaking communities in the prefecture of Florina, which borders Albania and N. Macedonia. After his 'rationalisation' of the state of things in the area of Florina, the participant went on to claim that they 'don't have problems' and that no policy against Arvanitika has been applied there (i.e., in the area of Argolis). What I consider very interesting, however, is that, right after this claim, the participant concluded his discourse by somehow overturning his so insistent until then argument by saying 'there might have been something "behind-the-scenes", and as we didn't react, we didn't speak out, they might have thought "it's okay with them!"' This last statement of a participant who had been diligently avoiding to attribute to the Greek State any role in the decline of the Arvanitika language in his village shows that he is not as certain as he thought to be with regards to said role. What is more, it shows that he is most probably aware that the 'non-reaction' and the 'non-speaking' on the part of his fellow villagers and of himself have been their way to protect their Arvanite community from institutionally incited discriminatory and oppressive practices.

Concluding the analysis of all the responses presented in extract 22, it could be argued that these responses tend to suggest that Arvanitika does not represent an exception to the politicisation of minority languages in Greece, irrespective of whether the politicisation of the Arvanitika language appears to have not taken place as openly and unambiguously as that of other minority languages (e.g., Macedonian spoken in north-western Greece and Turkish spoken in north-eastern Greece).

5.14.8. Arvanitika as an unwritten language

One of the issues related to the decline of the language, as this has emerged from the interviews, is the participants' concern regarding the non-written form of Arvanitika. That is, only few participants did not connect the declining course of the language with the fact that Arvanitika has not acquired a written form, while the majority considered the non-written form of Arvanitika as a determining factor for its decline. Of interest were the different responses received regarding the alphabet(s) they have used to write in Arvanitika (mostly short notes). Some participants said they used the Latin alphabet, others the Greek alphabet and one participant from FG2 stated that he had used the Cyrillic alphabet in the past.

Extract 23

Gr.

P4: ...δε νομίζω [να φταίει η έλλειψη γραφής για τη φθίνουσα πορεία]. *Δε νομίζω ότι θα είχε διασωθεί γιατί στην ουσία δε θα τη γράφαμε. Ας πούμε, δεν ήταν πιστοποιημένη από το κράτος να πεις ότι ξες μπορείς να το γράψεις και να σωθεί…*

En.

P4: ... I don't think [it's the lack of the written form that led to the decline of the language]. *I don't think it would have been preserved because basically we didn't write it. Let's say, it wasn't formalised by the state to say, you know, that you can write it down and preserve it...*

In this extract, participant 4 answers the question of whether he believes that *the non-written form* of Arvanitika has affected the decline of the Arvanitika language. As in other parts of our interview with participant 4, it is once more observed that there is a serious lack of coherence in his speech, as one statement contradicts the other. His initial response to the above question was that he did not think that the non-written form is connected with the decline of the language. However, as he went on to explain the reason for this response, his argument was *inconsistent* with his previous negative statement. That is, by saying that he did not think Arvanitika would have been preserved if it had a written form because they did not write it, participant 4 shows that in fact he considers the *non-written form of the Arvanitika language as a reason for its non-preservation* and *decline*. This interpretation of his second statement is actually confirmed by his third and last one, where he makes a direct connection between the non-preservation of Arvanitika and its lacking a written form, which he seems to attribute to the fact that the language has not been formalised by the State.

Extract 24

Gr.

P6: Καλό θα ήταν…να διδασκόμεθα κάτι… άχρηστη γλώσσα είναι ρε παιδί μου, αφού δεν γράφεται τι να την κάνεις; Τώρα αυτοί οι Αλβανοί γράφουν στα λατινικά. Πώς το έχουν φτιάξει αυτό δεν μπορώ να το καταλάβω.

Δεν υπάρχει γραφή, πώς να στο πω; Δεν μπορείς να τα κρατήσεις. Με ελληνικό αλφάβητο το γράφω και το μεταφράζω. Για να τα γράψεις στα λατινικά, δεν ταιριάζουνε οι λέξεις.

R: η γλώσσα γιατί χάνεται πιστεύετε;

P6: Γιατί δεν γράφεται, εγώ έτσι νομίζω. Στα προφορικά θα χαθεί. Ένα καλό βιβλίο το διαβάζεις. Όσο και να σου το πούνε προφορικά, δεν το καταλαβαίνεις.

En.

P6: It would be good… To be taught something… it's a useless language, my child, what can you do with it since it cannot be written? Now these Albanians write in Latin. How they have done this, is beyond my understanding.

There is no [Arvanitika] *script, how can I explain it to you? You cannot keep it. I write it in the Greek alphabet and I translate it. To write it in Latin, the words don't match up.*

R: Why do you think the language is dying out?

P6: Because it cannot bet written, I think so. In its oral form, it will perish. A good book, you can read it. No matter how well they may narrate it to you verbally, you can't understand it.

Answering to the question of whether Arvanitika should be taught at school, participant 6 unfolded an interesting discourse about the value of Arvanitika as a non-written language, about its relation to Albanian and the use of the Latin alphabet by Albanians, and about the advantage of a written narrative over a verbal one.

In the first part of extract 24, participant 6 said that it would be good for them, meaning the Arvanitika-speaking people, to be taught something, thus showing for a moment that he values the preservation of the language through an institutional context. However, it seems that right away his thought went to the fact that Arvanitika is a non-written language and this led to the statement that Arvanitika is a useless language, as it is not written (*'it's a useless language, my child, what can you do with it since it cannot be written?'*). With this statement, participant 6 seems to attribute the usefulness and value of a language solely to whether it can be written. His next statement (*'Now these Albanians write in Latin. How they have done this, is beyond my understanding'*) is of great interest as it implicitly points to the participant's acknowledgment of the *affinity* between Arvanitika and Albanian and, at the very same time, to *his need to establish a connection between Arvanitika and Greek.*

In the second part of extract 24, participant 6 clearly connects the non-written status of Arvanitika with its *decline* (*'You cannot keep it'*) and then goes on to explain his personal way of giving to Arvanitika a sort of a written form by writing down (i.e., transliterating) the words using the Greek alphabet and then translating them (i.e., explaining the meaning of the transliterated words in Greek). His immediately following statement (*'To write it in Latin, the words don't match up'*) can be seen as his way to justify his using the Greek alphabet instead of the Latin, while it seems to

also contain an implicit underrating of the Latin alphabet. This argument of participant 6 about the incompatibility of the Latin alphabet with the written expression of Arvanitika is opposed to other participants' viewpoint that Latin is the alphabet reflecting most of Arvanitika's sounds, thus pointing to his already mentioned earlier need to connect Arvanitika with the Greek language and to disconnect it from Albanian by means of underrating the Latin alphabet.

In the last part of extract 24, responding to the follow-up question 'why is the language dying out?', participant 6 restated his argument about the *uselessness* of Arvanitika saying that *the language is dying out because it cannot be written*. To support his argument, he drew an analogy between reading a good book and getting to know the contents of that book through someone's oral narration of them. (*'A good book, you can read it. No matter how well they may narrate it to you verbally, you can't understand it'*).

It is clear, therefore, that, contrary to the existing evidence about the survival of a great number of languages of oral tradition worldwide for hundreds of years, participant 6 is convinced that a language can be kept alive only when it has a written form. In my view, this conviction carries within it the participant's *emotional attachment to the Arvanitika language* and the *consequent fear of its potential extinction*. Considering that the participant was about 70 years old, it is worth noting here that many other elderly participants have exhibited a strong emotional attachment to Arvanitika, as it has been the primary language they used to communicate with their parents, siblings and friends when they were younger and, therefore, they value it not in terms of its potential pragmatic use in the present but as a precious code of intimacy and solidarity.

5.15. Effect of the Albanian migration in the '90s on the Arvanitika language

One of the questions asked during the interviews concerned the *potential effect of the Albanian migration on the Arvanitika language's trajectory*. The responses varied mostly according to the Arvanitika-speaking communities the participants came from. Participants from the village in Florina in the north-western part of Greece, where part of the study took place, expressed the opinion that the Albanian migration did not affect them at all, as Arvanitika was and still is the primary language of communication in

their community. Participants from the suburb of Athens and the village of Argolis, in central and southern Greece respectively, tended to think that although the migration of Albanians to Greece was not a major factor in the decline of Arvanitika, it had some indirect effect, mainly as a motive for Arvanitika speakers to re-affirm their (ethno)-linguistic identity.

Extract 25

Gr.

P5: Λίγο, ναι, ναι(!) <…> τη βάλανε στην άκρη… [με χροιά φωνής που υποδηλώνει απογοήτευση / λύπη] *... Η **φαντασία**(!), η **φαντασία**(!). Ναι, ξέρεις ότι καλά είναι τα αρβανίτικα, αλλά <…> 'δεν τα θέλω γιατί όποιος μ' ακούει τι λέει; "Χάϊ, χάϊ, χάϊ, χάϊ, πού τα πας τα γίδια;*"

En.

P5: A little, yes, yes(!) <…> they put it aside… [in a tone of voice that suggests disappointment / sadness] *... **Conceit**(!)), **conceit**(!). Yes, you know that Arvanitika is good and all, but <…> 'I don't want it because whoever hears me speaking it, what do they say? "Hey, hey, hey, hey where are you taking the goats to?"*'

To the question of whether the Albanian migration of the '90s has affected the course of Arvanitika leading it to decline, participant 5 from Attica, answered by saying 'A little' but she immediately corrected that by using twice and with emphasis the affirmative 'yes, yes(!)', and after a pause she said 'they put it aside', without clarifying who she was referring to with the third person plural of the personal pronoun 'they'. Judging, however, on the basis of the entire long interview I had with her, what she most probably had in mind was the younger members of her community. A bit later, wanting to explain why Arvanitika was set aside, she used repeatedly and very emphatically the Greek word 'φαντασία/fantasia', the meaning of which, when translated in English, can be either 'imagination' or 'conceit'. However, the context in which she used this word suggests that the proper meaning here would be the second one. This interpretation is actually confirmed by the last two sentences she uttered in direct speech and in the first person singular as if she was putting herself 'in the shoes' of someone among those who have put Arvanitika aside. What participant 5 implies in

voicing the thoughts of those who put the language aside (‘*Yes, you know that Arvanitika is good and all, but <…> “I don’t want it because whoever hears me speaking it, what do they say? Hey, hey, hey, hey where are you taking the goats to?”’*) is that the use of Arvanitika has come to be seen as *an indicator of low social and educational status.* Moreover, with her very last phrase she creates a mental image in which a humble stock-farmer or a shepherd is on the move with a flock of goats and someone asks him disrespectfully where he is heading to.

Apart from her initial affirmative answer to my question, participant 5 never made an explicit reference to Albanian migrants. However, the attribution of the abandonment of Arvanitika to the *aversion of Arvanitika speakers* of her community to the idea that they may be considered people of *low social and educational status* hides within it an implicit association of the Albanian migrants with the notion of inferiority. This association has been quite prevalent in Greece, and it was especially so during the first decade of the Albanian migration. In this light, the participant's use of the word ‘conceit’ in order to explain why Arvanitika was set aside expresses her *critical view* with regards to the Arvanitika speakers who *abandon* the use of Arvanitika so as to not be identified with anything which, in their minds, personifies an inferior social status in present day Greece, with the Albanian migrants representing the par excellence example of such personification; for it is mostly the Albanian migrants who work as shepherds in Greece and it is also the Albanian migrants who speak a language which the wider society considers as identical to Arvanitika.

On the whole, as in other parts of my interview with her, the speech of participant 5 was vivid, highly emotional and prosodically emphatic, while, rather than being an indication of incomplete or incoherent thought, the pauses between her utterances were consciously intended to either help her control her emotions or attract the attention of the listener.

Extract 26

Gr.

FG2: Για μένα είναι ανεξάρτητα τα δύο… Μα, ειδικά για το χωριό μας τώρα, μπορώ να σας πω ότι το διπλανό χωριό, άνθρωποι οι οποίοι τα είχαν αφήσει, τα ξαναβρήκαν! Τα καλλιέργησαν…

…Σε μας, η γενιά η οποία ήρθε σε επαφή με τους Αλβανούς δεν τα είχε αφήσει. Τα είχαμε(!). Δηλαδή δε μπορούμε να πούμε ότι έγινε ένα πράγμα 'μπαμ'!

…Εε, για κάποιο διάστημα, πολύς κόσμος υποτιμητικά έλεγε τα αρβανίτικα αλβανικά.

…Να πώς το 'χω δει εγώ τώρα… Όχι έμπλεκαν τη γλώσσα… Εε, κατά κάποιον τρόπο, όταν ήρθαν οι Αλβανοί εδώ, δεν ήτανε και οι Σουηδοί, οι Άγγλοι που τους έβλεπες με θαυμασμό. Υπήρχε από πίσω τους ένα ολόκληρο πλαίσιο, το οποίο δεν άρεσε και σε κανένα από μας να συνδέεται, έτσι, όπως ήταν το πλάνο τότε, έτσι; Τι είναι Αλβανός; Αυτό, αυτό…, 'φάε το φαΐ σου θα σε φάει ο Αλβανός!'… Αυτό λοιπόν το πλαίσιο, ίσα-ίσα δεν αναδείκνυε αυτό που είχες για να πεις ότι: Να! Είμαι κι εγώ κάπου εκεί… Αλλά εγώ θεωρώ ότι πολύ λίγο έχει επηρεάσει αυτό. Δηλαδή δε νομίζω ότι έχει ιδιαίτερη σχέση το γεγονός ότι ήρθαν οι Αλβανοί και χάθηκε η γλώσσα…

…Αυτό όμως που θα 'θελα να σημειώσω στο συγκεκριμένο σημείο είναι ότι και οι ίδιοι οι Αλβανοί – μου έχει κάνει εντύπωση και το συζητάω πάρα πολλές φορές – απώλεσαν θρησκεία, όνομα, ιστορία, τα πάντα(!). Ήρθαν εδώ, 'πώς σε λένε;' 'Κώστα', 'Μανώλη'. 'Τι είσαι;' 'Ορθόδοξος'. Παραδείγματα δικά μου που είχα στο Πόρτο Χέλι: Μίλαγα σ' ένα παιδάκι Αρβανίτικα, που μόλις είχε έρθει από την Αλβανία, του μιλούσα αρβανίτικα, τη γλώσσα που ήξερα εγώ, αρβανίτικα, με καταλάβαινε, μαζευότανε(!). Ήρθε ο πατέρας του σε μια βδομάδα και μου λέει: 'Μη του μιλάς Αλβανικά', μου λέει. Δηλαδή, και οι ίδιοι αποφάσισαν να γίνουν αυτοί Έλληνες παρά να ενταχθούν στο πλάνο των Αρβανιτών.

FG2: Επίσης, ένα πράγμα που μπορούμε να πούμε είναι ότι αυτοί που χρησιμοποίησαν τα αρβανίτικα με τους Αλβανούς είναι κάποιας ηλικίας! Δεν ήταν τα νέα παιδιά, δεν ήταν τα 20χρονα, 30χρονα του τότε, του '91 που ήρθαν οι Αλβανοί, '92, δεν ήταν αυτοί οι οποίοι τα μιλούσανε τότε οπότε να υπάρχει μια ανανέωση ηλικιακή! Ήταν αυτοί που σήμερα, οι μισοί έχουν εκλείψει, οι άλλοι είναι φλύαροι. Πώς είναι δυνατό επομένως να συντηρηθεί η γλώσσα τη στιγμή που, ηλικιακά σβήνει;

...Δεν υπήρχε δηλαδή αρβανο-αλβανική συνομιλία ενός 20χρονου Αλβανού μ' έναν 20χρονο Αρβανίτη…

En.

FG2: These two aren't connected in my mind… But, especially for our village now, I can tell you that in the nearby village, people who had abandoned it have now recovered it! They have cultivated it…

… In our village, the generation that made contact with the Albanians had never abandoned it. We had it(!). That is, we can't say that something happened 'bang' [suddenly].

...Er, for a while, a lot of people used to derogatorily call Arvanitika Albanian.

...This is how I see things now… No, they were confusing the languages… Er, in a way, when the Albanians came here, it's not like they were the Swedes, the English, that you would regard with admiration. There was a whole background behind them, which none of us wanted to be connected to, the way things were at the time, okay? What is an Albanian? This, that…, 'eat up your food or else the Albanian will eat you!' … So, this background, if anything, would not point up what you had, so that you could say: Here you go! I'm also somewhere in there… But I believe that this has affected things very little. That is, I don't think that the fact of the Albanians coming here has some particular connection with the loss of the language …

…What I'd like to point out here though is that Albanians themselves – something that has struck me and I very often bring it up – have abandoned religion, name, history, everything(!) They've come here, - 'what's your name?', - 'Kostas', 'Manolis', - 'What are you?', - 'Orthodox'. Let me give you my own examples from Porto Heli: I was talking in Arvanitika to a little kid who had just come here from Albania, I was talking to him in Arvanitika, the language ***I*** *knew, Arvanitika, and he understood me, he was shying away(!). Within a week, his father came and told me: 'Don't talk to him in Albanian'. So, they themselves decided to become Greek instead of becoming part of the Arvanitika context.*

FG2: Also, one thing we can say is that the ones who used Arvanitika with the Albanians are of a certain age! It wasn't the youngsters, it wasn't the 20-year-olds, the 30-year-olds at that time, in '91, '92, when the Albanians came, it wasn't them that spoke it back

then so that there would be an age-related revival! They were those of whom one half have now perished, and the other half are chatterboxes. How is it possible, therefore, to maintain the language at the moment when it is fading away age-wise?

…This is to say there wasn't any Arvanitika-Albanian conversation between a 20-year-old Albanian and a 20-year-old Arvanite...

Extract 26 contains the responses of two members of FG2 which I consider representative of the opinions of the whole group.

The first of the two FG2 participants started his response by stating that, in his viewpoint, there is no connection between the presence of Albanian migrants in his region and the course of the Arvanitika language. Right after this statement, he pointed out that people in the neighbouring village who had previously abandoned Arvanitika 'have cultivated it' and started using it again. Considering the question to which he was responding, one may infer that he attributes this 'revival' of the language in the neighbouring village to the presence of Albanian migrants in the region, thus making a positive association between the Albanian migration to Greece and the course of the Arvanitika language. His next statement concerned the effect of the presence of Albanian migrants in the region on the use of Arvanitika in his own village in Argolis. In his view, there was no change in the use of Arvanitika in his village because the language had not been abandoned there and the interaction with Albanian migrants was not an occasion for its revival (*'In our village, the generation that made contact with the Albanians had never abandoned it. We had it(!). That is, we can't say that something happened 'bang''*). The importance of this statement lies in its showing that the participant's understanding and elaboration of the question regarding the effect of the Albanian migration on the course of the Arvanitika language is in terms of the *immediate interaction* between Arvanites and Albanians.

Later on, but still in the context of the same question, the participant made a comment according to which people used to *undervalue* Arvanitika by calling it 'Albanian' (*'Er, for a while, a lot of people used to derogatorily call Arvanitika Albanian'*). With this comment, the participant moved from a *quantitative* aspect of the effect of the Albanian migration to the Arvanitika language (i.e., change or not of the extent at which Arvanites used the language) to a more *qualitative* one (i.e., the social standing of the

Arvanitika language and of the people speaking it). Thus, the aforementioned comment was followed by the participant's extended explication of its meaning. After expressing his view that people, that is the Greek speaking members of the wider society, were 'confusing the languages' thinking of Arvanitika and Albanian as *identical,* he went on making a comparison between Albanian migrants and other foreigners visiting Greece. This comparison (*'…when the Albanians came here, it's not like they were the Swedes, the English, that you would regard with admiration'*) draws on the *discriminatory, contemptuous and belittling attitudes and behaviours* of a considerable portion of the Greek population towards the Albanian migrants, ascribing to the latter an inferior social status. It is, therefore, in this sense that the participant cannot see the presence of Albanian migrants in his region as worthy of an acceptance equal to that of the hypothetical presence of the Swedes or the English. This reference to the alleged inferiority of the Albanians in his region becomes even more clear in the example he gave in direct speech of how an Albanian was viewed in his area: (… *'eat up your food or else the Albanian will eat you!'*). Similar exhortative expressions were, and perhaps still are, habitual in Greece, and particularly in rural areas, as a means to make children finish their food. In the different and more traditional versions of these expressions, the words 'gyppo', 'pikey' or 'wolf' would take the place of the word 'Albanian' in the sentence. By using this rather interesting way to explain how Albanians were perceived in his region, the participant is actually telling us that, in the context of the Greek society, Albanian migrants were *equated* with something that is *despicable and dangerous.* Thus, he allows us to understand what he is referring to with the word 'background' when he says 'There was a whole background behind them, which none of us wanted to be connected to, the way things were at the time, okay?'. In other words, the background that Arvanites did not wish to be connected with was in fact the Albanian migrant's stigmatisation as contemptible and dangerous.

Very interestingly, however, the participant concluded this part of his discourse by saying 'But I believe that this has affected things very little. That is, I don't think that the fact of the Albanians coming here has some particular connection with the loss of the language'. Through this statement, he appears to *disconnect the language aspect from the worrisome background of the Albanian migrants* that the Arvanitika speakers of his region did not want to be connected with, and, therefore, *disassociate the decline of the Arvanitika language from the reluctance of his fellow villagers to speak it due to*

the wider society's perception of Arvanitika as identical to the language spoken by Albanians.

In the immediately following and final part of his discourse, the participant appeared to offer an explanation of the reason why he thinks that the Arvanitika language has not been seriously affected by the presence of Albanian migrants in his region: 'What I'd like to point out here, though, is that Albanians themselves – something that has struck me and I very often bring it up – have abandoned religion, name, history, everything(!)'. Although not explicitly mentioned among the aspects of the Albanians' identity the participant believes to have been given up by Albanians themselves, it could be safely assumed that language is one of them, included in the meaning of the word 'everything'. While speaking, the participant appeared convinced that this 'abandonment' has been a *deliberate* 'choice' of the Albanian migrants and proceeded to confirm his conviction by giving an example from his personal experience: 'I was talking in Arvanitika to a little kid who had just come here from Albania, I was talking to him in Arvanitika, the language **I** knew, Arvanitika, and he understood me, he was shying away(!). Within a week, his father came and told me: 'Don't talk to him in Albanian'. So, they themselves decided to become Greek instead of becoming part of the Arvanite social context.' It is in this passage of his speech that we find the reason for his belief that the decline of the Arvanitika language is not an effect of the Albanian migration to Greece. That is, if the Albanian migrants avoid speaking Albanian and do not attempt to become part of the Arvanite social context, what fear is there for the Arvanites to stop using Arvanitika so as to not be thought of as Albanians?

In his turn, the second FG2 participant in extract 26 expressed his own view on the potential association between the presence of Albanian migrants in his region and the declining course of the Arvanitika language. Of considerable importance here is the angle from which this participant approached the aforementioned potential association. What, in my view, he appeared to be looking for in this association was not a preconceived notion of the Albanians being the cause of Arvanitika's decline but the possibility of the preservation and revival Arvanitika with the help of the Albanians. This different angle of his approach is shown in his statement that 'it wasn't the youngsters, it wasn't the 20-year-olds, the 30-year-olds at that time, in '91, '92, when the Albanians came, it wasn't them that spoke it back then so that there would be an age-related revival! They were those of whom one half have now perished …'. In this

statement we see a reference to the recurring in our study finding that the *younger generations* of Arvanites in the central and southern regions of Greece are *not fluent* in Arvanitika, or do not know it at all, and, at the same time, a hypothesis that a *linguistic interaction* between young speakers of Arvanitika and young speakers of Albanian *would lead to the revival of Arvanitika*. The reference to the lack of young speakers of Arvanitika can be seen in the participant's question: 'How is it possible, therefore, to maintain the language at the moment when it is fading away age-wise?', while the hypothesis of the possible revival of Arvanitika through a potential linguistic interaction between young speakers of Arvanitika and young speakers of Albanian can be seen in the participant's statement: 'This is to say there wasn't any Arvanitika-Albanian conversation between a 20-year-old Albanian and a 20-year-old Arvanite'.

5.16. Pride for the Arvanitika language and nostalgia for the past

Extract 27

Gr.

P5: ...Αναπολωώ(!), πολλά μου αρέσουνε, τα οποία τώρα απλώνω τα χέρια και δε φτάνω [τόνος και χροιά φωνής που υποδηλώνουν νοσταλγία & θλίψη] *<...> τα οποία τώρα θα ήθελα(!). Όπως, πανηγύρια, εκκλησιασμοί <...> χαρές, αρρεβώνες, τέτοια πράγματα. Συμμετείχε, όλος ο κόσμος συμμετείχε στη χαρά του πλησίον...*

P5: Είχαν άμιλλα, ήτανε μπεσαλήδες. Όταν μιλάμε για Αρβανίτη ή Αρβανίτισσα, μιλάμε για έναν άνθρωπο ακούραστο, για έναν άνθρωπο <...> προοδευτικό. Πρώτα – πρώτα, ήταν πολυμελείς. Ο πατέρας ήταν ο πατερφαμίλιος, που είχε τα σκήπτρα και έκανε τα κουμάντα του. Μετά απ' αυτόν ήτανε η μητέρα που κανόνιζε <...> άλλους τομείς... Ήταν αγρότες, κτηνοτρόφοι, αμπελουργοί, ελαιουργοί, μελισσοκόμοι, πάσης φύσεως. Έπειτα, έχουμε τις τέχνες. Ήτανε οι λεγόμενοι σαράτσηδες, αυτοί που έφτιαχναν για τα υποζύγια τα χάμουρα. Αυτούς τους ονόμαζαν σαράτσηδες.

P5: ...Η μητέρα, η γυναίκα η Αρβανίτισσα ήτανε πολυάσχολη. Ήτανε πολύπλευρη. Ήτανε από μαγείρισσα, σύζυγος, μητέρα, αργαλειό, πρόσεχε τα ζώα, γιατί κάθε σπίτι είχε σταβλισμένα ζώα... Γι' αυτό η γυναίκα(!), η Αρβανίτισσα(!), η Ασπροπύργια έβαλε πλάτη

και τα σπίτια εκείνα ξεχώρισαν(!). Όπως τα στάχυα στο χωράφι ξεχωρίζουνε ορισμένα, έτσι ξεχώριζαν και τα σπίτια που η γυναίκα έβαλε πλάτη(!).

P5: ...Τα αρβανίτικα έχουν και συντακτικό, έχουν και γραμματική, έχουν και χρόνους, έχουνε και αντωνυμίες, έχουνε και τα πάντα(!). Ό,τι έχουν τα ελληνικά έχουν και τα αρβανίτικα. Εάν δεν τα αποδώσεις όπως πρέπει, έννοια δε βγάζεις. Το αρβανίτικο έχει ***σαφήνεια*** *και* ***ομιλεί*** *σαφέστατα. Και όπως τα αρχαία είναι λίγα γράμματα, μεγάλη έννοια, μεγάλη ερμηνεία, έτσι και τ' αρβανίτικα. Μία πρόταση αρβανίτικη είναι ... Ναι! <...> Μ' αρέσει και δεν <...> ούτε ντρέπομαι ούτε ενδοιασμό έχω.*

P5: Εεε, αυτό που πρέπει να προσθέσουμε εδώ είναι ότι, εν πολλοίς, με τα Θεία ήτανε ζυμωμένη η Αρβανίτικη γλώσσα. Και δεν απέλειπαν να εκφραστούν, σε διάφορα σημεία. Είχανε κάνει πλείστα τραγούδια, πλείστα τραγούδια. Για τον εκκλησιασμό, για την κόρη που θα πάει στην εκκλησιά <...> 'ν' ανάψεις 4 λαμπάδες και 3 κεριά...', με ομοιοκαταληξία, όμορφα, <...> δεν απέλειπε(!) ***Ναι****, το Θείο ήταν μέσα στη ζωή(!).* ***Όχι*** *'σ' αγαπάω' / '****εγώ*** *να δεις πόσο', δεν είχε τέτοια. Είχε* ***έννοια*** *<...> Να το λες το τραγούδι και να αναριγείς!*

<u>En.</u>

P5: ... I reminisce(!), I like many things, which now I stretch out my hands and cannot reach [tone of voice indicating nostalgia and sadness] *<...> that I would like them now(!) Like fiestas, church attendances, revels, betrothment celebrations, things like that. They participated, everyone participated in the joy of their neighbour.*

P5: They had noble competitiveness, they were honourable. When we talk about an Arvanitis or an Arvanitissa, we talk about a person who is tireless, a person who is <...> progressive. First of all, they were [families] *multi member. The father was the patriarch, who held the sceptre and was in control of things. Next in line was the mother who was in control of other household affairs... They were farmers, breeders, vine growers, olive growers, beekeepers, all kinds of work activities. Then we have the craftsmen. There were the ones called saratsides, those who made the animals' harnesses. They called them saratsides.*

P5: ... The mother, the Arvanitissa woman, had all kinds of things to do. She was versatile. She was a cook, a wife, a mother, she was working on the loom, she looked after the animals, because every house had stabled animals... That is why the ***woman****,*

*the **Arvanitissa**, the **Aspropyrgia** offered her support in everything, and those houses stood out(!). Just as some grain ears in the field stand out, so did the houses where the woman offered her support in everything(!)*

*P5: … The Arvanitika language has syntax, grammar, tenses, pronouns, it has everything(!). It has everything the Greek language has. If it is not rendered properly, you don't make sense of it. Arvanitika has **clarity** and it **speaks** with clarity. And like ancient Greek is few letters, great meaning, great interpretation, so is Arvanitika. An Arvanitika sentence is... Yes! <…> I like it and I'm <…> neither ashamed nor have any reservations.*

*P5: Eh, what we have to add here is that, to a large extent, the Arvanitika language was interweaved with religious activities. And they did not fail to express it, in various instances. They had created many songs, many songs. About going to church, about the daughter who is to go to church 'Light four big and three small candles…', with rhyme, beautifully <…> it was not short of anything(!) **Yes**, the Divine was in our life(!). **Not** 'I love you' / 'But I love you more', there weren't such things. There was **meaning** <…> To sing the song and be quivering with thrill!*

An important theme that emerged from the interviews with the Arvanitika-speaking participants was their *pride in being Arvanites*, accompanied by a *feeling of nostalgia for the past.* As it is rather obvious in Extract 27, the highly emotional and poetic discourse of participant 5 from Attica, offered the most prominent example of this theme.

In her speech, participant 5 expresses her pride in being an Arvanitissa (i.e., feminine form of the noun Arvanite), which she relates mostly with the past. This is evident in both the first sentence of Extract 27 ('*I am reminiscing(!), I like many things, which now I stretch out my hands and cannot reach <…> that I would like them now(!)'*) and her use of the past tense for the greater part of her speech, as she is talking about aspects of life in her hometown which, in her mind, are either non-existent in the present or have faded away.

The *reminiscences* of the participant in the first part of the extract are about various *joyous activities and celebrations*. What I find very interesting, however, is that as soon

as she lists a number of such activities and celebrations, she connects them with the notion of participation in the community and the quality of good neighbourliness (‘*They participated, everyone participated in the joy of their neighbour’*), obviously thinking of them as positive Arvanite characteristics.

In the beginning of the second part of the extract, participant 5 refers to the *qualities* of the members of her Arvanite community *she is proud of*, namely those of *honourability, tirelessness and progressiveness.* For the first of these three qualities she ascribes to her fellow Arvanites, the participant uses the word ‘besalides’ (‘*μπεσαλήδες’*) which is the plural form of the noun ‘besalis’, the stem of which is the Albanian noun ‘besa’ which means ‘faith’. This word is used by both Arvanitika and Greek speakers to describe a person who is honest and trustworthy. In the remainder of this second part, participant 5 makes reference to the type and the hierarchical structure of the traditional Arvanite families (‘*First of all, they were multi member. The father was the patriarch, who held the sceptre and was in control of things. Next in line was the mother who was in control of other household affairs…’*) and to the wide variety of their work activities (‘*They were farmers, breeders, vine growers, olive growers, beekeepers … craftsmen,* [like the] *saratsides, those who made the animals’ harnesses…’*).

In the third part of the extract, participant 5 praises the role of the woman in the Arvanite family. Keeping the use of the past tense, she says that the Arvanitissa woman was very active and versatile in her multiple roles (‘*She was a cook, a wife, a mother, she was working on the loom, she looked after the animals…’*), and emphasises the importance of the fulfillment of these roles by the Arvanitissa woman, as it made her household to excel. Here, the participant’s discourse showed her *great pride in her identity* as a woman, an Arvanitissa and an Aspropyrgia (woman from Aspropyrgos), as she uttered those three qualities using a strong intonation (‘*That is why the* ***woman****, the* ***Arvanitissa****, the* ***Aspropyrgia*** *offered her support in everything, and those houses stood out(!)*’). At this point, faithful to her poetic style of speech, the participant chose to close her reference to the role of women in the Arvanite family by offering a picturesque explanation of her previously cited sentence. This was done by means of a powerful metaphor in which she compared the excelling households with the standing out grain ears in the field: ‘Just as some grain ears in the field stand out, so did the houses where the woman offered her support in everything’.

In the fourth part of the extract, participant 5 turns to the topic of the Arvanitika language. She stresses the thoroughness of Arvanitika and considers it equal to the Greek language as it has syntax, grammar, tenses, pronouns and all the qualities of the latter. Having said that, she makes an interesting comment the implicit meaning of which is that it is not the 'quality' of the language that may make it appear incomprehensible but the degree of fluency of those who speak it ('*If it is not rendered properly, you don't make sense of it.*'). Going back to her praising the Arvanitika language, she says that it has clarity, and, quite interestingly, she adds that 'it **speaks** with clarity' instead of saying 'it is spoken with clarity', thus presenting it not as a linguistic entity but almost as a personified one that has a voice. Regardless of whether the aforementioned utterance was conscious and intentional or not on the part of the participant, such metaphorical representation of Arvanitika is, in my view, an indication of how highly she *values*, and is proud of, *the Arvanitika language*. In the remainder of the fourth part of the extract, participant 5 uses a simile to compare Arvanitika with ancient Greek, and finally concludes by explicitly stating that she likes Arvanitika without having any shame or reservations about it. Her comparison of Arvanitika with ancient Greek is clearly aimed at equating the two languages, as she argues that both of them are concise and inclusive, where few alphabetic characters are yielding great meanings and interpretations ('*And like ancient Greek is few letters, great meaning, great interpretation, so is Arvanitika*'). The fact that the participant attaches a high value to the Arvanitika language and is proud of it is also evident in her unfinished phrase 'An Arvanitika sentence is...'. That is, leaving her phrase unfinished, the participant is, in my view, at such a loss for words to express how great the value of an Arvanitika sentence is for her, that she remains speechless.

In the final part of extract 27, participant 5 talks about the close ties between the Arvanitika language and *religion*, and of the fact that the members of her community did not fail to express the existence of such ties in various instances. The example she gives is the creation by them of many songs in Arvanitika that contained the element of their religiosity ('*They had created many songs, many songs. About going to church, about the daughter who is to go to church 'Light four big and three small candles...', with rhyme, beautifully*'). After that, she emphatically reasserts the importance of religion for her community by saying '**Yes**, the Divine was inside our life(!)'. Finally, going back to her memories about the songs she had mentioned, she contrasts them with

the shallow love-songs of the present, saying that the former had real meaning ('*To sing the song and be quivering with thrill!*'); a statement probably alluding to both the reverence of such a song and to the thoroughness of the Arvanitika language in its literary form.

Throughout her emphatic and often lyrical discourse, as presented in extract 27, participant 5 expressed her pride in being a member of the Arvanite community and praised all the different aspects of this identity of hers. Worth noting, however, is that the discourse of participant 5 was characterised by her *strong feeling of nostalgia* for the traditions, family relations, work activities and societal practices in her community in the past, and, last but not least, the past state of the Arvanitika language as compared to its present decline.

Extract 28

Gr.

FG2: ... Δεν έχει περάσει σε κάποιους ότι είναι πλούτος να το μάθεις αυτό! Είναι αφημένο! Χαιρόμαστε όταν ακούμε κανένα μικρό να πετάει καμιά λέξη αρβανίτικη, όπως κι εμένα στο σχολείο και γελάμε.

... Όταν ήμουν στο πολυτεχνείο με ρωτάγανε: 'Γιατί ασχολείσαι μ' αυτό το πράγμα;' Ακριβώς γι' αυτό! Γιατί είναι ένας πλούτος!

R: Τα παιδιά σας θα θέλατε να τα μιλάνε;

FG2: Τα μιλάνε! <...> Ναι, όταν μου δίνεται η ευκαιρία, τους κάνω εξάσκηση!

FG2: Έχεις πέσει σε φανατικούς [γέλια] *αδιάλλακτους Αρβανίτες! Δεν ξέρω αν εμείς εκφράζουμε τον μέσο όρο των… Απ' αυτές τις ερωτήσεις που έχεις κάνει, αν τα μιλάνε...*

FG2: Το Α και το Ω στη ζωή μου.

FG2: Και για μένα είναι σημαντικά! Είναι ***σημαντικά*** *τα αρβανίτικα! Τα συνδέω και με οικογένεια και με παράδοση, πολύ! Μ' αρέσει πάρα πολύ αυτό. Μου αρέσουν τα αρβανίτικα τραγούδια πιο πολύ από τα ελληνικά.*

FG2: Θα σου πούμε. Θα σου πούμε κι ένα αρβανίτικο, ένα τραγούδι, όποιο θυμηθούμε <...> Καλά, άμα μας έρθει. Να τ' ακούσεις! ...1, 2, 3

[Τραγουδούν ένα τραγούδι με 4 τρίστιχες στροφές]

En.

FG2: ... It has not been understood by some that it is a wealth to learn this! It's abandoned! We are happy when we hear some little one let out some Arvanitika word, like me at school, and we laugh.

... When I was at the polytechnic, they used to ask me: 'Why do you bother with this?' That's exactly why! Because it is a wealth!

R: Would you like your children to speak it?

FG2: They speak it! Yes, when I get the chance, I have them practice it!

FG2: You have stumbled on fanatical [laughter] *unregenerate Arvanites! I don't know if we represent the average of... From these questions you've asked, if they speak it...*

FG2: The A and Z in my life.

FG2: It is important to me too! Arvanitika is important! I also associate it with family and with tradition, a lot! I like this very much. I like the Arvanitika songs more than the Greek ones.

FG2: We will sing for you you. We will sing an Arvanitika a song, whichever we will remember <...> Fine, if it comes to us. For you to listen to! ...1, 2, 3

[They sing a song with 4 three-line stanzas]

Their *sense of pride* in belonging to the Arvanite community was prominent among the members of Focus Group 2 throughout my interview with them, and this is depicted in Extract 28.

In the beginning of the extract, one of the participants expressed the view that the knowledge of Arvanitika is a 'wealth', but this is something that has not been understood by everyone. After stating that the language is abandoned, he pointed out that when they hear a child spontaneously using some Arvanitika word, they feel happy and they laugh. His metaphorical equation of learning Arvanitika with 'wealth' shows how much he values his ancestral language, something that he stressed even more when he brought up in his discourse the memory from when he was studying at the

polytechnic of his reply to all those who used to ask him ‘why he bothered’ with the Arvanitika language: ‘That's exactly why! Because it is a wealth!’.

When asked whether he would like his children to speak Arvanitika, the same participant replied that they do speak it and that he has them practice it whenever he gets the chance. His final comment that was addressed to me ‘You have stumbled on fanatical resolute Arvanites!’ was followed by laughter from the whole group, while he was still speaking wondering whether they [in this village of Argolis] represent the average Arvanite community.

At that point, other members of the group started taking turns to *proudly express what Arvanitika meant to them*. One of them said that Arvanitika is her everything (‘*The A and Z in my life*’), while another one stated that Arvanitika is important to her as she associates it with family and with tradition, repeating twice how much she likes it. The latter stressed that she prefers the Arvanitika songs to the Greek ones. At that point, one of the participants urged the group to sing an Arvanitika song, and after a very short conversation they had on which song they would sing, they started singing a popular among the Arvanite community song the verses of which referred to a religious celebration; yet it is rather a love song, the lyrics of which are the words of a man urging the woman he is in love with to go to Church in order for them to meet up (the song is called ‘Ra Kambana Ipapandis’/‘Ρα Καμπάνα Υπαπαντής’/ ‘Ρα Καμπάνα ε Παπαντήσσε’).

Worth noting here is that when I played the aforementioned song, as it was recorded in the interview in the village of Argolis, to another participant from a suburb of Athens, she was deeply moved and began to sing it herself. This makes quite obvious that ancestral languages constitute a common ground and bring together people who belong to the same (ethno)-linguistic community regardless of whether they live in different areas, which is typical of the dispersion of the Arvanite community in Greece; that is, they bring together people with common experiences and memories that are inextricably linked to their language.

5.17. Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the results and the analyses of both the quantitative (Section 1) and the qualitative (Section 2) data of the study. Overall, quantitative results revealed, for the most part, positive (and neutral) attitudes on the part of both groups of participants, the Arvanitika and the non-Arvanitika speakers. On the contrary, qualitative results that concerned only the Arvanitika-speaking group of participants, showed participants' contradictory, fluid and, to a certain extent, conflicting attitudes towards their language. These attitudes were intertwined with and dictated by certain expressions of participants' conflict of identity.

A general conclusion to be drawn on the results as a whole is that *age* appears to play an important role in speakers' expressed attitudes in that, elder in age participants, speakers of Arvanitika participating in the interviews, appeared to be deeply attached to and proud of the Arvanitika language and culture – yet for Arvanitika as a language belonging in the past –, which was reflected in their expressing of either a very positive or very negative attitude towards their language; in contrast to that, the young and middle-aged speakers participating in the questionnaire task appeared to be more detached from the Arvanitika language, yet, maintaining, largely, positive attitudes towards Arvanitika.

Regarding the outcomes of the interviews and focus groups, some crucial points that were revealed by the interviewees included their inner conflict of ethno-linguistic identity, their solidarity use of Arvanitika, their expression of Greekness, their non-transmission of Arvanitika to their descendants, and their stigmatisation as being identified with the group of Albanian migrants, a population that has been harshly discriminated against within Greece.

One further interesting outcome was the positive and neutral attitudes – yet not negative – of the non-Arvanitika speakers towards Arvanitika (middle-aged and young, for the most part), as expressed in the questionnaires. Such findings come in contrast to the interviews' outcome, that revealed how prominent was the issue of discrimination that Arvanites – mostly of today's old generation – have experienced through their equation with the Albanian migrants on the part of the wider Greek community in a context where the term 'Albanian' bears negative connotations. A possible explanation is that

such discrimination was not expressed by today's young generation of non-speakers but by the older generations. This discrimination might constitute one of the main reasons – if not the main one, nowadays, – why speakers of Arvanitika have abandoned the Arvanitika language.

Chapter 6. Discussion and concluding remarks

Introduction

This final chapter provides a summary of my research findings for the purpose of showing the connection between the research questions (see section 4.9.) and the results of the data analysis of the present study, as these are presented in chapter 5 above.

In terms of its structure, the first part of this chapter (Part 1) presents the general outcomes with regards to the attitudes of both the Arvanitika and the non-Arvanitika populations of the study towards the Arvanitika language for each of the demographic variables of the quantitative analysis (see sections 6.1. - 6.3.). This presentation starts with the variables that were found to be influential, that is, to have a significant effect on said attitudes, and is completed with a short reference to those variables which although non-influential, as they were not found to be statistically significant, showed some interesting trends that are worth mentioning.

The second and last part of this chapter (Part 2) follows the structure of the presentation of the analysis of the qualitative data of this study and not that of the factor analysis of the quantitative data (see sections 6.4. & 6.5.). The reason for this is that the categories and subcategories that emerged from the analysis of the qualitative data of this study converge to a large extent with outcomes of the analysis of the study's quantitative data.

Part 1

6.1. General outcomes regarding the participants' attitudes towards Arvanitika

In general, the results of the quantitative analysis showed a positive attitude towards the Arvanitika language on the part of both the Arvanitika and the non-Arvanitika speakers, with the percentage of the non-Arvanitika speakers maintaining a positive attitude towards Arvanitika being slightly lower than that of the Arvanitika speakers (Figure 34). The number of the participants who were found to hold a neutral attitude towards Arvanitika was one half of those with a positive attitude for both groups. From the rest of the participants, that is, those who expressed a negative attitude towards

Arvanitika, the percentage of the non-Arvanitika speakers was four times higher than that of the Arvanitika speakers.

With regards to the qualitative analysis of the interviews with the Arvanitika-speaking participants, the outcomes were somewhat controversial, in the sense that some of these participants expressed conflicting (both positive and negative) attitudes towards the Arvanitika language, either within the same phase or at different phases of the interview (e.g., Extracts 18 & 19). These outcomes will be discussed in more detail below.

6.2. Variables with a significant effect on attitudes towards the Arvanitika language

6.2.1. Age

Age appears to be a crucial determinant of the attitudes toward the Arvanitika language in both the quantitative and the qualitative results of the study. However, before proceeding to the discussion of the specific results, it should be noted that there was found a considerable difference in tendencies between the participants in the quantitative part of the research and those who participated in its qualitative part. In agreement with the influential role of the 'age' variable, this difference appears to owe itself to the fact that while the overwhelming majority of the participants in the quantitative part of the research were from less than 40 to 60 years old (Figure 4), thus constituting the younger and the middle-aged participants of the study, most of those who took part in the qualitative part of the research were 60 years old and over, thus constituting the 'older in age' group of participants (see section 4.2.1.2.1.).

In general, the younger and the middle-aged participants of the quantitative part of the study showed positive and neutral attitudes with regards to the Arvanitika language, while the very few older participants in this part of the study did not show any negative attitudes at all (Figure 36). On the contrary, and as already mentioned earlier, the older in age Arvanitika speakers who participated in the qualitative part of the study appeared to hold conflicting attitudes towards the Arvanitika language, ranging from very positive (e.g., Extracts 7 & 10) to very negative ones (e.g., Extracts 14 & 15). More specifically, these older in age Arvanitika speakers seemed to experience an inner conflict regarding the language, showing a strong emotional attachment to it in their

praising traditions and events of the past that were interwoven with the use of the Arvanitika language when the latter was spoken in most societal occasions, while distancing themselves from the use of the Arvanitika in the present and, in some cases, completely underrating its value as a language (e.g., Extract 24). Liosis' (2007) study showed similar results, as several fluent old participants in his study showed to have a great emotional bond with Arvanitika, display nostalgia for Arvanitika's past when the language enjoyed some prestige, but, at the same time, there were participants who appeared to distance themselves from the Arvanitika's linguistic reality even though they were aware of its present and upcoming decline.

The analysis of the quantitative data indicated a strong association between the participants' attitudes of both groups (Arvanitika and non-Arvanitika speakers) and their age (Figure 36). More specifically, the younger participants of both groups showed a tendency towards only positive or/and neutral attitudes towards the language, with the Arvanitika-speakers tending more towards neutral attitudes as opposed to their non-Arvanitika speaking peers who exhibited a higher tendency towards positive attitudes. The middle-aged Arvanitika speakers showed mainly positive attitudes, while the same age group of the non-Arvanitika speakers exhibited mostly positive or/and neutral attitudes, with only a small percentage of negative attitudes. Finally, the very few Arvanitika speakers who were over 60 were found to be only positive or/and neutral towards the language, while the same age group of the non-Arvanitika speakers also showed a tendency towards positive or/and neutral attitudes, with only a small percentage of them holding negative attitudes.

The aforementioned results contradict the outcomes of the study of Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983), in which younger Arvanitika speakers were found to hold negative attitudes towards Arvanitika with no wish to transmit the language to the next generations because of its *low* status and its *non-pragmatic value*, while the middle-aged ones were found to maintain neutral attitudes, with only the older in age Arvanitika-speakers showing a relatively positive attitude. The researchers justified the negative attitudes of the younger Arvanitika speakers with the hostile policy of the Greek State with regards to minority languages, especially since WWII, in which the educational system and the media were instrumental. Minority languages in Greece were found in a state of isolation, considered as exclusively rural and outdated languages and also associated with a low educational level (Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1983).

From a different analytical point of view, if we see the results on the attitudes of the younger Arvanitika-speakers towards Arvanitika *across time*, that is from negative in 1975 to ambiguous in 1998 and to positive (or neutral) in 2007 and today, as shown in the current analysis of the answers of those who are below 40 years old today, we can conclude that the prospects for the future of Arvanitika is a hopeful one as younger people view the language through a more positive lens. However, before we become too optimistic, we should consider the possible reasons behind this tendency of the younger Arvanitika-speakers of today to be more positive towards the Arvanitika language than their counterparts in the ’70s and ’90s. For one, the current younger Arvanitika-speakers, who are below 40 years old, have certainly not experienced the oppressive minority-language policies of the State, which were at their peak during the Metaxas’ dictatorship and continued for a number of years that were marked by socio-political turbulence. This means that they are not burdened with the negative associations that today’s elder Arvanitika speakers made with speaking the language when they were young because of the oppression or/and humiliation they had experienced for doing so. Furthermore, most of today’s young generation of Arvanitika speakers are non-fluent in Arvanitika, they do not use it in their everyday lives and they view it not as a functional means of communication but rather as cultural aspect of their heritage as Arvanites. Thus, it is possible that their positive attitude towards the language expresses mostly a respect towards a part of their cultural heritage rather than a wish and will to keep it alive. In a similar vein, Liosis (2007) explained the positive attitudes of his participants towards Arvanitika as a type of a ‘non-hazardous attitude in reference to the linguistic reality of Arvanitika’ and as a common attitude towards the folkloric elements of the language (p. 123). Indeed, as mentioned also in the present study, the traditional element was prioritized against the linguistic one and positive attitudes of the participants of the youngest generation towards Arvanitika do not necessarily indicate the attitudes towards the preservation of the language but rather towards the folkloric tradition of which the language is only a part.

On the whole, even though according to the results of the present study and past studies age appears to be a crucial determinant of the attitudes toward the Arvanitika language, further investigation with a larger number of participants and a wider range of Arvanitika-speaking regions is necessary for the generalisation of any relevant outcomes.

6.2.2. Mother tongue

A *strong association* was found between the variable *mother tongue* and *the attitudes* of the Arvanitika-speaking participants towards the Arvanitika language (Figure 41B). Participants whose mother tongue was either only Arvanitika or both Greek and Arvanitika showed more positive or/and neutral attitudes towards the language, as compared to those whose mother tongue was Greek. This is in relative accord with the outcomes of the studies of Huguet and Janés (2008) and Ytsma (2007). In the first study, regarding the attitudes of Latin-American students in Catalonia towards Catalan, it was found that students from Latin America whose mother tongue was Catalan were more positive towards the Catalan language as compared to students from Latin America whose mother tongue was Spanish. In the second study, regarding the value Dutch students of language teaching in Fryslân attach to the usage of Frisian, it was found that the students with Frisian as their first language attached the highest value to Frisian while students with Dutch as their first language attached the highest value to Dutch.

In the present study, the overwhelming majority of Arvanitika speakers had only Greek as their first language, a much lower percentage had both Greek and Arvanitika, while those who had only Arvanitika as their first language were very few (Figure 7B). Although the total percentage of the participants who had either both Greek and Arvanitika or only Arvanitika as their first language is rather small to be considered representative enough for any generalisation, it reveals that only very few of the quantitative study's younger (below 40 years old) and middle-aged participants learnt Arvanitika as a first language, thus serving as further evidence for the highly declining trajectory of the Arvanitika language in Greece.

It is of considerable interest, however, that even though the overwhelming majority of the study's participants had Greek as their first language, their attitudes towards Arvanitika were for the most part positive. This could mean that mother tongue is not a sufficient factor in shaping the attitudes towards the Arvanitika language. The fact that all participants of the qualitative part of the study were of Arvanite origin means that they are members of Arvanitika-speaking communities, regardless of the degree of their fluency in Arvanitika or of whether their first language was Arvanitika or Greek. Therefore, we tend to suggest that origin, along with possibly other factors, is rather

important in shaping the attitudes of the members of Arvanitika linguistic minority towards their heritage language.

6.2.3. Education

Education was found to have a statistically significant effect on the attitudes towards Arvanitika of only the non-speakers of Arvanitika, whereas the attitudes of the Arvanitika-speakers were not found to be significantly affected by it (Figure 37). The quantitative analysis showed that the attitudes towards Arvanitika of the non-speaking Arvanitika participants who had received tertiary level education were mostly positive, with only a small percentage of these participants exhibiting indecisiveness or/and maintaining neutral attitudes and an even smaller and negligible one maintaining negative attitudes. In addition, the very few non-speaking Arvanitika participants with only a primary educational level were found to maintain neutral or/and positive attitudes. The fact, however, that the overwhelming majority of the participants in the quantitative part of the study had received tertiary level of education, along with the statistically non-significant effect of the 'education' variable on the attitudes of the Arvanitika-speaking participants, do not allow us to claim any generalisability of the result regarding the effect of education on the attitudes towards Arvanitika.

6.2.4. Fluency in Arvanitika

Fluency in Arvanitika was found to have a statistically significant effect on the attitudes towards Arvanitika of the Arvanitika-speaking participants in the quantitative part of the study (Figure 41B). The analysis showed that *the higher the level of fluency is, the more positive are the attitudes towards the Arvanitika language*. More specifically, the few speakers among the aforementioned participants who answered that they speak the language excellently were found to maintain mostly positive attitudes towards it, with only a small percentage of them maintaining a neutral attitude, those who answered that they speak the language well were found to maintain both positive neutral attitudes, and those who self-evaluated their capacity to speak Arvanitika as minimal, low, lower-intermediate or intermediate tended to maintain negative attitudes towards it. Liosis

(2007) also argues that competence in Arvanitika seemed to have been one of the factors having an impact on old fluent speakers' positive attitudes even though younger non-fluent speakers also displayed positive attitudes such as in the present study in the questionnaire task.

However, the older in age Arvanitika speakers who participated in the qualitative part of the study, the majority of whom were fluent in Arvanitika, appeared to have an ambivalent stance, as they seemed *emotionally attached* to Arvanitika, highlighting the connection of the language with their past as well as with family, traditions and religion (e.g., Extracts 1 & 29), while, on the other hand, some of them pointed out that Arvanitika is not useful nowadays (e.g., Extracts 14 & 25), others that Arvanitika was useful in certain instances (see section 5.12.1.) and in some cases they even juxtaposed it with Greek to denote its 'inferiority' (e.g., Extract 8). Thus, these participants seemed to *associate the Arvanitika language with the past* and *to have accepted the shift towards Greek as inevitable.*

Interestingly, the aforementioned tendency of the older in age and fluent in Arvanitika participants in the qualitative part of the present study is to a certain extent similar to that of the fluent speakers in Tsitsipis' (1998) and Liosis' (2007) study. Even though many years have passed since then, it is interesting to have similar research outcomes today, mostly with respect to the *inner contradiction of the speakers* and the *complex emotions* they experience, which seem to be related to traumatic incidents of the past and associated with their stigmatisation due to speaking Arvanitika in public, as it will be further discussed in the relevant section below.

6.3. Non-statistically significant variables with interesting trends

Although the 'frequency of speaking Arvanitika' and 'place of residence' were among the variables that were not found to have a statistically significant effect on the attitudes towards Arvanitika of the participants in the quantitative part of the study, they showed interesting trends which are worth mentioning.

With the commonsensical exception of the non-fluent speakers, it appears that the Arvanitika speakers who use the language frequently tend to maintain only positive attitudes towards it. This allows for the supposition that the close contact with the language on a daily basis is associated with and reinforces the speakers' appreciative

and respectful stance towards it and perhaps justifies a future attempt to take a closer look at the potential of the frequent use of Arvanitika to function as a means toward its preservation and/or revival.

Despite the non-statistically significant effect of the place of residence on the attitudes towards Arvanitika in the present study, there appears to be a trend, also evident in the analysis of study's qualitative data, according to which the attitudes towards the language of the Arvanitika speakers who reside in *small towns and villages* (e.g., the village in Argolis where part of the study took place) are more *positive* (Extract 28) than those of the Arvanitika speakers who have left their place of origin and reside in *urban centres* or near them (Extract 14). This is in accord with the findings of the Tsitsipis' (1983) study according to which 'there is increasingly more Arvanitika language retention as one moves from the urban through the semi-urban to the rural level' (p. 293). Similarly, Kirmizi's (2015) study on the attitudes of the Gagauz speakers towards Gagauz indicates that attitudes towards the Gagauz language are more positive in villages as compared to those of the Gagauz speakers who live in the cities. All the above seem to justify a further future investigation of whether the *place of residence* has actually had an impact on the attitudes towards the language of the Arvanitika speakers as well.

Part 2

6.4. Convergent outcomes of the qualitative and the quantitative analysis

6.4.1. Arvanitika language use

An expected important outcome regarding the *use* of the Arvanitika language today was that of the *decline of the language* due to the fact that most speakers appear to *not speak* the language fluently (Figure 8). Most of those who still speak Arvanitika do so with their grandparents and less with their parents or siblings, while a smaller proportion of speakers use the language in various social settings, in the context of their interaction with their peers. Regarding the *value* that speakers seem to attach to speaking Arvanitika, even though they showed a tendency towards positive attitudes through stating that they deem important the fact that they speak Arvanitika, the statement related to their effort to speak it as much as they can received considerably lower number of positive answers and a quite higher number of negative or indecisive ones

(Figure 26). Furthermore, the majority of Arvanitika speaking participants stated that they opt for Greek when they address somebody who speaks both Arvanitika and Greek, thus showing their clear preference of using Greek over Arvanitika (Figure 26D).

6.4.1.1. Pragmatic use

As it emerged from both the quantitative and the qualitative parts of the study, the present-day use of Arvanitika serves mostly pragmatic purposes, with the dimensions of the usefulness or/and uselessness of Arvanitika being at the epicentre of the narratives of the participants in the qualitative part of the study (see section 5.12.1.). In this respect, the Arvanitika speakers referred to different contexts in which the use of Arvanitika may be useful. Some of them consider the language useful in the context of work, when they have to interact with Albanian employees or co-workers, others in their interactions with older Arvanitika speakers or Arvanitika speakers from regions other than theirs. However, as it has also become evident from the analysis of the quantitative data of the study, most of the interviewees who find Arvanitika useful in conversing with Albanians stated that they prefer to speak in Greek with other bilingual Arvanitika-speakers (Figure 26D). The usefulness of Arvanitika was also addressed by the participants in terms of Arvanitika's character as a language of protection, mostly through unsubstantiated anecdotes or cautionary tales from the past, narrated in a vague way and lacking details (see section 5.12.1), an argument also mentioned by participants of past studies (e.g., Liosis, 2007). The perception of Arvanitika as useless in terms of their pragmatic value, on the other hand, particularly as expressed by one of the interviewees, was connected with Arvanitika's worthlessness as a motive for a possible migration of Greek Arvanitika-speakers abroad. More specifically, Arvanitika was considered as 'useless' in such context because there are no other countries where it is spoken, unlike the Slavic languages that are spoken in a number of potential migratory destinations (see section 5.12.1.). An expected, yet interesting, aspect of such reasoning is the exclusion of Albania as a potential migratory destination.

In a similar vein, the pragmatic uselessness of Arvanitika came up in Trudgill and Tzavaras' (1983) and Liosis (2007) study as a justification of Arvanitika's 'inferiority' in comparison to Greek when several (younger) Arvanitika-speakers stated that the language is not useful for pragmatic purposes such as professional development and

every-day communication. Tsitsipis (1998) concluded that pragmatism was present in the fluent speakers' acceptance of the language shift from Arvanitika to Greek as an expected consequence of the societal and linguistic changes occurring at the time, an argument that was also presented in Liosis' (2007) study. Furthermore, Dorian's (1982) argues that pragmatism appears to be one of the factors that contribute to the maintenance of a minority language, in the sense that its speakers use it because they think that doing so allows them to meet their needs more proactively.

Returning to the results of the present study with regards to the pragmatic use of Arvanitika, we must point out that the participants' attitudes were rather ambiguous and contradictory. One possible explanation of this *ambiguity* could be the potential *social desirability bias*, as in cases where the researcher is not a member of the participants' community, the latter might not feel secure to overtly share their real beliefs on an issue, or they might even say what they think the researcher would be satisfied with. In any case, however, such ambiguity often reveals an *inner conflict* on the part of participants, which, in this case, could be related to their personal experiences in connection with the use of the Arvanitika language.

6.4.1.2. Symbolic and solidarity use

Although the symbolic and the solidarity uses of Arvanitika are examined separately in the analysis of the present study's qualitative data, my decision to discuss the research outcomes for these two uses of Arvanitika together is due to the fact that the symbolic and the solidarity uses of a minority language may be treated as co-occurrent and intertwined.

Regarding the symbolic use of Arvanitika, the majority of the interviewees – even some of the eldest and therefore fluent speakers – stated that whereas they do not use Arvanitika in the context of their every-day communication with other Arvanitika-speakers, they quite often use the language either in the form of isolated words/phrases, or in the form of curses, proverbs, songs or jokes (Figure 9B), particularly since they find a *joke* to be *funnier* when told in Arvanitika rather than in Greek (see section 5.12.2.). However, as it emerged from both the quantitative and the qualitative parts of the present study, Arvanitika-speakers seem to also make symbolic use of Arvanitika

in settings in which they feel *intimacy* and *closeness*, and therefore a sense of solidarity, such as when conversing with family members, with relatives and close friends. In the solidarity spectrum, when asked what Arvanitika means to them, most participants answered that Arvanitika is tradition and customs, memories, origin and identity, a language of protection and secret communication code, while some also connected it with religion. Therefore, the solidarity use of Arvanitika seems to be a means of maintaining and protecting their Arvanitika identity.

In agreement with the aforementioned research outcomes, Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) and Liosis (2007) underline that arguments supporting the use of Arvanitika had to do – among others – with the Arvanitika traditional ethics as well as with the symbolic and solidarity use of the language, pointing out that several participants stated that such use is suitable for telling jokes and secrets, for talking to older people, and for fostering feelings of closeness to others. Stressing that 'there were no signs of any Arvanitika revival movement', Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) accept the possibility that the covertly expressed attitudes associated with aspects of solidarity, such as the use of Arvanitika to tell jokes or secrets, and the connection of Arvanitika to 'toughness, honesty and comradeship could aid the language's revival longer than we have supposed' (p. 138). Hill (1983) argues that the use of the Nahuatl language in Mexico as a solidarity code occurs partly 'due to the ambivalent status of Nahuatl, which many people outside the communities believe to be a backward language, but it also serves the important function of closing out the outside world and affirming the solidarity of a community through a shared secret' (p. 267). However, the solidarity use of a language does not necessarily mean that the speakers of that language tend to use it more often or hold positive attitudes towards it, as is evident in the Arvanitika case. Accordingly, Tsitsipis (1998) claims that in his study the solidarity use of Arvanitika did not prevent either fluent or terminal speakers of the community from expressing their negative attitudes towards Arvanitika.

On the whole, the participants of the present study tended to be positive towards the solidarity use of Arvanitika, and particularly so in their rating of the questionnaire statement that referred to their *childhood memories*. Although the same tendency was revealed by the rating of the rest of the questionnaire's statements exploring the participants' solidarity use of Arvanitika, the percentages of those who rated these statements positively were *lower*. What seems to explain this result is the fact that these

statements explored the participants' 'here and now' solidarity use of the language and their wording was in the first person singular of the present tense (e.g., 'when I meet up my close ones, I enjoy speaking Arvanitika'), thus probably making the participants to feel a personal responsibility towards making a solidarity use of Arvanitika and leading them to distance themselves from this responsibility.

Furthermore, the responses of the participants in the qualitative part of the study, and particularly of the older in age ones, also showed that they mostly connect the solidarity use of Arvanitika with their *childhood and family memories* (e.g., see section 5.12.3., P.8, Appendix B, & Extracts 29 & 7). Most of the interviewees directly or indirectly indicated that Arvanitika is a language that they would use in situations where they feel intimacy, comfort, and closeness with the persons whom they are conversing with. In addition, a second aspect of the solidarity use of the Arvanitika language that emerged from the responses of these participants is its functioning as a secret communication code (see section 5.12.3.) mostly within the family context (e.g., when discussing something that they do not want it to be understood by the younger members of the family, such as their children or grandchildren). In general, however, they appeared to have a strong bond with the Arvanitika language, but mostly as a reminder of their identity and as something that belongs to the past rather than as language that could serve other more pragmatic purposes.

6.4.2. Construction of ethnolinguistic identity: expression of Greekness and indicators of (ethno)-linguistic identity

As it emerged from the qualitative part of the present study, the participants' assertion of their 'Greek origin' appears to be by far the most prominent indicator of their (ethno)-linguistic identity, followed by 'religion' and to a much lesser extent by 'language'.

The prominence of the first of the aforementioned indicators is evident in the participants' insistent effort to *connect their existence to the Greek history* and to emphasise through their narratives the important role of their forefathers' participation

in the Greek War of Independence from the Ottoman Empire (Extracts 1 & 3[30]). Much like Trudgill and Tzavaras' (1983) findings, the present study's participants appeared to consider their *Greek ethnic identity* as an *undisputable* fact, stressing in their discourse that they are neither Albanians nor Turks.

The context in which *religion* was identified as the second of the aforementioned indicators was exactly this effort of the participants to rule out any Albanian element (other than the relation of Arvanitika to the Albanian language) as part of their collective identity, and one of the ways in which they did so was by emphasising throughout their discourse the central role in their lives of their Orthodox Christian culture and traditions (Extract 27 & Extract 4).

Concerning, now the role of language as an indicator of their (ethno)-linguistic identity, even though some participants referred extensively to the *linguistic connection* of Arvanitika with Albanian, they always felt the need to clarify that this *does not make them Albanians* in terms of their ethnic identity (Extract 4). What is of particular importance here, however, is that, taking into consideration that anything Albanian alludes to something negative in the wider Greek context, the linguistic connection of Arvanitika with Albanian functions as a deterrent for Arvanitika-speakers to use the language. More specifically, the analysis of the discourse of participants in the interviews and the focus groups shows that they have experienced the *identification* of Arvanitika with Albanian on the part of members of the wider society as a form of discrimination and even 'stigmatisation' leading them to avoid speaking Arvanitika in order not to be considered Albanian (Extract 19).

Thus, taking into account that implicitly or explicitly the Arvanitika-speakers of the present study, and more so the fluent ones, self-identified as bilingual, one may say that the Arvanitika language is indeed an indicator of the (ethno)-linguistic identity of the Arvanitika-speakers, but in a twofold way. That is, in a straightforward way, an indicator of the previously implied *bilingualism*, and, in an inverted way, an indicator of what the Arvanitika speakers *do not wish to be identified with* in terms of their *ethnicity*.

[30] In Extract 3 the connection of Arvanitika with the Greek history made by the participant can be found not in the extract per se but rather in the analysis of the extract, as it was included in another part of the interview with this participant.

The bilingual identity expressed by the Arvanitika speakers could also be partially described by what Tsitsipis called the *across-the-border-voice* phenomenon in terminal speakers' attitudes, thus their efforts to 'negotiate a certain type of flexible group identity', one of the insiders of the Arvanitika community and another one which signals the membership in the wider Greek community (Tsitsipis, 1998, p. 101). Another example of a minoritised linguistic community's construction of bilingual identity is that of the Macedonian language in North-Western Greece. The difference with the Arvanitika community, however, lies in the fact that, unlike Arvanitika, Macedonian is not considered to be a language in immediate danger of extinction to the extent that Arvanitika is (Sella-Mazi, 2016). In the Macedonian-speaking communities of Greece, there occurs a code-switching in order to serve pragmatic aspects of every-day communication, through which speakers maintain their bilingual, Macedonian and Greek, identity, but at the same time this allows for the construction of two distinct identities (Georgalidou & Baltzi, 2021).

With the majority of the participants of the present study appearing to think of Arvanitika as mainly an indicator (though not as a necessary prerequisite) of their membership in the Arvanitika community, it seems that the Arvanitika speakers have constructed a *fluid*, and to a certain extent somewhat *conflicting*, (ethno)-linguistic identity, pointing simultaneously to their *Greekness* and to their aforementioned *membership in the Arvanitika community*; a membership they are proud of, which, however, does not dictate the need for the preservation of the Arvanitika language as such but almost exclusively the need for the preservation of the age-long traditions and customs of the Arvanitika community.

6.4.3. Factors contributing to the decline of Arvanitika

As presented in the analysis of the present study's results, participants referred to a number of reasons that could account for the declining trajectory of the Arvanitika language; some of them were explicitly stated as such by the participants themselves, while others were interpreted and categorised as reasons for the decline of Arvanitika by the researcher through the analysis of the participants' narratives.

6.4.3.1. Mixed marriages

A few participants in the quantitative part of the study pointed to mixed marriages as a reason for Arvanitika's decline (Figure 21), but the richest data on this topic emerged from the qualitative part of the study (see section 5.14.1.). In this, both elder and middle-aged interviewees referred to the phenomenon of *mixed marriages*, mainly between Arvanitika-speaking men and non-Arvanitika-speaking women from non-Arvanitika-speaking villages, as one of the reasons for the decline of Arvanitika, placing the onset of this phenomenon in the '60s and '70s. According to them, with the mother being the parent who traditionally transmitted the language to the children, the aforementioned mixed marriages started making this transmission impossible due to the increased number of mothers who do not speak Arvanitika. Kargakos (2008) offers us some explanation of the reason why in Arvanitika-speaking families it was the mother who would pass the language down to the children, arguing that for the past two centuries Arvanitika was largely preserved due to the fact that women would not go to school, and thus, they did not learn Greek, while, on the contrary, men learnt Greek through school and their military service. Moreover, Yağmur (1997) points out that the sociocultural context affects the linguistic behaviour of each gender, arguing that, being in a cultural environment where they do not interact with speakers outside the family (e.g., for work purposes) or with the broader speaking community, women tend to preserve their L1 more than men.

An interesting point worth mentioning here is that of *speech accommodation*. According to Holmes (2012), mixed marriages seem to constitute a critical factor affecting the communities in either preserving their language or in shifting towards the dominant majority language, in which case the parent speaking the minority language usually accommodates the majority language of the other parent, while the children mostly speak the majority language. The statements of the present study's interviewees show that in mixed-marriage families, language accommodation is a *one directional process*, from Arvanitika to Greek; that is, the Arvanitika-speaking members of the family *accommodate the Greek language*, and as a consequence the children's L1 is Greek (see section 5.14.1). Moreover, similarly to Trudgill and Tzavaras' (1983) and Liosis' (2007) informants who juxtaposed the *'*inferiority*'* of Arvanitika with the 'superiority' of Greek as a *classical* language which is *written* as opposed to Arvanitika,

the participants of the present study appeared to be convinced that the direction of the linguistic accommodation in the mixed marriage Arvanitika families is reasonable because of the 'superiority' of Greek as the official language of a State, as compared to Arvanitika to which they seem to attribute a lower social value.

The aforementioned justification of the accommodation of the 'superior' and dominant Greek language points to one of the main reasons for the decline of Arvanitika. However, it is worth questioning whether this is a matter of a free choice on the part of Arvanitika families or 'choice' they had to make in order to survive within the wider society of a 'monolingual' nation-state whose language policy implicitly calls into question the ethnic identity of linguistic minorities.

6.4.3.2. Intergenerational transmission

The intergenerational language transmission is one of the main factors in the decline or preservation of languages worldwide, and it is no coincidence that it is also the criterion through which the degree of the endangerment of languages is determined by UNESCO (see section 3.3.5.2.). Therefore, the absence of a language's intergenerational transmission signals the decline of that language.

According to the present study's participants, the decline in the intergenerational transmission of Arvanitika is one of the main reasons for the decline of Arvanitika. The majority of the Arvanitika-speaking participants stated that they learnt Arvanitika from their grandparents or, mostly in the case of the elderly, from their parents (Figures, 16 & 26; Extracts 18 & 6).

In the quantitative part of the study, even though the percentage of the positive responses to the statement exploring whether the participants would want their own children to speak Arvanitika was higher than that of the neutral and the negative ones (Figure 15), the percentage of positive responses to other statements of the questionnaire was much higher. A possible reason for this is that, unlike the other language-related statements, the wording of the aforementioned statement implies the participants' own role or/and *responsibility* for the preservation of the Arvanitika language through its transmission to their offspring.

Opposite to the positive responses in the questionnaire, when the participants in the interviews and the focus groups were asked whether they wanted their children to speak Arvanitika, the answers they gave were for the greatest part negative, thus suggesting that the majority of these participants choose to not transmit the language to their children (Extracts 5, 6 & 7). Interestingly, some of these Arvanitika-speaking participants stated that the reason why they did not teach the language to their children is because the latter did not want to learn it (Extract 15). This is indeed plausible, as the young are expected to focus on the language that serves their educational and professional development, that is, on the language which is socio-economically dominant. Considering, however, that in other stages of the interviews the same participants expressed a positive attitude towards the Arvanitika language in terms of its connection with their long-standing *traditions* and *culture* (Extracts 11 & 29), one may conclude that the reason behind their choice to not transmit the language to the younger generation is that in their minds Arvanitika is a language that belongs to the past rather than to the future. Furthermore, the feeling of *guilt* that middle-aged and older participants might have experienced for not having transmitting Arvanitika to their children could possibly explain their preference to talk about *Arvanitika's past* and its connection with their community's culture and traditions, rather than about the reasons for their failing to transmit it to their descendants. When asked to comment on the latter, participants tended to imply the 'uselessness' of Arvanitika by juxtaposing it with Greek as a reason why for not expecting their children to speak it. The responses to the questionnaire in the quantitative part of the study produced the same outcome of undervaluing the pragmatic usefulness of Arvanitika in terms of their role in the educational and professional development of the younger generation (Figure 30). The view that the knowledge of a language may hinder the mastery of another was also expressed in the narratives of the participants in the qualitative part of the study (e.g., Extract 16).

Languages of a minoritised status, like Arvanitika, are expected to become extinct within the next generations, mainly due to the interruption of the intergenerational transmission within the linguistic communities (Grenoble, 2011). This being said, the future of Arvanitika looks rather ominous, as, according to Fishman (1996), the endangerment state of (minority) languages is due to – among others – the interruption of their transmission among generations.

6.4.3.3. (Non-)preservation, potential extinction and/or revival of Arvanitika and the non-official status of the language

I chose to discuss this factor of Arvanitika's decline along with the one entitled '"Creolisation in reverse" & fluctuation between competence and non-desire to speak Arvanitika', because I find the outcomes of their analysis to be tightly connected. In addition, although in the qualitative part of the study the examination of the participants' attitudes towards the (non)-preservation, potential extinction and/or revival of Arvanitika included also the effect on said attitudes of the non-official status of the language, in the quantitative part of the study these two aspects constituted two distinct categories.

As it emerged from the responses in the questionnaire, the attitudes of the younger group of Arvanitika-speaking participants regarding the *preservation* of Arvanitika were mostly positive (see section 5.4.). As also stressed in the preceding section, it is worth noting that the percentages of positive attitudes when the Arvanitika-speaking participants answered statements the wording of which implied their own role or/and *responsibility* for the preservation or the revival of Arvanitika (e.g., *I wouldn't want my children to speak Arvanitika* or *I would like to participate in an organised effort for the preservation of Arvanitika*) were higher than those of the neutral or negative attitudes (Figure 15); yet, they were lower compared to the percentages of positive attitudes when the same participants answered statements that were worded in a more impersonal way (e.g., *Arvanitika does not belong in modern society*) (Figure 16). Furthermore, the attitudes towards the preservation of Arvanitika of the participants who were non-speakers of Arvanitika were to a considerable extent positive or neutral. In their case, however, the percentages of positive attitudes were lower than those of the Arvanitika-speaking participants, which perhaps can be seen as indicative of a relative *indifference* on the part of some non-Arvanitika speakers as the preservation or not of Arvanitika is an issue not directly affecting them. Another outcome of the quantitative part of the study had to do with the importance of some official support by the State of the Arvanitika language in order for it to be preserved (Figure 22). The attitudes of the Arvanitika-speaking respondents towards such hypothetical prospect were mostly

positive, while those of the non-Arvanitika-speaking respondents ranged from positive to neutral.

The results of the interviews were more *ambiguous*. Middle-aged and, for the most part, elder participants showed fluid attitudes towards the preservation of Arvanitika. Some of these participants expressed positive attitudes towards the preservation of the language but at the same time they appeared to a certain extent reluctant to participate in a potential organised effort towards such preservation (Extract 9). Other participants of this age group overtly expressed their non-desire to preserve the Arvanitika language and they justified their negative attitude towards the preservation of Arvanitika by presenting reasons why Arvanitika is not 'useful'. They did so by means of juxtaposing Arvanitika with Greek and arguing that even Albanians migrating to Greece 'choose' to use Greek instead of their mother tongue (Extract 8), or that Arvanitika is a 'heavy-sounding' repulsive language (Extract 14). In addition, the 'inferior' status of Arvanitika as it is considered a B-Class language when compared to Greek was also presented as a reason why Arvanite people stopped speaking it (Extract 16). The ambiguous stance towards the preservation of Arvanitika was mostly evident in the discourse of the oldest in age participants. This might be due to their being more *emotionally attached* to Arvanitika than the more distanced middle-aged participants who seemed to maintain more neutral attitudes, in the sense that although they consider the language not useful in the present, they *value* it as an important element of their *family* and *social lives when they were younger*. Also, Comparing the attitudes of the younger participants in the quantitative part of the study and those of the middle-aged and the eldest participants in the qualitative part of the study, the former did not show any signs of ambiguity. This may possibly be due to their *not* being emotionally attached to the language, although they still view themselves as *members of the Arvanitika community and maintain positive views towards the preservation of Arvanitika.*

Furthermore, regardless of the age of the interviewees, a general outcome from the interviews and focus groups was that, in their relevant discourse, the issue of the preservation of Arvanitika appeared to be perceived more as the preservation of the *communal traditions* with which they connect the language *rather* than as the *preservation of the language* as such. What is more, many of the interviewees showed that they are in the process of completely *abandoning the use of Arvanitika*, even when

it comes to conversing with relatives and friends who are Arvanitika-speakers (a phenomenon described by Trudgill and Tzavaras (1983) as 'creolisation in reverse'), without necessarily realising, or avoiding to acknowledge, the adverse reality regarding the endangerment of Arvanitika. This is in accord with Holmes' (2012) argument that the abandoning of the minority mother tongue is often an *unconscious process* where the speakers do not realise the danger of its extinction and do not take action for its preservation.

Finally, the analysis of the relevant qualitative data shows that the attitudes of the interviewees towards the (non)-preservation, potential extinction and/or revival of Arvanitika are partially affected by the *non-official status* of the language, in the sense that the non-official status appears to contribute to the participants' view of Arvanitika as non-useful or as 'inferior' to Greek and thereby unworthy of efforts on their part for its revival (Extract 23). However, an interesting outcome of mainly the quantitative part of the analysis is the belief on the part of the Arvanitika speaking participants that the State should support the preservation of the Arvanitika language (Figure 22). In this respect, it is important to mention here a study the findings of which show the importance of organised actions on the part of the political world, language experts, and policy makers for the preservation and revival of a minority language. More specifically, Karyolemou's (2019) findings indicate that there is indeed an association between State-supported efforts for the preservation and revitalisation of Cypriot-Arabic (CA), a moribund language, and the attitudes of CA speakers towards their language. As shown by the results of this study, the aforementioned State-supported efforts, including the establishment of educational organisations for the instruction of CA to the members of the CA linguistic community, had an important positive effect on the attitudes of the older speakers, as they witnessed their language becoming part of an official educational program and the younger members of their community acquiring an interest in learning it.

6.4.3.4. Urbanisation and modernisation

The Arvanitika-speaking participants in the interviews pointed to the urbanisation and modernisation processes as part of the reasons for the decline of the Arvanitika language (Extracts 12 & 13). According to them, their communities started

experiencing the effect of the processes of urbanisation and modernisation in the late ’50s, but it was mainly in the ’60s and ’70s that these effects became particularly evident in the form of a serious depopulation of the Arvanitika-speaking villages and small towns due to the movement of many of their inhabitants to large urban centres. A considerable number of interviewees stressed their disappointment with the present situation of their communities in terms of their decreased population and the loss of a vibrant way of life which was marked by local festivals and other types of large social gatherings where the use of the Arvanitika language was very prominent. Quite interestingly, however, in the discourse of one interviewee, this feeling of disappointment went hand in hand with her self-contradictory expression of pride and admiration for certain industrial developments in her region (Extract 12).

On the whole, it appears that in the minds of the participants in the qualitative part of the present study the declining trajectory of Arvanitika is the result of the urbanisation and modernisation processes. This may very well be true with regards to the Arvanitika-speaking villages and small towns, due to their considerable depopulation and their increased proximity to the monolingual urban centres through infrastructural developments brought about by the process of modernisation. In this respect, Tsitsipis and Elmendorf (1983) point out the contrast between Kiriaki, a village where Arvanitika was preserved for a relatively long time because, like other villages of Boeotia, was secluded due to the lack of a road network that would connect it with the urban centres, and Spata, where Arvanitika was not preserved to the extent it did in Kiriaki due to its character as an industrial region right outside Athens which ensured regular interactions with the wider Greek-speaking community who do not speak Arvanitika. In the same vein, Fishman (1971, as cited by Liosis, 2007), points out that it is the physical isolation, and thus, the distance between the villages where the minority language is spoken and the large urban centres, that appears to be a prerequisite for the preservation of a language. However, the non-preservation of Arvanitika appears to have been an even more intense reality within the urban destinations of the Arvanitika-speakers who left their places of origin, again due to the increased contact of the latter in the Greek language with non-Arvanitika speakers residing in those destinations. This reality is also confirmed by both Sella-Mazi (2016) and Liosis (2007), according to whom, urbanisation has led to the abandoning of

bilingualism, with previously bilingual persons or communities adopting exclusively the Greek language in all aspects of social life.

6.4.3.5. Oppression, discrimination, stigmatisation, the 'social status' of Arvanitika as perceived by its speakers, and the politicisation of the Arvanitika language

This section discusses the present study's outcomes regarding its participants' experiences of oppression, discrimination and stigmatisation due to their public use of Arvanitika, Arvanitika's perception as an 'inferior' language with a low 'social status', and the character of the politicisation of the Arvanitika language.

The analysis of the relevant quantitative data indicated that the majority of the younger and middle-aged Arvanitika-speaking participants have not experienced oppression, discrimination or stigmatisation and they have not felt particularly uncomfortable or secluded on account of their using Arvanitika publicly (Figure 25). Concerning these participants' perception of the 'social status' of Arvanitika, the quantitative data analysis showed that both the Arvanitika-speaking respondents and those who do not speak Arvanitika attached a positive value to Arvanitika, considering it as a language the knowledge of which would enhance an individual's cultural level (Figure 29 C & D). In addition, a considerable percentage of the younger and middle-aged respondents of both groups (speakers and non-speakers of Arvanitika) where positive towards the idea of Arvanitika being taught at school (Figure 29 A & B). Regarding Arvanitika's practical value, however, most Arvanitika-speaking respondents did not consider the Arvanitika language to be useful, and particularly so with respect to employment (Figure 30).

The aforementioned outcomes of the quantitative data analysis were to a large extent contradicted by those of the qualitative data analysis. In contrast to the mostly young and middle-aged participants in the quantitative part of the study, the older Arvanitika-speakers who participated in the interviews appeared to believe that the only present-day value of Arvanitika lies in its potential to facilitate the communication with Albanian migrants in the context of work (see section 5.12.1). Furthermore, according to the participants in the interviews and the focus groups, the Arvanitika-speakers have been, at some point or another, subject to the process of 'othering' ('us vs. them'), to oppression, discrimination and stigmatisation on the basis of their linguistic identity in

general, and on account of their public use of Arvanitika in particular. More specifically, the narratives of interviewees show that apart from having been discriminated against as 'non-Greeks', they have also suffered a multiple stigmatisation as 'thieves', 'self-centred' and 'ignorant uneducated villagers', characterisations deriving from the myths that were created about the Arvanitika-speakers by the linguistically dominant Greek speaking communities of the urban centres in the regions with Arvanitika-speaking population (Extracts, 17, 19 & 20). As pointed out by the interviewees of the present study, this stigmatisation used to take place mostly within the institutional context of the secondary schools they attended, in the form of bullying by their monolingual Greek classmates as well as in the form of punishments by their teachers when they used Arvanitika to communicate with their Arvanitika-speaking peers (e.g., Extract 18). Regarding the discrimination against Arvanites by the Greek community, this was, also confirmed in Liosis' (2007) findings when the Arvanitika speaking participants in his study expressed their perception that the wider Greek community holds negative and indifferent attitudes towards Arvanitika, thus, certainly not positive. Interestingly, Liosis' (2007) aforementioned outcome also contradicts part of the present study's findings with respect to the positive attitudes of non-Arvanitika-speaking participants towards Arvanitika, as reported in the questionnaires. What possibly justifies the differences between the results of the two studies could be the different time periods and the different regions that they took place, potential differences regarding the age of the participants and the fact that the methods used for the collection of data regarding attitudes of the non-speakers of Arvanitika were not identical.

With regards to the institutional or/and State sanctioned oppression against the use Arvanitika publicly, the older in age interviewees referred to incidents of members of the Arvanitika community in the north-western part of Greece having been arrested and charged for such use in the past (Extract 21). Quite interestingly, this was explained or even justified by other interviewees by bringing into the discussion the proximity of north-western part of Greece with Albania due to which special measures have been taken to protect the area by the Greek State (Extract 22), something that is further based on the Greek State's narrative of potential territorial claims by the Albanian State. Although the participants from the village in the Regional Unit of Argolis, in the Peloponnese, did not explicitly confirm such hostile practices of the Greek State against

the use of Arvanitika in their region, they did so implicitly by stating that they were obedient and did not react against the linguistic homogeneity policies of the Greek State (Extract 22); something that shows that they have either accepted these policies along with the perception of Arvanitika as an 'inferior' language as a given state of things, or that they felt powerless to oppose them.

Even though there were times during the interviews when participants clearly admitted the institutional oppression they have experienced, in many cases they tried to somehow downplay its role in their lives (Extract 22). Moreover, while several interviewees said that historically the Arvanitika language has been in the middle of 'political games' that questioned their ethnic identity (Extract 9), thus indicating the fact of the politicisation of the Arvanitika language, it appears that the politicisation of Arvanitika has not been as overt and intense as in the case of other 'minority' languages in Greece (Extract 22).

In Greece, the politicisation of language has been way more obvious in the northern part of the country and has seriously affected the Macedonian-speaking community of the area, putting into question the ethnic allegiance and identity of the Macedonian-speakers. An early example of the politicisation of Macedonian is the Politis-Kalfov Protocol of 1924, which, although not officially ratified by the Greek State, was an agreement between Greece and Bulgaria that identified the Macedonian speakers as a Bulgarian minority (Gounaris, 1994). Following the same pattern, in the mid-80s, the politicisation of the Macedonian language in Greece led to what Cowan (2001) calls 'minoritisation of culture'. Over the years, this minoritisation has acquired different forms, with the oppression on the part of the state and its police being a central element in all of them and with the Greek Macedonian speakers and their language being the bone of contention.

The minoritisation of languages is a *dynamic multidimensional political issue* with diachronic and historical parameters. As a matter of fact, the idea of the nation-state and the minoritised status that several languages have been subjected to seem to be intertwined. In the case of the Arvanitika language and the Arvanites in Greece, which are the focus of the present study, this minoritisation of the Arvanitika community has sadly resulted in many Arvanitika-speakers considering their language as non-useful and of an 'inferior' status.

6.4.3.6. Arvanitika's status as a non-written language

According to the present study's Arvanitika-speaking participants, Arvanitika's status as a *non-written* language is one of the primary reasons for its decline (e.g., Figures 24 & 30, Extracts 25 & 29), whereas the participants who are not Arvanitika-speakers do not seem to attribute the same importance to this factor (Figures 24 & 30). Tsitsipis (2003) argues that Arvanitika's non-written form is among the reasons that have led to the process of its *marginalisation*. Arvanitika speakers perceive their language as inherently inadequate, something that they attribute to the fact that it lacks a written form, thus convincing themselves to shift to Greek as the language that is most adequately functional. In a similar vein, Haugen (2003) argues that the written form of languages allows them to 'establish models across time and space' as opposed to spoken languages, which without a written form 'are subject to regular and inexorable linguistic change' (p. 417).

It is most interesting, however, that an elder female interviewee was the only participant who firmly and fervently expressed the view that Arvanitika is grammatically and syntactically equal to – even the ancient – Greek, not falling short of anything that the Greek language has to offer (Extract 27). Dorian (1998), as many other experts in the field, suggests that spoken languages can survive over the years even without acquiring a written form, arguing that 'the existence of a writing system and even the existence of a notable literature do not necessarily ensure that a language will survive as a living speech form, much less thrive' (p. 11). This argument points to what linguists call the *priority of spoken language*, since there are many communities around the world which do not have a writing system but their languages have survived over the centuries through oral communication (Goutsos, 2012). The claim that in some cases languages could thrive without having a written form is, for example, empirically supported by the case of Quechua, used as a medium of communication by the Inca Empire, as well as by the fact that Indo-European also managed to spread in a large part of the world by being spoken by millions of people (Buck, 1916).

Similar to other languages, Arvanitika has survived for more than seven centuries in the Greek territory despite the fact that it never acquired a written form. Today, however, it is classified as a (severely) endangered language. The development of a writing system in Arvanitika would be anything but an easy process, as it would have to address political, social and ethnolinguistic identity issues. More specifically, one such issue is which alphabet is more appropriate on a phonetic level (for example, not all sounds can be described through the Greek alphabet), while another critical issue is which alphabet would be accepted by the speakers themselves, both in terms of their being able to read the language with ease as well as in terms of what this alphabet would imply for the Arvanitika-speakers ethnic identity. For example, the adoption of only the Latin alphabet would probably not be acceptable by a considerable proportion of Arvanitika-speakers as they maintain a Greek ethnic identity and, in their minds, the Latin alphabet is connected with the Albanian language. It is important to mention that such issues were evident during the fieldwork of the present study, as well as the difficulty of reading the language from a hybrid text prepared by myself and members of the Arvanitika community, which employed both the Greek and Latin alphabet.

6.4.4. Effect of the Albanian migration in the '90s on the Arvanitika language

The analysis of the quantitative data showed that most Arvanitika-speaking respondents of the questionnaire did not think that the Albanian migration affected the trajectory of Arvanitika towards its extinction or that it deterred them from speaking Arvanitika (Figure 31A). On the contrary, the majority of Arvanitika speaking respondents were shown to believe that the Albanian migration contributed to their using Arvanitika more often as it was useful for conversing with the Albanian migrants (Figure 32). However, this finding was contradicted by the fact that the majority of them responded positively to the questionnaire's statement 'When I meet up with an Albanian, I will speak in Greek' (Figure 33B). What could possibly explain this contradiction is that since the participants in the quantitative part of this study belong to the presently middle and younger age groups, their potential conversations with Albanian migrants will be with members of the second and third generation migrants whose first language (L1) is Greek.

The findings deriving from the responses of the non-speakers of Arvanitika to the relevant questions or statements of the questionnaire indicate that, similar to the Arvanitika speakers, a considerable percentage of them does not believe that the Albanian migration affected the trajectory of Arvanitika towards its extinction (Figure 31B). However, the percentage of the non-speakers of Arvanitika who think that the Albanian migration affected the trajectory of Arvanitika towards its extinction is more than double the percentage of the Arvanitika-speaking respondents who have the same opinion. This finding, along with their overwhelmingly neutral stance regarding the more extensive use of Arvanitika and its usefulness for the communication with Albanian immigrants as a result of the Albanian migration to Greece can be explained by the simple fact that they have no relevant knowledge or/and experiences as they are not members of the Arvanitika community and they do not speak the language. Non-speakers' neutral attitudes to a considerable amount of statements (e.g., Figures 35B & D, 33B, 31A, 30B, 21B) could be further explained by the possibility of acquisition bias occurring. As explained in the relevant section (see section 4.5.1.), *acquisition bias* can take place mostly in questionnaires when most of participants' answers follow the same pattern, as in non-speakers' of Arvanitika responses who were to a great extent neutral. As for this population no qualitative data was obtained, it would be suggested that studies in the future include both qualitative and quantitative techniques for this group of participants, in order for the results to be safely generalised.

As expected, the analysis of the much richer content of the qualitative data produced more complex results regarding the Arvanitika-speaking participants' opinions as to whether the Albanian migration affected the trajectory of Arvanitika towards its extinction. The interviewees from the Florina prefecture, in northern Greece stated unanimously that the Albanian migration did not affect the trajectory of Arvanitika in their region, as they were already using the language extensively in the period before the Albanian migration and they kept doing so in the period after it (see section 5.15.). Participants from the village of Argolis stated that the inhabitants of their neighbouring village increased their use of Arvanitika upon and after the Albanian migration, thus pointing out that the Albanian migration had a positive, rather than a negative, effect on trajectory of Arvanitika in that village (Extract 26). On the contrary, other interview and focus group participants made a direct connection between the *Albanian migration* and the *decline of Arvanitika* in their regions. More specifically, they said that when the

Albanian migration took place (Extract 16), they themselves chose not to use the Arvanitika language in order to avoid being labelled as 'Albanians' (Extract 2), and their narratives suggest that they did so due to the linguistic affinity between Arvanitika and Albanian. These narratives, show that the fear of them being *labelled* 'Albanians' or 'villagers' was connected with their perceiving such labelling as *stigmatising* (Extracts 2 & 16). In a similar vein, Liosis' (2007) argues that negative attitudes held by part of the non-Arvanitika speakers towards the members of the Arvanitika community have been expressed with the use of specific terms stigmatising Arvanitika speakers as people of 'low cultural level'. Liosis (2007) further mentions that the Albanian-related identities attached to the Arvanitika language have most likely caused some of the speakers' negative attitudes towards Arvanitika in order for them to avoid stigmatisation due to the negative connotation the term 'Albanian' bears in the Greek context. The reason for this is that, in the context of the broader Greek-speaking society, the Albanian migrants were subjects to intolerance and *severe discrimination*, which resulted in them being considered and treated as people of a 'lower status' and even dangerous. In their effort to justify their choice to not speak the language in the post-migration period, some participants made the point that even the Albanians migrants themselves abandoned their language and chose to speak Greek (e.g., Extract 8). Of course, it goes without saying that the aforementioned participants made this point without considering that this was not a free choice on the part of the Albanian migrants, but one dictated by their need to live and work in the context of an officially monolingual society, at the same time that they were being subjected to *discrimination* and *stigmatisation* by a considerable part of this society. As a matter of fact, even to date, more than two decades after the massive economic Albanian migration to Greece, second generation Albanian migrants and their families are subjects to discrimination and stigmatisation, something that leads them to abandon the use of Albanian, wishing to free themselves from their stigmatised Albanian identity (Gogonas, 2009). Antonopoulos (2006) argues that racist violence against migrants, especially the Albanian migrants, in Greece is also accepted by the police, who seem to be indifferent regarding racism against and often justify such incidents as a self-defence of a Greek citizen against an (Albanian) criminal.

Interestingly, in contradiction to the connection they made between the Albanian migration and the decline of Arvanitika in their regions, interviewees also referred to

the potential of a 'revival' of Arvanitika due to the Albanian migration, in the sense of a possibly increased use of the language for the purpose of communicating with Albanian migrants. At the same time, however, they made clear that this did not happen in their region (a village in Argolis) due to the fact that those who spoke Arvanitika in the '90s, and would therefore use it to converse with Albanian migrants, were not the members of the then younger generation that would ideally transmit it to their offspring and preserve it to date, but only the middle-aged and the elderly Arvanitika-speakers.

Based on all the above, and mostly on the insights deriving from the interviews, we could say that the Albanian migration *intensified the discrimination* that Arvanitika speakers had already been experiencing since the dictatorship of Metaxas and onwards, being stigmatised under different labels and, most importantly, seeing their (ethno)-linguistic identity to be called into question. This intensification of their long-standing experience in being subjects to discrimination was the result of the *broader Greek society's perception* of them as *almost one and the same* with the *harshly discriminated against and stigmatised Albanian migrants*, due mainly to Arvanitika's *linguistic affinity with the Albanian language.*

Therefore, although the Albanian migration in the '90s seems to have not been the only contributing factor to the decline of Arvanitika (according to participants' contradictory statements in questionnaires and interviews) or a sufficient reason for a long-running and sustainable revival of the Arvanitika language, Arvanitika appears to be following the same trajectory with that of the Albanian language in Greece, as its speakers are rapidly *shifting towards Greek*, thus allowing for the *further decline* and possible *extinction* of the language. With the common element in these two trajectories (i.e., of the Arvanitika and the Albanian language) being their *minoritised status* in the context of an officially monolingual nation-state and society, Whitney's (1867) statement from about a century ago in relation to the effect of the wider society on whether people make use of their minority language or not remains topical: 'Speech is not a personal possession but a social: it belongs, not to the individual, but to the member of society. No item of existing language is the work of an individual; for what we may severally choose to say is not language until it be accepted and employed by our fellows. The whole development of speech, though initiated by the acts of individuals, is wrought out by the community' (p. 404).

6.4.5. Pride for the Arvanitika language and nostalgia for the past

The feeling of pride for the Arvanitika language was particularly evident in the analysis of both the quantitative and the qualitative data of the present study.

The majority of the Arvanitika-speaking respondents of the questionnaire answered positively to the statement 'I feel proud speaking Arvanitika', although there was also a relatively high percentage of neutral answers to this statement (Figure 26C). This finding, however, is to some extent contradicted by the fact that the majority of the same respondents answered that they choose to use Greek and not Arvanitika when their interlocutors speak both Arvanitika and Greek (Figure 26D). What one may plausibly infer from this contradiction is that one's pride in being an Arvanitika speaker does not necessarily mean that they actually use the language, or that, as we have already seen, they consider it worthy of being transmitted and preserved as a functional means of communication with other Arvanitika speakers. Thus, it appears that such pride may not be associated with the functional but, rather, with the *symbolic aspect* of the Arvanitika language.

The feeling of pride for the Arvanitika language was also particularly evident in the qualitative part of the present study, as in the study of Trudgill and Tzavaras (1975). However, in the discourse of the interviewees, the expression of this feeling was almost invariably intertwined with that of the feeling of *nostalgia for the past*, the latter having been found in Tsitsipis' (1998) and Liosis, (2007) studies, too. More specifically, while speaking about their pride for their language, several interviewees seemed to think of the Arvanitika language as something that belongs to the past, recalling joyous activities, celebrations, as well as religious activities, from the time when Arvanitika was the main language used in all aspects of the Arvanitika community's every-day life. Several interviewees spoke proudly about the *qualities* which, according to them, characterise Arvanite people, as, for example, honesty, consistency and trustworthiness, all of which are reflected in the Arvanitika word 'besalis'. Interestingly, it was one interviewee's intense *feeling of nostalgia for the past* that led to her praising Arvanitika's linguistic thoroughness to the point of equating it with the profoundness and succinctness of Ancient Greek. Other interviewees tended to also become very emotional when expressing their views of Arvanitika as 'wealth' or as 'their

everything', while, after expressing their sadness for the gradual loss of their language, the members of the focus group in this village in Argolis sang an Arvanitika song the verses of which referred to a religious celebration.

Tsitsipis (2003) describes the *idealisation* of a language by its speakers when their reference to it is emotionally charged as *sublimation*, and he considers the latter to be an indicator of the erasure of the fundamental functions of that language; an erasure, that is, which acts as a *deterrent* to the revival of the language. In the qualitative part of our study, it was obvious in many instances that participants seemed to attach more value to the long-standing Arvanite traditions they connect with the use of Arvanitika in the past than to the language in and of itself. Following Tsitsipis' (2003) line of thought, this finding becomes comprehensible if we take into consideration the wider society's tendency to be on the one hand *tolerant to the folkloric element* of a minority language and of the traditions associated with it and its speakers, and on the other hand *non-tolerant to the minority language* as such. Thus, the tolerance on the part of the wider Greek society towards the folkloric but not the linguistic element of Arvanitika may also lie behind our participants' aforementioned attachment to the symbolic rather than to the functional aspect of the Arvanitika language. This supposition is in agreement with Tsitsipis' (2003) claim that 'sublimation as ideological decontextualisation is in harmony with the way the wider society is ready to receive the Arvanitika language, that is, as a piece of folkloric culture. Society sets the terms and the limits of its legitimisation, and, thus, further contributes to its erasure' (p. 555). Moreover, given that in people's minds language is often directly connected to an individual's or a group's *ethnic identity*, it is possible that an additional force that has compelled the Arvanitika speakers themselves to take a distance from their ancestral language in their everyday life, while retaining a *strong emotional bond* with it and with the traditions they connect it with, is their need to protect their ethnic identity as Greeks.

The largely positive attitude towards Arvanitika of the younger and middle-aged respondents of the questionnaire as well as the more complicated and ambiguous attitude of the older in age interviewees seem to be dictated by *the type of their bond with the Arvanitika language.* In both cases, this is a bond with Arvanitika 's *cultural* (e.g., the symbolic or/and folkloric) element rather than with its linguistic element. Thus, while at a very first glance the finding regarding the positive attitudes of the study's younger and middle-aged participants towards the Arvanitika language would

lead one to become optimistic for the preservation and future of Arvanitika, the realisation, through the deeper analysis of this finding, that such positivity is associated only, or mainly, with the symbolic or/and folkloric element of the language tends to turn this optimistic view into a futile hope.

6.5. Implications and future directions of the study

I start this final section with a reflection of the implications drawn by this study's results. The investigation of the attitudes towards Arvanitika indicated, for the most part, positive attitudes on the part of the youngest and middle-aged Arvanites and of the wider Greek society. However, the ambiguous, fluid and conflicting attitudes of the older in age Arvanitika speakers towards their language revealed their strong *emotional attachment* as well as an *inner conflict* experienced by them with regards to their relationship with the dimensions of *language, tradition* and *identity*. The symbolic, solidarity and, largely, the 'museum' use of Arvanitika alongside with participants' overrating the traditional element of Arvanitika rather than the language per se, as well as their perception of it as a language attached to the *past* rather than the future, explain, to a large extent, the *continuous* and *gradual declining trajectory* of the language towards its extinction. Moreover, the participants' assertion of their *Greek origin* seems to be largely the lead indicator of their (ethno)-linguistic identity, as opposed to language. Nonetheless, their expressions of *fluid bilingual* – to a certain extent – *identities*, that of *Greek as regards the origin*, the *prestige* and the *official status*, and that of *Arvanitika*, as regards the *family, closeness* and *tradition*, have been negotiated as such in accord with their need to belong to both communities for different reasons.

One of the prominent findings of this project was the *major effect of the Albanian migration on the declining trajectory of Arvanitika*. The Albanian migration seems to have *increased the discrimination* that speakers of Arvanitika in Greece had already been experiencing due to the hostile policies of the Greek state towards most linguistic minorities and their languages dictated by the 'one-language-one-nation' ideal in the past. In the post-migration period, Arvanitika speakers were *stigmatised under different labels* while their *(ethno-)linguistic identity* was called *into question* as they were identified and, to a certain extent, equated with Albanian migrants, a population that received harsh discrimination within Greece, by part of the wider Greek community. On that account, the Albanian migration to Greece appears to have contributed to the further decline and, thus, the current dying status of the Arvanitika language.

Arvanitika is gradually dying out along with its eldest remaining fluent speakers, thus signalling the need for further research on the part of the scientific community. Younger speakers' positive attitudes do not seem adequate to save the language as most of them

are non-fluent speakers; therewithal, the general impression emerging from the total of Arvanitika speaking participants was that they appear *not to be fully conscious* of the extent of Arvanitika's endangerment or, in some cases, to avoid becoming fully aware of it. The severe endangerment of the Arvanitika language alongside the scrutiny of studies examining the language and its linguistic community, especially from a (socio-)linguistic perspective, urge for further research to be conducted. This study has captured, to a certain extent, aspects of today's sociolinguistic status of the Arvanitika language and community, focusing on the *attitudes* of speakers and non-speakers of the language towards it; yet, one direction this project could take in the future would be the extension of the sample of both groups of participants and the inclusion of more regions that were not included in this study's field work (e.g., Evros), in order to allow for safer generalisations to be made. Furthermore, the continuation of this project with a larger number of participants and regions would allow for comparative research to be carried out showing the differences between participants' attitudes of further regions, from different backgrounds and experiences.

Another direction this or other projects could take in the future concerns aspects that this dissertation did not deal with and that are shown to significantly contribute to the preservation of minority languages and the change of speakers' attitudes to more positive, that is the *documentation* of the Arvanitika language. In my view, there is an urgent need for the *codification* and *documentation* of the Arvanitika language by an organised team of experts as well as for the support of both the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Culture, in order for Arvanitika's linguistic and cultural heritage to be preserved. If there is any prospect for such potential preservation, this is to be found in our carefully studying and following the few bright examples of preservation and revitalisation of moribund minoritised languages, as is the case of Cypriot Arabic (Karyolemou, 2019).

I would like to conclude by stating that regardless of the future research steps to be taken on the Arvanitika language and its speakers, I value the access of participants, the speakers of Arvanitika, to the results of this study as the major impact of this study. As my wish is to first disseminate my results to the members of the Arvanitika community, a language-centred event devoted to the Arvanitika language and its speakers is under way with the hope that future research on Arvanitika will motivate the Arvanitika community to get involved in the research process, whether it is the future

documentation of the Arvanitika language or the further exploration of its sociolinguistic aspects.

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Appendices

Appendix A

1. Statistics Analyses

TABLE 1 **Reliability Statistics**

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
,861	,867	28

TABLE2 **Item Statistics**

Items	Questions	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Item_1	I would like to listen to Arvanitika on TV/the radio.	2,72	1,404	105
Item_2*	I wouldn't want my children to speak Arvanitika.	2,46	1,519	105
Item_3	When I speak in Arvanitika with someone. I feel more familiarity.	2,66	1,460	105
Item_4*	I have felt uncomfortable speaking Arvanitika.	1,73	1,195	105
Item_5	It is important to me that I can speak Arvanitika.	2,10	1,293	105
Item_6*	Arvanitika does not belong in modern society.	1,85	1,269	105
Item_7*	I would not want for Arvanitika to be taught at school.	2,86	1,483	105
Item_8	Arvanitika speakers should support the preservation of Arvanitika.	1,57	1,018	105
Item_9	If I listen to a joke in Arvanitika. I find it funnier than in Greek.	2,38	1,496	105
Item_10*	At school I did not feel comfortable speaking Arvanitika.	2,88	1,517	105
Item_11	I try to speak Arvanitika as much as I can.	2,69	1,457	105
Item_12*	Arvanitika is an undervalued language due to its lack of written status.	3,38	1,437	105
Item_13	Albanian migration to Greece helped us speak Arvanitika more often.	2,52	1,520	105
Item_14	Arvanitika was more useful in conversing with Albanians.	2,45	1,454	105
Item_15*	After the Albanian migration, I did not wish to speak Arvanitika.	1,86	1,196	105
Item_16*	When I meet up with an Albanian, I will speak in Greek.	3,49	1,422	105
Item_17	I would like to participate in an organised effort for the preservation of Arvanitika.	1,98	1,056	105
Item_18*	Arvanitika does not need to be preserved.	1,54	1,019	105
Item_19	Arvanitika reminds me of pleasant childhood memories.	1,79	1,207	105
Item_20*	There were times when I felt secluded while speaking Arvanitika.	1,56	1,073	105
Item_21	I feel proud speaking Arvanitika.	2,09	1,169	105
Item_22	Speaking Arvanitika is an extra asset in the search of a good job.	4,05	1,354	105
Item_23	The State has to support the preservation of Arvanitika.	1,88	1,166	105
Item_24	I would not want for Arvanitika to die out.	1,61	1,061	105
Item_25	When I meet up my close ones, I enjoy speaking Arvanitika.	2,24	1,327	105

Item_26*	I have got into trouble speaking Arvanitika.	1,50	1,039	105
Item_27*	If somebody I talk to speaks both Arvanitika and Greek, I opt for Greek.	3,63	1,416	105
Item_28	Being able to speak Arvanitika along with other languages raises their level of cultural development.	2,23	1,325	105

TABLE 3 Item-Total Statistics for the Arvanitika-speaking population

Questions	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
I would like to listen to Arvanitika on TV/the radio.	62,96	258,210	,502	,584	,853
I wouldn't want my children to speak Arvanitika. *	63,23	263,332	,348	,371	,858
When I speak in Arvanitika with someone. I feel more familiarity.	63,03	256,066	,527	,566	,852
I have felt uncomfortable speaking Arvanitika. *	63,95	274,969	,162	,359	,863
It is important to me that I can speak Arvanitika.	63,58	256,688	,590	,611	,851
Arvanitika does not belong in modern society. *	63,84	259,502	,531	,503	,853
I would not want for Arvanitika to be taught at school. *	62,83	261,816	,392	,549	,857
Arvanitika speakers should support the preservation of Arvanitika.	64,11	263,871	,542	,696	,854
If I listen to a joke in Arvanitika. I find it funnier than in Greek.	63,30	261,522	,394	,461	,857
At school I did not feel comfortable speaking Arvanitika. *	62,81	273,194	,146	,440	,865
I try to speak Arvanitika as much as I can.	63,00	248,788	,694	,733	,847
Arvanitika is an undervalued language due to its lack of written status. *	62,30	276,156	,096	,386	**,866**
Albanian migration to Greece helped us speak Arvanitika more often.	63,16	272,541	,159	,529	,864

Arvanitika was more useful in conversing with Albanians.	63,24	270,645	,210	,580	,862
After the Albanian migration, I did not wish to speak Arvanitika. *	63,83	261,336	,518	,655	,853
When I meet up with an Albanian, I will speak Greek. *	62,20	266,142	,316	,511	,859
I would like to participate in an organised effort for the preservation of Arvanitika.	63,70	263,133	,542	,632	,853
Arvanitika does not need to be preserved. *	64,14	267,412	,431	,465	,856
Arvanitika reminds me of pleasant childhood memories.	63,90	259,691	,557	,490	,852
There were times when I felt secluded while speaking Arvanitika. *	64,12	277,975	,103	,581	,863
I feel proud speaking Arvanitika.	63,60	255,454	,695	,699	,849
Speaking Arvanitika is an extra asset in the search of a good job.	61,64	267,925	,294	,397	,859
The State has to support the preservation of Arvanitika.	63,81	257,175	,649	,690	,850
I would not want for Arvanitika to die out.	64,08	266,148	,449	,492	,856
When I meet up my close ones, I enjoy speaking Arvanitika.	63,45	251,423	,704	,739	,847
I have got into trouble speaking Arvanitika. *	64,18	279,784	,056	,645	,864
If somebody I talk to speaks both Arvanitika and Greek, I opt for Greek. *	62,06	263,997	,365	,526	,857
Being able to speak Arvanitika along with other languages raises their level of cultural development.	63,46	266,270	,342	,416	,858

Reliability analysis for the first scale (28 items).

TABLE 4 Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
,892	,889	15

TABLE 5 Item Statistics

Items	Questions	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Item_1	I like listening to Arvanitika.	2,93	1,113	194
Item_2*	I wouldn't want my children to speak Arvanitika.*	2,49	1,289	194
Item_3	I would like to listen to Arvanitika on TV/the radio.	3,09	1,225	194
Item_4*	Arvanitika does not belong in modern society.*	2,04	1,135	194
Item_5	The Albanian migration helped Arvanitika being heard/spoken more.	2,90	1,099	194
Item_6*	I would not want for Arvanitika to be taught at school.*	2,95	1,303	194
Item_7*	Arvanitika is an undervalued language due to its lack of written status.*	2,90	1,181	194
Item_8	I would like to participate in an organised effort for the preservation of Arvanitika.	3,27	1,162	194
Item_9	Arvanitika was useful for the communication with Albanians.	2,75	,939	194
Item_10	I would not for want Arvanitika to die out.	2,09	1,199	194
Item_11	The State has to support the preservation of Arvanitika.	2,39	1,243	194
Item_12	It is important for Arvanitika to continue being spoken today.	2,38	1,208	194
Item_13*	Arvanitika does not need to be preserved.*	2,13	1,275	194
Item_14	Being able to speak Arvanitika along with other languages raises their level of cultural development.	2,48	1,309	194
Item_15	Arvanitika speakers should support the preservation of Arvanitika.	1,63	,879	194

TABLE 6 Item-Total Statistics for Non Arvanitika-speaking population

Items	Questions	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Item_1	I like listening to Arvanitika.	35,50	108,179	,629	,537	,882
Item_2*	I wouldn't want my children to speak Arvanitika.*	35,93	108,560	,513	,405	,887
Item_3	I would like to listen to Arvanitika on TV/the radio.	35,34	106,039	,652	,551	,881
Item_4*	Arvanitika does not belong in modern society.*	36,39	107,006	,668	,545	,881
Item_5	The Albanian migration helped Arvanitika being	35,53	118,945	,160	,261	,900

	heard/spoken more.					
Item_6*	I would not want for Arvanitika to be taught at school.*	35,48	108,883	,493	,332	,888
Item_7*	Arvanitika is an undervalued language due to its lack of written status.*	35,53	118,789	,148	,134	**,901**
Item_8	I would like to participate in an organised effort for the preservation of Arvanitika.	35,15	107,292	,638	,519	,882
Item_9	Arvanitika was useful for the communication with Albanians.	35,68	117,858	,257	,309	,895
Item_10	I would not for want Arvanitika to die out.	36,34	104,049	,756	,720	,877
Item_11	The State has to support the preservation of Arvanitika.	36,04	102,429	,795	,775	,875
Item_12	It is important for Arvanitika to continue being spoken today.	36,05	102,080	,838	,814	,873
Item_13*	Arvanitika does not need to be preserved.*	36,30	103,900	,710	,569	,878
Item_14	Being able to speak Arvanitika along with other languages raises their level of cultural development.	35,94	104,717	,656	,493	,881
Item_15	Arvanitika speakers should support the preservation of Arvanitika.	36,79	113,874	,498	,398	,888

Reliability analysis for the second scale (15 items).

TABLE 7 **ATTITUDE * Sex Crosstabulation**

			Sex		
			female	male	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	7_a	21_b	28
		% within ATTITUDE	25,0%	75,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	6,7%	20,0%	26,7%
	Agree	Count	19_a	21_a	40
		% within ATTITUDE	47,5%	52,5%	100,0%
		% of Total	18,1%	20,0%	38,1%
	Undecided	Count	20_a	14_b	34
		% within ATTITUDE	58,8%	41,2%	100,0%
		% of Total	19,0%	13,3%	32,4%
	Disagree	Count	1_a	1_a	2
		% within ATTITUDE	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,0%	1,0%	1,9%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0_a	1_a	1
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,0%	1,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	47	58	105
		% within ATTITUDE	44,8%	55,2%	100,0%
		% of Total	44,8%	55,2%	100,0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of Sex categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the 0,05 level.

TABLE 8 **Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8,095[a]	4	,088
Likelihood Ratio	8,722	4	,068
N of Valid Cases	105		

a. 4 cells (40,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0,45.

TABLE 9 **Symmetric Measures**

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,278	,088
	Cramer's V	,278	,088
N of Valid Cases		105	

Cross tabulation for variables Sex and Attitude for Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 10 **ATTITUDE * Age Crosstabulation**

			Age			
			< 40 Years	40-60 Years	>60 Years	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	9$_a$	14$_a$	2$_a$	25
		% within ATTITUDE	36,0%	56,0%	8,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	8,9%	13,9%	2,0%	24,8%
	Agree	Count	7$_a$	22$_b$	10$_b$	39
		% within ATTITUDE	17,9%	56,4%	25,6%	100,0%
		% of Total	6,9%	21,8%	9,9%	38,6%
	Undecided	Count	19$_a$	9$_b$	6$_{a, b}$	34
		% within ATTITUDE	55,9%	26,5%	17,6%	100,0%
		% of Total	18,8%	8,9%	5,9%	33,7%
	Disagree	Count	1$_a$	1$_a$	0$_a$	2
		% within ATTITUDE	50,0%	50,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,0%	1,0%	0,0%	2,0%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0$_a$	1$_a$	0$_a$	1
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,0%	1,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	36	47	18	101
		% within ATTITUDE	35,6%	46,5%	17,8%	100,0%
		% of Total	35,6%	46,5%	17,8%	100,0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of Age categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the 0,05 level.

TABLE 11 **Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15,892[a]	8	,044
Likelihood Ratio	17,463	8	,026
Linear-by-Linear Association	,202	1	,653
N of Valid Cases	101		

a. 7 cells (46,7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0,18.

TABLE 12 **Symmetric Measures**

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,397	,044
	Cramer's V	,280	,044
N of Valid Cases		101	

Cross tabulation for variables Age and Attitude for Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 13 **ATTITUDE * Education Crosstabulation**

			Education				
			1st level	2nd level	3rd level	4	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	2_a	7_a	17_a	2_a	28
		% within ATTITUDE	7,1%	25,0%	60,7%	7,1%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,9%	6,7%	16,2%	1,9%	26,7%
	Agree	Count	7_a	9_a	22_a	2_a	40
		% within ATTITUDE	17,5%	22,5%	55,0%	5,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	6,7%	8,6%	21,0%	1,9%	38,1%
	Undecided	Count	4_a	6_a	24_a	0_a	34
		% within ATTITUDE	11,8%	17,6%	70,6%	0,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	3,8%	5,7%	22,9%	0,0%	32,4%
	Disagree	Count	$0_{a, b}$	$1_{a, b}$	0_b	1_a	2
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	50,0%	0,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,0%	1,0%	0,0%	1,0%	1,9%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0_a	0_a	1_a	0_a	1
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	13	23	64	5	105
		% within ATTITUDE	12,4%	21,9%	61,0%	4,8%	100,0%
		% of Total	12,4%	21,9%	61,0%	4,8%	100,0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of Education categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the 0,05 level.

TABLE 14 **Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16,019[a]	12	,190
Likelihood Ratio	13,526	12	,332
Linear-by-Linear Association	,000	1	,982
N of Valid Cases	105		

a. 14 cells (70,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0,05.

TABLE 15 **Symmetric Measures**

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,391	,190
	Cramer's V	,226	,190
N of Valid Cases		105	

Cross tabulation for variables Education and Attitude for Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 16 **ATTITUDE * Place of Origin Crosstabulation**

			Place of Origin					
			Attica	Argolis	Viotia	Evia	Macedonia	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	9$_{a}$	4$_{a, b}$	8$_{b}$	3$_{a, b}$	4$_{a, b}$	28
		% within ATTITUDE	32,1%	14,3%	28,6%	10,7%	14,3%	100,0%
		% of Total	8,6%	3,8%	7,6%	2,9%	3,8%	26,7%
	Agree	Count	22$_{a}$	5$_{a}$	8$_{a}$	1$_{a}$	4$_{a}$	40
		% within ATTITUDE	55,0%	12,5%	20,0%	2,5%	10,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	21,0%	4,8%	7,6%	1,0%	3,8%	38,1%
	Undecided	Count	26$_{a}$	2$_{a, b}$	2$_{b}$	3$_{a, b}$	1$_{b}$	34
		% within ATTITUDE	76,5%	5,9%	5,9%	8,8%	2,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	24,8%	1,9%	1,9%	2,9%	1,0%	32,4%
	Disagree	Count	1$_{a}$	0$_{a}$	0$_{a}$	0$_{a}$	1$_{a}$	2
		% within ATTITUDE	50,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%	1,9%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	1$_{a}$	0$_{a}$	0$_{a}$	0$_{a}$	0$_{a}$	1
		% within ATTITUDE	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	59	11	18	7	10	105
		% within ATTITUDE	56,2%	10,5%	17,1%	6,7%	9,5%	100,0%
		% of Total	56,2%	10,5%	17,1%	6,7%	9,5%	100,0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of Place of Origin categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the 0,05 level.

TABLE 17 **Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20,558[a]	16	,196
Likelihood Ratio	21,415	16	,163
Linear-by-Linear Association	6,785	1	,009
N of Valid Cases	105		

a. 20 cells (80,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0,07.

TABLE 18 **Symmetric Measures**

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,442	,196
	Cramer's V	,221	,196
N of Valid Cases		105	

Cross tabulation for variables Place of Origin and Attitude for Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 19 ATTITUDE * Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current Crosstabulation

			Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current		
			Yes	No	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	25[a]	3[b]	28
		% within ATTITUDE	89,3%	10,7%	100,0%
		% of Total	23,8%	2,9%	26,7%
	Agree	Count	26[a]	14[a]	40
		% within ATTITUDE	65,0%	35,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	24,8%	13,3%	38,1%
	Undecided	Count	21[a]	13[a]	34
		% within ATTITUDE	61,8%	38,2%	100,0%
		% of Total	20,0%	12,4%	32,4%
	Disagree	Count	2[a]	0[a]	2
		% within ATTITUDE	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,9%	0,0%	1,9%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	1[a]	0[a]	1
		% within ATTITUDE	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	75	30	105
		% within ATTITUDE	71,4%	28,6%	100,0%
		% of Total	71,4%	28,6%	100,0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the 0,05 level.

TABLE 20 Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7,941[a]	4	,094
Likelihood Ratio	9,539	4	,049
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,478	1	,115
N of Valid Cases	105		

a. 4 cells (40,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0,29.

TABLE 21 Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,275	,094
	Cramer's V	,275	,094
N of Valid Cases		105	

Cross tabulation for variables Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current and Attitude for Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 22 **ATTITUDE * How fluent are you in Arvanitika? Crosstabulation**

			How fluent are you in Arvanitika?					
			Not at all	A liitle	Average	Good Enough	Excellent	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	2_a	$8_{a, b}$	$4_{a, b, c}$	9_c	$5_{b, c}$	28
		% within ATTITUDE	7,1%	28,6%	14,3%	32,1%	17,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,9%	7,6%	3,8%	8,6%	4,8%	26,7%
	Agree	Count	$12_{a, b}$	$12_{a, b}$	9_b	3_a	$4_{a, b}$	40
		% within ATTITUDE	30,0%	30,0%	22,5%	7,5%	10,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	11,4%	11,4%	8,6%	2,9%	3,8%	38,1%
	Undecided	Count	10_a	15_a	3_a	4_a	2_a	34
		% within ATTITUDE	29,4%	44,1%	8,8%	11,8%	5,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	9,5%	14,3%	2,9%	3,8%	1,9%	32,4%
	Disagree	Count	0_a	1_a	1_a	0_a	0_a	2
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	50,0%	50,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,0%	1,0%	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,9%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	1_a	0_a	0_a	0_a	0_a	1
		% within ATTITUDE	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	25	36	17	16	11	105
		% within ATTITUDE	23,8%	34,3%	16,2%	15,2%	10,5%	100,0%
		% of Total	23,8%	34,3%	16,2%	15,2%	10,5%	100,0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of How fluent are you in Arvanitika? categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the 0,05 level.

TABLE 23 **Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22,972[a]	16	,114
Likelihood Ratio	23,324	16	,105
Linear-by-Linear Association	10,038	1	,002

TABLE 24 **Symmetric Measures**

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,468	,114
	Cramer's V	,234	,114
N of Valid Cases		105	

N of Valid Cases	105			

a. 15 cells (60,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0,10.

Cross tabulation for variables How fluent are you in Arvanitika and Attitude for Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 25 ATTITUDE * How often do you speak Arvanitika? Crosstabulation

			How often do you speak Arvanitika?					
			Never	Sometimes	Moderately	Enough	Always	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	3a	11a, b	7b, c	3c	4b, c	28
		% within ATTITUDE	10,7%	39,3%	25,0%	10,7%	14,3%	100,0%
		% of Total	2,9%	10,5%	6,7%	2,9%	3,8%	26,7%
	Agree	Count	10a	18a	9a	1a	2a	40
		% within ATTITUDE	25,0%	45,0%	22,5%	2,5%	5,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	9,5%	17,1%	8,6%	1,0%	1,9%	38,1%
	Undecided	Count	15a	16a	2b	0a, b	1a, b	34
		% within ATTITUDE	44,1%	47,1%	5,9%	0,0%	2,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	14,3%	15,2%	1,9%	0,0%	1,0%	32,4%
	Disagree	Count	1a	0a	1a	0a	0a	2
		% within ATTITUDE	50,0%	0,0%	50,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,0%	0,0%	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,9%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	1a	0a	0a	0a	0a	1
		% within ATTITUDE	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	30	45	19	4	7	105
		% within ATTITUDE	28,6%	42,9%	18,1%	3,8%	6,7%	100,0%
		% of Total	28,6%	42,9%	18,1%	3,8%	6,7%	100,0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of How often do you speak Arvanitika? categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the 0,05 level.

TABLE 26 Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23,720a	16	,096

TABLE 27 Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,475	,096

Likelihood Ratio	25,594	16	,060
Linear-by-Linear Association	14,910	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	105		

Cramer's V	,238	,096
N of Valid Cases	105	

a. 16 cells (64,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0,04.

Cross tabulation for variables How often do you speak Arvanitika and Attitude for Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 28 ATTITUDE * How would you describe yourself as an Arvanitika speaker? Crosstabulation

			How would you describe yourself as an Arvanitika speaker?					
			Fluent speaker	Good speaker	Intermediate speaker	Lower intermediate speaker	Non-fluent speaker	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	$2_{a, b}$	10_{b}	$5_{a, b}$	$6_{a, b}$	5_{a}	28
		% within ATTITUDE	7,1%	35,7%	17,9%	21,4%	17,9%	100,0 %
		% of Total	1,9%	9,5%	4,8%	5,7%	4,8%	26,7%
	Agree	Count	$2_{a, b}$	3_{b}	9_{a}	$7_{a, b}$	$19_{a, b}$	40
		% within ATTITUDE	5,0%	7,5%	22,5%	17,5%	47,5%	100,0 %
		% of Total	1,9%	2,9%	8,6%	6,7%	18,1%	38,1%
	Undecided	Count	1_{a}	5_{a}	3_{a}	5_{a}	20_{a}	34
		% within ATTITUDE	2,9%	14,7%	8,8%	14,7%	58,8%	100,0 %
		% of Total	1,0%	4,8%	2,9%	4,8%	19,0%	32,4%
	Disagree	Count	$0_{a, b}$	$0_{a, b}$	$0_{a, b}$	2_{b}	0_{a}	2
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	100,0 %
		% of Total	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,9%	0,0%	1,9%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	0_{a}	1_{a}	1
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0 %	100,0 %
		% of Total	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	5	18	17	20	45	105
		% within ATTITUDE	4,8%	17,1%	16,2%	19,0%	42,9%	100,0 %

	% of Total	4,8%	17,1%	16,2%	19,0%	42,9%	100,0 %

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of How would you describe yourself as an Arvanitika speaker? categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the ,05 level.

TABLE 29 Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	27,277[a]	16	,039
Likelihood Ratio	26,089	16	,053
Linear-by-Linear Association	9,927	1	,002
N of Valid Cases	105		

a. 15 cells (60,0%) have expected count less than 5.
The minimum expected count is 0,05.

TABLE 30 Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,510	,039
	Cramer's V	,255	,039
N of Valid Cases		105	

Cross tabulation for variables How would you describe yourself as an Arvanitika speaker and Attitude for Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 31 ATTITUDE * Which language did you learn first? Crosstabulation

			Which language did you learn first?			
			Arvanitika	Greek	Both langueges	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	2[a]	21[a]	5[a]	28
		% within ATTITUDE	7,1%	75,0%	17,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,9%	20,0%	4,8%	26,7%
	Agree	Count	0[a]	35[a]	5[a]	40
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	87,5%	12,5%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,0%	33,3%	4,8%	38,1%
	Undecided	Count	1[a]	30[a]	3[a]	34
		% within ATTITUDE	2,9%	88,2%	8,8%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,0%	28,6%	2,9%	32,4%
	Disagree	Count	1[a]	0[b]	1[a]	2
		% within ATTITUDE	50,0%	0,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,0%	0,0%	1,0%	1,9%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0[a]	1[a]	0[a]	1
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%

	% of Total	0,0%	1,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total	Count	4	87	14	105
	% within ATTITUDE	3,8%	82,9%	13,3%	100,0%
	% of Total	3,8%	82,9%	13,3%	100,0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of Which language did you learn first? categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the 0,05 level.

TABLE 32 Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18,890[a]	8	,015
Likelihood Ratio	13,370	8	,100
Linear-by-Linear Association	,395	1	,530
N of Valid Cases	105		

a. 11 cells (73,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0,04.

TABLE 33 Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,424	,015
	Cramer's V	,300	,015
N of Valid Cases		105	

Cross tabulation for variables Which language did you learn first and Attitude for Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 34 **ATTITUDE * Sex Crosstabulation**

			Sex		
			female	male	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	21	11	32
		% within ATTITUDE	65,6%	34,4%	100,0%
		% of Total	10,8%	5,7%	16,5%
	Agree	Count	63	21	84
		% within ATTITUDE	75,0%	25,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	32,5%	10,8%	43,3%
	Undecided	Count	39	15	54
		% within ATTITUDE	72,2%	27,8%	100,0%
		% of Total	20,1%	7,7%	27,8%
	Disagree	Count	9	8	17
		% within ATTITUDE	52,9%	47,1%	100,0%
		% of Total	4,6%	4,1%	8,8%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	6	1	7
		% within ATTITUDE	85,7%	14,3%	100,0%
		% of Total	3,1%	,5%	3,6%
Total		Count	138	56	194
		% within ATTITUDE	71,1%	28,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	71,1%	28,9%	100,0%

TABLE 35 **Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,580[a]	4	,333
Likelihood Ratio	4,451	4	,348
N of Valid Cases	194		

a. 3 cells (30,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2,02.

TABLE 36 **Symmetric Measures**

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,154	,333
	Cramer's V	,154	,333
N of Valid Cases		194	

Cross tabulation for variables Sex and Attitude for Non Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 37 **ATTITUDE * Age Crosstabulation**

			Age			
			< 40 Years	40-60 Years	> 60 Years	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	22	6	4	32
		% within ATTITUDE	68,8%	18,8%	12,5%	100,0%
		% of Total	11,3%	3,1%	2,1%	16,5%
	Agree	Count	60	16	8	84
		% within ATTITUDE	71,4%	19,0%	9,5%	100,0%
		% of Total	30,9%	8,2%	4,1%	43,3%
	Undecided	Count	30	15	9	54
		% within ATTITUDE	55,6%	27,8%	16,7%	100,0%
		% of Total	15,5%	7,7%	4,6%	27,8%
	Disagree	Count	8	5	4	17
		% within ATTITUDE	47,1%	29,4%	23,5%	100,0%
		% of Total	4,1%	2,6%	2,1%	8,8%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	7	0	7
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,0%	3,6%	0,0%	3,6%
Total		Count	120	49	25	194
		% within ATTITUDE	61,9%	25,3%	12,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	61,9%	25,3%	12,9%	100,0%

TABLE 38 **Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	28,058[a]	8	,000
Likelihood Ratio	26,497	8	,001
Linear-by-Linear Association	7,497	1	,006
N of Valid Cases	194		

a. 6 cells (40,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0,90.

TABLE 39 **Symmetric Measures**

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,380	,000
	Cramer's V	,269	,000
N of Valid Cases		194	

Cross tabulation for variables Age and Attitude for Non Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 40 **ATTITUDE * Education Crosstabulation**

			Education				
			0	1	2	3	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	0	0	30	2	32
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	0,0%	93,8%	6,3%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,0%	0,0%	15,5%	1,0%	16,5%
	Agree	Count	1	7	72	4	84
		% within ATTITUDE	1,2%	8,3%	85,7%	4,8%	100,0%
		% of Total	,5%	3,6%	37,1%	2,1%	43,3%
	Undecided	Count	2	10	37	5	54
		% within ATTITUDE	3,7%	18,5%	68,5%	9,3%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,0%	5,2%	19,1%	2,6%	27,8%
	Disagree	Count	0	2	10	5	17
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	11,8%	58,8%	29,4%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,0%	1,0%	5,2%	2,6%	8,8%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	2	5	0	7
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	28,6%	71,4%	0,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,0%	1,0%	2,6%	0,0%	3,6%
Total		Count	3	21	154	16	194
		% within ATTITUDE	1,5%	10,8%	79,4%	8,2%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,5%	10,8%	79,4%	8,2%	100,0%

TABLE 41 **Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	25,799[a]	12	,011
Likelihood Ratio	25,726	12	,012
N of Valid Cases	194		

a. 12 cells (60,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0,11.

TABLE 42 **Symmetric Measures**

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,365	,011
	Cramer's V	,211	,011
N of Valid Cases		194	

Table 3: Cross tabulation for variables Education and Attitude for Non Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 43 ATTITUDE * Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current? Crosstabulation

			Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current?		
			Yes	No	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	24	8	32
		% within ATTITUDE	75,0%	25,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	12,4%	4,1%	16,5%
	Agree	Count	61	23	84
		% within ATTITUDE	72,6%	27,4%	100,0%
		% of Total	31,4%	11,9%	43,3%
	Undecided	Count	33	21	54
		% within ATTITUDE	61,1%	38,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	17,0%	10,8%	27,8%
	Disagree	Count	14	3	17
		% within ATTITUDE	82,4%	17,6%	100,0%
		% of Total	7,2%	1,5%	8,8%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	6	1	7
		% within ATTITUDE	85,7%	14,3%	100,0%
		% of Total	3,1%	,5%	3,6%
Total		Count	138	56	194
		% within ATTITUDE	71,1%	28,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	71,1%	28,9%	100,0%

TABLE 44 Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,732[a]	4	,316
Likelihood Ratio	4,804	4	,308
N of Valid Cases	194		

a. 3 cells (30,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2,02.

TABLE 45 Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,156	,316
	Cramer's V	,156	,316
N of Valid Cases		194	

Cross tabulation for variables Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current and Attitude for Non Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 46 ATTITUDE * Have you ever been in contact with an Arvanitika speaker? Crosstabulation

			Have you ever been in contact with an Arvanitika speaker?		
			Yes	No	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	20	12	32
		% within ATTITUDE	62,5%	37,5%	100,0%
		% of Total	10,3%	6,2%	16,5%
	Agree	Count	44	40	84
		% within ATTITUDE	52,4%	47,6%	100,0%
		% of Total	22,7%	20,6%	43,3%
	Undecided	Count	18	36	54
		% within ATTITUDE	33,3%	66,7%	100,0%
		% of Total	9,3%	18,6%	27,8%
	Disagree	Count	8	9	17
		% within ATTITUDE	47,1%	52,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	4,1%	4,6%	8,8%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	4	3	7
		% within ATTITUDE	57,1%	42,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	2,1%	1,5%	3,6%
Total		Count	94	100	194
		% within ATTITUDE	48,5%	51,5%	100,0%
		% of Total	48,5%	51,5%	100,0%

TABLE 47 Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8,214[a]	4	,084
Likelihood Ratio	8,345	4	,080
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,733	1	,098
N of Valid Cases	194		

a. 2 cells (20,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,39.

TABLE 48 Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,206	,084
	Cramer's V	,206	,084
N of Valid Cases		194	

Cross tabulation for variables Have you ever been in contact with an Arvanitika speaker and Attitude for Non Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 49 ATTITUDE * Have any Arvanitika speakers ever lived in your place of residence? Crosstabulation

			Have any Arvanitika speakers ever lived in your place of residence?		
			Yes	No	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	16	16	32
		% within ATTITUDE	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	8,2%	8,2%	16,5%
	Agree	Count	34	50	84
		% within ATTITUDE	40,5%	59,5%	100,0%
		% of Total	17,5%	25,8%	43,3%
	Undecided	Count	14	40	54
		% within ATTITUDE	25,9%	74,1%	100,0%
		% of Total	7,2%	20,6%	27,8%
	Disagree	Count	7	10	17
		% within ATTITUDE	41,2%	58,8%	100,0%
		% of Total	3,6%	5,2%	8,8%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	2	5	7
		% within ATTITUDE	28,6%	71,4%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,0%	2,6%	3,6%
Total		Count	73	121	194
		% within ATTITUDE	37,6%	62,4%	100,0%
		% of Total	37,6%	62,4%	100,0%

TABLE 50 Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5,864[a]	4	,210
Likelihood Ratio	5,980	4	,201
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,738	1	,098

TABLE 51 Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,174	,210
	Cramer's V	,174	,210
N of Valid Cases		194	

N of Valid Cases	194		

a. 2 cells (20,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2,63.

Cross tabulation for variables Have any Arvanitika speakers ever lived in your place of residence and Attitude for Non Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 52 ATTITUDE * What is your relation with Arvanitika speakers? (more than one answer valid) Crosstabulation

			What is your relation with Arvanitika speakers? (more than one answer valid)				
			Relative	Friendly	Neighboring	Nothing to do with	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	6	11	5	10	32
		% within ATTITUDE	18,8%	34,4%	15,6%	31,3%	100,0%
		% of Total	3,1%	5,7%	2,6%	5,2%	16,5%
	Agree	Count	19	16	6	43	84
		% within ATTITUDE	22,6%	19,0%	7,1%	51,2%	100,0%
		% of Total	9,8%	8,2%	3,1%	22,2%	43,3%
	Undecided	Count	7	7	4	36	54
		% within ATTITUDE	13,0%	13,0%	7,4%	66,7%	100,0%
		% of Total	3,6%	3,6%	2,1%	18,6%	27,8%
	Disagree	Count	1	3	1	12	17
		% within ATTITUDE	5,9%	17,6%	5,9%	70,6%	100,0%
		% of Total	,5%	1,5%	,5%	6,2%	8,8%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	1	0	0	6	7
		% within ATTITUDE	14,3%	0,0%	0,0%	85,7%	100,0%
		% of Total	,5%	0,0%	0,0%	3,1%	3,6%
Total		Count	34	37	16	107	194
		% within ATTITUDE	17,5%	19,1%	8,2%	55,2%	100,0%
		% of Total	17,5%	19,1%	8,2%	55,2%	100,0%

TABLE 53 Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19,355[a]	12	,080
Likelihood Ratio	20,950	12	,051

TABLE 54 Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,316	,080
	Cramer's V	,182	,080

Linear-by-Linear Association	10,467	1	,001
N of Valid Cases	194		

a. 9 cells (45,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0,58.

N of Valid Cases	194	

Cross tabulation for variables What is your relation with Arvanitika speakers and Attitude for Non Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 55 ATTITUDE * Have you even heard Arvanitika being spoken? Crosstabulation

			Have you even heard Arvanitika being spoken?		
			Yes	No	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	20	12	32
		% within ATTITUDE	62,5%	37,5%	100,0%
		% of Total	10,3%	6,2%	16,5%
	Agree	Count	42	42	84
		% within ATTITUDE	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	21,6%	21,6%	43,3%
	Undecided	Count	28	26	54
		% within ATTITUDE	51,9%	48,1%	100,0%
		% of Total	14,4%	13,4%	27,8%
	Disagree	Count	9	8	17
		% within ATTITUDE	52,9%	47,1%	100,0%
		% of Total	4,6%	4,1%	8,8%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	4	3	7
		% within ATTITUDE	57,1%	42,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	2,1%	1,5%	3,6%
Total		Count	103	91	194
		% within ATTITUDE	53,1%	46,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	53,1%	46,9%	100,0%

TABLE 56 Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)

TABLE 57 Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.

Pearson Chi-Square	1,539[a]	4	,820
Likelihood Ratio	1,555	4	,817
N of Valid Cases	194		

a. 2 cells (20,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,28.

Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,089	,820
	Cramer's V	,089	,820
N of Valid Cases		194	

Cross tabulation for variables Have you even heard Arvanitika being spoken and Attitude for Non Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

TABLE 58 ATTITUDE * Have you ever tried speaking or learning Arvanitika because of your relation to Arvanitika speakers? Crosstabulation

			Have you ever tried speaking or learning Arvanitika because of your relation to Arvanitika speakers?		
			Yes	No	Total
ATTITUDE	Strongly Agree	Count	7	25	32
		% within ATTITUDE	21,9%	78,1%	100,0%
		% of Total	3,6%	12,9%	16,5%
	Agree	Count	10	74	84
		% within ATTITUDE	11,9%	88,1%	100,0%
		% of Total	5,2%	38,1%	43,3%
	Undecided	Count	4	50	54
		% within ATTITUDE	7,4%	92,6%	100,0%
		% of Total	2,1%	25,8%	27,8%
	Disagree	Count	0	17	17
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,0%	8,8%	8,8%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	7	7
		% within ATTITUDE	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,0%	3,6%	3,6%
Total		Count	21	173	194
		% within ATTITUDE	10,8%	89,2%	100,0%
		% of Total	10,8%	89,2%	100,0%

TABLE 59 Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)

TABLE 60 Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.

Pearson Chi-Square	7,716[a]	4	,103
Likelihood Ratio	9,558	4	,049
Linear-by-Linear Association	7,102	1	,008
N of Valid Cases	194		

a. 3 cells (30,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0,76.

Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,199	,103
	Cramer's V	,199	,103
N of Valid Cases		194	

Cross tabulation for variables Have you ever tried speaking or learning Arvanitika because of your relation to Arvanitika speakers and Attitude for Non Arvanitika-Speaking Population.

2. Questionnaires

Non-Arvanitika speakers' questionnaire (Greek & English)

Έρευνα για τα Αρβανίτικα

Το παρόν ερωτηματολόγιο αποτελεί μέρος διδακτορικής διατριβής στον τομέα της κοινωνιογλωσσολογίας. Στόχος του ερωτηματολογίου είναι να βοηθήσει στην κατανόηση της αντίληψης των συμμετεχόντων για τα αρβανίτικα. Δεν υπάρχουν σωστές και λανθασμένες απαντήσεις σε καμία από τις ερωτήσεις. Οι απαντήσεις είναι εμπιστευτικές και διασφαλίζεται η ανωνυμία των συμμετεχόντων. Οι απαντήσεις θα χρησιμοποιηθούν μόνο για την παρούσα έρευνα και για κανέναν άλλο σκοπό.

Ημερομηνία: …… /……/……
Τόπος: …….

I. ΔΗΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ

Φύλο: ☐ Άρρεν ☐ Θήλυ

Ηλικία : ……..

Εκπαίδευση: ☐ Πρωτοβάθμια (δημοτικό)
☐ Δευτεροβάθμια (Γυμνάσιο & Λύκειο)
☐ Τριτοβάθμια (Πανεπιστήμιο)
☐ Άλλο……

Τόπος καταγωγής: .....

Τόπος διαμονής: .....

Έχετε ζήσει ποτέ σε κάποιο άλλο μέρος εκτός από αυτό όπου ζείτε τώρα**;**

☐ ΝΑΙ ☐ ΟΧΙ

Ποια είναι η μητρική σας γλώσσα; (Αν είστε δίγλωσσοι/πολύγλωσσοι, μπορείτε να δώσετε περισσότερες από μία απαντήσεις)*

☐ελληνικά

☐βλάχικα

☐ποντιακά

☐σλαβικό ιδίωμα της Βορείου Ελλάδος

☐τσακώνικα

Άλλο:
Μιλάτε κι άλλες γλώσσες εκτός από τη μητρική σας;
☐ ΝΑΙ ☐ ΟΧΙ

Ποιες άλλες γλώσσες μιλάτε εκτός από τη μητρική σας;
……...

Έχετε έρθει ποτέ σε επαφή με κάποιον που μιλάει αρβανίτικα/Αρβανίτη/-ισσα;
☐ ΝΑΙ ☐ ΟΧΙ

Στο μέρος όπου μένετε/μένατε κατοικούν/κατοικούσαν ομιλητές/-τριες αρβανίτικων;
……..

Τι σχέση έχετε με Αρβανίτες/-ισσες; (Μπορείτε να δώσετε περισσότερες από μία απαντήσεις)*
☐συγγενική
☐φιλική
☐γειτονική
☐καμία
Άλλο:

Πόσοι νομίζετε ότι είναι οι ομιλητές/-τριες των αρβανίτικων στην περιοχή σας (νομός,πόλη, χωριό) σήμερα**;**
…….....

Πόσοι περίπου νομίζετε ότι είναι οι ομιλητές/-τριες των αρβανίτικων σε όλη την Ελλάδα σήμερα**;**
……

Σε ποιες περιοχές νομίζετε ότι μιλάνε τα αρβανίτικα**;**
…….

Έχετε ακούσει να μιλάνε αρβανίτικα;
…….

Στο πλαίσιο της σχέσης σας με Αρβανίτες/-ισσες, έχετε προσπαθήσει να μιλήσετε ή να μάθετε αρβανίτικα;*
☐ ΝΑΙ ☐ ΟΧΙ

Πόσο συμφωνείτε με τις παρακάτω δηλώσεις; **Κυκλώστε τον αριθμό** ανάλογα με το πόσο συμφωνείτε ή διαφωνείτε.

1) Μου αρέσει να ακούω να μιλάνε τα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

2) Δε θα ήθελα τα παιδιά μου να μιλάνε τα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

3) Θα ήθελα να ακούω αρβανίτικα στην τηλεόραση/ραδιόφωνο.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

4) Τα αρβανίτικα δεν έχουν θέση στη σύγχρονη κοινωνία.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

5) Η μετανάστευση των Αλβανών στην Ελλάδα βοήθησε στο να μιλάνε περισσότερο τα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

Γιατί πιστεύετε ότι τα αρβανίτικα είναι γλώσσα υπό εξαφάνιση;
…….

Πιστεύετε ότι η αλβανική μετανάστευση στην Ελλάδα επηρέασε την πορεία της γλώσσας προς την εξαφάνιση; Και αν ναι, με ποιον τρόπο;
…….

6) Δε θα ήθελα τα αρβανίτικα να διδάσκονται στο σχολείο.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

7) Τα αρβανίτικα είναι υποβαθμισμένη γλώσσα επειδή δεν έχουν γραφή.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

8) Θα ήθελα να συμμετέχω σε μία οργανωμένη προσπάθεια για τη διατήρηση των αρβανίτικων.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

9) Τα αρβανίτικα ήταν χρήσιμα για τη συνεννόηση με τους Αλβανούς/-ίδες.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

10) Δεν θα ήθελα να εξαφανιστούν τα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

11) Το κράτος πρέπει να στηρίξει τη διατήρηση των αρβανίτικων.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

12) Είναι σημαντικό να συνεχίσουν να μιλιούνται τα αρβανίτικα σήμερα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

13) Τα αρβανίτικα δε χρειάζεται να διατηρηθούν.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

14) Το να ξέρει κάποιος να μιλάει και αρβανίτικα μαζί με άλλες γλώσσες αυξάνει το επίπεδο καλλιέργειάς του.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

15) Οι αρβανίτες πρέπει να στηρίξουν τη διατήρηση των αρβανίτικων.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

Τι γνώμη έχετε για τα αρβανίτικα;

……
……
……
……
…….

Γράψτε πώς θα χαρακτηρίζατε κάποιον που μιλάει τα αρβανίτικα.

……
……

Study on the Arvanitika language

The present questionnaire is part of a PhD dissertation in the field of sociolinguistics. Its aim is to contribute to our understanding of participants' perceptions on Arvanitika. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions included in the questionnaire. Answers are confidential and anonymity of participants is secured. Answers will be only used for the purposes of the present study and not for any other purposes.

Date: …… /……/……
Place: …….

I. Demographics

Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

Age: ……..

Education: ☐ Primary (elementary)
☐ Secondary (junior high school & high school)
☐ Tertiary (University)
☐ Other……

Place of origin: .....

Place of residence: .....

Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current?

☐ YES ☐ NO

What is your mother tongue/L1? (If you are bi- or multilingual, you can choose more that one options) *
☐Greek
☐Vlach/Vlachika
☐Pontic
☐Macedonian
☐Tsakonian

Other:
Do you speak languages other than your mother tongue?
☐ YES ☐ NO

What other languages do you speak;
……...

Have you ever been in contact with Arvanitika speakers?
☐ YES ☐ NO

Have any Arvanitika speakers ever lived in your place of residence?
……..

What is your relation with Arvanitika speakers? (more than one answers valid)
☐relatives
☐friends
☐neighbors
☐none
Other:

How many Arvanitika speakers do you think that reside in your region today (prefecture, city, village)?
…….....

How many Arvanitika speakers are there in Greece today?
……

In which regions do you think Arvanitika is spoken?
…….

Have you ever heard Arvanitika being spoken?
……

Have you ever tried speaking or learning Arvanitika because of your relation to Arvanitika speakers?

☐ YES ☐ NO

How much do you agree with the following statements? Please, circle the number depending on the degree of your agreement or disagreement.

16) I like listening to Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

17) I wouldn't want my children to speak Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

18) I would like to listen to Arvanitika on TV/the radio.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

19) Arvanitika does not belong in modern society.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

20) The Albanian migration helped Arvanitika being heard/spoken more.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

Why do you think Arvanitika is under extinction?
…….

Did the Albanian migration affect the trajectory of Arvanitika towards its extinction? If so, in what way?
…….

21) I would not want for Arvanitika to be taught at school.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

22) Arvanitika is an undervalued language due to its lack of written status.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

23) I would like to participate in an organised effort for the preservation of Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

24) Arvanitika was useful for the communication with Albanians.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

25) I would not want for Arvanitika to die out.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

26) The State has to support the preservation of Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

27) It is important for Arvanitika to continue being spoken today.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

28) Arvanitika does not need to be preserved.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

29) Being able to speak Arvanitika along with other languages raises their level of cultural development.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

30) Arvanitika speakers should support the preservation of Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

What is your opinion about Arvanitika?

……
……
……
……
…….

Please write down how you would describe a speaker of Arvanitika.

……
……
……
……
……

Arvanitika speakers' questionnaire (Greek & English)

Έρευνα για τα Αρβανίτικα

Το παρόν ερωτηματολόγιο αποτελεί μέρος διδακτορικής διατριβής στον τομέα της κοινωνιογλωσσολογίας. Στόχος του ερωτηματολογίου είναι να βοηθήσει στην κατανόηση της αντίληψης των συμμετεχόντων για τα αρβανίτικα. Δεν υπάρχουν σωστές και λανθασμένες απαντήσεις σε καμία από τις ερωτήσεις. Οι απαντήσεις είναι εμπιστευτικές και διασφαλίζεται η ανωνυμία των συμμετεχόντων. Οι απαντήσεις θα χρησιμοποιηθούν μόνο για την παρούσα έρευνα και για κανέναν άλλο σκοπό.

Ημερομηνία: …… /……/……
Τόπος: …….

Ι. ΔΗΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ

Φύλο: ☐ Άρρεν ☐ Θήλυ

Ηλικία : ……..

Εκπαίδευση: ☐ Πρωτοβάθμια (δημοτικό)
☐ Δευτεροβάθμια (Γυμνάσιο & Λύκειο)
☐ Τριτοβάθμια (Πανεπιστήμιο)
☐ Άλλο……

Τόπος καταγωγής: .....

Τόπος διαμονής: .....

Έχετε μείνει ποτέ σε κάποιο άλλο μέρος εκτός από αυτό όπου μένετε τώρα**;**

☐ ΝΑΙ ☐ ΟΧΙ

Πόσοι νομίζετε ότι είναι οι ομιλητές των αρβανίτικων στην περιοχή σας (νομός) σήμερα**;**
…….....

Πόσοι περίπου νομίζετε ότι είναι οι ομιλητές των αρβανίτικων σε όλη την Ελλάδα σήμερα**;**

……

Σε ποιες περιοχές νομίζετε ότι μιλάνε τα αρβανίτικα**;**

…….

- Σε κλίμακα 1-5, όπου 1=καθόλου και 5=άριστα, βάλτε Χ στον αριθμό που πλησιάζει περισσότερο ένα από τα δύο

Πόσο καλά μιλάτε τα Αρβανίτικα;

Καθόλου 1.☐ 2. ☐ 3.☐ 4. ☐ 5. ☐ Άριστα

Τι χρήση των αρβανίτικων κάνετε; (π.χ. βρισιές, χιούμορ, μεμονωμένες λέξεις ή φράσεις κλπ)

…….

Πόσο συχνά μιλάτε τα αρβανίτικα;

Ποτέ 1.☐ 2. ☐ 3.☐ 4. ☐ 5. ☐ Πάντα

Πώς θα χαρακτηρίζατε τον εαυτό σας ως ομιλητή των αρβανίτικων;

☐Τέλειος ομιλητής

☐Καλός ομιλητής

☐Μέτριος ομιλητής

☐Όχι πολύ καλός ομιλητής

☐Καθόλου καλός ομιλητής

Άλλο:

Μιλάω/μιλούσα τα αρβανίτικα: (Μπορείτε να κυκλώσετε περισσότερες από μία επιλογές)

☐ Με γονείς
☐ Με σύζυγο
☐ Με τα παιδιά μου
☐ Στη δουλειά
☐ Με τους παππούδες μου
☐ Στην εκκλησία
☐ Στις παρέες μου
☐ Σε γιορτές
☐ Στο καφενείο

☐ Στο σχολείο

Ποια γλώσσα μάθατε πρώτα να μιλάτε;

☐ Αρβανίτικα
☐ Ελληνικά
☐ Και τα δύο
Άλλη……..

Από ποιόν μάθατε τα Αρβανίτικα;

☐ τους γονείς μου
☐ τους παππούδες μου
☐ άλλους συγγενείς
☐ τις παρέες μου
☐ τη γειτονιά
☐ το σχολείο

Άλλο:

Πόσο συμφωνείτε με τις παρακάτω δηλώσεις; **Κυκλώστε τον αριθμό** ανάλογα με το πόσο συμφωνείτε ή διαφωνείτε.

1) Θα ήθελα να ακούω αρβανίτικα στην τηλεόραση/ραδιόφωνο.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

2) Δε θα ήθελα τα παιδιά μου να μιλάνε τα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

3) Όταν μιλάω με κάποιον στα αρβανίτικα νιώθω μεγαλύτερη οικειότητα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

4) Έχω νιώσει αμήχανα μιλώντας τα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

5) Είναι σημαντικό για μένα το ότι ξέρω να μιλάω τα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

6) Τα αρβανίτικα δεν έχουν θέση στη σύγχρονη κοινωνία.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

7) Δε θα ήθελα τα αρβανίτικα να διδάσκονται στο σχολείο.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

8) Οι αρβανίτες πρέπει να στηρίξουν τη διατήρηση των αρβανίτικων.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

9) Αν ακούσω ένα ανέκδοτο στα αρβανίτικα θα μου φανεί πιο αστείο.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

10) Στο σχολείο δεν ένιωθα άνετα να μιλάω τα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

11) Προσπαθώ να μιλάω αρβανίτικα όσο περισσότερο μπορώ.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

12) Τα αρβανίτικα είναι υποβαθμισμένη γλώσσα επειδή δεν έχουν γραφή.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

13) Η μετανάστευση των Αλβανών στην Ελλάδα βοήθησε στο να μιλάμε περισσότερο τα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

14) Τα αρβανίτικα μου φάνηκαν χρήσιμα στη συνεννόηση με τους Αλβανούς.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

15) Μετά τη μετανάστευση των Αλβανών δεν ήθελα να μιλάω τα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

16) Όταν βρεθώ με έναν Αλβανό θα μιλήσω Ελληνικά.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

Η αλβανική μετανάστευση στην Ελλάδα επηρέασε την πορεία της γλώσσας προς την εξαφάνιση; Αν ναι, με ποιον τρόπο;
……..

Γιατί πιστεύετε ότι τα αρβανίτικα είναι γλώσσα υπό εξαφάνιση;
……...

17) Θα ήθελα να συμμετέχω σε μία οργανωμένη προσπάθεια για τη διατήρηση των αρβανίτικων.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

18) Τα αρβανίτικα δε χρειάζεται να διατηρηθούν.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

19) Τα αρβανίτικα μου ξυπνούν ευχάριστες αναμνήσεις από την παιδική μου ηλικία.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

20) Υπήρχαν φορές που ένιωσα αποξενωμένος/-η μιλώντας αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

21) Αισθάνομαι περήφανος/-η όταν μιλάω τα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

22) Το ότι μιλάω αρβανίτικα είναι ένα επιπλέον προσόν για να βρω μία καλή δουλειά.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

23) Το κράτος πρέπει να στηρίξει τη διατήρηση των αρβανίτικων.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

24) Δεν θα ήθελα να εξαφανιστούν τα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

25) Όταν βρίσκομαι με τους οικείους μου με ευχαριστεί να μιλάω στα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

26) Έχω αντιμετωπίσει πρόβλημα επειδή μιλούσα αρβανίτικα.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

27) Αν κάποιος/-α με τον οποίο/την οποία κουβεντιάζω ξέρει και αρβανίτικα και ελληνικά, προτιμώ να του/της μιλήσω ελληνικά.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

28) Το να ξέρει κάποιος/-α να μιλάει και αρβανίτικα μαζί με άλλες γλώσσες αυξάνει το επίπεδο μόρφωσης του/της.

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα 1 2 3 4 5 Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

Τι σημαίνουν για εσάς τα αρβανίτικα; (Μπορείτε να κυκλώσετε περισσότερες από μία επιλογές)

☐ Μητρική γλώσσα
☐ Μυστικός κώδικας επικοινωνίας
☐ Γλώσσα προστασίας
☐ Παράδοση/έθιμα
☐ Οικογενειακές στιγμές
☐ Αναμνήσεις
☐ Θρησκεία
☐ Καταγωγή
Άλλο:

Παρακάτω γράψτε πώς θα χαρακτηρίζατε κάποιον που μιλάει τα αρβανίτικα.

……
……
……
……

Study on the Arvanitika language

The present questionnaire is part of a PhD dissertation in the field of sociolinguistics. Its aim is to contribute to our understanding of participants' perceptions on Arvanitika. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions included in the questionnaire. Answers are confidential and anonymity of participants is secured. Answers will be only used for the purposes of the present study and not for any other purposes.

Date: …… /……/……
Place: …….

I. Demographics

Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

Age: ……..

Education: ☐ Primary (elementary)
☐ Secondary (junior high school & high school)
☐ Tertiary (university)
☐ Other……

Place of origin: .....

Place of residence: .....

Have you ever lived in a different place other than the current?

☐ YES ☐ NO

How many Arvanitika speakers do you think that reside in your region today (prefecture)?
…….....

How many Arvanitika speakers are there in Greece today?
……

In which regions do you think Arvanitika is spoken?
…….

- In the following scale 1-5, where 1= not at all and 5= excellent, write X within the box that best represents your fluency.

How fluent are you in Arvanitika?

Not at all 1.☐ 2. ☐ 3.☐ 4. ☐ 5. ☐ Excellent

What do you use Arvanitika for? (π.χ. curses, humor, isolated words or phrases etc.)
…….

How often do you speak Arvanitika

Never 1.☐ 2. ☐ 3.☐ 4. ☐ 5. ☐ Always

How would you describe yourself as an Arvanitika speaker?
☐Fluent speaker
☐Good speaker
☐Intermediate speaker
☐Lower intermediate speaker
☐Non-fluent speaker
Other:

I speak/spoke Arvanitika with/at: (More than one answers valid)

☐ with parents
☐ with my spouse
☐ with my children
☐ at work
☐ with my grandparents
☐ at church
☐ with friends
☐ at festivals
☐ at the coffee-shop
☐ at school

Which language did you learn first?

☐ Arvanitika
☐ Greek
☐ Both
Other……..

Who did you learn Arvanitika from?

☐ my parents
☐ my grandparents
☐ other relatives
☐ my friends
☐ neighborhood
☐ school

Other:…….

How much do you agree with the following statements? Please, circle the number depending on the degree of your agreement or disagreement.

1. I would like to listen to Arvanitika on TV/the radio.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

2. I wouldn't want my children to speak Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

3. When I speak in Arvanitika with someone, I feel more familiarity.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

4. I have felt uncomfortable speaking Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

5. It is important to me that I can speak Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

6. Arvanitika does not belong in modern society.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

7. I would not want for Arvanitika to be taught at school.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

8. Arvanitika speakers should support the preservation of Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

9. If I listen to a joke in Arvanitika, I find it funnier than in Greek

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

10. At school I did not feel comfortable speaking Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

11. I try to speak Arvanitika as much as I can.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

12. Arvanitika is an undervalued language due to its lack of written status.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

13. Albanian migration to Greece helped us speak Arvanitika more often.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

14. Arvanitika was more useful in conversing with Albanians.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

15. After the Albanian migration, I did not wish to speak Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

16. When I meet up with an Albanian, I will speak in Greek.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

Did the Albanian migration affect the trajectory of Arvanitika towards its extinction? If so, in what way?
……..

Why do you think Arvanitika is under extinction?
……...

17. I would like to participate in an organised effort for the preservation of Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

18. Arvanitika does not need to be preserved.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

19. Arvanitika reminds me of pleasant childhood memories.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

20. There were times when I felt secluded while speaking Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

21. I feel proud speaking Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

22. Speaking Arvanitika is an extra asset in the search of a good job.

I strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

23. The State has to support the preservation of Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

24. I would not want for Arvanitika to die out.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

25. When I meet up my close ones, I enjoy speaking Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

26. I have got into trouble speaking Arvanitika.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

27. If somebody I talk to speaks both Arvanitika and Greek, I opt for Greek.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

28. Being able to speak Arvanitika along with other languages raises their level of cultural development.

I strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 I strongly disagree

What does Arvanitika mean to you? (More than one answers valid)

☐ Mother tongue
☐ Secret communication code
☐ Language of protection
☐ Tradition/Customs
☐ Family moments
☐ Memories
☐ Religion
☐ Origin
Other:

Please write down how you would describe a speaker of Arvanitika.

……
……
……
……

Questions asked during interviews and focus groups (Greek & English)

Ερωτήσεις Συνέντευξης

1. Θα θέλατε να μου πείτε λίγα πράγματα για τη ζωή σας, τι έχετε κάνει, πού μεγαλώσατε, πού έχετε ζήσει κλπ; (σύντομο βιογραφικό, όνομα, φύλο, επάγγελμα, σπουδές, έχετε ζήσει αλλού κλπ)

2. Είστε φυσικός ομιλητής των αρβανίτικων/Είναι η μητρική σας γλώσσα;

3. Από πού κατάγονται οι γονείς σας, οι παππούδες σας;

4. Α) Πού μιλάνε αρβανίτικα στην Ελλάδα? (Εάν μπορούσατε να ζωγραφίσετε τα σύνορα των περιοχών που μιλάνε τα αρβανίτικα/να φτιάχνατε έναν χάρτη με αυτές, ποιες περιοχές θα συμπεριλαμβάνατε);

   Β) Το ξέρετε από πρώτο χέρι, έχετε μιλήσει τη γλώσσα με ανθρώπους από αυτές τις περιοχές που αναφέρατε ή έχετε ακούσει απλώς ότι τη μιλούν εκεί;

5. Α) Πόσο καλά πιστεύετε ότι μιλάτε αρβανίτικα;

   Β) Πως καταλαβαίνετε ότι κάποιος τα μιλάει άριστα;

6. Σας αρέσει να μιλάτε/ακούτε τη γλώσσα;

7. Α)Σε ποια γλώσσα εκφράζεστε πιο εύκολα;

   Β) Σε ποιες περιστάσεις χρησιμοποιείτε τα αρβανίτικα; (εκκλησία, σπίτι, παρέες, γιορτές, καφενείο, δημαρχείο, ταβέρνα, σχολείο, δουλειά)

8. Α)Το να μιλάει κανείς αρβανίτικα είναι χρήσιμο κατά τη γνώμη σας;
   Β)Είναι καλό να μιλάει κανείς τη γλώσσα;

9. Θα θέλατε τα παιδιά σας να μιλάνε τα αρβανίτικα? Και αν ναι γιατί/ αν όχι γιατί;/ Στα παιδιά σας μιλούσατε αρβανίτικα;

10. Έχετε αντιμετωπίσει ποτέ πρόβλημα επειδή μιλούσατε αρβανίτικα; Έχει τύχει κάποιος που δεν τα μιλάει να ενοχληθεί;

11. Τι ρόλο έπαιξε το κράτος στην διατήρηση της γλώσσας;

12. Πώς είναι οι Αρβανίτες σαν άνθρωποι; Έχουν κάποια χαρακτηριστικά ιδιαίτερα; (πχ. Λέμε «αρβανίτικο κεφάλι»).

13. Ποια είναι και ήταν η κατάσταση στο σχολείο σε σχέση με τα αρβανίτικα;

14. Για να πούμε ότι κάποιος είναι Αρβανίτης πρέπει να μιλάει οπωσδήποτε τα αρβανίτικα;

15. Α. Τη δεκαετία του 90’ που ήρθαν το Αλβανοί έτυχε να μιλήσετε με Αλβανούς; Μπορούσατε να συνεννοηθείτε;

    Β.Επηρέασε η Αλβανική μετανάστευση στην Ελλάδα την φθίνουσα πορεία της αρβανίτικης γλώσσας; Αν ναι, με ποιον τρόπο;

16. Πότε μιλούσατε πιο πολύ τη γλώσσα; / Πότε ακουγόταν η γλώσσα πιο πολύ; Γιατί τότε;

17. Θέλετε να μας πείτε μια μικρή ιστορία/τραγούδι/πρόταση/λέξη στα αρβανίτικα; Κάτι από τη ζωή σας ή οτιδήποτε άλλο.

18. Α)Έχει τύχει περιστατικό που να σας βοήθησε το ότι ξέρατε τα αρβανίτικα;

    Β)Έχετε αντιμετωπίσει ποτέ κάποιο πρόβλημα επειδή μιλούσατε τη γλώσσα, εσείς προσωπικά ή κάποιος άνθρωπος του κοντινού σας περιβάλλοντος; (Υπάρχει κάποια δυσάρεστη εμπειρία που θα θέλατε να μοιραστείτε σε σχέση με τα αρβανίτικα?)

19. Τι είναι τα αρβανίτικα για εσάς; (οικογένεια, παράδοση κλπ)

20. Α)Τα αρβανίτικα είναι μία γλώσσα που δεν έχει γραφτεί. Έχει τύχει να γράψετε ποτέ στα αρβανίτικα; Αν ναι ποιο αλφάβητο χρησιμοποιείτε;

    Β) Πώς επηρεάζει κατά τη γνώμη σας την τύχη της γλώσσας αυτό (το ότι δεν έχει γραφτεί);

21. Κατά τη γνώμη σας, θα έπρεπε να υπάρχει μία πρωτοβουλία/ υποστήριξη των αρβανίτικων τόσο από το κράτος όσο και από τους ίδιους τους ομιλητές ή ακόμη και πολιτισμικές οργανώσεις/συλλόγους, ώστε να μην εξαφανιστεί? Θα θέλατε να συμμετάσχετε σε μια τέτοια προσπάθεια;

22. Εσείς τα αρβανίτικα τα μιλάτε συχνά; (Σε σχέση με το παρελθόν)

23. Α) Τα αρβανίτικα είναι μία γλώσσα υπό εξαφάνιση; Πώς νιώθετε γι’ αυτό;

    Β) Γιατί πιστεύετε ότι τα αρβανίτικα είναι υπό εξαφάνιση;

24. Α)Έχετε μιλήσει ποτέ τη γλώσσα με μέλη της οικογένειας σας για να πείτε κάτι που δε θέλατε να καταλάβουν οι υπόλοιποι γύρω σας;

    Β) Υπήρχαν καφενεία ή άλλοι χώροι μάζωξης όπου να μαζεύονται κυρίως όσοι μιλούσαν αρβανίτικα? Σε περίπτωση που κάποιος στο καφενείο δε μιλούσε αρβανίτικα;Παλιότερα, σε μέρη όπου μαζεύονταν αρβανίτες και άλλοι που δε μιλούσαν τη γλώσσα, σε ποια γλώσσα θα μιλούσατε?σε μέρη που ήταν κυρίως αρβανίτες.
25. Α)Κλείνοντας τη συζήτηση, θα θέλατε να μοιραστείτε μία ευχάριστη εμπειρία σας σχετικά με τα αρβανίτικα;

    Β)Υπάρχει κάτι άλλο που θα θέλατε να μοιραστείτε/να προσθέσετε;

Interview Questions

1. Would you like to tell me a few things about your life, what you do/did for a living, where you grew up, where you have lived etc.? (brief biography, name, gender, occupation, studies, have you lived elsewhere? etc.)

2. Are you a native speaker of Arvanitika/Is it your mother tongue?

3. Where do your parents and grandparents come from?

4. A) Where do they speak Arvanitika in Greece? (If you could draw the borders of the Arvanitika speaking areas/make a map of them, which areas would you include)?
B) Do you know it first hand, have you spoken the language with people from those areas you mentioned or have you just heard that they speak it there?

5. A) How well do you think you speak Arvanitika?
B) How do you understand that someone speaks fluently?

6. Do you like speaking/listening to the language?

7. A) In which language do you express yourself better?)

B) In what instances do you use Arvanitika? (at the church, at home, with friends, in festivals, at the coffee shops, in the town hall, in the taverns, at school, at work)

8. A) Is speaking Arvanitika useful in your opinion?

B) Is it good to speak the language?

9. Would you like your children to speak Arvanitika? And if so why/ if not why?/ Did you speak it to your children?

10. Have you ever been in trouble speaking Arvanitika? / Has anyone who doesn't speak them ever been bothered?

11. What role did the State play in preserving the language?

12. How are Arvanites as people? Do they have any particular characteristics? (e.g., We say ‘stubborn as a mule’ referring to Arvanitika people)

13. What is and was the situation at school in relation to Arvanitika?

14. In order to say that one is an Arvanite, they must speak Arvanitika?

15. A. In the ’90s when Albanians came, did you happen to speak with them in Arvanitika? Could you get along?
B. Did the Albanian migration affect the trajectory of Arvanitika towards its extinction? If so, in what way?

16. When did you speak the language the most? / When was the language heard the most? Why then?

17. Do you want to tell us a short story/song/sentence/word in Arvanitika or anything regarding your life?

18. A) Has there been an incident when speaking Arvanitika was helpful to you?

B) Have you ever faced any troubles speaking the language, you personally or someone close to you? (Is there an unpleasant experience you'd like to share regarding Arvanitika?)

19. What does Arvanitika mean to you? (family, tradition etc)

20. A) Arvanitika is an unwritten language. Have you ever written in Arvanitika? If so, which alphabet did you use?

B) In your opinion, how does this (not being written) affect the fate of the language?

21. In your opinion, should there be an initiative/support to preserve Arvanitika on the part of the state and the speakers themselves or even cultural organisations/associations, so that it does not go extinct? Would you like to participate in such initiative?

22. Do you speak Arvanitika often? (In relation to the past)

23. A) Arvanitika is today an endangered language. How do you feel about that?

B) Why do you think Arvanitika is endangered today?

24. A) Have you ever spoken the language with your family members to say something that you didn't want the others around you to understand?

B) Were there coffee shops or other gathering places where mainly those who spoke Arvanitika gathered? In the past, in places where Arvanites gathered, in which language would you speak? In places where there were mainly Arvanites.

25. A) Before we end the interview, would you like to share any pleasant experience of yours regarding Arvanitika?

B) Is there anything else you would like to share/add?

Appendix B

5.12. Arvanitika Language Use

5.12.1. Pragmatic Use

P3: Ε, εμένα δε με ενδιαφέρει (να εξαφανιστεί). Εμένα δε με ενδιαφέρει. Τι μου χρειάζεται η αρβανίτικη?

P3: Και τι μας χρησιμεύει, τι να την κάνουμε? Τι να την κάνουμε? Η γλώσσα είναι η ελληνική, τα ελληνικά, αυτή είναι η γλώσσα μας. Την αρβανίτικια τι να την κάνουμε? Ε, με Αλβανούς ναι, ναι. Καλό είναι, που μιλάμε με τους Αλβανούς. Καλό είναι. Αλλά εδώ με τους ντόπιους γιατί να μιλάμε αρβανίτικα?

P3: Σας είπα η εγγόνα μου που ξέρει τα αρβανίτικα είναι η κόρη της κόρης μου εδώ. Ναι. Και είναι γυναικολόγος. Τα άλλα 5 δεν ξέρουν αρβανίτικα. ... Τώρα της εγγόνας μου της έχουνε βγει χρήσιμα γιατί της παγαίνουνε γυναίκες Αλβανέζες.

P8: Σήμερα δεν μπορούμε να πούμε ότι υπάρχει κάποιος ζωτικός χώρος, πληθυσμιακός, ώστε να μπορείς να αναπτύξεις αυτή τη γλώσσα. Δηλαδή δεν είναι κάτι σλαβικό, να πεις να το αναπτύξεις, να μάθεις, να έχω μια αγορά, να το δεις σαν κίνητρο για μετανάστευση ίσως στη Ρωσία, όπου όσοι δεν ξέρουνε στη Μόσχα πχ τεχνικών κατασκευών.

P8: οι Έλληνες, και κυρίως οι Σουλιώτες, δεν θέλανε επουδενί να μιλάνε αρβανίτικα. Επειδή είχαν εμπλακεί στον πόλεμο με τον Αλή Πασά, τον θεωρούσαν προστάτη των Αλβανών και εξαιτίας αυτού δεν θέλανε. Και το γνωρίζω πολύ καλά, ειδικά το χωριό μας, ειδικά την επάνω γειτονιά, την επονομαζόμενη και…γειτονιά, οι οποίοι τεχνικά μάθανε τα Αρβανίτικα για να περνάνε καλύτερα με τους Οθωμανούς. Για πρακτικούς λόγους… Αυτό το κάνανε και πολλοί Έλληνες στη Μικρά Ασία, κυρίως γύρω στο 1860 1880, οι οποίοι μιλήσανε Αρμένικα γιατί τότε οι Αρμένιοι περνούσανε καλύτερα με τους Τούρκους ή Τούρκικα…Με τους Καραμανλήδες οι οποίοι σώσανε τη θρησκεία, μιλήσανε Τούρκικα και περνούσαν καλύτερα.

P2: Όταν είχαν έρθει οι πρόσφυγες εδώ, μας έλεγε μια γυναίκα, της είχανε σκοτώσει το ένα παιδί…ήταν τότε που πολεμάγανε και μας έλεγε για τον άνδρα της που είχε πρόβατα

και πήγανε δυο Τούρκοι και είπανε: «Θα φάμε, θα πιούμε και θα του κόψουμε το κεφάλι ετούτου». Αυτός όμως τα ήξερε τα αρβανίτικα γιατί οι Τούρκοι μιλάγανε αρβανίτικα και τα ήξερε αυτός τώρα και θα σας φτιάξω. Τους έδωσε και μεθύσανε και τους σκότωσε και έφυγε και ήρθε εδώ.

K2: Σίγουρα μιλάγανε για να επικοινωνήσουν (οι Τούρκοι μιλάγανε αρβανίτικα).

P2: Όλα είναι. Όλες τις γλώσσες να τις ξέρεις. Είναι το πιο ωραίο πράγμα, γιατί είπαμε σε σκοτώνει ο άλλος και στο λέει, αλλά δεν το ξέρεις, δεν το καταλάβεις. Άμα ξέρεις, θα καταλάβεις και θα φυλάγεσαι (γέλια).

P5: Έχουνε γλυτώσει άνθρωποι από το απόσπασμα(!)...Από δύο αρβανίτικα… Τότε η Καισαριανή ήτανε...(!) Κάθε πρωί από τις φυλακές Αβέρωφ, 4 η ώρα, το καμιόνι… και στον δεσμοφύλακα, ένας πήγε του λέει: "καμ γκρούα δε διεμ", "έχω γυναίκα και παιδιά", του λέει. "Ρε βλα" του λέει, "δεν έχεις αίμα μέσα σου;(!)" Και έκανε στραβά μάτια… Ο δεσμοφύλακας καταλάβαινε, ήταν Αρβανίτης.

5.12.2. Symbolic Use

K: Να πει κάποιο τραγούδι, μοιρολόγια?

P1: Παρτ ο κι ο πο λουλε γκριντ, παε διου με ντι ντο διγκ, στερε στουργκ ντε δρο, τε πιου γιο κουρτου σκον. Το καταλάβατε αυτό?

O1: Αυτό είναι τραγούδι.

P2: Είπα που / στις απόκριες μαζευόταν όλη η γειτονιά σε ένα σπίτι, μεγάλο σπίτι, και πλούσιος ήταν και μεγάλος. Και χορεύαμε και λέγανε τα περισσότερα αρβανίτικα, τα λιγότερα ελληνικά.

K1: Μεταμφιεζόντουσαν και γελάγανε, λέγανε τέτοια αστεία.

P1: Ε γιορτάσαπα κουτσέινα βασαν με γκιρντάνε καμπς μεταξοτέ κοτσέινα νταβάμε χαράς.

P1: Κοτσάν παρπάρα θόι λίλιε θαβατουθόρνα πο χίλι βάσα τορόνα τσι κενετούαρ.

K1: Πηγαίνετε κορίτσια μπροστά να χορέψετε.

P3: Ένα τραγούδι θα σας πω. Με βάζαν' οι κοπίλε τσ' βέντε τρ' ντα πους, σα χιε σοχο η μαμα ζέμπρ' λομο κοπουν. Ένα κορίτσι όμορφο που πηγαίνει συνέχεια στο πηγάδι, όταν την εβλέπω μάνα μου την καρδιά μου τη ραγίζει.

K1: Μόνο εκφράσεις και καμιά λέξη.

P6: Ε, εντάξει, καμιά λέξη // Ναι αλλά για να σου κάνει διάλογο... (δεν κάνουν διάλογο εννοεί)

P5: Όταν θέλανε να εκφράσουνε κάτι το οποίο ήταν με βαρύνουσα σημασία, θα το λέγανε αρβανίτικα]

P5: Ναι. Όταν θέλανε να πουν ένα ευτράπελο, ένα ξέρω γω τι, θα το έλεγαν όπως θα το 'λεγαν. Αλλά όταν θέλανε να κορ... ε γκεγκε τσε ντε φον; τ' ακούς τι σου λέω;

P5: [Τραγούδι]: στο 01:04:51 Ναι, ναι ναι Μαρί εμόι, διοσμα ε δε βασιλικόι ... "Ναι, ναι ναι Μαρί εμόι". Τραγουδάει τη Μαρία! "διόσμα ε δε βασιλικόι" είναι ... βασιλικός είναι ο, ο..., το αγόρι και διόσμα είναι η κοπέλα! Καταλάβατε; [το εκφέρει με ταυτόχρονο αναστεναγμό]

P5: Έχουμε των απόκρεω, που εκεί γινότανε μεγάλο φαγοπότι, μεγάλος χορός! Στην πλατεία, όλες οι αρρεβωνιασμένες... Ε, βέβαια η ορχήστρα έλεγε; "τσάι τα βούτσα ι νε μοϊ ι μαμα". Βούτσα είναι η βαρέλα, ένα σκεύος ξύλινο μα ντούγιες, με πήχες, δεμένο με στεφάνια σιδερένια, που βάζαν το νερό. Ήταν πολύ καθαρό και πολύ κρύο το νερό εκεί στη βαρέλα. Βούτσα ή βαρέλα. Βαρέλα το λέει η Γεωργία Μητάκη σ' ένα τραγούδι της. Ναι! Και... της λέει: "Μάνα, την έσπασα τη βαρέλα". "Σι για μπάρε καλογρέ, βούτσα ζα κα τα ερέ" Την ονομάζει καλογριά την κόρη, (ε, κακομοίρα, πώς το 'κανες, καινούρια η βούτσα και την έσπασες!). "Βάρα τα βαρβί τε σε, ρασε δε το βρήτε σε" (έκανα να μιλήσω και έπεσα και θα 'χα σκοτωθεί! Αλλά ευτυχώς που έσπασε η βαρέλα). Αυτή συναντήθηκε με τον νεαρό, κι εκεί γίναν όλα. Έτσι που λες! Όλα τα τραγούδια έχουνε το ευτράπελο, όλα, όλα.

P5: Λοιπόν, ήτανε δυο γειτόνισσες. Η μία ήτανε τεμπέλα, ακαμάτισσα, η άλλη ήταν εργατικιά. Κάθε βράδυ η εργατικιά θα έκανε έναααα, μία ζύμη, και την έριχνε στη χόβολη... αυτό λεγόταν, λέγεται, κουκούλα. Και τη σκέπαζε με τη χόβολη και γινότανε. Την έβγαζε, ταπ, ταπ, ταπ, την τίναζε. Τ' άκουγε η γειτόνισσα, ερχότανε, έκοβε κομμάτι, της έδινε. Περάσαν οι μέρες, δεν άκουγε ταπ, ταπ καθόλου! "Βρε" λέει "τι θα κάνω;"

Της λέει: "γειτόνισσα, δεν ακούω ταπ, ταπ, δεν κάνεις;" "Α!" της λέει η γειτόνισσα, "τώρα δεν έχει ταπ, ταπ, έχει φου και χαπ" [γέλια]

R: Δηλαδή;

O5: Δηλαδή, το φύσηξα να κρυώσει και το έφαγα [P: ναι, και έφαγα, για να μην ακούσεις και έρθεις να ζητήσεις] [γέλια]

R: Αυτό τι είναι, σαν παροιμία;

P5: Έτσι παιδί μου. Αυτά είναι... είναι τα πονηρά.

P5: Παντός είδους. Με χαρές, με λύπες, με (...) έρωτα, με πάρα πολλά πράγματα. Αλλά τα περισσότερα, επειδή ο άνθρωπος θέλει να χαίρεται, ας πάρουμε την εκδοχή τη χαρούμενη.

O5: είναι τώρα..., τραγούδια αρβανίτικα έχουν γραφτεί πολλά και λέγονται!

P7: Άμα θέλω να πω ανέκδοτα και τέτοια, λέω αρβανίτικα. Είναι πιο ωραία!

P7: Θα στο πω. Είχε έρθει και <u>άντρουα γαμπρόικ ακατούρντι, είχε έρθει ο γαμπρος απ'το χωριο, αυτό, ενεχάνερ μιρ ιεφόραλ βιντελγκί, ενεβάλντε μουστάρακι, μουσταράκι εντιμπούρ, σίντι νομάλε ανταβόι εβέ βαστάνε ιτζίκ βάντε πεθερόι επά νικοπάκνταιτς</u> [γέλιο]

P7: [γέλια] <u>Ενεβάντενε πλάκα φτου,</u> φτου να μην αβασκαθεί, πεμ γαμπρόν τριμπ, κάναμε λεβέντη γαμπρό [γέλιο] φτου Τιρό να μασχαθεί καμέν φαρ κοπάλ κάκελ, λέει είναι παλικάρι δηλαδή.

O1: Μόνο εγώ σαν φοιτήτρια στο αμφιθέατρο στο Κορωπί είχα συμφοιτητή και πέταγε καμιά λέξη αρβανίτικη έτσι για να γελάσουμε. Ναι, ναι «πως είναι έτσι αυτός» «πως είναι έτσι εκείνη? Για να κοροϊδέψεις κάτι.

P1: Αποδίδεται με την αρβανίτικη πολύ παραστατικά, με μια λέξη. Πες καμία…

K1: Λέξεις που ενδεχομένως δε θα είχαν ακριβή μετάφραση στην ελληνική παρά μόνο περιφραστική και γι' αυτό χρησιμοποιούμε την αρβανίτικη λέξη σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις (G1: για να κοροϊδέψουμε κάποιον και να γελάσουμε.)

O1: Ναι νομίζω ναι (στην ερώτηση αν είναι πιο καυστικό το χιούμορ).

K1: Εμείς μπορούμε να το αντιληφθούμε μόνο αυτό το πράγμα και νομίζω ότι είναι γι' αυτό το λόγο, επειδή στα ελληνικά την λέξη αυτή θα πρέπει να την περιγράψεις περιφραστικά.

P4: Ναι το κάνω (μιλάω στη δουλειά) με χιούμορ. Όταν θέλαμε να πούμε διάφορα, και περι γυναικών ο λόγος, τα λέγαμε στα αρβανίτικα γιατί ήτανε πιο πιπεράτα, είχανε μία ένταση διαφορετική ας πούμε. Ναι, ναι είναι πολύ στοχευμένα στα αρβανίτικα. Ίσως είναι και οι λέξεις πιο οξείς. Στις συνεστιάσεις που κάνουμε κλπ δε μιλάμε αρβανίτικα, αλλά όταν θέλουμε να πούμε κάτι πιπεράτο το πετάμε στα αρβανίτικα, οπότε γίνεται χαμός. Το ίδιο αν το πεις στα ελληνικά δε σου κάνει τόσο μεγάλη εντύπωση.

5.12.3. Solidarity Use

P8: Πρέπει να βρω κάποιον που μιλάει Αρβανίτικα, να μιλήσω μαζί του να πούμε κάποια πράγματα / πιο οικεία σε εμάς…Είναι μια διατήρηση μιας ενθύμησης, μιας παράδοσης, μιας καταγωγής.

P7: Να σου πω... παράδοση. Όχι οικογένεια, είναι παράδοση, ωραία, πώς να το πω;

P7: Με ευχάριστα και δυσάρεστα (γεγονότα συνδέονται), με όλα.

FG1: Μιλάμε, στην παρέα.

P8: Για μένα είναι // όταν μιλάω Αρβανίτικα θυμάμαι τη μάνα μου και τη γιαγιά μου…Ναι, την οικογένεια μου. Την οικογένεια…είναι παράδοση, είναι οικογένεια. Είναι πολλά.

K: Εδώ στο δρόμο, βγαίναμε το καλοκαίρι, στη γωνία με τη Χαρίκλεια απέναντι. Είχε φιλενάδες εδώ στη γειτονιά, αλλά και με γείτονες.

P3: Με φίλους, με φίλους. Όχι εκκλησία. Ναι στην ταβέρνα. Με κανένανε, όχι με πολλούς. Ελληνικά μιλάνε εδώ στην ταβέρνα.

P3: Ναι, ναι με γονείς και με τους φίλους.

P3: Κόρη: Συγχωριανούς, συμπατριώτες.

P3: Ναι, και στο καφενείο. Τώρα έχω ένα φίλο και είναι 95 χρόνια κι είμαστε στο καφενείο. Με αυτόν μιλάμε αρβανίτικα και τώρα. Με αυτόν μιλάω αρβανίτικα. Αλλά με τους άλλους όχι.

P4: Μόνο όταν βρίσκομαι με συγχωριανούς μου.

P5: Ενώ τα χρόνια εκείνα [παύση] θα βρισκόντουσαν στην εκκλησία, όταν σχόλαγε η εκκλησία θα βρισκόντουσαν στο καφενείο(!)…

P5: Ναι, ναι, στην εκκλησία(!). Ναι, ΧΡΟΝΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ! Τσόπαρι κουμπάρλια; Ε και μιρα σκέρινα; [G: που σημαίνουν;] Ε δε Μότε Σούμε! (Στα 29.31' – 29.39') Καλημέρα κουμπάρα! Την έχεις καλά την οικογένεια; Και Χρόνια πολλά! (!) Μότε Σούμε [G: Μότε Σούμε] Μοτ είναι ο χρον.. ο … ο … ο περσινός χρόνος. Χρόνια πολλά! [G: το πολλά είναι το σούμε.] Ναι!

P7: Μ'αρέσει. Μ'αρέσει. Έρχονται εδώ οι γειτόνισσες και τους κοπανάω και κανένα.

P7: Το ευχαριστιέσαι, κυρία Σοφία.

P7: Ναι και η Καλλιόπη, όλες αρβανίτικα.

O7: Όλες, εδώ η γειτονιά, οι πιο μεγάλες όλες μιλάγανε αρβανίτικα.

P7: Καλά τη Λίτσα την έχω κάνει...

P7: Σήμερα, με την αδελφή μου. Που ξέρουμε κάτι έτσι από το χωριό, θα τα πούμε αρβανίτικα.

P7: Και με τον άντρα μου.

P7: Δεν ξέρω (πότε άρχισε να φθίνει). Μέχρι ο παπάς. Εγώ έχω ακούσει το ευαγγέλιο αρβανίτικα.

P7: Ο παπα Δημήτρης. Είχαμε πάει στην εκκλησία, έξω γινότανε...

P7: ...Εγώ θυμάμαι αυτό, έπιασα, δεν τον είδα, γιατί μας είχε πάει η μάνα μου στην εκκλησία, και είπε: «Εδεηθαζότετ» κι αυτό το έχω στο μυαλό μου. Ακόμη αρβανίτικο αυτό στο ευαγγέλιο τώρα και το είπε «Δεηθαζός ο κύριος», είπε ο κύριος.

P7: Ο παπάς ήταν Αρβανίτης…Αφού τραγούδαγε και χόρευε κιόλας.

P6: Με τα παιδιά, ξέρω εγώ τι, του σχολείου ένιωθα άνετα. Αφού τα ξέραμε όλοι και τα μιλάγαμε.

O1: Η μικρότερη αδερφή της μητέρας του, της γιαγιάς μου δηλαδή, είναι γεννημένη το '29, 90 χρονών σήμερα, η γιαγιά μου του '14, η μεγαλύτερη της αδερφή. Αυτή του '29 ήταν άριστη μαθήτρια και είχε πάει και γυμνάσιο, Πάντειο, έκανε 2 έτη στην Πάντειο,

οπότε είχε μείνει εδώ. Όχι το, εδώ, στον Ασπρόπυργο. Την πρόλαβε λίγο ο πόλεμος οπότε σταμάτησε για λίγο και συνέχισε μεγαλύτερη και το έβγαλε και πέρασε στην Πάντειο…Οπότε πήγαινα εγώ και έβλεπα τη γιαγιά μου και τύχαινε και με τη θεία εκεί πέρα. Όποτε με έβλεπε μου έλεγε «εμείς στο σχολείο μαθαίνουμε για τον Αριστοτέλη» και ξεκίναγε και μου έλεγε κατεβατό το αρχαίο του Αριστοτέλη. Ή μου έλεγε για τον κλασικό…από τη γενιά τους, θα σου πει ότι το πρώτο μάθημα στα λατινικά είναι το Regina rosas amat. Η θεία ήξερε όλο το κείμενο και το έλεγε όλο. Και αφού μου έλεγε διάφορα τέτοια έλεγε «τώρα θα μας επιτρέψεις παιδί μου να μιλήσουμε στη γλώσσα μας» και γύριζε στη γιαγιά μου και μίλαγαν αρβανίτικα. Αφού ο πατέρας μου δεν ήξερε… Ναι ήταν πολύ πιο οικείο. Και τώρα τόση ώρα (δε μιλάει) γιατί ξέρει ότι εσύ καταλαβαίνεις τα ελληνικά. Ενώ σε εμάς για παράδειγμα όταν θα μας διηγηθεί μια ιστορία, τι της είπε η πεθερά της ή η αδερφή της, θα το πει στα αρβανίτικα όπως ειπώθηκε τότε.

Ο1: Και ήταν με τη Ντίνα και παίζανε χαρτιά και της έλεγε της Ντίνας τα νούμερα που είχε ο μικρός (ο εγγονός της), της τα' λεγε αρβανίτικα, ναι, ναι για το μικρούλη και γελάγανε. Τον πειράζαμε τον αδελφό του το μικρό.

Κ1: Ακριβώς, λέγανε κάτι μεταξύ τους όταν δε θέλανε να το καταλάβουμε εμείς οι υπόλοιποι (οι γονείς).

Κ3: Όχι, μεταξύ τους. Και τα πεθερικά μου. Μόνο όταν δε θέλανε να καταλάβουμε εμείς κάτι, τότε μιλάγανε.

Ο1: Ερχόταν καμιά γειτόνισσα, ξαδέρφη της μάνας, κουβεντιάζανε και πήγαινα…έπαιρνα καμιά κουβέντα, αρβανίτικα κουβεντιάζανε, αλλά προξενιά που κάνανε, ήθελα να τα αρπάξω. Γι' αυτό είχα μάθει κάτι.

Ρ4: Ε καμιά φορά με τα παιδιά (όταν ήταν τα παιδιά μπροστά). Δεν θέλω να ξέρουνε απέξω. Μπορεί να μιλήσω, ξέρω εγώ; (γέλια)

Ρ4: Σε περιστάσεις που είμαι σε παρέα ας πούμε και ξέρει κι άλλος…γιατί ξέρουμε ότι ο άλλος θα παρεξηγηθεί. (γέλια)

Κ7: Να μην ακούσουνε οι άλλοι, να μην καταλαβαίνουνε.

FG2: Πιο πολύ όταν θέλαμε να λέγαμε τα δικά μας, μιλάγαμε ελεύθερα, όταν ήμαστε μεταξύ Αρβανιτών, και μπορούσαμε να χλευάσουμε ή να κρύψουμε απ' τους άλλους που μιλούσανε μόνο ελληνικά Ιο, και χρησιμοποιούσαμε τ' αρβανίτικα.

FG2: Τέλος πάντων, κι εκεί χρησιμοποιούσαμε τ' αρβανίτικα και κάναμε μία έσω…, εσω-συνοννόηση! Οπότε σημαίνει ότι αποκρύβαμε και κάτι πολλές φορές από το αφεντικό, ας πούμε, που δουλεύαμε, ή να μη μαθαίνανε τι λέγαμε. Σίγουρα μας έχουν φανεί χρήσιμα(!)

FG2: Λέγαμε για το φαγητό που είχε κάνει το αφεντικό, δεν ήτανε καλό, ήταν για πέταμα(!)Ναι, απάνω στη δουλειά. Ήτανε για πέταμα(!). Και λέμε "θα του το φέρουμε στο κεφάλι ή όχι;" Και αποφασίσαμε, κάναμε γενική συνέλευση, αν το πετάξουμε στο κεφάλι του αφεντικού(!). [Γέλια]

FG2: Όταν μιλούσε ελληνικά, λέγαμε ερωτικά πειράγματα εμείς στ' αρβανίτικα, μεταξύ μας "τσε μπούκουρι σι γιε(?)" "τι ωραία που είσαι!" 'Μπουμπουρλιές'(?), τα μαλλιά…, ή δε ξέρω, στο σώμα είναι όμορφη...

5.14.1. Mixed Marriages

K1: εδώ ο κόσμος, το χωριό ήταν αμιγές, δεν υπήρχαν πολλές επιμιξίες με ανθρώπους εκτός Ασπροπύργου, ή θα ήταν από γύρω χωριά που ήταν επίσης Αρβανίτες. Άρα η γλώσσα διατηρήθηκε επί πολλά χρόνια και επιβίωσε.

P8: Εντάξει, έχουν γίνει πάρα πολλοί μικτοί γάμοι. Δεν υπάρχει μάνα για να κρατήσει το σύνδεσμο με τα αρβανίτικα, επομένως, χάνεται η γλώσσα.

P8: Όχι. Σπάνια (παλιά παντρεύονταν με μη αρβανίτες). Το θεωρούσαν υποδεέστερο να παντρευτείς κάποια εκτός του χωριού.

FG1: Και ντόπια, αυτά. Δεν έχουμε εμείς. Ήμασταν όλοι Αρβανίτες. Τώρα αρχίσανε να φέρνουν νύφες από το χωριό, το Σκλήθρο, αυτό...Και μπερδευτήκαμε…

– FG2: Με τον καιρό, άλλαξε αυτό. Γιατί μιλάμε ελληνικά, με τη σύζυγο ελληνικά, με τα παιδιά ελληνικά, οπότε άρχισε ο τρόπος, ρε παιδί μου, σκέψης να εκφράζεται ελληνικά. Αν όμως πριν 30 χρόνια, θα 'ταν αρβανίτικα.

– FG2: Θα απαντήσω εγώ, θα σας πω τι έγινε. Γιατί, κατά εμένα, η άποψη είναι ότι παντρευτήκαμε εκτός χωριού. Που δε μιλούσαμε, δε μιλούσε ένα μεγάλο μέρος του χωριού, δηλαδή παντρευτήκαμε εκτός χωριού που δε μιλούσαν αρβανίτικα! Και αυτό μας

ανάγκασε μετά, εκ των πραγμάτων, εφόσον με τη σύζυγο, που δε μιλούσε αρβανίτικα, να φύγουνε τα αρβανίτικα. Και μιλάγαμε ελληνικά. Τα παιδιά μας, εφόσον οι γονείς… πλέον ακούγανε μόνο ελληνικά, άρχισε να φεύγει το αρβανίτικο. Ενώ με μας ήταν το αντίθετο, μιλούσαμε μόνο αρβανίτικα.

– FG2: Δεκαετία '60 με '70.

– FG2: Συν το γεγονός ότι… φίλος μου ρε παιδί μου, ο οποίος Άγγλος με Ελληνίδα. Είχαν συμφωνήσει ότι "εγώ θα μιλάω στα παιδιά αγγλικά και συ ελληνικά για να τις μάθουν και τις δύο. Ε, εμείς δεν το θεωρήσαμε τόσο απαραίτητο αυτό το πράγμα… Έτσι θεωρώ εγώ, έτσι πιστεύω δηλαδή. Γιατί η γλώσσα δεν…, πώς να το πω, δεν ήθελε ο πατέρας μας να μας τη μάθει, ούτε και να μη μας τη μάθει… Δε μας έβαλε κάνω να πει 'έλα να σου πω πώς είναι'. Μιλούσε και ακούγαμε. Τη μιλούσε με τη μητέρα μας. Όταν πήγε η γυναίκα μες στο σπίτι, ή (…) συνήθως η γυναίκα ήταν, δεν είχε άνδρες από αλλού, γυναίκες ήρθαν από αλλού και μείναν εδώ, όταν η γυναίκα δε γνωρίζει τη γλώσσα είναι λογικό ότι ο άντρας της μιλάει συνεχώς στη γλώσσα που αυτή καταλαβαίνει.

– FG2: Να κάνω μια παρατήρηση θέλω. Ο Άγγλος με την Ελληνίδα είχανε να διαλέξουνε δύο γλώσσες οι οποίες είναι επίσημες, γράφονται από την ιστορία, έχουνε χρήση(!), Τα αρβανίτικα θεωρούνταν, και θεωρούνται ακόμα και σήμερα, χωρίς καμία χρήση. Χωρίς καμιά αξία, χωρίς να κάνει κάτι…

– FG2: Ίσως και οι γυναίκες που παντρεύτηκαν αλλού δεν το θεώρησαν ποτέ σαν υποχρέωση, σαν καθήκον αναγκαίο να μπουν στη διαδικασία να μιλάν στα παιδιά.

5.12. Arvanitika Language Use

5.12.1. Pragmatic Use

P3: Uh, I'm not interested (if it disappears). I don't care. What do I need Arvanitika for?

P 3: And what use is it to us, what can we do with it? What can we do with it? The language is Greek, Greek, this is our language. What can we do with Arvanitika? Well, with Albanians yes, yes. It's good that we talk to the Albanians. It's good. But here with the locals why talk Arvanitika?

P3: I told you my granddaughter who knows Arvanitika, is my daughter's daughter here. Yes. And she is a gynecologist. The other 5 don't know Arvanitika. ... Now for my granddaughter it has been useful because she is consulted by Albanian women.

P8: Today we cannot say that there is a vital space, in terms of a population, so that you can develop this language. I mean, it's not something Slavic to decide to develop it, to learn it, having a market for it, to see it as an incentive to emigrate, perhaps to Russia.

P 8: the Greeks, and especially the Souliotes, did not want to speak Arvanitika at all. Because they were involved in the war with Ali Pasha, they considered him the protector of the Albanians and because of this they did not want to. And I know it very well, especially in our village, especially the upper neighborhood, the so-called... "*neighborhood", where they technically learned Arvanitika to have a better time with the Ottomans. For practical reasons... This was also done by many Greeks in Asia Minor, mainly around 1860, 1880, who spoke Armenian because then, the Armenians had a better time with the Turks or Turkish... With the Karamanlides, who saved the religion, spoke Turkish, and had a better time.*

P2: When the refugees had come here, a woman told us, they had killed her child... it was then when they were fighting (in the war) and she told us about her husband who had sheep and two Turks went there and said, "We're going to eat, we're going to drink, and we're going to cut off his head." But he knew Arvanitika, because the Turks spoke Arvanitika, and he knew it so he thought - now I will fix you. He gave them something to drink, and they got drunk, and he killed them, and he left, and he came here.

K2: They definitely talked to communicate (the Turks spoke Arvanitika).

P2: Everything is. Knowing all languages. It's the coolest thing, because as we said the other person intends to kill you and tells you, but you don't know it, you don't understand it. If you know, you will understand and be guarded (laughs).

P5: People have been spared from the firing squad(!) ... From uttering some Arvanitika... It was in Kaisariani... (!) Every morning from the Averoff prisons, at 4 o'clock, on the truck... And one went to a jailer saying, "Cam grua the thiem," "I have a wife and children," he tells him. "Re vla," he tells him, "Don't you have blood in you? (!)" and he turned a blind eye... The jailer understood, he was an Arvanite.

5.12.2 Symbolic Use

K: To say a song, or a dirge?

P1: Part o ki o po lule grint, pae thio me di do thig, stere sturg de thro, te piu yo kurtu skon. Did you understand that?

G1: This is a song.

P2: I said that / on Halloween the whole neighborhood gathered in one house, a big house, it was rich, and it was also big. And we danced and they spoke mostly Arvanitika, less Greek.

K: They would disguise themselves and laugh, they would tell such jokes.

P: Eh giortasapa kutseina vasan me girdane kamps metaxote kotseina davame haras.

P: Kochan parpara thoi lilie thavatuthorna po hili vasa torona chi kenetuar.

K: Go ahead girls to dance.

P3: A song, I'll tell you. Me kopile vasan oi kopile ch' vente tr'da pus, sa hye soho i mama zebr' lomo kopun. A beautiful girl who goes to the well all the time, when I see her, my mother, my heart breaks.

K: Just expressions and a few words.

P6: Uh, okay, a few words // Yes, but to have a dialogue... (he means they don't have dialogues)

P5: When they wanted to express something that was of great importance, they would say it in Arvanitika]

P 5: Yes. When they wanted to say something jocular, let's say, they would say it in their own way. But when they wanted to (tease)... e gege che de fon? Do you hear what I'm telling you?

P5: [Song]: at 01:04:51 Ne,ne ne Marie emoi, thiosma e the vasiliki ... "Ne, ne, ne Marie emoi." Mary sings!"diosma e the vasiliki" is ... vasilikos is the, the..., the boy and *diosma is the girl! Got it? [uttered with a simultaneous sigh]*

P5: We have the carnival, where there was a big feast, a big dance! In the square, all the betrothed... Uh, of course the orchestra was playing? "chai ta vucha i ne moi i mama". Voutsa is the barrel, a wooden utensil, ma dougies, with strips, tied with iron wreaths, in which to put water. It was very clean and very cold water, there in the barrel. Voutsa or varela (barrel). Varela is said by Georgia Mitaki in one of her songs. Yes! And... she says, 'Mother, I broke the barrel.' "Si gia bare kalogre, vucha za ka ta ere" He calls the daughter a nun, (eh, you poor thing, how did you do it, a new vucha and you broke it!). " Vara ta varbi te se, rase the to vrite se" (I was ready to speak, and I fell, and I would have been killed! But luckily the barrel broke). She met the young man, and that's where it all happened. So, as they say! All the songs are jocular, all of them, all.

P: Well, there were two neighbors. One was lazy, a good-for-nothing, the other was hardworking. Every night the industrious would make enaaa, a dough, and pour it into the embers... This was called, it is called, "a hood". And she covered it with the hot cinders, and it was done. She would take it out, tap, tap, tap it, shake it. The neighbor would hear it, she would come, cut a piece, give it to her. The days passed, she couldn't hear any tap, tap at all! "Hey" she says "what am I going to do?" she says to her: "neighbor, I don't hear tap, tap, don't you……?" (make it any more) "Oh!" the neighbor tells her, "now there is no more tap, tap, there is fu and hap" [laughs]

R: That is?

G: That is, I blew on it (fu) to cool it down and ate it (hap) [*P: yes, and I ate it, so you wouldn't hear it and come ask for it] [laughs]*

R: What is that, like a proverb?

P: Exactly my child. They are... they are flirtatious.

P: Of all kinds. With joys, with sorrows, with (...) love, with so many things. But mostly, because man wants to rejoice, let's take the joyful version.

G: it's now..., Arvanitika songs have been written a lot and they are being said!

P7: If I want to tell jokes and such, I tell Arvanitika ones. They're nicer!

P7: I'll tell you. Andrua groomy akatourdi had also come, the groom had come from this village, enehaner mir ieforal videlgi, enevalde mustaraki, mustaraki edibur, sidi nomale andavoy eve vastane itzik vante petheri epa nikopakdaits [laughter]

P7: [laughs] Enevadene plaka ftu, God bless you (typical expression when we want to praise someone -where we "spit" on them to dispel bad luck)*, pem gabron trimb, we got a manly groom [laugh] ftu Tyro na mas-hathi kamen far kopal kakel, he says he's a brave lad, that is.*

G1: Only I, as a student in the amphitheater in Koropi, had a fellow student and he would throw out a word of Arvanitika so that we could laugh. Yes, yes "how ridiculous is he!" "how can she look like that? To make fun of something/someone.

G1: It is rendered in Arvanitika very descriptively, in one word. Say one...

K 1: Words that might not have an accurate translation into Greek other than periphrastically and that's why we use the Arvanitika word in these cases (G1: to make fun of someone and laugh.)

G1: Yes, I think yes (when asked if humor is more caustic).

K1: Only we can understand this thing and I think it's for that reason, because in Greek this word would be described in a circumlocutive way.

P4: Yes, I do it (I talk at work) with humor. When we wanted to say various things, and about women for example, we would say them in Arvanitika because they were more spicy, they had a different intensity, let's say. Yes, yes, they are very targeted in Arvanitika. Perhaps the words are also more acute. At the gatherings we have etc. we don't talk Arvanitika, but when we want to say something spicy we throw it out in Arvanitika, so it's a total blast. If you say the same thing in Greek, it does not make such an impression on you.

5.12.3. Solidarity Use

P8: I need to find someone who speaks Arvanitika, talk to them to say some things / more familiar to us... It is a preservation of a remembrance, a tradition, an origin.

P7: Let me tell you... tradition. Not family, it's tradition, it's nice, how can I say it?

P7: With pleasant and unpleasant (events it is connected), with everything.

FG1: We talk, in company.

P8: For me it is // when I speak Arvanitika I remember my mother and my grandmother... Yes, my family. The family... It's tradition, it's family. It's a lot.

K: Here on the street, we went out in the summer, on the corner with Charikleia from across the street. There were girlfriends here in the neighborhood (to speak Arvantika with), but also with neighbors.

P 3: With friends, with friends. Not at church. Yes, in the tavern. With some people, not with many. Greek is spoken here in the tavern.

P3: Yes, yes with parents and with friends.

P3: Daughter: Fellow villagers, compatriots.

P 3: Yes, and in the café. Now, I have a friend who is 95 years old and we're in the café. With him we talk Arvanitika even now. With him I speak Arvanitika. But with the others, no.

P4: Only when I'm with my fellow villagers.

P5: While in those years [pause]they would meet up in the church, when church was over, they would meet up in the café(!) ...

P5: Yes, yes, in church(!). Yes, MANY HAPPY RETURNS! Chopari kubarlia? Huh and mira skerina? [G: what do they mean?] Eh the Mote Sume! (At 29.31' – 29.39') Good morning maid of honour! Is the family well? And Many Happy Returns! (!) Mote Sume *[G: Mote Sume] Mot is the year... the ... the... last year. Happy Birthday! [G: the many is the sume.] Yes!*

P7: I like it. I love it. The neighbors come here, and I let one loose (expression in Arvanitika).

K: You enjoy it, Mrs. Sofia.

P7: Yes, and Calliope, all in Arvanitika.

G: All of them, here in the neighborhood, the older ones, all spoke Arvanitika.

P7: Don't get me started with Litsa...(badgered her in Arvanitika)

P7: Today, with my sister. When we know something from the village, we will say it in Arvanitika.

P7: And with my husband.

P7: I don't know (when it started to decline). Even the priest. I have heard the gospel in Arvanitika.

P7: Father Dimitris. We had gone to church, the service was outside ...

P7: ... I remember this, I caught it, I didn't see it, because my mother had taken us to church, and he said, "Edeithazotet," and I have that in my mind. Even now it is in Arvanitika in the gospel and he said it "Deithazos o kyrios,"(Praise the lord) said the lord.

P7: The priest was an Arvanite... He sang and danced too.

P6: With the kids, you know, at school I felt comfortable. Since we all knew it and spoke it…

G: His mother's younger sister, my grandmother, was born in '29, 90 years old today, my grandmother of '14, is her older sister. The one of '29 was an excellent student and had also gone to high school, Panteion, did 2 years in Panteion, so she had stayed here. Not, here, in [name of the suburb of Athens]. The war caught up with her a little, so she stopped (her studies) for a while and continued when she was older and finished and passed into Panteion... So, I would go and see my grandmother who happened to be with the aunt over there. Whenever she saw me, she would tell me "We are learning about Aristotle at school" and she would start reciting whole ancient texts of Aristotle. Or she would tell me about the classics... from their generation, she would tell you that the first lesson in Latin is *Regina rosas amat. The aunt knew the whole text and said it*

all. And after telling me things like that, she would say "Now, allow us, my child, to speak in our language", and she would turn back to my grandmother, and they would speak Arvanitika. Since my father didn't know... Yes, it was much more familiar. And now, all this time, (he doesn't speak) because he knows that you understand Greek. While to us, for example when she tells us a story, what her mother-in-law or sister told her, she will say it in Arvanitika as it was said then.

G 1: And he was with Dina and they were playing cards and he was telling Dina the numbers that the little one (her grandson) had, he was telling her in Arvanitika, yes, yes about the little one and they were laughing. They teased his little brother.

K1: Exactly, they would say something to each other which they didn't want the rest of us to understand. (The parents)

K3: No, amongst themselves. And my in-laws. Only when they didn't want us to understand something.

G1: A neighbor would come round, my mother's cousin, they would chat, and I would go... I would pick up a word, Arvanitika was being spoken about matchmaking that they were doing, I wanted to catch on. That's why I had learned something.

P: Sometimes with the kids (when the kids were in front). I don't want them to know by heart. I may speak, you know? (laughs)

P4: On occasions when I'm in company let's say and someone else knows... because we know that the other will take offence. (laughs)

K7:So that others will not hear, so that they will not understand.

FG2: More so when we wanted to talk about our stuff, we spoke freely, when we were among Arvanites, and we could mock or hide from others who spoke only Greek Io, and we used Arvanitika.

FG2: Anyway, there too we used Arvanitika and had an inner..., in-communication! So, it means that we were hiding something many times from the boss, say, where we worked, or he wouldn't find out what we were saying. It has definitely been useful to us(!)

FG2: We were talking about the food the boss had made, it wasn't good, it was only fit to be thrown away(!) Yes, at work. It was fit to be thrown away(!). And we'd say,

"Should we bring it down on his head or not?" and we decided, we held a general conference, if we should throw it at the boss' head(!). [Laughs]

FG2: When she spoke Greek, we used to tease erotically in Arvanitika, among ourselves "chebukuri si ye(?)" "How nice you are!" 'Buburlies'(?), the hair..., or I don't know, her body is beautiful...

5.14.1. Mixed Marriages

K1: here the people, the *village was pure (Arvanitika -speaking), there was not much inter-marriage with people outside [name of a suburb of Athens], or it would be from surrounding villages that were also Arvanites. So, the language was preserved for many years and survived.*

P8: Okay, there have been very many mixed marriages. There is no mother to keep the link with Arvanitika, therefore, the language is lost.

P8: No. Rarely (they used to marry non-Arvanites). They considered it inferior to marry someone outside the village.

FG1: And dopia (the Macedonian language), that's it. We don't have one. We were all Arvanites. Now they have started bringing brides from the village, Sklithro, this is the case... And we got mixed up...

– *FG2: Over time, that's* changed. *Because we speak* Greek, with *our wife, Greek, with* the *children,* Greek, *so the way of thinking began to be expressed in Greek. But 30 years ago, it would have been Arvanitika.*

– *FG2: I'll answer, I'll tell you what happened. Because, according to me*, the view is that we got married *or* we got out of the village. That we did *not* speak, that a large sector of the village folk did not speak it, *that is, those who did not speak Arvanitika got married outside the village! And this then compelled the language to disappear in effect, since the spouse, did not speak Arvanitika. And we spoke Greek. Our children, since the parents... Since now they only heard Greek, Arvanitika* began to disappear. *While with us it was the opposite, we spoke only Arvanitika.*

– FG2: ’60s to ’70s.

– FG2: Plus, the fact that... My friend, for example, who was an Englishman married to a Greek woman. They had agreed that "I will speak English, and you, Greek to the children so that they can learn both.” Well, we didn't consider this thing so necessary... That is what I think, that is what I believe. Because the language doesn't..., how can I say it, we didn't want our father to teach it to us, nor did he teach *us* it*... He didn't sit us down and say, 'come on, I'll tell you how it is'*. He talked and *we listened. He talked to our mother. When the woman went into the house, or (...) it was usually the woman, there were no men from elsewhere, women came from elsewhere and stayed here, when the woman does not know the language, it is logical that her husband constantly speaks to her in the language that she understands.*

– FG2: I want to make an observation. The Englishman and the Greek woman had to choose between two languages which are official, written in history, have a use (!), Arvanitika was considered, and is still considered today, without any use. Without any value, without offering anything...

– FG2: Perhaps women who married elsewhere never saw it as an obligation, as a duty necessary to get into the process of talking to the children.

Appendix C

1. Έντυπο Συναίνεσης για συμμετοχή σε έρευνα

ΤΙΤΛΟΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ: ΜΕΛΕΤΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΒΑΝΙΤΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ

Η συμμετοχή των συμμετεχουσών/-όντων είναι εθελοντική και ανώνυμη. Οι απαντήσεις θα χρησιμοποιηθούν μόνο για τους σκοπούς της παρούσας έρευνας και μόνο από την ερευνήτρια και τα δεδομένα της αξιολόγησης που θα προκύψουν στη συνέχεια είναι εμπιστευτικά.

Οι συμμετέχουσες/-οντες έχουν δικαίωμα απόσυρσης από την έρευνα οποιαδήποτε στιγμή το επιθυμήσουν χωρίς οποιεσδήποτε συνέπειες.

Υπογράφοντας το παρόν έντυπο, συμφωνείτε με τα παρακάτω:

1. Έχω διαβάσει και κατανοήσει το περιεχόμενο του εντύπου ενημέρωσης της έρευνας
2. Οι ερωτήσεις μου σχετικά με τη συμμετοχή μου στην έρευνα έχουν απαντηθεί ικανοποιητικά
3. Η συμμετοχή μου στην έρευνα είναι εθελοντική και ανώνυμη

Η ερευνήτρια είναι στη διάθεση σας για οποιαδήποτε διευκρίνιση σχετικά με όσα αναφέρθηκαν. Ευχαριστώ για τη συμβολή σας στην πραγμάτωση αυτής της έρευνας.

Διάβασα το παραπάνω κείμενο και συμφωνώ για τη συμμετοχή

μου σ’ αυτή τη δραστηριότητα.

_____

Όνομα συμμετέχουσας/-οντα

_____ _____

Υπογραφή συμμετέχουσας/-οντα Ημερομηνία

_____ _____

Όνομα ερευνήτριας Υπογραφή Ερευνήτριας

APPENDIX C

7. Consent Form for participation in a study

RESEARCH TITLE: STUDY OF THE ARVANITIKA LANGUAGE

The participation of the participants is voluntary and anonymous. The answers will only be used for the purposes of this study and only by the researcher and the evaluation data that will subsequently emerge are confidential.

Participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any time they wish without any consequences.

By signing this form, you agree to the following:

4. I have read and understood the content of the study information form
5. My questions about my participation in the study have been satisfactorily answered
6. My participation in the study is voluntary and anonymous

The researcher is at your disposal for any clarification regarding what has been mentioned. Thank you for your contribution to the realization of this research.

I read the above text and agree to my participation

in this activity.

_____

Name of participant

_____ _____

Signature of participant Date

_____ _____

Name of the researcher Signature of the Researcher



ΙΟΝΙΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ

ΤΜΗΜΑ ΞΕΝΩΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ

Κοινωνιογλωσσολογική έρευνα

1. Έντυπο ενημέρωσης

Προσκαλείστε να λάβετε μέρος στην έρευνα για τα αρβανίτικα. Έχοντας διαβάσει και κατανοήσει τον σκοπό της έρευνας από τις διευκρινίσεις της ερευνήτριας, θα σας ζητηθεί να δώσετε τη συγκατάθεση σας γραπτώς σε ξεχωριστό έντυπο. Στο τέλος της έρευνας, θα έχετε πρόσβαση στα αποτελέσματα εφόσον το επιθυμείτε.

Η παρούσα έρευνα γίνεται στα πλαίσια των διδακτορικών σπουδών της ερευνήτριας στην κοινωνική γλωσσολογία, στο Τμήμα Ξένων Γλωσσών Μετάφρασης και Διερμηνείας του Ιονίου πανεπιστημίου.

Σκοπός της έρευνας είναι να μελετηθεί η γλώσσα και η ιστορία της.

Ευχαριστούμε για τη συμμετοχή σας!

Η ερευνήτρια

Χριστίνα Φλωρά

Η συμμετέχουσα/ Ο συμμετέχων

…… ……

Τηλ. Επικοινωνίας: 2310-415519, 210-2929830

Κιν. 6930137764

Email: Christi_17_sin_to@yahoo.com

Ημερ. / /2019



IONIAN UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES, TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION

Sociolinguistic research

1. Information sheet

You are invited to take part in a study on the Arvanitika language. Having read and understood the purpose of the study from the clarifications of the researcher, you will be asked to give your consent in writing on a separate form. At the end of the study, you will have access to the results if you wish.

This research is carried out in the framework of the doctoral studies of the researcher in social linguistics, at the Department of Foreign Languages, Translation and Interpretation of the Ionian University.

The purpose of the research is to study the language and its history.

Thank you for your participation!

The researcher

Christina Flora

The participant

…… ……

Tel. Contact: 2310-415519, 210-2929830

Mob. 6930137764 Day / /2019

Email: Christi_17_sin_to@yahoo. com

FIELD NOTE

Interviewer	
Date of Interview	
Time of Interview Start	
Interviewee's name	
Location of Interview	
Consent Form Signed	
Permission to Audio-record	
Discussed Anonymity	

Themes that emerged, memorable quotes, anything that stood out:
What worked:
What didn't work:

Areas for possible follow-up or further exploration: