

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT IN THE GREEK COMMUNITY OF JOHANNESBURG

by

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DECLARATION

Student Number: 0754-400-6

I declare *Language maintenance and shift in the Greek community of Johannesburg* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

24 February 2014

In loving memory of my mother and father, who would have wanted to share this day with me.

There is no nation in world history, who for so many centuries, and in so many spheres, has influenced the history of human thought, actions and feelings as the Ancient Greeks, through the creative achievements of their intellectual life. Furthermore, from its origin in the second millennium B.C., despite extensive changes and adaptations, the Greek nation and culture and its language have been perpetually sustained and, in essence, remained the same.

Prof. G. van N. Viljoen, Rector of Rand Afrikaans University, cited in Toerien Dec. 1977 – Feb. 1978, Page 9 (Translated by: A. McDuling)

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the phenomenon of language shift and maintenance in the Greek community of Johannesburg, which is the largest Greek community in South Africa. The main aim of the study is to provide an account of the factors which assist in maintaining the Greek language which is under pressure from English, the dominant official language in the country. This study draws on the theoretical and methodological frameworks established in the many studies conducted on the Greek communities in the USA and Australia.

The Greek community has played a significant role in assisting to shape the development of South Africa. Up until the 1980s, they were subject to discrimination from the host society; consequently, many immigrants lived together in certain suburbs and founded their own churches, clubs and schools. These factors contributed greatly to the retention of their language and culture. Since the late 1980s, the discriminatory attitude of the host society toward the immigrant communities has decreased notably, and subsequently, there has been an increased integration and assimilation into the host society. The process of assimilation has resulted, *inter alia*, in an increased use of English, the dominant language of the host society, consequently the retention of the mother tongue has declined.

A number of factors were identified as playing an important role in the maintenance of Greek: education, religion, family, language loyalty and socio-cultural activities; and, to a lesser extent, media and overseas visits. Education has played a key role in maintaining the language, in particular through the establishment of Greek day and afternoon schools. Despite a preference for bilingual church services, the Greek Orthodox Church continues to play a vital role in the maintenance of Greek. The family, loyalty towards the language and culture and a notable pride in being Greek, and participation in socio-cultural activities contribute significantly to the maintenance of the Greek language. Despite a marked shift towards English in the younger generation, the future of Greek in South Africa may be characterized by relatively stable bilingualism, provided that current trends continue.

Key words: bilingualism, code-switching, Greek immigrant communities, Greek language, Greek school, identity, language loyalty, language maintenance, language shift, minority language, sociolinguistics, sociology of language

Σύνοψη

Η παρούσα μελέτη πραγματεύεται το φαινόμενο της αλλαγής και διατήρησης της ελληνικής γλώσσας στην ελληνική κοινότητα του Γιοχάνεσμπουργκ, η οποία αποτελεί την μεγαλύτερη κοινότητα στο Γιοχάνεσμπουργκ. Ο κύριος σκοπός της διατριβής, είναι να παρουσιάσει τους παράγοντες που συμβάλλουν στη διατήρηση της ελληνικής γλώσσας, η οποία καταπιέζεται γλωσσικά από την Αγγλική, την κυρίαρχη και επίσημη γλώσσα της χώρας. Η μελέτη αυτή αντλεί τους θεωρητικούς και μεθοδολογικούς της άξονες από τις διάφορες μελέτες που ως αντικείμενό τους έχουν την μελέτη των ελληνικών κοινοτήτων στις Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες και στην Αυστραλία.

Η Ελληνική κοινότητα έχει παίξει σημαντικό υποβοηθητικό ρόλο στην πορεία της εξέλιξης της Νότιας Αφρικής. Μέχρι το 1980 ήταν αντικείμενο φυλετικής διάκρισης από τη χώρα υποδοχής με αποτέλεσμα πολλοί μετανάστες να ζουν ομαδικά σε συγκεκριμένες περιοχές, ιδρύοντας τις δικές τους εκκλησίες, συλλόγους και σχολεία. Οι προαναφερόμενοι παράγοντες συνέβαλαν αισθητά στη διατήρηση της γλώσσας και του ελληνικού πολιτισμού. Από τα τέλη του 1980, η πολιτική διακρίσεων λόγω φυλετικής καταγωγής από τη χώρα υποδοχής προς τις μεταναστευτικές ομάδες έχει μειωθεί αισθητά ενώ μετέπειτα παρατηρείται μια αυξημένη ενσωμάτωση και αφομοίωση στην χώρα-οικοδεσπότης. Η διαδικασία ενσωμάτωσης συντέλεσε, *inter alia*, στην αύξηση της χρήσης της αγγλικής γλώσσας, την κυρίαρχη γλώσσα της χώρας υποδοχής με αποτέλεσμα να μειώνεται η διατήρηση της μητρικής γλώσσας.

Αναγνωρίστηκε ένας αριθμός παραγόντων με σημαντικό ρόλο ως προς τη διατήρηση της ελληνικής γλώσσας: η παιδεία, η θρησκεία, η οικογένεια, η αφοσίωση στη γλώσσα και οι κοινωνικό-πολιτισμικές δραστηριότητες· ενώ σε μικρότερο ποσοστό, τα μαζικά μέσα και οι διεθνείς επισκέψεις. Η εκπαίδευση έχει παίξει σημαντικό ρόλο στη διατήρηση της γλώσσας ιδιαίτερα μέσω της ίδρυσης ελληνικών ημερήσιων και απογευματινών σχολείων. Η Ελληνική Ορθόδοξη Εκκλησία συνεχίζει να παίζει ουσιαστικό ρόλο στη διατήρηση της γλώσσας παρότι υπάρχει μια προτίμηση για τις δίγλωσσες εκκλησιαστικές λειτουργίες. Η οικογένεια, η αφοσίωση στην γλώσσα και στον πολιτισμό, η εμφανής υπερηφάνεια ως προς την ελληνική ταυτότητα και η συμμετοχή σε κοινωνικό-πολιτισμικές δραστηριότητες επίσης συμβάλλουν αισθητά στη διατήρηση της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Παρόλο το φαινόμενο της γλωσσικής αλλαγής προς την αγγλική γλώσσα από τη νεότερη γενεά, το μέλλον της ελληνικής στη Νότια Αφρική μπορεί να χαρακτηριστεί από μια σταθερή διγλωσσία, υπό την προϋπόθεση ότι θα συνεχιστούν οι τρέχουσες τάσεις.

Λέξεις Κλειδιά: διγλωσσία, εναλλαγή κωδικών, κοινότητες Ελλήνων μεταναστών, ελληνική γλώσσα, ελληνικό σχολείο, ταυτότητα, πιστότητα γλώσσας, διατήρηση γλώσσας, γλωσσική αλλαγή, μειονοτική γλώσσα, κοινωνιογλωσσολογία, κοινωνιολογία της γλώσσας

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If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent Him
 Voltaire

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Immanuel Kant

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ABBREVIATIONS

EMT	Ethnic Mother Tongue
MG	Modern Greek (or Mother-Tongue Greek)
FLB	Foreign Language Broadcasting
ESL	English Second Language
SES	Socio-Economic Status
G.D.E.	Gauteng Department of Education (Previously: T.E.D. Transvaal Education Department)
IEB	Independent Examinations Board
U.S.A.	United States of America
UNISA	University of South Africa
UJ (RAU)	University of Johannesburg (Previously: Rand Afrikaans University)
WITS	University of the Witwatersrand
SAHETI	South African Hellenic Educational and Technical Institute
LOLT	Language of Learning and Teaching
CLOTES	Community Languages Other Than English
LWC	Language of wider communication
§	Paragraph References

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

South Africa, in more ways than one, has a history which closely resembles that of the United States of America and Australia: the white population in these countries is made up of settlers who came from various countries in Europe, as each of these countries seemed to offer the promise of a better life for them. Franklin D. Roosevelt, when discussing the various origins of the people of the USA, stated that: “[it] reminded us Americans that we are all immigrants...all of them came from foreign lands” (Saloutos 1967:v). Fishman (1966:29) indicates that the naturalisation of immigrants is a phenomenon which has happened all over the world, and for a very long period of time, while “only in a few instances have new nations been created ‘from scratch’ in the process”. The Portuguese and Spanish were the leaders in the voyages of discovery to the New World, and to Africa and the East (McDuling 1995:1). A constant flow of immigrants to the shores of these countries has been going on since the arrival of the first colonists. A large proportion of the arrivals in the new and hostile environments came from Southern Europe.

South Africa also experienced an influx of many different nations from Europe: Britain, Holland, France, Germany, Portugal, and Italy, as well as from Greece. South Africans can identify with the observations made by Lord (cited in Saloutos 1967:vi), when he states: “We have become a nation of many peoples, polyglot, and heterogeneous beyond belief. Yet from this diversity we have forged a nation mighty beyond the wildest dreams of the founding fathers”. Although he was referring to the USA, this is also true in the case of South Africa.

Like the other immigrant communities in South Africa, the Greek community has made a vital contribution to South African society, different generations fulfilling different needs in the society. As in Verivaki’s (1993:4) study of the Greek community in New Zealand, the first generation in South Africa was also primarily involved in less-skilled or semi-skilled jobs, but later generations became more involved in various professions. In South Africa, the earlier Greek generations were primarily shop owners (later to become owners

of supermarkets and restaurants, see Appendix 2), and later generations have become established or involved in professions such as medicine, law and commerce, providing a valuable contribution to South African society and, as such, have become an integral and indispensable part of it (Mantzaris 1999:130f). These facts were attested to by an ex-rector of the Rand Afrikaans University (now University of Johannesburg), Prof. G. van N. Viljoen (cited in Toerien, 1977:9), who paid tribute to the contribution of the Greek community, and is of the opinion that we in South Africa are privileged inheritors of the Greek or Hellenic heritage, a living and dynamic treasure which lives on today as it exercises its creative stimulus. In addition, he maintains that the Greeks are a strong and proud part of the South African nation who cherish their Hellenic descent and roots with dedication:

Ons in Suid-Afrika is ook bevoorregte erfgename van die Griekse of Helleense nalatenskap, 'n skat wat lewendig en dinamies nog steeds voortleef en sy skeppende stimulus uitoefen. Daarby het ons n sterk en trotse deel van die Suid-Afrikaanse nasie wat hulle Helleense afstamming en wortels met toewyding bly troetel.

The Greek and Italian contribution to the western world, as we know it today, was largely in terms of culture, Mathematics and Philosophy which was to shape, to a large extent, our western society. Dr P Koornhof (cited in Toerien 1977:2), a former minister of National Education, paid tribute to the Greek immigrants with their rich culture and classical heritage. He (cited in Toerien 1977:2) stated that, we can justifiably be proud of our Greek fellow citizens with their continued contributions they make in the interest of our country, and we recognise in them the talents and abilities which characterised the Golden Age of Pericles!

Ons kan met reg trots wees op ons Griekse mede-landgenote en op die volgehoue bydrae wat hulle in die belang van ons land lewer. Ons herken in hulle die talente en vermoëns wat die Goue Eeu van Perikles gekenmerk het!

In contrast to the typical idyllic picture people may have of Greece, and more specifically, the Greek islands (white houses set against a background of aqua blue seas), Added (1972:1) indicates that there are various underlying discrepancies we need to be aware of within the community, specifically, the lack of unity, which he says can be seen in both the country and among the people. According to Added (1972:1), this divisiveness seems to have its origin in various factors. In the Greek population, there is a “multiplicity of social units and social structures in which this dividedness is embedded” (Added 1972:1).

Furthermore, there are also geographical and historical signs of a lack of unity. The Greek landscape is uneven and split by high mountains, valleys, the sea, and of course, the hundreds of islands. For most of its long history, Greece was divided into various states – hostilities and competition existing between them. In religion, both ancient and modern, this disunity and diversity are seen: in mythology, the gods were at war with each other; in modern religion there are many different saints. Each village and family has its own patron saint and icon. Kourvetaris (1971:36) notes that the physical division of the landscape results in the Greeks being divided into three main groupings: the city, the seafaring and the rural. He maintains that this physical make-up of the country leads to a dichotomy: a desire for adventure together with a deeply rooted nostalgia for the home country. When the Greek immigrants came to South Africa, a tendency started and continues until the present day, for people from the different regions to meet as well as to retain the customs and traditions, and by implication also the dialects (or language features), from their area of origin; hence the establishment of various Greek organisations in South Africa, reflecting these differences. This phenomenon is referred to as ‘transplanting’ (see, for example, § 1.7.1; Appendix 19) (Interview, Prof. Thekla Sansaridou-Hendrickx, UJ).

From a linguistic viewpoint, the Greek language is also characterised by a lack of unity: there are three main varieties, each spoken by different sections of the population (Added, 1972:1). This disunity also displays itself in the very nature or existence of the people, many of whom, as a result of emigration, are living in the Diaspora. One finds that this dichotomy is not characteristic of Greeks only, but of most of the people who emigrated to a new “promised land”, namely, the dichotomy of their existence: a people striving and battling to make a new life, and then the continuous longing to return to their homeland (Added 1972:2; see also Gardner-Chloros et al 2005:53).

1.2 The research problem and the motivation for the study

Immigrant communities may be encountered in almost every country in the world, especially those discussed in detail in this study, namely, the United States and Australia (§ 3). Greece is but one of the countries in Europe which has experienced mass emigration, notably to the USA, Australia and South Africa. There is therefore a situation where many Greeks have left the homeland and are now living in the Diaspora. Consequently, their language is under threat, as the possibility of language shift becomes very real, when living in a host society where English is the dominant language. It is then in this specific situation that language maintenance becomes an important issue.

The problem, which the researcher therefore wishes to address in this thesis, is the current state of the Greek language in South Africa. The forces, which are either facilitating the maintenance of the language or causing a shift from the mother tongue to English, need to be examined and identified within the community.

There is a long tradition of extensive studies of Greek immigrant communities, conducted mainly in the United States (Bardis 1976, Vlachos 1964, Demos 1988, Kourvetaris 1971, Xenides 1922) and Australia (Tsounis 1974, Tamis 1985, 1990, Kapardis 1988). Extensive research has been done on language maintenance and language shift in these Greek communities. The main studies that have been conducted on the Greek community in South Africa are: Added (1972), Mantzaris (1978, 1982) and Damanakis (2003). The focus of these studies has been largely sociological and anthropological; they have paid little or no attention to sociolinguistic issues. Further significant studies or articles which could be traced were, for example, articles by Hendrickx (1983) and Sansaridou-Hendrickx (2000), Krystallidis (2000), Paizes (1963), and Nicolaides (1923). As the University of Johannesburg (UJ) offers Masters and Doctoral courses in Greek, there are also theses on various aspects of the language or the culture. For example, Piperides-Triandafillou (2001) (UJ) has conducted research on Greek prose writing in South Africa. The role of the Greek press was researched by Marinou-Hadjitheodorou (2003). Erifilly Thanou (2004) conducted research on Greek poets in South Africa (1960-2004). There is also an academic journal published in Greek, *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*. Furthermore, there is a collection of studies of Greek communities in countries such as Egypt, Australia, Canada, the United States, South Africa and Russia, edited by Clogg (1999).

However, there is a need for a study which focuses on the language. This thesis is the first comprehensive sociolinguistic study of the Greek community in South Africa. This research draws on the rich tradition of research and material from the studies in the USA and Australia, and applies it to the Greek South African language situation.

Despite the fact that there are many immigrant communities of European origin in South Africa, sociolinguistic research on these communities is minimal, for example, the Portuguese community (McDuling 1995) and the French community (Gräbe 1988). There is considerably more research on Indian communities and their languages in South Africa, for example, Mesthrie (1991,1992,1995), Aziz (1988), Bhugwan (1970) and Prabhakaran (1992,2001). This is minimal in contrast to the United States of America and Australia, where there is a large body of research on immigrant communities (see discussion in Chapter 3).

Although the Greek community may not be the largest immigrant community in South Africa, it is one of the most prominent communities in the country; the community members have become an integral part of South African society over many years and they have made significant contributions to South African society, especially in the fields of law, medicine and commerce; and in recent years, the supermarket and restaurant industry (e.g. ‘Spar’ and ‘Steers’ respectively) (see also § 2.3.2). There are many members of the community who have achieved in various fields, for example: Fashion: Peter Soldatos and Spiros Veliotis; Theatre: John Vlismas and Renos Spanoudes; Radio: Katerina Katipodis and Aki Anastasiou.

1.3 The aim of the study

The main aim of the study is primarily to provide an account of the factors which assist in maintaining the Greek language in the Johannesburg community, as well as those which cause a shift from Greek. The researcher wishes to provide a sociolinguistic account of the present state of Greek, which is under pressure from English, one of the official languages of South Africa (see also § 4.4), focusing specifically on the traditional members (or nucleus) of the community i.e. those who are involved in the community, and have a desire to retain the language and culture, as opposed to those who may no longer see themselves as Greek or as part of the community (§ 4.4.2). This would constitute a separate study.

As no previous studies have been done on language shift and maintenance in the Greek community in South Africa (§ 1.2), in contrast to the detailed studies conducted in the USA and Australia, there is a need to fill the lacuna in research on the community. This research therefore also aims to fill this gap by providing a sociolinguistic account of the present state of the Greek language in the Johannesburg Greek Community, which will add to the limited academic research on the community in South Africa. The South African Greek community was reckoned among one of the largest communities after the USA and Australia.

Some of the factors which have been identified by researchers as playing an important role in the maintenance of a language are education, religion, media, family, socio-cultural activities, residential area and gender. This study also attempts to determine whether these

factors play a role in the maintenance of Greek in Johannesburg and whether additional factors can be identified. The broader aim is to contribute to this field of research, in the hope that this research may contribute to the body of research on Greek communities globally, and encourage future research on immigrant community languages in South Africa, such as Italian and German.

1.4 Hypothesis for the study

In order to investigate the present state of Greek in the Johannesburg community, a pilot study (Appendix 18) was conducted which assisted with the initial research and helped to gauge certain important trends within the community (for example: the majority of Greek children attend Greek school, even if only while in primary school, many are therefore literate in the language; a desire to retain the language and a loyalty toward the language; pride in being Greek and the Greek culture; involvement in social and/or cultural activities; a certain amount of exposure to the media, more specifically the Greek television channel; sending Greek smses, using the English alphabet (transliteration); visits to Greece and speaking to certain family members and older members of the community in Greek); specific aims were also formulated to guide the study. Following on from the pilot study, the researcher then conducted more in-depth research within the Johannesburg Greek community, using respondents from a wide variety of backgrounds, in order to make the study as representative as possible.

The researcher was therefore guided by the following hypothesis:

Despite a detectable language shift which is taking place within the Greek community over generations, a pilot study suggested that certain factors or agents within the community are slowing down this process of language shift, and are assisting with the maintenance of the Greek mother tongue.

1.5 Immigrant communities and the immigration process

This section gives a general overview of some of the features of immigrant communities: certain general characteristics of immigration, immigrants, immigrant communities and their language(s), which are provided as a background to this study. The main sources consulted in this regard are Fishman (1966), Mindel & Habenstein (1981) and Kourvetaris (1981).

1.5.1 Terminology used in this particular study

In a study of this nature which deals almost exclusively with an immigrant community, it is important to have some background information on immigration and immigrant communities. Numerous references are made to *Greeks*, *ethnic groups*, *ethnicity* and *minority groups*, in the literature and in this study. Therefore, it is important to define some of these concepts.

1.5.1.1 'Greek'

Different definitions provided by various researchers give a general indication of who may be regarded as a Greek:

- A Greek is “any individual who comes from Greece and has been a citizen of that country” (Vlachos 1964:149,150).
- A Greek is any person “who, no matter where he is born, and no matter what his nationality is, is of Greek descent, identifies himself as Greek, and understands and speaks Greek if not fluently at least to some extent ” (Price 1975:4).
- Greek people are “those immigrants who were born in Greece, and countries outside of Greece (e.g. Cyprus, Turkey, Egypt), and their Australian-born counterparts” (Tsounis 1974:11).
- Greek people are “residents born in Greece and in countries outside Greece, for example, Cyprus, Egypt and Turkey... [who] identify themselves with, and participate in the affairs of Greek ethnic communities and ethnic institutions” (Tsounis 1975:18).
- Greek ethnic communities may be regarded as “the Greek people and their ethnic institutions (whether urban or rural)” (Tsounis 1974:11). Note also that, according to Tsounis (1975:18), terms such as Greek community and Greek ethnic community are often used interchangeably and referred to as *paroikia* by the Greeks.
- Greek national identity is “associated with the perpetuation of the Greek language, Greek faith, and customs and traditions considered Greek” (Saloutos 1973:396).

1.5.1.2 Ethnicity

Fishman (1966:62) defines ethnicity broadly as follows:

Ethnicity designates a constellation of primordial awareness, sentiments, and attachments, by means of which man has traditionally recognised the discriminanda that relate him to some other man while distinguishing him from others.

Paulston (1987:34-42) gives a good, general definition linking ‘ethnicity’ to language and culture. She maintains that ethnicity refers to features which are common to a group of people, or a nation, such as, a common history, culture, beliefs and language: “roots and shared biological past and the common ancestors...cultural value and beliefs.”

Milroy (1987b: 103) refers to ethnicity as: “An individual’s sense of belonging to a distinctive group whose members share a common history and culture...with which a sense of linguistic distinctiveness is often associated.” Milroy (1987b: 103, 104) points out that ethnicity is not always marked by linguistic distinctiveness, for example, as seen in Labov’s work in New York with Jewish and Italian communities. A community’s distinctiveness can last for many generations or may disappear quickly, but they still maintain a sense of ethnicity. This may be achieved through well-organised networks of cultural activities, for example, the Polish community in Britain. Further, Milroy adds that ethnicity can be associated with social class – in many countries immigrants are recruited to do low-paying jobs; consequently, they tend to cluster together in poorer areas and are concentrated in low-status jobs. This would seem to apply to the first generations of most immigrant communities in South Africa – especially the Greek, Italian and Portuguese, who initially stayed together in areas close to each other (sometimes called language islands) and many of them did skilled or unskilled labour jobs (see Rosenthal 1977 and Koenderman 1977).

In their discussion of ethnic groups, Mindel and Habenstein (1981:1) indicate that ethnic groups are people who do not set the dominant style of life or control the privileges and power in any given society. Ethnicity is displayed in values, attitudes, lifestyles, customs rituals and personality types of individuals who identify with certain ethnic groups. Identification with and membership of an ethnic group has far-reaching effects or consequences on both the group and the individuals, controlling access to opportunities in life, feelings of well-being and mastery over the futures of their children.

Glazer (1954) is of the opinion that in the long run, ethnicity may disappear; in contrast to this view is that of Greeley (1969) (cited in Mindel & Habenstein, 1981:3), who maintains that it is more likely to be retained for a long time: “Family, land and common cultural heritage have always been terribly important to human beings, and suspicion of anyone who is strange or different seems also deeply rooted in human experience”. This view is in line with that of Fishman (1966:138f) who emphasises its prominent role in defining a community – it is dominant over religion as a reinforcer of language maintenance and bilingualism occurs before people become de-ethnicized or bi-cultural, respectively. Ethnicity is therefore a more stable feature within a community than language.

1.5.1.3 Ethnic group

There are certain things that are of great importance to people – things which they are willing to defend to the death. Geertz (1963) (cited in Mindel & Habenstein, 1981:4) refers to these things which people are willing to die for as “primordial attachments”. “These can be seen as the “givens” or “assured givens” of social existence, for example, family connection, religion, language, and following social patterns.” These attachments or feelings of belonging to a certain group of people are seen as a basic characteristic of the human condition. These ties are called ‘ethnic ties’ and the group of people that one is tied to is the ‘ethnic group’.

As is evident from the discussion thus far, ethnic groups have common characteristics which they ascribe to. Mindel & Habenstein (1981:5) provide the following definition: “An ethnic group consists of those who share a unique social and cultural heritage that is passed on from generation to generation”. In addition, according to Gordon (cited in Mindel & Habenstein, 1981:5), an ethnic group may also be viewed as people who share a feeling of ‘peoplehood’. Mindel & Habenstein (1981:5) point out that there has been a need for individuals “to merge their individual identity with some ancestral group – [with] “their own kind of people”. There seem to be core categories from which people can choose to form a sense of peoplehood, for example, race, religion, national origin or a combination of these categories – criteria which emphasise cultural symbols (Gordon 1964, cited in Mindel & Habenstein, 1981:5).

1.5.1.4 Ethnic institutions

These are formal organisations such as Greek orthodox communities, the most important and basic Greek immigrant organisations; regional fraternities, which cater for people who originate from particular regions, districts, and islands of Greece and places outside the Greek nation; a variety of pan-Hellenic organisations which cater for specific needs, for example, recreation, sport, partisan political aspirations and for particular groups such as women and youth; institutions such as Greek newspapers, churches, schools, consulates and coffeehouses, and Greek businesses (see also Mantzaris 1999:126ff). The number of people in an ethnic community will usually determine the number and variety of these institutions; they operate in order to satisfy important immigrant needs, often more effectively than the family institution, kinship networks and informal associations. They influence and are part of the social, political and cultural life of the Greeks and by their close interrelationship and constant interaction, contribute to the organised structure of each ethnic community. Tsounis (1975:18) highlights that “Greek ethnic communities have developed into complex social networks and viable subcultures. It is within the framework of ethnic communities that Greek immigrants and their descendants often spend much time and where some phases of their assimilation occur and can be studied”.

1.5.1.5 Minority group

According to Brody (1968:2), a minority group “is a set of people, who are capable of being distinguished on the basis of some physical or cultural characteristic, are treated collectively as inferior”. A member of such a group is socially visible, in terms of appearance or behaviour, which allows an observer to classify or categorise such a person. The problem faced by many of the members of such groups, as Brody (1968:2) explains, is usually one of prejudice and possible discrimination:

he is perceived as representative of a category, deprived of his status as an individual ... minority group status carries with it the probability of becoming a target for the prejudices of the majority

With regard to problems and prejudices faced by many immigrants, Saloutos (1967:v), in line with the view expressed above by Brody, also highlights the plight of the immigrant, when he states that: “when they were also of a markedly different appearance, their troubles were even greater.”

Mindel & Habenstein (1981:8) provide the following explanation of the concept ‘Minority Groups’: ‘Minority’ in the sociological sense refers to a power or dominance relationship, not necessarily numerical inferiority. These groups, consequently, will have unequal access to power, may be considered unworthy of sharing power equally (see also Mindel and Habenstein, 1981:1), and may be stigmatised in terms of certain inferior traits or characteristics. To be a member of a minority group is to share a status relationship, and to act as a minority group member is to express power consciously (Mindel and Habenstein, 1981:8). In contrast, to be a member of an ethnic group is to share a sense of cultural and historical uniqueness, and to act as a member of an ethnic group is to express feelings or call attention to that uniqueness. A person may, at any one moment, act in either capacity.

1.5.2 Causes of migration

When examining the history of the Greek community, many striking similarities with the other Mediterranean nations can be observed, regarding migration and immigration. Apalhao and Da Rosa (1980:21), for example, observe that Portuguese immigration “is now both constant in time and universal in space”. They explain the phenomenon of emigration by means of the push-pull theory of emigration (Apalhao and Da Rosa, 1980:37). The ‘push’ aspect of this theory refers to the causes of immigration, namely, the factors or reasons why people leave their mother country (i.e. the factors ‘pushing’ them away from their mother country or country of residence). The ‘pull’ aspect of the theory refers to the factors which attract people to a country, such as improved living conditions, economic factors, socio-political conditions, advertising, and the testimony of people already living there. In the section on the history of the Greek community in South Africa (§ 1.8), the factors which caused people to leave Greece (push factors), and factors which attracted them to other countries like South Africa (pull factors) will be discussed. (See also Gardner-Chloros et al 2005:53).

1.5.3 The immigrant in a new environment: A discussion by Fishman (1966)

Fishman (1966:26) indicates that when immigrants arrive in a new country, they are not a *tabulae rasa*, i.e. a blank slate on which life and experiences still need to make their impression. They bring their past with them – including their language and they use the old

to adjust to the new. In this way, their languages and culture are established in the new territory as they have value and provide a “sympathetic companion for the journey of adaptation” (Fishman 1966:27). Saloutos (1967:v) highlights this issue when he speaks of the various immigrant communities in the USA: “From those lands they brought certain concepts, attitudes, customs, and lore that made it either particularly easy or particularly difficult for them to fit into the life they found in the US”.

Life in the new territory meant that language and the way of life of the old territory was under threat, consequently, organisations were formed that aimed at protecting the language and way of life of the ‘old country’; for example, schools and churches, which had not existed before. Certain relics of ethnicity (food, clothing and dances) gained greater importance than before; some were changed and others lost. Language maintenance and language loyalty efforts started to take on importance in this context of social change; at times immigrants would try to maintain parts of the old, at other times come to terms with the new. In some instances, there are people within the immigrant communities who attempt to preserve the language and traditions of the country of origin; in other instances there are separatists or those who tend to embrace aspects of nationalism. There are also those who advocate pluralistic rationales, i.e. they establish political groups, schools, dramatic societies and the media (press). Their conscious purpose is linguistic and cultural self-maintenance (Fishman 1966:28; see also the comments by Doumanis, § 1.8.2).

Fishman (1966:30) notes that once new arrivals accept the goals and values of the new country this will also lead to accepting their life-styles, customs and language. An interesting notion is suggested by Fishman (1966:30), namely, that often linguistic and cultural aspects may decrease or erode, ironically, as a result of permissiveness and apathy, rather than opposition and antipathy. On the other hand, it is strange that people of North-Western European decent still recognise their history and origin, and they define themselves according to those aspects; they have not disappeared completely in the American society, even though this could have happened (Fishman, 1966:31).

Fishman (1966:31) highlights the significance of the third and subsequent generations who still, to a certain extent, think of themselves in ethnic terms and still retain a respect for their heritage. Fishman poses the question: why do these ethnic overtones persist? Surely the melting pot and the rewards which may be offered, urbanisation and industrialisation

would have caused this to have disappeared – or was the melting pot not so successful? Perhaps it is because in these countries like the USA (i.e. a country made up of many immigrant groups), there is no substantive and traditional core culture – hence the melting pot may not have been so successful. Essentially, he suggests, ethnicity may be a stronger force than we realise.

In the USA, this concept of the Melting Pot is well known. There are many discussions about the positive aspects of maintaining cultural pluralism, i.e. maintaining one's cultural heritage while becoming American. Mindel & Habenstein (1981:2) point out that what we find in the USA is Anglo conformity – it implies the downgrading and elimination of ethnic culture, and the incorporation of the dominant Anglo culture. Recently, there seems to have been a decline in melting pot theories of assimilation, and the notion that there are rather 'unmeltable ethnics', has been gaining credence.

1.6 The Greek language

1.6.1 Introduction

Greek forms part of the Indo-European language family. Most of the alphabets of modern Europe are derived from the Greek alphabet which, in turn, also borrowed from the Phoenician alphabet. Later on, the Romans adopted the Greek alphabet, but made certain changes before passing it on to the Western World. Many English words are derived from Greek. The lexicons of most Western and European languages contain a large number of words derived from Greek, reflecting the great impact which the Ancient Greeks had made on Western civilization.

1.6.2 The history of the Greek language

According to Bardis (1976:17ff), the main stages in the development of the Greek language can be specified as follows: Homeric (\pm 800 B.C.), Hesiodic (8th century B.C.), Attic (5th century B.C.), Alexandrian (4th century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.), Byzantine (4th century A.D. to 1453) and Post-Byzantine or Modern Greek (1453 to present).

During the first three stages, four main dialects could be identified: Attic, Aeolic, Doric and Ionic. In approximately 475 B.C. Greece became unified as a result of the Persian wars and Attic became the dominant language in the Hellenic world – this is what is known as Classical or Ancient Greek.

During the Alexandrian period, many linguistic changes started taking place. This period is also referred to as the Macedonian, Hellenistic or Alexandrian period. Alexander the Great (356 – 323 B.C.) founded Alexandria (in Egypt) in 332 B.C. and it became the centre of Greek culture while Athens started to decline. Greek became an international language and therefore was also susceptible to many foreign influences. This variety of Greek became known as Koine – the language in which the New Testament and the Septuagint were written.

During the Byzantine period, the Roman emperor, Constantine the Great (280 – 337 A.D.), adopted Christianity. The new religion and Greek culture had an influence in many spheres. Although both Constantine and Justinian the Great (483 – 565 A.D.) still regarded Latin as their mother tongue, Justinian declared Greek to be the official legislative language in 535. This happened after the fall of the Roman Empire. The empire split into two: the western half of the Empire collapsed, while the Eastern half of the empire, which became the Byzantine Empire, continued to exist, and Greek was its official language.

In Post-Byzantine or Modern Greek (1453 – present), many borrowed or adopted words entered the language from, for example, Italian (navigation terms); Vlach (pastoral terms); French (terminology related to clothes and cosmetics); and Turkish (words related to food and swearing).

According to Mpampiniotis (2002:23), Modern Greek developed in three stages:

- The post-Byzantine Greek of the Turkish occupation (1453–1828)
- *Katharevousa* (1828–1900), which is the Greek term for “pure (Greek) language”. It was the official language used in Education and for all administrative purposes in Greece until 1976.
- *Demotic*, i.e. “vernacular” or “people’s Greek”, from 1900. It was permitted for use in Primary Education only in 1917. The *demotic* language was officially recognised in 1976 as the official language in Greece for educational purposes and in 1977 for administrative purposes (cf. Mpampiniotis (2002:23). In literature demotic Greek had

already been used since the 19th century (e.g. *The National Hymn*, by D. Solomos (1798-1857), was written in *demotic*). In fact, different forms of ‘vernacular’ were in use since the Middle Ages, especially in chronicles, poetry and songs.

Bardis (1976:20) claims that Modern Greek is very similar to the older forms of Greek. To substantiate this claim he quotes some statistical data: approximately 4 900 words were used from the original Greek in the New Testament, of which 2 280 are still used today and a further 2 200 can still be understood. Only about 400 New Testament words are difficult to understand, many of which were derived from foreign cultures. Today, Modern Greek is spoken by approximately 9 million people.

1.7 The history of the Greek community in South Africa

1.7.1 Introduction

This section presents an overview of the history of the Greek community in South Africa, which may be traced back to the very early history of South Africa, namely the colonial era, when the first Europeans started to settle here.

Although the inclusion of information on the history of a community in a linguistic study of a community may sometimes be questioned, Pütz (1991:477) maintains that providing the historical background of a community in a sociolinguistic study is important in assisting the reader to situate the speech community within a broader socio-historical context (see also Vlachos 1964:131; § 3.2.3). In his study of the Greek community of Cape Town, Added (1972:2 ff) notes that the immigrants’ way of life was transplanted from Greece or Cyprus to the new host society, which ensures the continuation of language, customs and traditions in the new country:

Any research into the Greek community...first needs to get to the roots of the Greek in Greece. Attitudes, patterns, structures, and concepts which today prevail in Cape Town, have often been directly transplanted from the homeland...The dynamics that they carry with them are deeply anchored in Greece...It shows the *process* [own emphasis] which has led to the formation of the present community...one cannot understand the immigration process without a sound knowledge of the life of the Greek peasant and his roots. Furthermore, there can be no real understanding of the Greek community of today if we separate it from its development which began with immigration or from the very factors which are responsible for its development.

In presenting this history, the researcher has made use, primarily, of the study by Added (1972) as a point of departure, as it provides a comprehensive overview which helps the reader to gain a clear picture of the history and immigration process of the Greeks to South Africa. Mantzaris' studies (1978;1982), which are more detailed, were used to complement the information supplied by Added (1972). Mantzaris (1982:30) notes that examining the history of the Greek Community is a difficult task as the history of the community has been largely neglected. In general, there is a lack of both written and oral information regarding many immigrant communities. Many of the first arrivals are no longer alive and archives are sometimes incomplete. Researchers often have to rely on secondary sources such as newspapers.

1.7.2 Reasons for Greek immigration to South Africa

Added (1972:42) maintains that the history or process of emigration has a set pattern. It is interesting to note that more or less the same process of emigration applies to many other immigrant communities as well. Initially it was mostly bachelors who emigrated, primarily for economic reasons. This was because of certain conditions which were encountered in Greece at the time of initial emigration: poverty and less fertile land. Those who did return to Greece after a time period, appear to have become wealthy. Younger males view emigration as a journey to a "land of dreams". Peasants often believe that emigration will solve economic problems.

Mantzaris (1978, 1982) puts forward the following reasons for migration from the rural areas in Greece: the problems experienced in the agricultural sector, for example, the feudal-type agricultural ownership; the lack of state care; the lack of a real social policy in the agricultural sector and the start of modern methods in agriculture were pressing issues.

In addition, Mantzaris (1978:1) views the phenomenon of immigration in the same way as Apalhao and Da Rosa (§ 1.6.1): it is the result of underdevelopment in a country caused by historical or political factors (the 'push' factors). This is related to the historical dependence of these countries on developed industrial countries and their place in the international division of labour. Mantzaris maintains that immigration is also the result of socio-economic structures in a specific country in a specific time period (the 'pull' factors). The process is not only a case of exporting labour from one country to another, but it is also the result of the economic and demographic evolution of the recipient country. The popular countries for immigration before and after World War II were the technologically

and economically developed countries. The continued immigration was a result of the structural changes in Europe and the element of competition among West Germany, the USA and Japan. The nature, causes and results of Greek emigration which took place to the USA, Canada and Australia at the beginning of the 20th century, are not very different from the emigration which took place after World War II in Europe, or the emigration to other continents such as Africa and Asia.

It should be noted that there is a correlation between internal and external migration, both of which were taking place in Greece. Internal migration occurs from rural to urban areas. This type of migration is usually permanent, whereas external migration (to another country) is considered to be temporary (Added 1972:43). The main factors for internal migration may also play a role in external migration (including the emigration to South Africa), as found by Added (1972:44) in his study of Greeks in Cape Town, namely: to seek employment; to find a better life and to be near families.

Added's (1972:44) study of 77 informants revealed the following reasons for immigration to South Africa, set out in Table 1.1 below:

To improve financial situation	To join the family	Other reasons	No answer
49	12	10	6

Table 1.1: Reasons for emigration to South Africa

In discussing the history of the Greek community of Cape Town, Added (1972:45) divides the arrival of the people into four important time periods: 1925–1935, 1936–1947, 1948–1958 and 1959–1969 (as set out in Table 1.2 below). Added (1972:56) notes “[i]mmigration takes place in streams which are more or less continuous and well illustrates the standard process of bringing out brides, relatives and friends” (See Appendix 1).

Year of arrival	1925–1935	1936–1947	1948–1958	1959–1969	Total
Number of immigrants given in percentages	24,63	13,04	33,33	28,98	99,98

Table 1.2: Stream of immigration of Greek people to South Africa

In the following section, an overview of the arrival and history of the Greek community is given in three stages:

- The early period of arrival and pre-World War II
- The post-World War II Period
- The later period of immigration: The 1960s and thereafter

1.7.3 The early period of arrival and pre-World War II

The first arrivals were sailors who arrived on various ships in Cape Town, and then remained permanently. Nicolaides (cited in Mantzaris 1977:1) notes that the first Greek immigrants who arrived in Cape Town “were Greek seamen from foreign ships (who) disembarked and remained in the town”. The first Greek to arrive in South Africa was apparently a convict known as Stephanos, who jumped ship in approximately 1790. It is said that he became a prophet and chief of the Kora tribe (Greek Community, 2005; accessed 27 January 2005).

Nicolaides (cited in Mantzaris, 1977:1) mentions that other Greek seamen disembarked and remained in the town, but no exact number of people can be given prior to 1856. He does, however, provide the following statistics:

- There were approximately 20 Greeks in Kimberley by 1888, searching for diamonds;
- There were approximately 70 Greeks in Johannesburg by 1896, coming mainly from the Peloponnese;
- There were approximately 15 Greeks in Cape Town in 1891.
- 60 Greek immigrants established the Mutual Help Organisation in Cape Town in 1898.

The sources consulted by the researcher for the history on the community, do not provide much detail with regard to the very early period of arrival; it appears that information for this early period is limited (see § 1.8.1). The scarcity of information on the history of the community is also mentioned by Nicolaides (cited in Added 1972:46):

...the number of people who settled in this southernmost section of Africa cannot be accounted for prior to 1856...in 1898 the number did not exceed 60...by 1902 their number increased to 1 000, after which they started to move northwards to the Transvaal and Free State, at the same time, also settling in various towns and country towns of the Cape Province.

The main occupation of these first immigrants was the owning and running of cafés and fruit shops. In 1902, after the Anglo-Boer War, the Greek population in Cape Town was estimated at 1000 people. After the declaration of peace in 1902, a population movement took place from Cape Town to Johannesburg and the Transvaal generally, in the hope of a better future. In 1903, foundations for the first Greek Orthodox Church were laid. A committee was also established in 1903 – “The Hellenic Community of Cape Town” – to assist with the development of the community and the building of this church, for example.

As a result of the Greeks leaving the Cape, there were no more than 250 Greeks in the Cape by 1915; it is estimated that there were 40 (completely) Greek families and 10 mixed families. In the Cape Province, including Cape Town, there were approximately 400 Greeks (Added 1972:46). Added (1972:46) indicates that starting from about 1925 a new wave of immigrants began settling in Cape Town. It is from this time that Greeks began to settle and form a more permanent community. The majority of immigrants in this time period were bachelors who later brought out brides, as well as other friends and family members. This led to the process of gradual and continuous immigration, only affected by the war years, when there was a decrease in the number of immigrants because of World War II.

Added (1972:48) mentions that, at the time of his study, he detected that the immigrants originated from different regions, they are therefore sometimes referred to as “regional groups”. The main areas of origin were: Mytilene (Island of Lesbos), The Pelopponesus, Epirus, Cephallonia-Ithaca, Lymnos, Asia Minor, various islands (Imbros, Rhodes, Cyprus, Chios, Crete), Egypt, Athens and Africa (e.g. Rhodesia – Zimbabwe, Zambia, Cameroon, the Congo, Tanzania).

Because the café was such a prevalent feature of the first arrivals in South African society up to the late 1980s, the researcher feels it is necessary to make some reference to this aspect (Appendix 2).

Professor Ross (cited in: Kourvetaris, 1971:15), comments on the nature of the Greek immigrant which is characterised by a strong desire to be upwardly mobile:

Once his foot is on the first step, the saving and commercial-minded Greek climbs from curb to stand, from stand to store, from little store to the chain of stores, to branch of stores in other cities. Such are the stages of his upward path ‘the Greeks have the ability to transform with circumstances, but at the same time remain skeptical of change and become faithful to their main cultural traditions and mores. The Greek seems to possess an inexhaustible reservoir of faith and hope which propel him to strive, to achieve, to fall and – like the mythological Sisyphos – to rise again, and finally to master his social milieu and transform it (Kourvetaris, 1971:38).

This observation very aptly sums up the situation of the first and subsequent generations of Greeks in South Africa.

Many of the early immigrants (82%) who arrived in South Africa (1930s) opened cafés (which have become almost non-existent nowadays or changed ownership), tea-rooms, fruit and vegetable shops. The main reasons for this were: the majority of new arrivals were villagers whose main job had been cultivation - especially that of olives and vineyards; they did not possess other skills. Furthermore, Added (1972:58) cited the importance of the coffee house in Greece and the Greek villages as another factor influencing the choice of occupation in South Africa (i.e. the café).

The researcher wishes to add that a distinguishing characteristic of Greek-owned shops or businesses, over the years, is their unrelenting success. From the very first Greek-owned cafés and dry cleaners, to the modern-day *Spar* or *Steers*, for example, the Greeks have always managed to succeed in their business ventures.

1.7.4 The post-World War II Period

After World War II Greece experienced a civil war (1944–1949), characterised by “bloodshed, arrests, exile of large sections of the population, and a fragmentation of the Greek society” (Added 1972:47). These social conditions led to accelerated emigration. In addition, the formation of the ICEM (The International Government Committee for European Migration) assisted those who wished to emigrate, especially the skilled workers. In this period, there were many more skilled workers and people from urban areas who emigrated than in the past. Mantzaris (1978:20) highlights some factors which were responsible for emigration: economic pressures; the lack of educational opportunity; the desire for a better way of life; health and family reasons. The war also forced many farmers to flee to the bigger cities or towns (especially Athens), where they took refuge.

At the end of the period of occupation, those who had participated in the Greek Resistance Movement hoped for improved socio-economic conditions and a better way of life. Shortly after the war, however, it became clear that changes in society and the economy would not happen. The socio-economic problems increased after the Civil War (1944–1949), with its destructive consequences. This was the time of the largest number of Greek emigrants (Polyzos cited in Mantzaris 1978:22).

Although the Greek State did distribute large parts of the land to the peasants, they were not assisted with loans or new methods of cultivation. The results were two-fold: the small-scale farmers or peasants emigrated, and it accelerated the industrialisation process (Mantzaris 1982:27). Hence, the main composition of those emigrating, were the small-scale farmers or peasants, as well as certain sections of the refugee and indigenous working classes (Mantzaris 1982:27).

Western Europe, after the war, experienced a period of technological and economic development but there was a shortage of labourers. Greece had many semi-skilled workers, with little possibility of employment and consequently, many emigrated as labourers: 236 400 Greeks emigrated between 1946 and 1963 and 892 175 Greeks emigrated between 1951 and 1971 (Mantzaris 1978:24).

Mantzaris (1978:26) indicates that the period 1955–1971 was a period of great emigration, as a result of social problems: people from rural or agricultural areas had few opportunities of being ‘absorbed’ into the socio-economic sector of urban society after they had left their land after the Civil War; Western European countries, after World War II, experienced technological development and consequently required not only cheap labour, but also skilled and semi-skilled technicians. Furthermore, most emigrants were from the main active population (the age group 15–44). One of the chief causes (push factors) for emigration was low income and the increase in living costs, so people from different social backgrounds emigrated.

Hence, thus far, the main causes for urbanisation and emigration can be summed up as follows: problems in the agricultural sector and the late industrial development; the wish for a better way of life; seasonal unemployment due to developing technology in the farming industry and the under-development of the agricultural areas – a great push factor for people to move to the cities, especially the younger generations.

Initially, the majority of immigrants to South Africa in this period came from rural areas (Added 1972:50-56), but after the war others started to arrive from urban areas, and this increased. Those coming from rural areas were still in the majority; those from urban areas therefore joined an established community consisting of people from rural areas (81,72% from rural areas; 18,12% from urban areas) (Added 1972:57).

1.7.5 The later period of immigration: The 1960s and thereafter

In 1961 South Africa became a Republic. Consequently, many Europeans saw this as an opportunity to emigrate to a new environment with potential for an enhanced future. The government of the day (the National Party) would also have welcomed the influx of these immigrants, as it boosted the size of the white population in the country. As a result, the biggest influx of Greek immigrants to South Africa took place in the period 1960–1970 (see Appendix 1). Other reasons for this were: the import of the new Greek capital and the creation of new Greek industries in South Africa which required a labour force consisting of both skilled and semi-skilled workers; an increase in the number of Greek technicians and artisans being allowed into the country, because of the increasing industrialisation in the mid-1960s. The social composition of the immigrants changed: skilled and semi-skilled workers came mostly from urban Greek areas. In addition, many visitors who had come to South Africa on holiday, obtained permanent visas after six months, and this increased the number of immigrants (Mantzaris 1978:54).

A new social composition resulted, comprising the semi-skilled and skilled professionals, as well as sons and daughters of the second generation who were graduating from universities and colleges. Mantzaris (1978:54) refers to these people as the “new petty bourgeoisie” of the Greek immigrants.

After the Second World War, the first Greek industries and corporations with a number of Greek industrialists investing money in South Africa had been established. Reasons for this were: the lack of industrialisation in the Greek economy and the Civil War in Greece. A further contributing factor to the establishment of these industries was the influx of Greek-Egyptian capital after Nassar’s revolution. Furthermore, in the 1960s, Greek immigrants and Greek-Egyptians invested money in the agricultural field, resulting in the creation of a number of new farms.

In addition, Mantzaris (1978:33) notes for the period 1962 - 1970, three additional phenomena: (a) there were an increased number of emigrants among technicians and higher administrative staff; (b) an increase in the “brain emigration”; and (c) an increase in the number of high school graduates who had no opportunities to further their studies in Greece. These phenomena were the result of certain factors: the non-existence of occupational opportunities for high school and university graduates; the non-existence of post-graduate studies at Greek universities; most post-graduates studied in other countries and then stayed there; low incomes in the tertiary field; not all high school leavers could continue at universities, because of limited intake; once again students went to other European universities, mainly in Italy. Hence, this time period was characterised by the issues of underemployment and low incomes connected to the import of a cheaper labour force, especially from Africa (Mantzaris 1978:35).

During this period, many Greeks also emigrated to West Germany, especially in the years 1961–1971 because the distance was short enough to return to Greece, either permanently or temporarily, and it offered a better way of life. Mantzaris (1978:30) indicates that during this period, overseas emigration (presumably to another continent) took second place and that during the period 1957–1965 emigration of Greeks to the USA decreased, as emigration to Australia and Canada was gradually increasing.

In the period, 1968–1976, there was a tendency, especially among older people, to return to Greece. Many returned to Greece to retire, or because of the civil war in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe at the time. At the same time, many Greek-Rhodesians came to South Africa (Mantzaris 1978:56).

1.7.6 The important role of organisations and institutions in the community

Added (1972:87) indicates the relevance of examining these various organisations in such a study i.e. the possible functions of these institutions. He also wishes to determine the extent to which the structure of the organisations facilitates the successful and efficient performance of these functions. Furthermore, he examines the articles of the Constitution of the Hellenic Community of Cape Town, as these define the aims of the communal organisation, and quotes article (b) from the Constitution: “The founding, keeping,

maintenance and functioning of a Greek Orthodox Church, Greek School, ...with a view to the elevation of the members of the Community within the framework of the Greek traditions” (Added, 1972:87).

In his study, Added (1972:90) points out that the Greek Orthodox Church is the community’s main institution; it is an official and permanent place of gathering for Greeks. The name of the church, Added mentions, demonstrates the interplay between religious and ethnic aims. At the time of his research, services and sermons were conducted in Classical Greek.

The important and central role of the Church is highlighted by Added (1972:93) when he notes that the Church performs an important function just by its mere existence; it serves as a symbolic centre for all members of the congregation. It concretises feelings of belonging. It enables its members to define and fix their national and social identity as well as their link with the homeland” (Added 1972:93,94) (see also Mantzaris 1999:129).

The Greek school (Added 1972:94) had been in existence for only a few years in 1972. Before this time, the priest taught some of the children of the community. Added says that because the Greek children are scattered throughout the city, Greek classes are held in certain suburbs each weekday afternoon from 4 p.m. – 6 p.m. The community hires classrooms and school halls. Each child attends one class per week. Because of the small number of children, they used the ‘graduated system’ whereby children of different ages attend the same class simultaneously. There was no compulsory or official syllabus at that stage. The teacher selected the material to be taught.

The aims of teaching were given by the teacher as follows: the teaching of spoken Greek, the keeping of Greek customs and traditions, as far as possible, Greek history, national traditions, and the Greek Orthodox religion (Added 1972:94). A pupil, who had attended the entire course, should at the end, have reached the same level as a child in primary school (Standard 4) in Greece.

Added (1972:96) refers to the importance of The Greek school. He is of the opinion that at least it teaches the child the basic reading and writing. The language learnt is Demotika – spoken Greek. Classical Greek is a complex language and is therefore not taught. Children

are therefore not exposed to Classical Greek culture which Added says is the cornerstone of national Hellenistic culture.

Consequently, Added concludes (1972:97) that the school in Cape Town did not really perform a function in terms of cultivating Greek identity in the fields of culture, community and society. It does not serve as a social integrative institution, although it does have an abstract function, i.e. it has symbolic value – its mere existence shows the desire on the part of the immigrants to maintain a symbolic centre. Like the Church, it serves as a framework for identification; “...it satisfies a real need for separateness and for ethnic, cultural affirmation, and is a source of pride” (Added 1972:97) (see also § 1.5.1.4; 1.6.2). Added explains how this pride was made manifest: in his interviews children were asked (by parents or grandparents) to read from their Greek books.

The only integrative or cultural frameworks, therefore, at that stage, were the school and a soccer club (in Cape Town). There was also a Greek Women’s Association and the Sunday cinema. In contrast, Johannesburg has an established Greek school (SAHETI) and numerous clubs.

Added (1972:98) says that in Cape Town, activities were not initiated or organised. Of importance for language maintenance are the Greek films which took place on Sundays; there were two continuous screenings of the same Greek film. At that time, viewing was only for members of the Greek community (possibly because it was on a Sunday). Approximately 500 people would attend. This was a permanent and continuous cultural activity of the community. It was important for the people as it preserves traditional Greek values.

At the time, there were three Greek newspapers in Johannesburg (weekly). They would typically report on news from Greece and within the community. There was also a daily newspaper from Greece. It was estimated that no more than 150 people received one of the papers. Reading of these papers seems to be mostly among the first generation. It was thought that few people read the papers regularly.

In conclusion, Added (1972:101) suggests that the institutions seem to exhibit two main features:

- The Church, school, soccer club and film society serve as factors making up a symbolic whole or unity – a cultural and national identity or belonging. However, these organisations had a limited role in the social integration among the members or among the various groups of origin. They do not encourage people to participate in social or cultural fields.
- These activities take place in a group, which contributes to a feeling of togetherness and belonging, but “an element of real participation or co-operation is lacking and in almost all cases the activity is on a family level” (Added 1972:101), but there was therefore no inter-group or peer group interaction or interaction in general, and also nothing to promote intellectual leadership.

In his research in Cape Town, Added (1972:215) indicated a language shift: the sons were educated in Cape Town, attended South African schools, and it seems that their cultural orientation towards South African culture was very marked. Their wives were usually from Cape Town or another part of the country, and were therefore also more orientated towards South African culture. “The spoken language for most of them is no longer Greek, but English.” (Added 1972:215), as indicated in Table 1.3 below:

English		Greek		No information		Total	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
18	62,6	9	31,3	2	6,89	29	99,98

Table 1.3: Home language of married sons

The trends which could be detected were therefore as follows: the majority of sons speak to their wives in English; of the nine who speak Greek, six are married to spouses from Greece; those who do speak English to their wives, do try or have tried to speak to their children in Greek; when the children start attending school, English starts to become the language used at home; most couples have tried to use Greek, but have not really succeeded in doing so.

One participant responded: “We speak Greek with the children, and insist that they answer in Greek. But it would be quite strange and peculiar to speak Greek to my wife when we are alone. It somehow sounds artificial.” Added (1972:216) therefore indicates that “the sons would like their children to know Greek, but are not effectively able to bring this about because of the double character of their own cultural orientation; at informal meetings of friends they usually spoke English among themselves”.

Added (1972:225) makes the following observation about the people at that time: The father is a fairly recent immigrant who grew up in a village and whose personality was moulded into the traditional Greek background. He is then still very Greek orientated, culturally and socially. The daughter, his wife, because of her very strict education, is also orientated towards traditional Greek values. The home language in most cases (22 of the 28 couples) is Greek.

Of importance for language maintenance is the close contact between the family, especially the daughter and her parents (more so than the son) and the grandparents. Added notes in his interview with some of the participants how the grandfather assists the family with the children: “Naturally, he speaks Greek to them and is very proud of them because they have mastered the Greek language” (Added 1972:225). On another occasion, Added comments on another grandfather who speaks of his daughter’s children (Added 1972:225): “He likes to show guests how fluently his little grand-daughter speaks Greek...my son’s children are clever for sure, but they are a little English, and refuse to speak Greek” – a clear indication of the influence of the mother, and how the mother is usually the one who tries to maintain the mother tongue, as indicated so often in the literature on the subject.

Added (1972:225) continues his discussion by observing that there is no certainty whether the children use Greek among themselves; because all the children go to South African schools, consequently, they become proficient in English. As a result, they prefer to use English among each other. However, when comparing the children of the daughters and the sons, it can be seen that the daughters’ children master Greek more so than the sons’ children do, as the daughters’ children generally grow up in a more Greek environment, where Greek is spoken more frequently. The important role of the grandparents is also emphasised.

When examining attitudes of the first and second generations (parents and children) with regard to what they expect from daughters and sons, Added finds many similarities. Added (1972:227) notes the following with regard to sons when asking about ethnic orientation: They must “love Greece, behave like a Greek, and speak Greek”.

1.7.7 Important aspects from Added’s conclusions

There is, especially among the children of the first generation, a feeling of pride, belonging to a nation with such a rich history, which is acknowledged by all in the western world. The pride is, however, limited to the symbolic sphere.

In this section, Added (1972:251) concludes by showing how the interviewees emphasised the importance and centrality of the family; they compared themselves with the English because of the men, instead of being at home with the family, are out drinking in bars and playing cards.

The immigrants’ isolation is again stressed, but they cannot stop their sons from being exposed to South Africa society. This results in conflicts. They are exposed to elements of socialisation in South African society, namely, school and the informal non-Greek environment. It is difficult for the immigrant to keep his children within the framework of his socio-cultural and family framework. The Greek school and church are ineffective, and the community lacks integrative and educational institutions, so the family tries to stop this exposure to the foreign environment, which is the sole agent of socialisation.

The marriage of the son and the daughter is also compared (Added 1972:257). The son may marry out of the Greek community. Even if he does not, he usually moves away from home, becomes independent and makes his own life. The daughter, on the other hand, will definitely marry a Greek man, and the chances are good that they will stay with the parents. The son-in-law may work for his father-in-law, and is therefore integrated into the family.

Added (1972:257, 258) observes that with the daughter, she “brings to her home the traditional Greek milieu with all its family orientations and values”. This is important for

language maintenance. By contrast, in the son's home there is a drift away from strong Greek values, the parental image the son and his wife present to their children is a new combination of Greek and South Africa elements. Added (1972:258) therefore concludes: "Certain consequences on the ethnic level emerge from what has been said above: the daughter's home plays a more effective role than the son's home in the Greek socialisation of the children, for the daughter's is a Greek-speaking and Greek-thinking home, whereas, the son's is an English-speaking, and to an extent, an English-thinking home." The daughter's role is, therefore, important because she "assures the transfer of Greek values to the new generation, she is the stronghold of Greekness in the family" (Added 1972:258,259).

One therefore encounters an inverse situation in South Africa: in the Greek village great importance is attached to a son as he is seen as the continuation of the family; in South Africa, at that time, the prospects for continuity depended on the daughters far more than on the sons (Added 1972:259).

1.8 A more recent study of the South African Greek community: Damanakis, 2003

1.8.1 Introduction and background

A very important study is the more recent research conducted by Damanakis (2003), as it provides recent developments and statistics of the community. Michael Damanakis is a professor in Intercultural Education at the University of Crete, with research interests in Migration, Intercultural Education, Theories of Socialization, Bilingual Education and Greek as a Second Language. With the assistance of collaborators in different countries, he has completed research projects on Greek communities in various countries, including South Africa. The research project presents a synopsis of various aspects of the community in South Africa, as well as providing conclusions and recommendations about, inter alia, the Greek language.

In the study, the number of Greeks in South Africa was estimated at 40 000 in 2003 (see also Greek Community). In a discussion with Prof. B. Hendrickx (UJ), he was of the opinion that the number of Greeks in South Africa may be estimated at a maximum of 60 000, if one takes into account those Greeks who are no longer part of the 'nucleus' of

the community, i.e. those who may no longer regard themselves as Greek, or who no longer partake in the various activities of the community because of factors such as inter-marriage or converting to another religious denomination.

1.8.2 Discrimination against the Greek Community and the subsequent upward mobility

Damanakis provides a brief overview of the history of the community, which is similar to the history already discussed (§ 1.7), but he also brings out the issue of discrimination experienced by the Greek community, not covered by other researchers. It is an important issue to note as it played a role in facilitating the retention of the language and culture, in the early years of the community.

In the past, Greeks were often looked down upon by other South Africans, for example, in the 1970s they were considered a lower class (Damanakis, 2003:27). However, this played a role in the maintenance of ‘Greekness’ (or Hellenism), as they did not belong to the melting pot (see also § 1.9.1). This factor is also referred to and discussed in detail by Doumanis (cited in Clogg 1999:61; see also § 1.5.3) in his study of the Greeks in Australia: “Popular xenophobia nevertheless prompted the Greeks to form enclosed communities, though there were other important reasons. One was a desire to preserve Greek culture”.

Over the years, however, the Greek community has adjusted and adapted to South African society. Nowadays, there are, for example, many Greek academics in South African universities. Greek businessmen play an important role in the South African economy; they supply approximately \$10 million to the economy (see § 1.2; Appendix 2; Ferreira, 2010; Georghiou, 2012)

Despite enduring discrimination in earlier years, the Greeks succeeded in educating their children and setting up communities and churches. From the early years, there were well-organised and established committees and communities, including charity organisations. The spread of Greek communities facilitated the spread of Greek Orthodoxy and gave rise to schools (including Sunday schools) so that the Greek language could be taught – thus facilitating language maintenance. Most were built from money donated by the members of the communities. These schools are still maintained by the members to date. Hence, over the years the church also played an important role in the education of Greek children.

1.8.3 Language and education

In South Africa, the use of the Greek language is limited (largely) to the Greek community. The family is the most important domain that allows for the use of the Greek language – learning the basics and using the language. 75% and more of families of Greek origin, who have school-going children, tend to speak more English than Greek at home. Only 21% of families use both Greek and English. It is thought that families, who do not send their children to Greek schools, don't speak the language in close family situations. Most parents who send their children to Greek schools work full-day, so children who go to public schools don't get a chance to speak or hear Greek for most of the day.

A result of inter-marriages is that children of such marriages do not always go to The Greek school, thereby losing their Greek identity. Inter-marriages also occur as a result of some Greeks having an indifferent attitude towards the Greek culture and the country (Damanakis, 2003:28). Most children attending a Greek school come from Greek marriages; one quarter are from mixed marriages, as shown in Table 1.4 below.

	Community	SAHETI	Total
Both parents Greek	72,7%	77,7%	75,1%
Mixed marriages	27,3%	22,3%	24,9%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Table 1.4: Characteristics of families of children attending SAHETI (Damanakis, 2003:70)

It is interesting to note that the language is not only taught to Greeks, but also to those who wish to study Greek. In total, there are 23 Greek communities in South Africa (Appendix 5). The pupils at SAHETI (the majority being Greek pupils), are usually the children of Greeks (or people of Greek origin) who are educated and wealthy. The Greeks are attempting to uphold tradition and retain ties with Greece through the church and other groups. This is difficult as South Africa has many different cultures and English is the dominant language of the host society. There are Greek lessons (e.g. afternoon schools), but there are fewer than 2000 students who study Greek at the various schools.

Greek is also taught at the afternoon or community schools. In addition, over the last few years, private schools such as Crawford College and Marist Brothers (Linmeyer) also offer Greek lessons to pupils in the afternoons. In some areas, Greek lessons may not be available, if there are no teachers.

Some of the commonly recurring reasons for children not attending afternoon schools were, for example: the day becomes too long after morning school; extra-murals take up too much time; in some instances, distance and transport play a role. Some parents work full day. Public transport is not always safe due to crime; teachers and parents may not always agree on all issues; there may be fewer students because of a foreign environment; a lack of interest from the parents, they place more emphasis on day school and tasks; not recognising or accepting Greek as a subject for university entrance, it is thus regarded as a burden – this has now changed (see Appendix 6).

In terms of school education, SAHETI (established 1974) is the only (private) school that enforces the study of the Greek language: all pupils attending the school have to take Greek. The school may be regarded as a tri-lingual school: English, Afrikaans and Greek are taught. In addition, the school has a strong Greek ethos and ensures that children are taught about their Greek culture, traditions and religion.

Greek teachers have a challenging task considering the fact that Greek is not the only language learnt by Greeks in South Africa. Pupils learning Greek are on different levels – teachers therefore need to be aware of the separate needs. Efforts for the recognition of Greek from the Education Department of South Africa have resulted in Greek now being recognised for university entrance as a Second Additional Language. Greek is now on the same level as, for example, French and German. (See: Appendix 6)

SAHETI also offers Traditional Greek Dancing, Classical Greek Dancing and music lessons. In the nursery school the teaching of Greek takes place in a playful way. In the primary and high school, there are 3 levels of Greek: introductory, intermediate and advanced. The goals of each level are to develop a basic vocabulary for communication and the ability to conduct a simple conversation; writing and oral progress; cultivate their abilities to communicate in school and in the social environment and to be able to adapt easily when visiting Greece. All three levels also ensure an understanding of Greek history, culture and orthodoxy.

Over the years, SAHETI has gathered a substantial amount of data. After forty years of existence, and teaching students on different levels of Greek, the lessons had to be adapted to suit the different levels, as shown with the different generations and home language in Table 1.5 below:

Generation			Language usage at home		
1st	28	4,4%	Greek	127	19,9%
2nd	278	43,5%	English	430	67,3%
3rd	200	31,3%	Both	33	5,1%
4th	10	1,6%	Other	49	7,7%
Foreign	123	19,2%			
Total	639	100%	Total	639	100%

**Table 1.5: Data obtained from pupils attending SAHETI (1998)
(Damanakis, 2003:59)**

The reasons for children not attending SAHETI were indicated as follows: fees at the school are high and many Greek parents choose not to send their children there; a preference to place children in other private schools and the school can only serve children in the Johannesburg vicinity; thus it is restricted to a certain area.

The teaching of Greek in foreign countries entails not only the teaching of the Greek language, but also demonstrating and upholding Greek identity, Greek Orthodoxy, Greek history and culture, and teaching tolerance, acceptance and understanding when living in a multi-cultural environment.

The emphasis must be placed on a close working relationship with Greek families, for the benefit of the children. Teachers are required to attend conferences and workshops in Greece; they are required to have a knowledge of the English language and know how to teach Greek as a second language.

The school committee is responsible for: persuading parents to send their children to a Greek school; ensure that fees are not too high; take part in organising shows and events; assisting with problems which may arise and meeting with parents and urging the spread of the Greek language and culture.

Importantly, there must also be an interest from a student to learn the Greek language, the Greek culture and religion, which could otherwise make the role of the teacher more difficult. The role of the parents at SAHETI is very important, as the school also relies on parental support. The school committee consists of a chairperson, vice-chairperson and treasurer. Money is collected and utilised for the maintenance and development of the school. SAHETI plays a vital role in the community. They work in conjunction with other Greek organisations and they also offer their grounds for use by other organisations.

With reference to tertiary education, the University of Johannesburg (formerly RAU) offers Modern Greek, up to a Doctor's Degree level. Lessons can be done in English or Greek - students may choose the language of instruction and for written work. Subjects include Language and Translation, Literature, History and Culture. The B.A. (Hons) is recognised by DIKATSA (The Inter-University Centre for the Recognition of Foreign Diplomas. DIKATSA (DOATAP in Greek) is the body that formally decides on the equivalence and correspondence of all titles of Higher (university) education). The courses can also be done by correspondence (see Appendix 9).

The University of Johannesburg houses the Archives Department, which keeps records of the community from the beginning of the 20th century to the present. The archives contain information and investigations of the history of the Greeks in South Africa. Various other departments and organisations are, for example:

- The Department of Social Welfare: works with charities and offers support;
- The Department of Education and Literature: organises literal and artistic shows and visits to places that offer a historical interest;
- The Department of Historical Ethnic Dress and National Substance: interested in traditional dress and will organise shows of all historical ethnic wear, from ancient times to the present.

In addition to examining the education aspect in his study, Damanakis (2003) also makes mention of the fact that the Greek language is used in certain work environments such as the consulate and the embassy; to a lesser degree at Olympic Airways, and the different Greek and Cypriot banks. He also encountered the use of the language in Greek shops and businesses, in general.

1.9 The broader South African context

1.9.1 Pre- and post- 1994 South Africa

The history of the Greek community needs to be placed in the broader context of South African history. Certain historical and political issues need to be highlighted and explained, in order for the reader to understand the references to these happenings, in this study.

In brief, one of the overriding issues in South African history is the policy of Apartheid (also known as ‘Separate Development’). This policy was instituted by the National Party (NP) when it came to power in 1948. According to this policy, all people in the country were classified according to four main population or demographic groups: White, Black, Indian and Coloured. The different populations groups were also assigned different areas in which to stay (hence the term ‘Separate Development’). This was known as the ‘Group Areas Act’. In theory, the policy may have been feasible, as people of the same background lived together in predetermined areas. Unfortunately, the policy also brought with it certain negative issues, for example, the living areas and conditions of the various population groups were not of an equal standard. The White population benefited the most: the infrastructure and services in these areas were far more superior to the areas of the other population groups. The cities and suburbs for White people were on a par with all major First World cities found in Europe and the USA. Furthermore, the White population also enjoyed the benefit of being employed in many of the better fields of employment. Opposition to this political system grew over the years, gaining momentum in the 1970s and 1980s. The Government of the day tried to maintain the status quo, even going so far as to initiate a border war against the African National Congress (ANC) (1966–1989).

However, as pressure from within and without the country increased, the NP could no longer remain in power and sustain the policy of Apartheid. In February 1990, the President of the country, F.W. De Klerk, initiated political changes and the policy of Apartheid was abandoned. He started negotiations with the leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela. In April 1994, the country held its first democratic elections, and the ANC came to power.

Since 1994, under the ANC Government, the country has experienced dramatic changes, as may be observed in many other African countries, with the change from colonial rule to majority rule. Under the ANC Government, major problems have arisen with the

maintenance of services in the country, resulting in problems with the infrastructure in the towns and suburbs, such as, electricity, water, roads etc.

Furthermore, under the NP Government, there had always been strict border control (i.e. access into the country was very strictly controlled). However, under the ANC Government, this policy was also abandoned, resulting in an influx of people wishing to escape problems in other African countries, for example, Zimbabwe and Nigeria. The new arrivals, together with the local Black people from urban and rural areas in South Africa, flocked to the major cities, such as Johannesburg, Pretoria, Hillbrow, Durban etc. in search of better living conditions and the hope of employment. These big cities became increasingly unsafe – they are characterised by violent crime and hijackings. To escape the high levels of crime, shops, businesses and almost all forms of entertainment moved out of the cities to the suburbs and shopping malls. Hence, while the negative aspects of Apartheid have been reversed, there has been a steep rise in crime and a decline in service delivery.

The ANC Government also implemented a policy of AA (Affirmative Action) or BEE (Black Economic Empowerment). The policy of AA states that all people have the opportunity to apply for a job, and the best candidate should get the job. There is a perception that the ANC Government, for many years, however, simply used this policy to justify employing people of colour only, regardless of whether they are suited for the job or not. As white people have resigned or retired from their jobs, in many instances, they were simply replaced by a person of colour. This policy of AA, together with the violent crime and hijackings, has resulted in a ‘brain drain’ for South Africa. Many professional and qualified people have emigrated from South Africa to First World countries such as Australia, Canada, England and European countries.

In a nutshell, this basic overview of the history of South Africa attempts to provide the reader with an explanation for references to ‘before’ and ‘after’ 1994. For a detailed history of South Africa see, for example, Saunders 1992. (For information on the history of and links between Ancient Greece and Africa (Afro-Hellenic Studies), see the article by Hendrickx (1983)).

The researcher wishes to point out here, as does Prabhakaran (1992:172), that one of the possible positive aspects of the policy of Apartheid, (i.e. if the policy did not bring with it so many negative aspects), was that people of the same background lived together in the same areas. This significantly facilitated linguistic and cultural maintenance, as people were not assimilated. This also applied to the various immigrant communities in South Africa, who unfortunately were not treated very well, and very often regarded as inferior and looked down upon. Particularly in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, immigrant communities in South Africa were viewed by many as ‘uitlanders’ (foreigners) (see, for example, the articles by Geoghiou, 2012; De Bruin, 1987 and Damanakis, 2003 (§ 1.8.5.1)). Although they lived in the suburbs with White South Africans, they were not very integrated into this society. Under these conditions, there was a strong maintenance of language and culture, as the various communities were almost ‘forced’ to socialise within their own communities; assimilation was not very common or encouraged.

The above historical overview is referred to by Krystallidis (2000:146) in her discussion of Greek in South Africa:

In order to understand the socio-cultural make-up of the Greek population, we have to place it in the context of the history of this country.

The context of development of South African society during this century has been along strict division according to colour. From 1948 onward, under the Nationalist government that legislated apartheid, emphasis was not placed on the creation of a united society but rather on the separate development of peoples that were either more privileged, less privileged or non-privileged. There was also discrimination among whites. A Minister of Police was quoted in the early 70s as saying: “The Greeks are here under sufferance.” One could even say that politics of the land assisted in the preservation of Greekness or Greek identity, since it did not encourage assimilation.

The Greeks (and the immigrant communities in South Africa, in general), were seen as white, albeit inferior whites, and so had certain privileges, however, there was a degree of prejudice.

1.9.2 The constitution of South Africa and languages

The Constitution not only states the official languages for South Africa, but also refers to some of the other languages found in South Africa. Here it can be seen that there is a new status for Greek: the development and protection of Greek is referred to in the Constitution.

Apart from political and social changes which took place in South Africa with effect from April 1994 (which were initiated in 1990, see § 1.9.1), there was also a major shift in the linguistic landscape of the country. Before 1994, according to South Africa's language policy, South Africa was a *bilingual* country (i.e. English and Afrikaans were the only two official languages in the country). After 1994, however, all languages spoken in South Africa received official recognition, and as a result South Africa is now a *multilingual* country with 11 official languages. There was thus a shift from bilingualism to multilingualism.

The fact that South Africa has 11 official languages, and that the language and culture of the various peoples in South Africa is protected by the Constitution, is also discussed by Krystallidis (2000:14): "The present constitution protects the rights of all cultural and ethnic groups living in South Africa, regarding the preservation of their identity, religion and their language. The Greek language is mentioned specifically as one that is protected and promoted." Hence, immigrant or heritage languages are included in, and protected by the constitution. However, as discussed earlier (§ 1.2), there is a limited amount of research on these minority languages in South Africa (especially the European languages); most of the research in this field of study has been conducted on the various Indian languages in South Africa (see, for example, Prabhakaran, 1992 & 2001).

The issue of language is referred to in Chapter 1 (number 6) of the constitution. The relevant sections are quoted here:

- 6. Languages -** (1) The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Siswati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.
- (5) A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must-
- (a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of-
 - (i) all official languages;
 - (ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
 - (iii) sign language; and
 - (b) promote and ensure respect for-
 - (i) all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, **Greek**, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu; and
 - (ii) Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa.

1.10 Preview of chapters

In the following chapter, the literature on language maintenance and language shift will be reviewed. Chapter 3 will present a synopsis of two of the biggest Greek communities outside of Greece, namely, the USA and Australia. Thereafter, Chapter 4 will present an overview of some of the prominent methods employed in the field of sociolinguistics, as well as the methods employed in this study, and the limitations of this study. In Chapter 5 the results of the questionnaires will be presented, and these results will be discussed in Chapter 6. In Chapter 7 conclusions and suggestions will be presented.

CHAPTER 2

LANGUAGE SHIFT AND MAINTENANCE: THEORETICAL ISSUES

2.3 Introduction

Language maintenance and language shift are well-known phenomena that have been widely researched within the field of sociolinguistics. The terms were first introduced by Joshua Fishman in 1963 (Barnes & Van Aswegen, 2008:4). In the study of language maintenance and language shift the focus is on languages which are in contact with each other; researchers typically examine what happens to minority languages in a host or dominant society. In many instances these languages may be under a threat from the dominant language(s) of the host society. In some instances where a minority or immigrant community is living in a host society, a shift to another language may not always be a matter of choice but a matter of necessity, for example, for vital communication or access to certain essential services, such as shopping and medical care. In other domains, however, speakers usually have the option to use their mother tongue, for example, with family and friends and in domains such as the home, religion and the media.

One of the earliest, well-known definitions of language shift is that of Weinreich (1963:106,107): “the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another.” A more extended definition of *language shift* is given by Barnes and Van Aswegen (2008:4).

a situation in which one language in contact with a more dominant language, within a nation, over a period of time, is partially or completely replaced by the dominant language; some or all of the former domains in which the language was used are replaced by the dominant language. This process usually includes several phases or various degrees of bilingualism, without at the same time necessarily implying a loss of mother-tongue skills

(For further definitions see also Srivastava 1989:10; Ramat 1983:495; Falk-Bano 1988:161).

In reaction to pressures put on linguistic groups to shift, groups and/or organisations may attempt to retain the language which is under threat. This phenomenon is called language

maintenance. Batibo (2005:102) provides a comprehensive definition of language maintenance:

Language maintenance is a situation in which a language maintains its vitality, even under pressure. It implies, therefore, that the degree of resistance is strong enough to contain any pressure that may be coming from a dominant language. In a situation of language maintenance, the domains of language L1 remain largely the same and transmission of the language to the children is active and as perfect as possible. Moreover, the number of speakers remains relatively stable and they maintain a strong allegiance to their language. Language maintenance usually applies to a relatively monolingual situation. However, it may take place in a stable diglossic situation, in which the functions of L1 and L2 are well defined and remain unchanged.

Other useful definitions of these concepts can be found in Srivastava (1989:10), Crystal (1987:360) and Richards et al. (1985:158).

Campbell and Schnell (1987:178) point out that language maintenance is related to language conservation, which they define as “a careful preservation and protection of something; especially planned management of a natural resource to prevent exploitation, destruction or neglect”. The phenomenon of language maintenance is also often closely linked to language loyalty. Whereas language maintenance refers to “the degree to which an individual or group continues to use their language, particularly in a bilingual or multilingual area or among immigrant groups” (Richards et al. 1985:158), language loyalty is viewed by Weinreich (1979:99) as a “principle in the name of which people will rally themselves and their fellow speakers consciously and explicitly to resist changes in either the functions of their language (as a result of language shift) or in the structure or vocabulary (as a consequence of interference)”. In contrast to language maintenance, language loyalty, therefore, is a more active, conscious and clearly visible attempt to retain the mother tongue.

The specific areas in which a language may be used, for example, in the home environment, religion (church or place of worship) and the work environment are known as domains. Srivastava (1989:19) describes domains as “dimensions of use” (cf. Eastman 1986:3).

In many instances there may not be a clear distinction as to which factors are responsible for facilitating language maintenance or language shift. Sometimes factors may be complementary: they may be responsible for language maintenance, yet also necessitate a

language shift (Kloss, cited in Fishman 1966: 209). Language maintenance and language shift are closely inter-related phenomena, and do not have clearly defined borders. The processes of language maintenance and language shift may rather be seen as a continuum ranging from language maintenance to language death (Barnes & Van Aswegen 2008:4). The central issue of concern is why certain languages may survive in contact situations and others may not. Some languages display a greater resistance to shift than others. Consequently, research in this field focuses on the replacement of one language with another in a contact situation; conversely studies may examine the resistance which languages may display to being replaced by another language. Where possible, the research will attempt to predict language behaviour of people who are in a situation where they have access to or are exposed to more than one language at a time (Van Aswegen 2008:2). It is useful to consider Fishman's (1966:424) perspective on this study of language contact, in his study of immigrant communities in the USA, where he poses the central question as to why languages may replace each other in various domains and under different conditions:

[t]he study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other. That languages (or language variants) *sometimes* replace each other, among *some* speakers, particularly in *certain* types of domains of language behaviour, under *some* conditions of intergroup contact, has long aroused curiosity and comment. However, it is only in quite recent years that this topic has been recognized as a field of systematic inquiry among professional students of language behaviour.

Furthermore, it can be noted that there are phenomena such as code-switching and code-mixing which are inter-related with language maintenance and language loss (Fase, cited in Van Aswegen, 2008:2). Once more, this bears testimony to the fact that this field of research does not have clearly defined borders, and many of the various phenomena may overlap.

A considerable amount of research has been conducted in the field of language maintenance and language shift. In an attempt to provide an overview of some of the prominent studies in this field of study, the next two sections provide an overview of the most prominent literature in the field, starting with: the foundational theories of Fishman.

2.4 Foundational theories of Fishman

2.2.1 Introduction

Joshua Fishman, the great pioneer in the field of language shift and language maintenance, was one of the first researchers to conduct intensive research into a number of immigrant communities in the USA, in which he identified various factors which play a role in retaining the mother tongue or facilitating a shift to the language of the host society. Subsequent to his research, many other researchers have followed suit, either building and expanding on his findings and theories, or developing their own theories, in an attempt to explain the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift. Fishman's work and findings, however, remain as a foundation in this field of research. It is therefore appropriate to provide an overview of some of the most important findings of Fishman (1966).

2.2.2 Education

Education is an important factor in language shift and language maintenance, according to Fishman (1966), who made an extensive study of ethnic (community) schools in the USA. Ethnic schools exist as a result of dislocation. In certain ethnic communities, there was no provision for formal schooling as it could be that literacy was either unknown or restricted (more so among the first arrivals). Important in this type of study is the observation of Fishman (1966:92): for many of the late 19th and early 20th century immigrants, especially from southern and eastern Europe, schooling was limited or non-existent in the peasant communities from which they came. Initially, the priest and the church played an important role in education.

According to Fishman, schools and formal ethnic institutions play an important role in maintaining the ethnic pattern which is under threat when the younger generations are exposed to the host society, and the family cannot always play an effective role in the maintenance of ethnic continuity. Consequently, for immigrant groups who had not formed self-contained ethnic communities after their arrival in the USA, the school was a crucial venture. Usually it is only specific institutions and organisations which can help to retain the culture or traditions of the immigrant group. The ethnic schools do, however, encounter certain problems, such as the supply of teachers, funds and administration. Despite these issues, many schools continue to function.

2.2.2.1 School types

Predominantly, three types of schools can be distinguished, based on the frequency of instruction and hours of instruction per week: all-day schools, weekday afternoon schools and weekend schools.

All-day schools are typical full-day schools and pupils do not attend the general public schools. These schools are also known as parochial schools – many may be Catholic by nature, organised by or related to a certain parish or religion (e.g. Jewish, Protestant or Orthodox); not all are necessarily under religious supervision. Many of these schools do provide instruction in the religious, cultural and linguistic heritages of the particular ethnic group, over and above the prescribed syllabi of the school. Thus they provide a dual programme of general and ethnic-religious studies. This type of schooling provides a more intensive and prolonged ethnic education than any other means. The question arises: how effective is this type of school for promoting language maintenance? This issue will be addressed in Fishman's discussion on the characteristics of the various schools (§ 2.2.2.2).

Weekday afternoon schools are supplementary schools and tend to be more common within the immigrant community. Pupils attend the general public schools during the day, and then attend these schools in the afternoons, once or twice a week. The weekday afternoon school is not usually affiliated to a church, but it most frequently offers mother-tongue instruction, the curriculum is mostly language-centred, teachers are involved in ethnic organisations and the ethnic press, and mother-tongue teachers have received training for their assignments.

Weekend schools operate on Saturdays or Sundays, but may have fewer hours of instruction than afternoon schools. The pupils attend general public schools during the week. These schools have the least intensive programmes of all the different types of ethnic schools. The weekend school is less frequently under religious auspices, may have fewer mother-tongue teachers; they may have foreign-born or second generation teachers, parents and pupils. There are more foreign-born personnel.

Besides these three main types of schools, there are other types of schools which include: summer schools, evening classes, special classes in schools or community centres.

2.2.2.2 School characteristics

The all-day school differs from the others in terms of structure, human resources and instructional emphasis. It is a non-supplementary school and may also be older, larger and wealthier than the other school types. The teachers and pupils in these schools are usually more Americanised or Anglicised and have been so for a long period of time. Sometimes these schools may offer mother-tongue instruction less frequently, and devote less time to it than any other ethnic instruction. This may differ from school to school or community to community. This school type is far less embedded in ethnicity, and therefore less concerned with language maintenance. It does however, have the greatest potential for intensive culture and language maintenance programmes and to play a leadership role in a host society. Fishman (1966:96) reports that in the USA these schools do not always take advantage of their position to play a role in language maintenance. This could have a negative affect on, or detract from, language maintenance efforts.

Schools which offer mother-tongue instruction (the all-day schools) are more homogenous (or “purer”) with regard to the ethnicity of their pupils, than schools not offering such instruction. This could be ascribed to a school policy that ensures that “ethnically appropriate students” attend these schools (Fishman 1966:101). Such schools may not be attractive to pupils who do not speak the language or follow the particular religious denomination; they could also be located in ethnically homogenous neighbourhoods (Fishman, 1964:101). This type of school may receive new immigrants more often, which helps them retain their linguistic emphasis. Fishman (1964:102) points out that the school board provides a vital link between the school and the community, and also “regulates the ethnicity of the school relative to the ethnicity of its clientele”.

Fishman (1964:103,104) notes two important general beliefs in the USA with regard to instruction in foreign languages: the instruction should begin as early as possible and, it should continue intensively and for as long as possible. Fishman (1966:104) points out that mother- tongue instruction in American ethnic schools and foreign language instruction are not the same, although in the USA, they are becoming very similar. Fishman (1966:104) argues that even in cases where immigrant pupils may attend the various ethnic schools, his recommendations are still applicable, since they will be of benefit for language maintenance in the American context.

An important finding of Fishman's (1964:105) research is that weekday afternoon schools appear to be the most language-centred; they start the teaching of the mother tongue earlier and devote more time to it. All-day schools (ironically) are the least language-centred. Weekend and other schools have an intermediate position, but are closer to the pattern of weekday afternoon schools than that of all day schools.

Fishman (1964:105) suggests that even if there is no instruction in (or teaching of) the mother tongue in ethnic schools, language maintenance could still be facilitated or replaced by teaching "other ethnic subjects", for example, history, singing and religious activities. Fishman indicates that these subjects play a role in language maintenance, because of the mother-tongue materials they use, and which pupils may be exposed to. However, if teaching these subjects takes place entirely in English, this could lead to language shift or displace mother tongue instruction. Essentially, ethnic schools should offer holistic instruction in which language and other ethnic subjects are inter-related.

The language of instruction in a school will usually determine the language of instruction of the ethnically related subjects. Various trends may be detected. In the various school types, the "other ethnic subjects" are more likely taught in the mother tongue, in schools teaching the mother tongue. A slight tendency encountered by Fishman (1966:105,106) was for religion-history-culture (theoretical ethnicity) to be taught in English, even in schools which do offer mother-tongue instruction, and for art-music-dance (traditional pursuits) to be taught in the mother tongue, even in schools that do not offer mother-tongue instruction; there is no definite rule, however, for language use, when teaching the various subjects. Consequently, Fishman (1966:106) coined the terms: symbolic-intellectual-cultural subjects and traditional-festive subjects, respectively.

2.2.2.3 The ethnic school teacher

The greater majority of mother-tongue teachers in all the school types have received higher education. Most of them received this further education in the USA – which meant first having to learn English. The majority of teachers, who received their education and higher education overseas in their mother tongue, were those who taught in the weekend schools. An ambivalent situation therefore exists: education overseas may mean a greater facility in the mother tongue; teachers educated in the USA may identify more easily with students who are American-born (Fishman, 1966:111).

The ideal goal (for both teacher and pupil) for language maintenance among ethnic groups would be bilingualism (discussed later in this chapter § 2.3.7). Fishman suggests that an American-born teacher with a good command of the mother tongue may accomplish good work for language maintenance and ethnic identity among American-born pupils at the ethnic schools, as opposed to foreign-born or non-English speaking teachers. A further compromise for language maintenance would be a foreign-born teacher who speaks both English and the mother tongue – a decreasing phenomenon (Fishman 1966:113). Language maintenance will therefore depend on the ability of the schools to train, attract and retain American-born teachers who have the necessary attitudes and linguistic knowledge to help make language maintenance possible (Fishman, 1966:113).

Fishman (1964:118) notes some issues pointed out by mother-tongue teachers: as children reach adolescence, there is a decrease in the positive attitude toward the mother tongue (cf. Veltman (1983); § 2.3.7). The role of parents is highlighted – their positive attitudes toward the mother tongue can influence their children's attitudes; Fishman (1964:119) points out that the home environment is “important for blame or praise”.

As pupils grow older they become less interested in mother-tongue instruction. The teachers attribute this to parental apathy and opposition to the mother tongue. In some instances, they see their language as not being prestigious in the USA, because of general American, rather than ethnic group factors. Hence, the importance of offering the language as a subject to be taken at school, in order to positively influence the image of the language, as discussed, for example, by Kalantzis (1985), Tamis (1990) and Leal (cited in Vendeiro, 1987).

A further issue which is debated is the retention of language versus the retention of the group or group identity. Mother-tongue teachers in all-day and weekend schools indicate the link between language and the group: they are of the opinion that group continuity is impossible without continuing the mother tongue. Teachers in other schools claim that group continuity is possible without language maintenance. It is not clear how this inconsistency can be explained. Fishman (1966:125) maintains that when two values are in conflict with each other, one will usually disappear. Here we are dealing with language maintenance versus group maintenance. However, it should be noted that ethnicity, religion and language are inseparable and equally important.

2.3.3 Religion

2.2.3.1 Introduction

Fishman (1966:127ff) identifies religion as a factor which has great potential to play a role in language maintenance – provided the church services are conducted in the mother tongue. This may prove to become difficult, as the immigrant communities become increasingly assimilated and Anglicised over successive generations, and they prefer bilingual church services or church services in English (the Greek Orthodox Church may still, in many instances make use of Koine Greek, which many younger generation Greeks are not very familiar with, thus making it more difficult to follow church services), whereas the older members of the community and the new arrivals prefer church services in the mother tongue. The church is therefore faced with a difficult task to accommodate all the church-goers.

2.2.3.2 Religion in the USA

Fishman points out that the ethnic parishes were started by those who felt it necessary and desirable to utilise and preserve their non-English language and traditions in church related activities. In the Catholic church, the ethnic or national parish became an organisation which gained official recognition. Protestant and other churches organised similar congregations which catered for immigrant individuals of various ethnic backgrounds.

What is the future of language maintenance, especially as seen from the point of view of the clergy? Language maintenance is still desired by older members, but too great an emphasis on language maintenance may cause the younger generations to lose interest (Fishman, 1966:128). Language maintenance practices and attitudes may vary from one parish activity to another.

The study by Fishman (1966:129) revealed that most reasons given for the use of the mother tongue in sermons reflect habit rather than conviction, more traditional than ideological, more ethnic than religious (Fishman, 1966:129). Perhaps this is because many of the clergy view language maintenance as a factor that is unrelated to religion and one

that appeals more to sentiment. As ‘keepers of the faith’, they may view non-English languages as unrelated to or detracting from the faith – as faith has become de-ethnicised in the USA.

Fishman’s (1966:131) study in the USA confirms the reasons for language maintenance in church-sponsored schools to be those of conviction and religious reasons. In addition, personal value (bilingualism) was indicated. Thus, language maintenance with regard to parish activities is less frequently practiced with the younger generation. Adult language maintenance linked to habitual ethnicity, eventually fades out, as do ethnic habits. The primary purpose of the parish is the religious needs of its parishioners: when those needs are best served in English, the mother tongue is phased out. This tends to happen ‘naturally’.

Fishman (1966:133) found that the Eastern Orthodox churches retained the mother tongue in services more than the Catholic (Latin) parishes. Two factors could explain this occurrence: greater immigrational recency; mutual reinforcement between mother tongue and church languages, especially in the case of parishioners in Eastern churches. Hence, Fishman (1966:134) indicates the important role that religion can play in language maintenance: “The sacred tongues of the eastern churches undoubtedly reinforce the use of their secular offspring more directly than is possible in the case of Catholic Churches of the Latin rite.” Hence, it is important to note that in the case of the Greek Orthodox Church, Greek is both the mother tongue as well as the liturgical language, whereas for members of the Catholic Church, Latin is not a mother tongue.

Fishman (1966:134) examined churches in terms of ethnic groups, rather than denomination, observing 13 different ethnic groups. Those with greater language maintenance tend to be those with a greater recency of immigration and an important role played by the mother tongue in church ritual. Language maintenance in the parish is strongest when both these factors are present, immigrational recency being the most important. Hence, ethnicity is dominant over religion as a reinforcer of language maintenance – even within the parish setting. In his research, it can be noted that Greek is the second in the list of greatest language maintenance in the church (Armenian being in the first place). Language maintenance could survive better among the Catholic and Orthodox communities where there were great concentrations of like-minded and like-

tongued people. Language maintenance is therefore also related to ethnic-denominational concentration rather than to urban-rural factors (Fishman, 1966:135).

Fishman (1966:136) found that ethnic homogeneity of parish membership composition is important for language maintenance, but is not a sufficient guarantee for language maintenance (Fishman, 1966:136) (see also Mougeon § 2.3.7). The data indicates that the older and larger urban parish, in contrast to the older and larger rural parish, is gradually infiltrated by diverse elements, thus English will be the only common denominator of worship and communication. The greater the number of other or non-ethnic groups in the parish, the greater the use of English will eventually be. Fishman quotes the example of the Italians in this regard, whose homogeneity is high, but the language maintenance is low (because of historical reasons which many of the Italian immigrants brought with them to the USA). The important conclusion is that ethnicity can express itself in numerous ways, which may not necessarily be highly correlated – language maintenance being one of them (Fishman, 1966:136).

A parish may become heterogenous in two ways: the influx of other ethnic members and inter-ethnic marriages (Fishman, 1966:136). Inter-marriage may have a more powerful effect on language maintenance than the general expansion of membership. The way in which institutional variables are related to language maintenance suggests two forces pulling in opposite directions. Parishes of ethnic origin tend to give up the use of the mother tongue in their sermons when the composition of the parish becomes more heterogenous in ethnicity and generation (Fishman, 1966:136). They persevere with the use of the mother tongue in the sermons to the extent that the mother tongue has religious significance. Heterogeneity in the parish or its environment works against the use of the mother tongue, while ritual reinforcement works in its favour (Fishman, 1966:137).

The size of the community or membership can have a negative influence on language maintenance, if it leads to changes in the composition of the membership. Any process which leads to heterogeneity in the composition of the membership will be a process that leads to Anglicisation of the church service. Factors causing Anglicisation and heterogeneity can be divided into primary and secondary factors. Primary factors include: inter-marriages, generational turnover and non-ethnic membership. Secondary factors are indirect factors such as size and heterogeneity of surrounding population, growth rate of parish, which may not always lead to heterogeneity within the parish.

In light of the above factors, use of mother tongue for rituals (ritual re-enforcement), may counteract Anglicization, but only temporarily. More aspects of the church service may succumb to the use of English as a result of the pressure of competition for loyal Anglicized parishioners which has happened in many churches where mother tongue was used for ritual reinforcement. This could also happen in churches where another (sacred) language may be used apart from the mother tongue (e.g. Latin) for ritual reinforcement.

2.2.3.3 The clergyman and language maintenance

The clergyman is viewed as the mediator of language maintenance in the ethnic parish: he is the middle person between the hierarchy and the parish members. There can be a conflict of interest between the hierarchy and the parishioners – language being one of the areas; in such cases, churches are usually guided by religious rather than by ethnic considerations. The final decision of the hierarchy may dominate in order to accommodate greater numbers and efficiency of the church as an organisation. Ethnicity and language take second place when the growth of the church may be hampered (Fishman, 1966:138). Hence, there is a division between non-institutionalised ethnicity and institutionalised religion; the latter usually gaining preference, second and third generation Anglicisation and the drift toward marginal ethnicity.

In instances where a religion or denomination is limited to a particular ethno-linguistic group, as in the case of Greek Orthodoxy, and where such language is used for ritual reinforcement, the problem of accommodating English speakers may not arise until the third generation of same-ethnics. The influx of other members may be as a result of inter-marriage. Fishman (1966:138) indicates that these churches make an effort to transmit their languages to the young. If, however, there is a continued heterogeneity, language maintenance will first weaken and then it will vanish.

The priests or clergy play a role in language shift or maintenance. Foreign-born and same-ethnic pastors are gradually replaced by American-born or other-ethnic pastors. Thus, the pastor becomes a factor in language maintenance or language shift within the ethnic parish (Fishman, 1966:139). Although the clergyman is not an activist of language maintenance, he is more tolerant of the mother tongue than some (the Americanisers) would like. He has to retain the interests of both the old and young. He accommodates the forces that shape

language maintenance. A foreign-born pastor or someone in favour of the mother tongue may attempt to delay the process of anglicization. An American-born pastor or someone not too sympathetic to the cause may attempt to accelerate the process. The process is interwoven with large-scale and continued social and cultural change, which cannot easily be controlled.

2.3.4 Community organisations

2.2.4.1 Introduction

Fishman (1966:156) notes that it is a general tendency for immigrants to the USA to join organisations, but more so among recent arrivals or new immigrants, who have not yet been fully integrated into the new society. These organisations are of great importance for language maintenance. The various pressures they have to deal with in a new society, cause people of the same or similar background “to come together for solace, for mutual assistance, and for more comfortable interaction” (Fishman, 1966:156). These groups continue to exist even among later generations because people need a sense of community (Fishman, 1966:156). The existence of organisations and churches are indicative of the immigrants’ ethnic consciousness and solidarity (Fishman, 1966:315). Human sentiment plays an important role as it fosters ties among former neighbours, keeps alive the local customs and memories of their ancestral homes (Fishman & Nahirny, 1965:316).

These organisations fulfil a real and vital role within the community and have great potential to contribute to the retention of language and culture because of the variety of activities which they can offer, such as plays, films, musical programmes, social evenings and celebrations such as national days. In the USA, there are numerous organisations, all with different aims and activities, thus catering for immigrants from different backgrounds and with different interests. They vary in size from small, local clubs to nationwide organizations, of which ethnic and cultural organisations form only a small segment. An examination of these various organisations is required in order to know more about them, and their language and/or cultural maintenance (if any). Fishman (1966:157) therefore suggests that a distinction can be made between linguistically-retentive organizations and non-retentive organisations (Fishman, 1966:157). An examination of these various organisations (for example, the leaders and members) will reveal the extent of their

language and/or cultural maintenance. Fishman (1966:157) proposes that linguistically retentive organisations be termed “positives”. Should a linguistically retentive organisation be one that is smaller in membership, have more foreign-born members and be more local in organisational scope, for example, this could have (positive) implications for language maintenance (Fishman, 1966:157).

2.2.4.2 Organisational characteristics

Language maintenance tends to take place more with the smaller, rather than the larger, less personal groups (Fishman, 1966:158). The linguistically retentive organisations tend to be the smaller ones, regardless of the population of the area in which they are situated. The de-ethnisation of these organisations has an impact on language maintenance and ethnic continuity (Fishman, 1966:159). Organisational goals can change much quicker than the demographics of the organisation membership (Fishman, 1966:160). Membership may still be largely foreign-born, for example, but the organisational goals may become more adaptive – more general and de-ethnised. Regardless of language maintenance factors, a decrease in organisation ethnic affiliation will lead to a decrease or discontinuance of language maintenance, until the third generation becomes predominant (Fishman, 1966:161). Many different factors may be responsible for this increased ‘slippage’ from ethnic organisation over time.

Fishman (1966:161) made three crucial findings about organisations:

- Language maintenance is more likely to be promoted by organisations of recent immigrants (immigrational recency) i.e. there is less time for immigrants to become de-ethnised and for organisations to be discontinued.
- Language (and culture) is more frequently promoted by organisations of immigrant groups that have recently come to the USA (certain cultural-ideological features are supportive of language maintenance).
- An interest in language maintenance does not always predict the future existence of an ethnic cultural organisation.

If ethnic affiliation or membership size decreases, and if this affiliation is important for language maintenance, then language maintenance will be further endangered in the cultural organisations that were originally ethnic in origin.

2.2.4.3 Use of mother-tongue and organisational activity

When examining language maintenance, one needs to look at the activities which the different organisations pursue and if the involvement in these activities has any bearing on language maintenance. Different activities may be aimed at different members, for example, different age groups (Fishman, 1966:165), the general public or the inner members. There are thus different areas or variations of language use within these organisations. The promotion of language maintenance is accompanied by a higher claim for mother-tongue use in organisational activities.

From these observations it can be deduced that the core membership or leadership is more likely to use the mother tongue than the general membership or public. A further important feature in determining the use of the mother tongue is the nativity of the chief officers and the actual membership. Belief in language maintenance is an important predictor of language use in organisational activity (Fishman, 1966:167).

The organisations may be involved in various activities, such as political (supporting a political group or party) or religious activities. The positives seem to be more represented in political activities than religious: it would seem that language maintenance is more associated with communal-political-ideological continuity than religious ideology. As Fishman (1966:167,168) explains, religion deals with universal issues – which affect people across ethnic and linguistic barriers; hence, religion will not be supportive of language maintenance over a long period of time. This issue will be discussed later in this chapter (§ 2.2.3.2; 2.2.3.3), namely, that for the church and the clergy the mother tongue may be important, but ultimately religion and Christianity are the most important issues focused on, and not language.

In the traditional ethnic community, language maintenance was strong, even without language maintenance consciousness as such. In the modern, urban centres, Fishman (1966:170) suggests that language maintenance is embedded in an ideology, including such aspects as national unity and national distinctiveness. Most immigrants in the USA originally came from a rural background, so language maintenance was habitual rather than ideological.

2.2.4.4 The role of ethnic cultural leaders

Although many of the original immigrants to the USA (1800-1900) were from rural backgrounds and not highly educated, there were those from urban areas who were better educated – including religious leaders. From the early days there were the intellectuals – and also political refugees and exiles. For most of the time that the immigrant groups have been in a country, they have had some sort of cultural leadership. One should therefore not think of ethnic centres merely in terms of costumes, dress and food. We must recognise that there are valuable contributions in terms of literature, art and music. Fishman (1966:174) comments that it “clearly reflects the creative efforts of ethnic cultural leaders and the receptive cultural interests of sizable audiences for whom their creations were most directly intended”. He maintains that such leaders and audiences existed at the time of his study.

When examining the aspect of leaders or presidents of the clubs operating within the community, Fishman and Nahirny (1965:315), recommend that if the aim of the club is to maintain the language, they should preferably,

- (a) be foreign-born, as opposed to native born (this could facilitate a greater use of the mother tongue);
- (b) display an interest in cultural aspects (e.g. literature, art and music);
- (c) be utilised within an organisation, in a position or portfolio, similar to their occupations, for example, an accountant being the treasurer of the club, a secretary being the secretary for the club, etc.

Furthermore, Fishman (1966:177) detects a pattern with regard to the overall organisation membership of ethnic leaders, in both ethnic and American organisations. Ethnic leaders tend to remain ethnic in that they are more involved in the ethnic life of their communities, than in American associational life. He suggests that native-born ethnic leaders are more active and more involved in ethnic organisations. They are occupationally integrated in the dominant society (i.e. may have good jobs), yet culturally de-ethnicised, when compared to foreign-born ethnic leaders. Importantly, this is reflected in the fact that the mother tongue has become dormant among them, even in interpersonal relationships. At the same time, however, they are still very much interested in organised ethnic life; they are usually actively involved and in a position of leadership in the organisations.

The children's involvement in ethnic life depends on the involvement of their parents as well as their nativity. For example, membership among children of native-born people is a little less than it is among children of foreign-born people, even though it may be that native-born leaders are themselves more involved with ethnic organisations than are foreign-born leaders. These observations with regard to children's participation in ethnic organisations have implications for the continuity of organised ethnic life, for example: they suggest that ethnic organisational ties tend to decrease with the passing from youth to adulthood and the consequent integration of adults into the occupational structure of American society. Secondly, they highlight the fact that involvement in ethnic organisations by de-ethnicised ethnic group leaders, may be of a temporary and untransmittible nature. Immigrants may outgrow ethnic organisations and communities. Thirdly, they imply that involvement in ethnic organisations decreases from one generation to the next, and that there is (possibly) no return to organised ethnic life among members of the third generation. Hence, organisational ethnicity may have an appeal for the de-ethnicised second generation, but this is difficult to pass on to the third generation. The majority of children, who have a poor command of the mother tongue, have no ties with ethnic organisations.

The data indicate that there is a correlation between proficiency and language usage: the more proficient children are in the mother tongue, the more likely they are to be positive toward using the language, and vice versa (Fishman, 1966:184). There is a positive relationship between knowledge of the mother tongue and organisational involvement. The data tends to confirm that the more extensively the children are affiliated to the clubs, the more favourable their attitudes are to the mother tongue. His findings revealed that younger children are more likely to have favourable attitudes toward the use of the mother tongue than the older offspring.

Fishman refers to the ethnic leaders who favour ethnic continuity, and say that this can be done in the USA without preservation of the mother tongue. Conversely, some are also of the opinion that the retention of ethnic customs and traditions is unnecessary for the continuity of ethnic life.

These findings touch on the very existence, and continuation of, the ethnic groups. The findings tend to indicate that some leaders may believe that values such as language and

tradition may be less important and necessary for ethnic continuity and group identity than a knowledge of such aspects as, say, literature or art. Hence, Fishman (1966:186) points out that the less tangible aspects of ethnicity (not so important in daily life of the ethnic community) are rated by the ethnic leaders as more important for ethnic continuity than aspects such as language and religion which clearly differentiate one ethnic group from another.

As indicated under the discussion on education (§ 2.2.2), the debate of language or group maintenance is again raised when examining organisations. Fishman (1966:186) found that ethnic leaders do not always see the retention of the mother tongue as important for ethnic group continuity in the USA. It was also found that foreign-born leaders justify or defend the use of the mother tongue for slightly different reasons because their mother tongue is part of their daily activity and leadership. They value it for its use and it also represents a value in itself: “the mother tongue is cultivated and appreciated intrinsically, for its own sake” (Fishman, 1966:187). Leaders of immigrant origin favour the use of the mother tongue because it expresses and symbolises the cultural heritage of the group.

2.2.5 Media

2.2.5.1 The press

Fishman (1966:55ff) identifies the press as an important factor for language maintenance. His discussion with regard to the press assists greatly in shedding light on this aspect of language within an immigrant community. Different types of publications are found within immigrant communities: dailies, weeklies and monthlies. The newspapers Fishman is referring to are those published in the USA by the various immigrant communities, as opposed to newspapers which are sometimes imported from the home country. There are non-English publications, mixed (bilingual) publications and English publications. He detected a certain trend with these publications: dailies become weekly publications; weekly publications become monthly publications. Furthermore, the data support the trend that there is a directional sequence from non-English to mixed publications to English-only publications. Greek, however, was one of the languages which showed a considerable increase in monthly publications – because of an increase in immigrants to the USA after World War II.

Fishman (1966:62) alerts us to the fact that not all first generation immigrants are necessarily literate in their mother tongue, and therefore may not have an interest in these publications. In addition, some who become Americanised may not be interested in these publications any more. He points out that it is not always the size of the group which has an important influence (as this directly determines the actual existence, support and continuation of the press), but the different pre-immigration and post-immigration circumstances that may characterise the group. He further highlights the aim of mixed publications: to target Anglicized ethnics as well as people who still speak the mother tongue to a large extent, by means of a single medium. Furthermore they help to bridge the gap between different generations. Nevertheless, Fishman (1966:62) describes them as “an unstable solution to the problem of inter-generational continuity”, as mixed publications generally tend to move in the direction of increasing bilingual publications and/or the use of English only (because of financial rather than ideological considerations, as described above § 2.2.5.1).

Continuing his discussion, Fishman is of the opinion that, eventually, English will take over because of financial and not necessarily ideological issues. The publications tend to make a transition to all-English publications or are discontinued. Decreases in readership can be ascribed to the fact that many people progress to non-ethnic status or later read ethnic publications in English only. Education also has an influence on readership: Fishman (1964:67) indicates that people with a higher level of education (for example, the younger generations), tend to support the English publications more.

Nevertheless, the ethnic press encourages language maintenance via various methods, for example, content. Some publications try to target certain audiences such as recent arrivals. The mixed publications support language maintenance – they serve mixed generations and provide an inter-generational transition for ethnicity and the instability of mixed publications (Fishman, 1966:71).

Fishman (1964:73) points out how the ethnic press follows the immigrant on his/her path – the children and grandchildren from the initial non-English and traditional ethnicity, through to biculturalism, language shift and decreasing ethnicity to the final stage of being Anglicised. He therefore speaks of “de-ethnicised ethnicity”, which may seem like a contradiction, but has become a reality of American life.

2.2.5.2 Radio broadcasting in minority languages

Radio has great potential to play a role in language maintenance. Fishman (1964:75) maintains that it is a convenient and successful means of media communication for all segments of society, it is portable and, as such, can be accessed in many different places, such as home, work, car and public places; it is affordable – especially for new or recent immigrants. Broadcasting can be developed and supported by various immigrant groups. Fishman terms the radio broadcasting in the immigrant communities as Foreign Language Broadcasting (FLB).

Carl Wittke (cited in Fishman, 1964:75), when discussing the connection between broadcasting and the press in a foreign country, maintains that it helps to keep the language alive and it assists the immigrants to adapt to a new environment:

It is concerned with preserving the cultural ties of the immigrant with the land of origin, promoting the activities of the group in its new home, and keeping the mother tongue alive as long as possible...[secondly]...It serves to initiate the immigrant into his new environment and to interpret for him, in words which he can understand, the political, economic, and social pattern of America.

Broadcasting serves as a link to the old country; it helps to reduce isolation and disorientation of minorities in a new environment; it is also an important means of entertainment, cultural exposure and relaxation. It helps those people who are not literate in their mother tongue and to whom the press may be of no use.

The influence of broadcasting may be declining. For example, as immigrants become more Americanised, the second and third generations become less familiar with the language and culture of their parents and grandparents – which is a challenge for minority language broadcasting. Furthermore, the arrival of television poses a challenge for minority language broadcasting.

According to Fishman (1964:80), an increase in the number of immigrants, leads to a corresponding increase in minority language broadcasting. Greek radio and others reported a reliable increase in average hours of broadcasting per week.

The size and recency of immigration also has an influence on broadcasting. Spanish (in the USA) is a case in point: as the number of Hispanics has increased, so some stations have started broadcasting all day.

Further, minority language broadcasting was found to be most successful at the two extremes: the smallest communities and the largest communities (Fishman, 1964:84). The extent to which the mother tongue is used in the programmes, or if it is bilingual, is indicative of the language maintenance goals (Fishman, 1964:88). Fishman's research indicates that there are a high proportion of programmes using the mother tongue only.

The radio stations may have different goals. Some are to maintain culture, some for commercial purposes, others are to Americanise. Fishman (1964:89) indicates that programmes directed at language maintenance are more successful in their goals than those aimed at Americanisation or commercialization. Most of the programmes which are successful, are those directed toward language and cultural maintenance – also in the case of the “Big Five” (Spanish, Italian, Polish, German and French (according to the 1960 data). The press may appear to be more popular among those groups with a greater degree of upward educational and economic mobility, while broadcasting appears to be more popular among those whose mobility is low (1964:81)). The least successful are those whose aims are commercial or Americanization. In cases like Spanish, due to the large numbers of Hispanics in the USA, there is no real threat to the language or a need for justifying the existence of broadcasting in a minority language.

It is a challenge for minority language broadcasting to be relevant to the younger generations who may have other interests than language and cultural maintenance compared with the older generations. It is difficult to have a balance or a compromise – in order to please both older and younger generations. Fishman (1964: 91) indicates, broadcasting must be more than just “a relic of an ethnicity that existed long ago and far away” for it to be effective in promoting language maintenance.

2.2.6 Family and generation

Grandparents play an important role in helping to re-enforce the use of the mother tongue among children of the second and third generations. It is in this context in which children most often use the mother tongue as they grow older. Even within the family, the mother tongue is the dominant medium of communication. English, however, tends to prevail in conversations among siblings; consequently, there is a lack of intergenerational continuity

with regard to the use of the mother tongue. Fishman (1966:181) remarks that ethnic leaders, their children and grandchildren represent separate linguistic subgroups segregated along generational lines: the mother tongue is used with grandparents and parents; but English is spoken among the younger generations, their peers and their own children.

The mother tongue was preferred when speaking to parents (it is easier and more satisfying). There is, however, a greater preference for and use of English when speaking to spouses (see also the study by Added, § 1.8.4.2; § 1.8.4.3). When speaking to their children (i.e. third generation), there is also a preference for English. In the domain of close relatives the use of the mother tongue is also generally preferred. For the majority of respondents in Fishman's study, it appears that English has taken over the mother tongue, in nearly all domains of use. A factor working against language maintenance is that most of the immigrant communities are not in an environment favourable to the mother tongue (see also the discussion by Jamieson § 2.3.7), despite these circumstances, the retention of the mother tongue is still quite good, as the immigrants are still using the language or being exposed to it in various domains or under various circumstances (see also Ramat, 1979:147; Denison, 1977; Jamieson, 1980:103; Tamis and Kapardis, 1988; Denison 1977; Jamieson, 1980; Wong-Fillmore, 1991 and Fennell, 1981).

The immigrant families play a dual role: they transmit the mother tongue and ethnic ways to American-born children; they are a bulwark of ethnicity. The immigrant family is highly vulnerable to competing cultural influences; in former years and a different milieu there was a conflict of generations. However, in the new host society, the occurrence of the intrusion of English into communication with parents and its dominance among siblings, is important for the transmission of the mother tongue from generation to generation, as it can have an effect on the maintenance of the language. It also sheds light on the difficulty which immigrant parents face in trying to transmit ethnic behaviour and the mother tongue to American-born children and grandchildren (Fishman, 1966:181,182).

In the inter-generational interest to transmit the mother tongue the most common issue is that of parent-to-child transmission. In some cases it is left to the grandparents. However, it is important to consider whether the grandparents live in the same country as the grandchildren (Fishman, 1966:202). Sometimes, despite or because of parental influence, children may resist the use of the mother tongue, while their children may have a more favourable attitude towards it. This may be too late for a change of interest in language maintenance, as the language may not be transmitted adequately by the parents any longer.

The skills can be perpetuated by the bilingual history of the community. In some Spanish communities in the USA, the knowledge and use of the mother tongue may remain functional, but not necessarily have more prestige. In such cases children may cultivate an English accent, but still be proficient in the language because of its immediate usefulness (Fishman, 1966:203). This does not mean, however, that the mother tongue has no practical use for the child, rather it is the pressures of the social environment which may cause the immigrant parents to de-emphasise the importance of their mother tongue, or its transmission to their children, in most domains of language use. Fishman (1966:182) summarises the trend as follows:

- An outgrowing of the mother tongue within the family that parallels organisational outgrowing (i.e. a decrease in organisational involvement);
- A further erosion of the mother tongue within the family among the offspring of immigrant or second generation leaders;
- The third generation almost ceases to use the mother tongue in conversations with parents, even if both parents are of the same ethnic background;
- Data shows that a large percentage still understand and can speak the mother tongue, in spite of the fact that they infrequently employ it.

Knowledge of the mother tongue, therefore, is not only the result of extensive interpersonal use between the children and their parents, but also because of formal education. Many third generation children may have studied the language (e.g. German) in American schools and colleges or ethnic group schools; the mother tongue can be re-enforced by affiliation to a cultural organisation (even though many third generation children may be members of organisations which are only marginally concerned with maintenance of the mother tongue).

2.2.7 Attitudes with regard to ethnicity

According to Kellerman (1972:64), an attitude may be defined as “a manner, emotion or actions toward an object or person”. Hence, when we speak about language attitudes, we are referring to the feelings, or viewpoint, speakers may have and display toward their mother tongue, and the language(s) of the host society. These attitudes will vary from very positive or loyalist to possible negative feelings about a language. The attitudes can usually be indicated on a scale or range along a continuum.

Fishman's study (1966) is focused primarily on the direct indicators of mother tongue maintenance. He asked the respondents whether the group, as such, should be preserved. From all the communities he researched, the majority of respondents were in favour of this – favourable attitudes being far more positive than supportive actions. Many felt this could be accomplished by means of clubs and organisations.

There are differences between the attitudes toward the maintenance of various components of ethnicity and the extent to which respondents are involved in activities to preserve these components. The newest immigrants perceive the greatest intergenerational losses as the mother tongue use between themselves and their children (Fishman, 1966:195). However, the mother tongue is still important for the continuity of ethnic life, and many respondents are involved in activities for its preservation. Some communities see the intergenerational loss or decrease of the mother tongue as regrettable; others welcome it as they see it as a sign of successful assimilation into the general community (Fishman, 1966:196).

When the question is asked: “why should your mother tongue be preserved?” the most common response given is that bilingualism is desirable. Other reasons given expressed their appreciation of cultural value and the conviction that the national language is inseparable from (or related to) the national heritage. In some instances, where people may be of peasant origin or have a lower education, they may not be very appreciative of (cultural) bilingualism. They are still aware of the importance of the language for the continuity of ethnicity, the large part of this ethnicity coinciding with religion. Depending on class origins of certain people, ethnicity and ethnic identity are very much interwoven with religion and religious identity.

2.2.8 Conclusion

An important overall finding of Fishman is that the active use of the mother tongue in the home (and the various other domains discussed by Fishman), is primarily responsible for enabling children to master the mother tongue. This is better than the best school instruction (see also Campbell and Schnell, 1987 § 2.4.2). The most successful retention of language is among recent immigrants. A desire to preserve the mother tongue (even if there are positive attitudes), does not do much for language maintenance, if the language is not used in the home.

Although Fishman's work provided a sound basis for examining the phenomenon of language maintenance and shift, the researcher is in agreement with Clyne (cited in Fishman 1991:389), when he points out that it should be borne in mind that subsequent to Fishman's initial research in the 1960s and the early 1990s, there have naturally been substantial developments in technology, namely computers, the internet and cellular phones, which have great potential to play a significant role in language maintenance, for example, reading newspapers or articles on the internet in the mother tongue; keeping in contact with family and friends via e-mails, smses or SKYPE and having access to television and radio channels broadcasting in the mother tongue both locally and from overseas.

2.4 Theories pertaining to language maintenance and language shift

2.3.1 Introduction

There are numerous theories which attempt to identify and explain the various factors that play a role in language shift and maintenance. The complex nature of this field of study is pointed out by Barnes and Van Aswegen (2008:4), who maintain that the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift do not have clearly defined borders, but should be viewed "as a movement across a continuum ranging from language maintenance to language death." This section attempts to give an overview of some of the most prominent theories and studies undertaken in the field of language maintenance and language shift.

2.3.2 Theories pertaining to identity

Language can play a role in establishing a sense of identity. The relationship between the mother tongue and group identity is very strong, with language being a pivotal feature of group identity, and vice versa. It is by employing the mother tongue that groups try to retain their individuality and ethnic survival (Srivastava 1989:19; Neville 1987:15; Ramat 1979:145; Sloboda 2003:28; Gardner-Chloros et al 2005:78). Identity theories are among the most prominent theories in the field of language maintenance and language shift. Almost all of the work done in this field refers to the issue of identity, even if only vaguely. The research in this field highlights the fact that language contributes greatly to an immigrant's sense of identity and to group identity. It is also a symbol of group solidarity.

Papademetre (cited in Kapardis and Tamis, 1988:100), for example, suggests that when examining sociolinguistic aspects of self-identity, two main sociolinguistic concepts are important to consider in the Greek communities of the Diaspora: (1) the sense of self-identity and ethnic identity; (2) the relationship the Greek people have with the host country – the sense of language as a means of establishing a social identity. Papademetre (cited in Kapardis and Tamis, 1988:95) argues that language is a means of “self-expression, individuality, insight...” He concludes that “language *creates* [own emphasis] self-identity” (1988:95). Language is strongly associated with culture, and people also tend to identify with their culture; hence, all these factors are interwoven.

In later research of the Greek community in Australia (Adelaide), Papademetre (1994) offers the view that a bilingual or cultural group in a monolingually-dominant society will experience language modification, and as a result there is also modification of their cultural identity (self- or other-defined). The degree of modification of self-identity of a bilingual in a multicultural society may also influence the disappearances/appearances of aspects of their language.

In the early research in the field, Fishman and Nahirny (1965:314) identified Group Identity as one of the most important aspects of ethnicity in most minority communities, which he defines as follows:

A person’s use of racial, national or religious terms to identify himself, and thereby, to relate himself to others.

Group identity is highlighted as an important factor among many second generation immigrants in Bennett’s (1992:55) study of the Dutch in Australia, who demonstrate a pride and preference for their ethnic background:

Here is now a feeling among many second generation immigrants...to show pride in one’s non-Anglo-Celtic ethnic background...and many seem to feel that their linguistic and cultural backgrounds is preferable to a monolingual, monocultural Anglo-Celtic background.

Furthermore, Bennett (1992:67) suggests a distinction between the use of language for daily communication and symbolic language maintenance (i.e. in instances where speakers may code-switch or use certain words of their language, as it results in them feeling a sense of identity or solidarity with the group and/or the country).

Costantakos (1982:139) argues that the bond between language and culture is very close: “A particularly prominent aspect of cultural identity has been language, closely associated with a relatively diffuse conception of a common cultural tradition.” Hence, Costantakos (1982:151,157) hypothesises that proficiency in the mother tongue is an important factor for ethnic identification of the group, and she argues that identification is assumed to be stronger among those whose proficiency in the mother tongue is greater. Demos’ (1988:61) study of American-Greeks highlights an important finding: proficiency in the mother tongue is associated with ethnic identity. Grimes (1985:390-391), suggests that the mother tongue is not only important for identity, but also for distinctiveness. Membership of a language group would therefore appear to be important. In a similar vein, Clyne (1988:71) indicates that the Italian community in Australia need the Italian language not only to express their ‘cultural core value’ and family cohesion, but that the language is linked with the ethnic identity.

Pandharipande (cited in Fase et al., 1992:261) proposes that there is not necessarily a correlation between the loss of language and the loss of cultural identity. He suggests that a social group identifies itself by a variety of markers, namely: linguistic, regional/geographic, religious and racial/ethnic. These markers together constitute the “culture” or “cultural identity” of the group. Culture is therefore a broad term and the loss of one of these markers does not necessarily imply the loss of cultural identity. Should one of these markers be lost, it tends to re-enforce the remaining identity markers. Important for this particular study, is the example provided by Pandharipande (cited in Fase et al., 1992:262), that should immigrants lose their language because of shift, this may result in greater participation in ethnic or religious activities to compensate for the loss of their linguistic identity. Further it is also pointed out that the loss of a language may not always be due to external pressures or factors, but that the group may consciously decide to give up their language in order to neutralize socio-economic pressures.

The notion of language and identity is also discussed by a number of other researchers. For example, Ramat (1979:145) maintains that the use of a language or dialect can indicate solidarity and self-identification of speakers. Dorian (1987:126) states that language is a sign of identity. In his study of the Maale people, Van Aswegen (2008:438, 439) notes that for this group of people, not only is language important for them to express themselves, but it is their identity – it is what makes them Maale or who they are. As in the study by Van

Aswegen (2008), Holmes et al. (1993:11) in their study of various communities in New Zealand, detect a similar situation in the Tongan community, Tongan is regarded “as an important component of Tongan identity; vital for the preservation of our culture”.

The choice of the linguistic variety will emphasise a social value: either identification with or rejection of the mother tongue (e.g. in shops with shopkeepers, in the presence of external elements e.g. tourists). The use of a language or dialect is an index of a behaviour pattern of solidarity; the use of another language or dialect is not necessarily intentional rejection, but could be that of indifference and orientation towards another culture; although sometimes out of politeness (Ramat 1979:145). The use of the language or dialect can therefore be to sustain the self-identification of the speakers. In some instances, speakers may be bilinguals out of necessity to communicate in multilingual situations, but not necessarily in terms of identity.

The sense of solidarity, in minority groups, is associated with greater awareness and intentionality. The choice of a linguistic variety can assume an ideological value, and can symbolically epitomise group membership (as in code-switching § 2.1), and also attachment to the traditional culture, or in some cases, nostalgia for the old days before tourism. Ramat (1979:145) makes these observations in the light of two villages of Gressoney (St. Jean and Gressoney La Trinité) in the valley of Lys, where the inhabitants speak a German dialect (mother tongue) as well as an Italian dialect.

At this point, it is of interest to note the explanation for the difference between language shift in Europe and the USA: in the USA language is one of the factors in the process of assimilation; in Europe, language is a prominent symbol of group identity. In Europe, therefore, linguistic assimilation will be an indicator of choice of another national identity (Plank cited in Srivastava & Schermerhorn 1989:19). Similarly, Costantakos (1982:137) highlights the different attitudes which one finds towards language maintenance and language shift: “in the Americas and Africa, language shift is usually thought of as being progressive, while in Europe and Asia, language loyalty is encouraged and viewed in a positive light.” Hence, in multilingual societies, a common language may be sought after (as in the case of the ‘melting pot’ in the USA).

In discussing the process of language shift, it is often suggested that a language is abandoned when it no longer has a function to carry out or re-enforce group identification (Schlieben-Lange, 1977 cited in Ramat, 1979:146), it is therefore important to stress the moment in or at which the process of normal transition of the language to the younger generations is broken off due to the parents' decision that it is no longer worthwhile for their children to communicate in a variety of low prestige which also lacks positive connotations (Denison, 1977 cited in Ramat, 1979:146).

A certain language or dialect may be used as a symbol of solidarity by a group of members of the community. In order to see whether such a positive symbolic function can guarantee the preservation of the dialect or language, the modality of transmission of the dialect or language has to be taken into consideration as well as examining which set of sociological characteristics defines individuals who appear to be interested in the transmission. The use of language with parents is essential for the continuation of family tradition (Ramat, 1979:147).

In some instances, the mother tongue situation is also supported by ethnic-language-religious structures. Trlin (1970, cited in Jamieson 1980:102), states: "Within the religious structures, language maintenance becomes symbolic of faithfulness and therefore becomes a strong focus of community identity."

Language therefore plays an unmistakable role in shaping personal identity, group identity and contributes toward their distinctiveness as a group, as well as being an important symbol of solidarity for a group of people. In many instances, language actually defines who people are or how they see themselves. In instances where there may have been language shift (e.g. the USA), identification with the language and not use of the language has been revived, to maintain a sense of group cohesion or solidarity (Clyne, 1988:71). If there is a certain amount of language loss within an immigrant community because of language shift, there may be greater participation in ethnic or religious activities to compensate for the loss of linguistic identity (Pandharipande cited in Fase et al., 1992:262).

2.3.4 Generation

Generation is a factor which numerous researchers have examined in their studies of language maintenance and language shift (cf. Sridhar 1987:81; Li 1982:122-123; Rohra 1986:48; Young 1988:323-328; Thompson 1974:14; Falk-Bano 1988:167; Zentella

1986:35 Jamieson, 1980:102,103; Campbell and Schnell, 1987:178,179; Denison, 1977; Ramat, 1979:147; Gardner-Chloros et al 2005:53,78). Fishman (1965) first examined this factor in his study in the 1960s. He focused on the characteristics of each generation. Similarly, Srivastava and Schermerhorn (1989) refer to the phenomenon of three generations. The most evident reason for generation playing such a leading role in language shift is indicated by Thompson (1974:7), who states that “Immigrant languages disappear because they do not transfer from one generation to the next.”

The debate with regard to the role of generation in language maintenance and language shift focuses on three different theories: firstly, the main theories suggest that language shift takes place over three generations – there may be a marked decrease or loss of language and culture in the third generation; secondly, and conversely, there may be a revival of language and culture in the third generation; thirdly, some researchers suggest that language shift may take place in a much shorter length of time (i.e. over two generations).

In the first theory, typically, the general pattern is that the first generation (immigrant fathers) are loyal to the ethnicity and culture and try to instill it into the sons, who fight against this and are not partial to embracing this ethnicity of their parents (Fishman, 1965:312,313). Consequently, the typical pattern of erosion of the mother tongue over three successive generations can be indicated as follows:

- (a) First generation: (only) mother tongue spoken
- (b) Second generation: bilingual
- (c) Third generation: language of the host community considered as the first language.

Falk-Bano (1988:162) elaborates on this pattern, and points out that the first generation immigrants are usually born in the old homeland (mother country), whereas the second and subsequent generations are usually born in the new homeland (host society).

Thompson (1974:7) provides guidelines for defining the generations as follows:

- (a) First generation: “...those who are listed as foreign born”
- (b) Second generation: “...native born of foreign or mixed parentage”
- (c) Third generation: “...those native born to native parents.”

Furthermore, Thompson (cited in Lopez 1978:272) maintains that language choice could primarily be a function of generation and not context, i.e. a language can still be retained in a host society (in contrast to § 2.2.6), but needs to be transmitted from one generation to the next.

Secondly, Fishman & Nahirny (1965) hypothesise that ethnicity and ethnic identity erode over three generations, i.e. the immigrant fathers, their sons and their grandsons. Furthermore, they point out that there may possibly be a return to or revival of ethnicity with the third generation. However, these researchers hold the view that ethnic heritage – including the mother tongue – ceases to play a role in the third generation (Fishman, 1965:311). The third generation might display a renewed interest in the culture, because it is usually the third generation who have become Anglicised and assimilated hence, they have not had a great amount of exposure to their language and culture.

A paradoxical situation may therefore exist: the sons of immigrants may have distanced themselves from the ethnic culture. Despite assimilation (for example, in abandoning the mother tongue and other elements of ethnicity), they are still conscious of their ethnic identity. However, in instances where immigrant communities or persons are discriminated against (§ 2.2.5.3), they may abandon their language and/or culture. It may also occur that there could be a revival of the language and/or culture in the third generation, or that it may, at least, be viewed in a positive light. Fishman (1966:397) reports that there is an overall improved and detectable positive attitude to the mother tongue by the later generations, and in general:

...non-English mother tongues have frequently experienced increases in general esteem during the past 15–20 years. They are more frequently viewed positively and nostalgically by older first- and second-generation individuals...The third-generations view them...with less emotion but with even greater respect. Thus, instead of a “third-generation return” (Hansen 1940) there has been an “attitudinal halo-ization” within large segments of all generations, albeit unaccompanied by increased use.

According to Fishman (1965:322), the generation gap between the fathers and sons meant that the family was not effective in transmitting traditional ethnicity; by the time the sons reached adolescence, the family was divided into two linguistic sub-groups. The grandsons became outsiders to this cultural heritage (Fishman, 1965:323). The mother tongue became

a foreign language to be studied in school. This is exactly the point argued by Campbell and Schnell (1987): many children from immigrant homes may start life as mother-tongue speakers of a language; as they grow older, however, and enter school, and are exposed to English (for example), they become less proficient in their mother tongue. The government of a country may, at the same time, be spending a great amount of money teaching some of these languages of the various immigrant communities.

It may appear that inter-generational shift is the general trend, there may also be a counter-trend (cf. Li 1982:112; Hansen cited in Fishman and Nahirny 1965:311-312); namely, a linguistic and cultural revival among the younger generations. Hansen explains that whereas the second generation is still in the process of establishing themselves in the new host society, the third generation of immigrant groups is characterized by an increase in ethnic consciousness. He also employs specific terminology for this phenomenon: the “fleeing sons” (second generation) and the “returning grandsons” (third generation). Hansen, (cited in Fishman and Nahirny 1965:311) states that: “the theory is derived from the almost universal phenomenon that what the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember.” In contrast, Nahirny and Fishman (1965:311) are of the opinion that ethnicity decreases in the third generation, which also affects the use of the mother tongue (i.e. it leads to a shift).

Important explanations for intergenerational shift among immigrant groups are provided by Lieberman and Curry (1971:134-135), in their study of language shift in the USA: diversity within immigrant groups facilitates the process of mother tongue shift; when English is widely used as a mother tongue by the second generation, immigrant groups are more likely to learn English.

It would seem that ethnic mother tongues survive best at two extremes: the highly formal (ritual-symbolic) and the highly intimate (expressive emotive) situations. Fishman (1966:397) therefore concludes: “At these two extremes they remain available to successive generations as reminders of ethnicity, and when needed, as reaffirmers of ethnicity”.

In contrast to the many theories which suggest language shift over three generations, in his extensive study of language shift in the United States, Veltman (1983:2,3) suggests that

language shift may take place over two generations: the first generation of immigrants learn English ; in turn they pass English on to their children as a mother tongue. These children in turn, may or may not be able to speak their parents' mother tongue. The pattern is that children will have, as their mother tongue, the language of the parents, if the parents retain their mother tongue (as the usual language). However, in most instances, the immigrants' mother tongue will become their second language. Hence, Veltman (1983:2,3) indicates: "...there will not be another generation of native born having the language of their grandparents as their mother tongue". As parents play a crucial role in the transmission of language to their children (the next generation); should they not transmit the language to their children, this could be a catalyst for the process of language shift.

Veltman (1983:2,3) takes his two-generational model of language shift a step further when he introduces the notion of inter-generational language shift. He explains that the linguistic behaviour of children is determined or influenced by three factors: (a) parental language usage, (b) parental nativity and (c) the (American) language environment. Children tend to imitate the linguistic behaviour of their parents. If language shift increases with age, children could become English monolinguals by the age of 17.

2.3.4 Theories of ethnicity and nationalism

2.3.4.1 Introduction

Scholars in the field have shown that the factors of ethnicity and nationalism can determine whether a language is maintained or if there is a shift from the language. In his early research, Fishman (1966) had already alluded to these factors, and the potential role they may have in language maintenance or shift. Paulston (1987) developed these factors in her theories of social mobilization, which will be explained later in this section (§ 2.3.4.2). Fishman (1966:62) defines ethnicity as:

A constellation of primordial awareness, sentiments, and attachments by means of which man has traditionally recognized the discriminanda that relate him to some other man while distinguishing him from other.

Ethnicity therefore refers to features of society, some of which are shared by all nations, others which are unique to a nation. Clyne (1988:72) maintains that a shared language is part of the sense of belonging to a group:

Most modern definitions of ethnicity...presuppose the following features: the acquisition of history and origins of the group into which you are born, a sense of 'belongingness', including nationality, language, religion, and another value system.

Language is therefore one of the factors which can unite people as a group, and distinguish one group from another. The majority of immigrants who went to the USA in the period 1880-1920 came predominantly from rural, homogeneous, traditional and ethnic contexts. Bearing these factors in mind, Fishman (1966:162) suggests that their language behavior was imbedded in ethnicity rather than ideology. In addition, language maintenance would then require "a new foundation when its potential carriers came to feel at home in the American environment" (Fishman, 1966:403)

In addition, Fishman (1966:399, 451) makes another important observation with regard to ethnicity: ethnicity and cultural maintenance are more stable than language maintenance. This observation is a negative aspect for language retention in an immigrant community within a host society. Fishman bases his view on the fact that bilingualism occurs before people become de-ethnicized or bi-cultural. An interest in culture, however, appears to stimulate interest, nostalgia and respect for the mother tongue. Fishman (1966:451) reports that "some form of ethnic self-identification is frequently still reported by many of those who no longer claim any facility at all in their ethnic mother tongues", and therefore concludes that ethnicity appears to be more stable than language maintenance (§ 1.5.1.2).

2.3.4.2 Paulston's theory

In the 1980s, further significant research was done with regard to the role of ethnicity in language shift and maintenance by Paulston, a leading researcher in the field of language and ethnicity. Paulston (1987:31) maintains that one of the central questions in the sociology of language is: under what conditions do changes take place? Paulston (1987:33) views social structure, more specifically, group mobilization, as the determining variable for language shift or language maintenance, and the various linguistic outcomes of the model of social structures (or group mobilization), which she has put forward. Furthermore, she explains that comparative studies assist greatly in the study of language maintenance and language shift at any level; they also attempt to identify causal factors, the findings cannot simply be generalised unless tested against some higher-level

theoretical explanation. Thus, causal factors need to be identified and then categorised under what social conditions language maintenance and language shift take place (Paulston 1987:33). Van Aswegen (2008:433), who makes extensive use of Paulston's theories of social mobilisation, sums up the theory as follows:

Paulston's (1994) theory of social mobilization...offers a framework which can be used for predicting language maintenance and shift outcomes, as well as for explaining why some languages survive in a contact situation while others die out. Changing social conditions and their historical relationships to underlying social determinants are an integral part of her theory.

Furthermore, Paulston suggest that where minority languages are in contact with dominant or host society languages in a 'modern nation-state' will remain stable, provided they share the behaviours, attitudes and perceptions associated with nationalism (Van Aswegen 2008:433).

It could be said that the basic notions of Paulston's work are in line with Fishman's of ethnicity (i.e. certain definite characteristics which unite a group of people, yet distinguish them from others). Language is also a central feature of her theory of social mobilization. Furthermore, just as Fishman (1966:162) suggests that language behaviour is embedded in ethnicity rather than ideology, Paulston bases her theory of language behaviour and maintenance on ethnicity/ethnicities and social mobilization, and not ideology. (See also § 2.3.4.4 for further examples of how different researchers have categorised various types of social mobilization).

Paulston's theory attempts to explain and predict language behaviour among ethnic groups in contact. According to this theory, linguistic groups form four types of social mobilisation (i.e. people tend to group together for various reasons, for example, similar needs, political views, religion etc.):

- (i) ethnicity
- (ii) ethnic movements
- (iii) nationalism
- (iv) geographic nationalism.

According to Paulston (1987:34), various social conditions may result in different linguistic outcomes of language maintenance and language shift. In the past, the concepts

‘nationality’ and ‘ethnic groups’ were usually seen as synonymous. Paulston maintains that we can better understand the concepts of language maintenance and language shift if we try to differentiate between the two concepts. She suggests four types of social mobilisation (mentioned above) which she feels form a continuum rather four distinct types. Groups of people do not necessarily remain within one particular type of mobilisation, but can move from one to another. Various social conditions determine that they will behave in certain predictable fashions with regard to language; it is these social conditions and the effect on language which she examines.

(i) *Ethnicity*

The most common feature of an ethnic group is that it is a group of people who share a common history and values. According to Paulston (1987:34), ethnic identity “is the sum total of feelings on the part of group members about whose values, symbols, and common histories that identify them as a distinct group.”

Ethnicity is ethnic-based action (Paulston, 1987:34). It entails roots, a shared biological past and common ancestors. Personal identity is based on culture and religion (see also the study by Papademetre cited in Kapardis and Tamis, 1988:100; § 2.3.2). Ethnicity does not involve violence, therefore it can lead to assimilation and the resultant language shift. Secondly, ethnicity does not retain a language in a multilingual setting if the dominant or host society allows assimilation, and if there is an incentive and opportunity of access to the language. Factors which can influence access to the second language are, for example, education, military service, media and occupation. In cases of inter-marriage, there will usually be a language shift, especially within the family, and it is usually in the direction of the socio-economically favoured group (Paulston, 1987:35). The issue of central concern is therefore, what facilitates language maintenance of an ethnic group? Language maintenance is easier for a large group, but what number of people is considered as “large”? Important factors such as elitist status and prestige play a role.

(ii) *Ethnic movement*

According to Paulston (1987:38), an ethnic movement takes place when ethnicity, as an unconscious form of identity, turns into a conscious strategy, in competition for scarce resources; it is ethnicity ‘turned militant’. Culture is closely linked with the concept of ethnicity. A further feature of ethnic movements, however, is that boundary maintenance is

of importance; therefore there can be a power struggle against the dominant group, which can be violent. The people, who make up the ethnic movement, may have a charismatic leader, but not necessarily an elite or middle class. Language and religion can be important symbols for such groups, but not necessarily so. An ethnic group may not be able to maintain a language completely, but may be able to reduce the rate of shift, thereby spanning it over more generations (Paulston, 1987:39).

(iii) Nationalism

There are many definitions of nationalism, but the various forms of nationalism share certain common traits. According to Cottam (cited in Paulston 1987:40), nationalism is demonstrated “[when] an individual...sees himself as a member of a political community, a nation that is entitled to independent statehood, and is willing to grant that community a primary and terminal loyalty”. The important characteristics of nationalism are: group cohesion, self-determination, a perceived threat of opposing forces, access to or hope of access to territory.

Further important features of nationalism are that the general aim of the group, who form the nation, is independence of their own territory. Sometimes they remain part of another state, as long as they can protect their own culture – in which case language becomes an important symbol of the people, which the people identify with, and want to protect. A sense of loyalty and group cohesion is created or strengthened through the use of certain symbols like a flag, national anthem and language. Admitting to language shift would be seen as disloyal. A sense of nationalism therefore supports language maintenance.

Ethnicity and nationalism can be seen as concepts, behaviour, perceptions and/or attitudes of a group of people. Given certain social conditions, the group will behave in certain predictable ways, which include their language behaviour.

(iv) Ethnic nationalism

Ethnic nationalism arises in instances when there may be differences between people, and as a result, separatist groups may form, usually led by members of the middle class. The difference between an ethnic movement and ethnic nationalism is access to territory. Ethnic nationalism and geographic nationalism are differentiated by Hans Kohn (cited in Paulston, 1987:42), who speaks of “open and closed nationalism”.

In the case of ethnic or closed nationalism, the group is isomorphic with the nation-state. Language is a very important feature (e.g. Nazi Germany). Geographic or open nationalism is territory-based, consisting of fellow citizens, regardless of ethnic descent (e.g. in the USA). In the case of ethnic nationalism language is the prime symbol of the nation, but not necessarily in the case of geographic nationalism; for example, the USA does not legally have a national language.

2.3.4.3 Paulston's application of her own theory

Paulston (1987:43) applies her theoretical framework of social mobilisation to a study of Catalan and Occitan. She poses the central question which is of great interest in the field of sociolinguistics, namely: why do some people manage to maintain their language, while some people may abandon their language? She suggests that when shift takes place among people who do not have their own territory, this could lead to language death. Furthermore, in minority groups where the main focus is on ethnicity, they are likely to shift to the language of the dominant group; those groups who focus on nationalism, are more likely to retain their minority language. Consequently, she suggests that Catalunya can be associated with nationalism and language maintenance, Occitania with ethnicity and the consequent language shift to French, with the strong possibility of language death. Paulston's study and findings can be compared with the study by Gal (1979; § 2.3.6), which is of a very similar nature, and demonstrates similar findings with regard to language maintenance and language shift, in the village of Oberwart in Austria.

Paulston (1987:45) identifies those concrete factors that played a role in the shift from Occitan to French, such as free education (which, in many instances, will serve as an incentive for parents to send their children to schools or universities where they do not have to pay fees; private schools were still able to teach Catalan), economic reasons favoured French (for example, employment), and the upward social mobility associated with French. French is associated with modernity and opportunity, Occitan with shame (Paulston, 1987:46). Paulston (1987:46) cites Eckert (1983) with regard to the position of Occitan: "French was the language of the rich, the educated; Occitan was the language of the home, the poor, the uneducated". In contrast, Catalan does not appear to be under threat. With reference to her theoretical framework, Paulston (1987:50, 51,54) concludes

that economic incentives are important catalysts for language shift (see also Gal's study § 2.3.6):

Catalan has been maintained as a viable language of Catalunya in spite of centuries of political repression. Its history, social structure, economy, and possibly cultural stubbornness have been contributing factors. Occitan, on the other hand, is dying, and in the absence of any national movement, a weak ethnicity and a mainly historical sense of identity are not sufficient to halt the shift to French, where lie all the economic rewards.

Hence, Paulston (1987:54) concludes that these various sociocultural processes can be seen as variables in determining language maintenance or language shift.

2.3.4.4 Social mobilisation categories proposed by other researchers

Other scholars have also proposed categories within society in order to explain language retention or language shift, usually based on the degree of interaction between the host society and the minority group(s), i.e. the degree of integration or isolation between the various groups of people in the society. Schermerhorn (cited in Srivastava 1989:9,10) examined factors which promote or prevent the integration of ethnic societies into surrounding societies. The nature and degree of integration has an influence on mother tongue shift. The integration of various peoples into a society can be seen as a result of three independent variables. The independent variables are: the nature of interaction (e.g. annexation, colonization); the degree of enclosure (segmentation); and the degree of control (power of the dominant group over access to scarce resources).

Wirth (cited in Srivastava and Schermerhorn 1989:10) also proposes a fourfold typology for the policies which different minority groups adopt in response to their subordinate position:

1. Assimilationist: the incorporation of the minority group into the host society; they become part of the society.
2. Pluralist: to uphold or promote two causes simultaneously, for example, a minority group learns the language of the host society while maintaining its own language.
3. Secessionist: the immigrant or minority group who may withdraw themselves from the host or mainstream society and prefer to live in isolation as much as possible, to promote their own interests or life-style. This would usually be a religious (or political) group such as the Amish Mennonites or Mormons.

4. **Militant:** this entails the use of violence (by a minority group or the host society) to promote or protect a cause, for example, language and religion.

2.3.5 Theories pertaining to culture and values

Culture and values are closely interwoven. In the 1980s, Smolicz introduced his theory of overarching and core values. These values and cultural aspects can be viewed together, as they may sometimes be very similar or overlap. It is through language that culture and tradition are passed down from one generation to another. Language is also interwoven with national character and as such is the badge of nationality (Costantakos, 1982:140).

Smolicz (1985) presents an elaborate and impressive theory of language shift and maintenance, with regard to the values and culture of immigrant communities, and applies his theory to the Greek situation in Australia. His theories most definitely assist in explaining the retention of certain aspects of culture of an immigrant group in a host society, and how they operate within the host society. Smolicz (1985:27) points out that core values play an important role in the preservation and continuation of “ ‘authentic’ Greek ethnicity in Australia” (i.e. the traditional culture and way of life from Greece). Of great importance is his observation that it is very difficult to revive authentic ethnicity and a language once it has been lost.

Examining the Greek community in Australia, Smolicz (1985), points out that people of different backgrounds are not a threat to the unity within a multicultural society, provided there are overarching values (i.e. common values or issues shared by all the people such as democracy) and English. In contrast there are what he terms culture-specific (or core) values (i.e. values or traditions which are specific to each group, for example, family unity within the Greek community). He identifies three main core values: family, language and religion. These core values are important for the survival of ethnicity, therefore, they need to be preserved within the greater framework or structure of the overarching values. Smolicz’s theories help to show how there can be a situation of compromise, in a situation where there are immigrant communities living within a host society, for example, that the language of the host society is the language of wider communication (LWC) or overarching value, and the immigrant or minority languages (or culture-specific values) can still be retained within this framework. See also the discussion by Kloss (1971; § 2.4), who highlights the rights of immigrant communities to retain their language and culture, especially against the background that many nations were created by immigrants, who brought with them their language(s).

Certain aspects of a minority or immigrant group's culture may be better preserved than others, over a period of time. Core values, however, are important for the preservation of ethnicity. Fishman (cited in Smolicz 1987:27) coined the concept *authentic ethnicity*, to make an important distinction between: (a) ethnic groups preserving their language and/or core values (the *authentic ethnicity*) and; (b) ethnic groups which only retain certain cultural aspects or 'cultural residues', such as food, folklore and artifacts. In instances where only certain aspects of culture are retained, this could be attributed to the process of assimilation. Core values, however, play a role in distinguishing one group from another:

It is through core values that social groups can be identified as distinctive cultural communities. Loss of core values deprives a community of its ability to perpetuate itself as an authentic entity across generations (Smolicz 1988:148).

Smolicz maintains that when people are born in a country, they are no longer migrants but Australians (for example), and by retaining certain aspects of Greek culture and identity, they are then Greek-Australians. The same arguments could then obviously apply to immigrant communities in other countries. Smolicz (1985:27) maintains that in the event of some core values being lost, cultural residues can still act as 'anchors' of ethnicity, and assist in its revival or maintenance. Furthermore, he indicates that the ethnic groups have a nuclear heartland of members, in addition to the residuals.

In a later study of Greeks in Australia, Smolicz (1988:147) elaborates on his theory (see also § 3.3.6). His focus is two-fold: the way elements of Greek culture are maintained and develop, on the one hand, and then undergo a process of modification and change, on the other. For him it is a given fact that in all cultures, there is change over time. The survival of a culture depends on the constant modification that meets the needs of the current generation of members. The flexibility of tradition ensures its continued existence. To survive as a group, people need to nurture their culture and traditions.

There are also other examples in the literature which highlight the link between language and culture, for example, Aziz (1988:16), Prabhakaran (1992:171) and Rohra (1986:46,47). Prabhakaran (1992) provides the example of the young Andhras in South Africa. The group fear that the loss of their culture will result in the loss of the group identity in South Africa. Prabhakaran (1992:171) notes that they are aware of the link between language and culture, and consequently, they are reviving and making use of the mother tongue in an attempt to preserve the culture:

Many of the present-day young Andhras realise that there is an erosion in their religio-cultural practices and are aware that cultural erosion would lead to erosion of their group-identity in South Africa. They are aware of the relationship between language and culture. *Thus, they are trying their utmost to preserve their culture by returning to their EMT...the survival of Telugu depends on the interest in promoting and learning the language...After 1985 the case of the Andhras in South Africa displays an upward swing in their interest towards the retention of their EMT* (own emphasis, to explain the conclusion suggested by Prabhakaran, below).

She therefore suggests that this particular group contradicts examples of immigrant situations elsewhere in the world, in terms of generation theory (§ 2.3.3; 3.3.6), as the younger generations after 1985 are making a conscious effort to revive the mother tongue. Prabhakaran (1992:172) suggests that the maintenance of the language “may be indirectly attributed to the ‘Apartheid’ laws...and to the political situation in South Africa” (see also § 1.9.1).

The study of Aziz (1988) also serves as a good example of revival and interest in minority language and culture, namely, Urdu in South Africa. Aziz (1988:166) states that there are three main factors which play a role in maintaining Urdu: the vernacular education, religion and culture. Aziz (1988:167) confirms the link between language and culture: “The Urdu cultural experience in South Africa also confirms the underlying assumption that to maintain a language the culture with which it is bound up must be maintained.”

These two researchers raise awareness of the crucial role which the inter-woven factors, culture and religion, can play in the maintenance of language, and how they are inter-woven factors. One of the most important factors can be an interest to promote and learn the language. This is in line with the view of Fennell (1981:39) who maintains that the desire to retain and revive the language must, essentially, come from the speakers themselves.

Aziz (1988:134) holds that language is not only a part of one’s cultural heritage, but also expresses that cultural heritage. Rohra (1986:46,47) expresses the view that adherence to culture can lead to adherence to, or lasting ties with the mother tongue. The mother tongue is viewed as a marker of group affiliation. Furthermore, the mother tongue is also the carrier of culture and assists with the transfer of cultural traditions. The mother tongue therefore plays a pivotal role in the maintenance of social and cultural identity in the sphere of cultural growth, and more so in a multicultural society.

2.3.6 The issue of prestige or socio-economic status

The Socio-Economic Status (SES) of a language refers to it being associated with a certain value in society, for example, a language can be seen as either prestigious or associated with a lower class of society, and have a stigma attached to it. This social value means that speakers tend to choose a particular linguistic variety, thereby either identifying with or rejecting the mother tongue (or a language).

As early as 1953 Weinreich discussed the issue of prestige. Fishman (1972:134) points out that “the prestige of languages can vary noticeably from one context to another for the same interlocutors, as well as from one speech network to another within the same speech community.” It is for this very reason that Weinreich (1953, cited in Fishman 1972:134) recommends that “as a technical term...’prestige’ had better be restricted to a language’s value in social advance”. Hymes (cited in Fishman, 1966:443) observes that “some languages do not enjoy the status of a symbol crucial to group identity”. Fishman (1972:135) highlights the importance of the relationship between prestige and language maintenance and language shift. This is a complex issue. There are many examples of this in history. Languages such as English, Spanish and Portuguese are associated with power because of their colonial history (see also David Crystal’s discussion on language and power § 6.4.3; Gardner-Chloros, 2005:54). Historically, Greek was also associated with power in the days of the Greek Empire. Should a language therefore be (or have been) associated with power, the prestige of the language will be derived from this sense of power. Because of past history, Fishman (1966:394) points out that a distinction is made in the USA between the three high prestige colonial languages (French, Spanish and German) and the three low prestige colonial languages (Yiddish, Hungarian, Ukrainian).

Fishman (1972:98), for example, refers to aspects of social value or prestige in his early studies. One such an example is Pre-World War I European elites who spoke French or a fashionable H tongue for intragroup communication; the masses spoke another language (which was not necessarily linguistically related) for their own intragroup communication. A further example of a situation of diglossia based on power and prestige, is that of the Swiss-German cantons where the inhabitants of school age and older alternate between High German (H) and Swiss German (L), each with its own established and valued functions (Ferguson, 1959; Weinreich, 1951, 1953).

In the context of language maintenance and language shift Fishman (1972:109), refers to the issue of status: the language of communities and networks who experience the greatest sociocultural change, is more likely to experience change; the immigrants or minorities are more likely to imitate the language of those whom they observe that benefit the most from economic, political or any other sociocultural status, in the hope that these changes may also lead to changes in the status of their own lives.

The issue of prestige is referred to by Paulston (1987:46) in her study of Catalan and Occitan, where she asks the question: with what do speech communities associate their language? She identifies two extremes with which language can be associated: modernity and opportunity, or shame. Paulston (1987:35) indicates that factors such as elitist status and prestige play a significant role in language maintenance of an ethnic group.

In most instances, the language in the direction of which the shift is occurring, enjoys greater prestige (Mougeon et al.. 1985:455). Woolard (1984:70), for example, in her study of language attitudes in Barcelona, found that a 'prestige' factor was identified, consequently, the results of her study indicate that the use of Catalan (which is not stigmatized), is more prestigious than Castilian. Ryan (cited in Hidalgo 1986:196-197) points out that the members of both the majority and the minority language group prefer prestigious languages and language varieties, to low prestige languages (even if only attitudinally).

Lopez (1978:267) points out that Spanish in Los Angeles, for example, is associated with a low SES, in the sense of "low educational achievement." However, low status does not always mean that there will necessarily be a shift. Similarly, Li (1982:116-117) suggests "that SES has a positive effect on language maintenance, or a negative effect on language shift." His study of Chinese Americans highlighted an important generalization, namely, that the lowest SES groups show the least language shift or "the lowest resistance to pressure for language assimilation...middle-class Chinese Americans are most successful in retaining their native language." One of the reasons which can be cited for this phenomenon can be language islands or areas, where many Chinese people live together, and are able to utilize their language in a number of different domains (or for various functions) on a daily basis.

The observations and studies of Veltman (1983) and Kalantzis (1985) with regard to the status of a language, may be viewed in line with the observations and theories of Paulston, discussed above. He suggests that children tend to disassociate themselves if there is a negative status attached to the language or the group. If the language and the group, however, have a high social status (more so if the language is associated with international activity), it could lead to a retention of bilingualism, and support for cultural organizations devoted to language maintenance. Kalantzis (1985:172) points out that prestige is less important among parents and adults.

A further example of the link between language and prestige is discussed by Tamis. With regard to Greek in Australia, Tamis (1990:498) points out that: “The acquisition and learning of MG (Modern Greek or mother-tongue Greek) is further inhibited or promoted by the attitudes of the overall society and the prestige that it carries amongst teachers and educators.” Furthermore, Tamis (1990:498) highlights how, when the mother tongue is included in the education system, it leads to a corresponding increase in its social value and/or acceptability, not only in society in general, but also within the community:

...the introduction of MG (Modern Greek) as an examinable subject for tertiary entrance requirements in 1973 and its teaching in certain Australian Universities and Colleges of Education...further increased not only the functional value of the mother tongue, but also stipulated the acceptability of MG in the Greek community.

The observations of Parekh (1985) can be considered in conjunction with Tamis’ discussion of the social prestige or status of a language. Parekh (1985:133) maintains that an important consideration is that “a mother tongue is the necessary basis of self-esteem and self-respect” (which further ties up with the issues of identity, as discussed by Papdemetre, 1988; § 2.3.2 and pride § 2.3.4 (f)).

Studies by Dorian (cited in Ramat 1983:497) of a Gaelic-speaking community, where Gaelic is being replaced by English, clearly illustrates the role that the prestige or social value of a language plays in language shift and language maintenance: English is the *high prestige* language, the language for social mobility and for educational purposes. Another significant study in this field was conducted by Gal (cited in Ramat 1983:497) in the bilingual village of Oberwart (Austria), where a language shift is taking place after centuries of bilingualism, as German (the high prestige language) is replacing Hungarian

(the low prestige language). To find the reason for this change one needs to look at the social correlates of economic and political changes. In Oberwart there are two communities: the German speaking community which is wealthy and lives in the wealthy areas; then there is a group of poorer and less educated bilingual peasants. After World War II, better jobs became available and were preferred by the younger generation. Hungarian represented the peasant value system, and is being abandoned in favour of a value system based on money, better housing and clothing, for example. The children of the Hungarian community are shifting to German, reflecting the economic and social changes that have taken place in the community. Gal (1983:498) highlights the importance of the issue of prestige and SES when she indicates that language shift is not merely caused by industrialisation or urbanisation, but depends on the symbolic values associated with languages. (See also the study by Gardner-Chloros et al (2005:53,75ff), where the researchers examine the value and choice of English, the Cypriot-Greek Dialect and Standard Modern Greek in different marketplaces, among the Greek Cypriots in London).

2.3.7 Bilingualism as a catalyst for language shift

As indicated previously (§ 2.3.1), many of the factors in the field of language maintenance and language shift cannot always be seen in isolation because are interwoven with other factors or domains. Studies dealing with bilingualism, for example, provide further insight with regard to how the phenomenon of bilingualism may influence language maintenance or shift, as Fishman (1972:102,153) explains how the language of wider communication (LWC) impacts on the home language or mother tongue:

Children typically become bilingual at a very young age...since their elders (both adult and school age) carry into the domain of intimacy a language learned outside its confines. Formal institutions tend to make individuals increasingly monolingual in a language other than that of hearth and home. Ultimately, the language of school and government replaces the language of home and neighbourhood, precisely because it comes to provide status in the latter domains as well in the former...

Fishman (1972:91,92) discussed the issue of bilingualism in his initial research in the 1960s (see also § 2.3.6), and pointed out that this phenomenon needs to be examined, as it has relevance to language maintenance and language shift. In a situation of bilingualism (where the host language and the mother tongue are being used simultaneously on a daily basis) it usually happens that the two different languages are used in different domains or for different functions, for example, the home environment versus the work environment,

shopping and medical services. There is usually a separation between H (high) language, on the one hand, (e.g. used in the domains of religion, education and aspects of high culture), and L (low) language, on the other hand, (e.g. used for everyday situations such as the home and the lower work sphere). This distinction between high and low language is a reference to language being associated with a specific status (§ 2.3.6); over time, speakers may increasingly employ the language associated with status and which may provide greater access to everyday services and education, for example, thus leading to a language shift.

By means of a diagram, Fishman (1972:115) clearly demonstrates the process and stages of bilingualism, which may result in language shift.

Bilingual Functioning Type	Domain Overlap Type	
	Overlapping domains	Non-overlapping Domains
Compound ("Inter-dependent" or fused) Co-ordinate ("Independent")	<p>2. Second Stage: More immigrants know more English and therefore can speak to each other either in mother tongue or in English (still mediated by the mother tongue) in several domains of behaviour. Increased interference.</p> <p>3. Third stage: The languages function independently of each other. The number of bilinguals is at its maximum. Domain overlap at its maximum. The second generation during childhood. Stabilized interference.</p>	<p>1. Initial stage: The immigrant learns English via his mother tongue. English is used only in those few domains (work sphere, governmental sphere) in which mother tongue cannot be used. Minimal interference. Only a few immigrants know a little English.</p> <p>4. Fourth stage: English has displaced the mother tongue from all but the most private or restricted domains. Interference declines. In most cases both languages function independently; in others the mother tongue is mediated by English (reverse of Stage 1, but same type)</p>

Figure 2.1: Type of bilingual functioning and domain overlap during successive stages of immigrant acculturation (Fishman, 1972:115)

Fishman (1972:111) points out that in the field of language maintenance and language shift, the aspects of bilingualism which are of importance are those of code-switching (§ 2.3.7.1) and interference. As mentioned earlier (2.1), he suggests that in the field of language maintenance and language shift, code-switching is an important aspect of bilingualism. It may play a role in the use and maintenance of the language, because the mother tongue is being utilized. Furthermore, he highlights the fact that when studying bilingualism and language maintenance and language shift, the researcher needs to be aware of the various factors and approaches to this field of study: "a *combination* or

organization of approaches to the measurement and description of bilingualism will uniquely characterize the study of language maintenance and language shift”.

Fishman (1972:114) draws our attention to two issues pertaining to bilingualism, which may be of concern to language maintenance and language shift. Two types of bilingual functioning can be distinguished: (a) a situation where a child grows up using two languages more or less interchangeably by the same people and in the same situations; (b) and secondly, where a child has learnt to speak one language with the parents and the other language in school or at work.

In his work, Tamis (1985:22) refers to Fishman, as an example of the numerous studies that have been conducted in the USA, in the field of immigrant languages and bilingualism. He contends that this field of study can be examined in the context of bilingualism and language contact. Certain common elements can be detected and borne in mind while carrying out a study of this nature. For example, a linguistic community is never homogenous and seldom self-contained; immigrant languages are usually in the process of decay owing to immigrant communities undergoing the process of language shift because of the restricted use of their language (mother tongue). Tamis remarks that there are similar findings in Australia with regard to immigrant languages – they are doomed because of their contact with the host language in an unstable bilingual situation.

In his later studies, Tamis (1990:481) found that European immigrant or minority languages in Australia, in the process of language shift, are also experiencing simplification and reduction. He says that this can be attributed to factors such as geographic mobility, high-contact situations, and extralinguistic tendencies (i.e. factors other than language factors, such as, inter-marriage, employment and SES). Changes which take place may not always be consistent. Languages can have a restricted function in a high-contact situation, leading to an ethnolect or process of simplification and eventually death. Tamis reports that because, over the last 20 years, there has been an increase in language contact situations, languages are not necessarily exclusive to or restricted to certain geographic areas anymore. This could mean a possible decrease in language islands, therefore affecting language maintenance. Tamis is of the opinion that the process of attrition can be averted if the domains of language use are extended to cover the school, church and possibly the work place.

Certain factors in society can have a negative impact on languages, for example, in Post-World War II Australia, immigrants were discouraged from learning their mother tongue, and were encouraged to speak English (Tamis 1990:485). In conditions such as these, ethnic schools are labelled as *underground* schools. Monolingualism, however, is not always advantageous. For example, in Australia, by 1984, 70% of the employees in the Australian Foreign Service were monolingual, yet their work required proficiency in a second language.

Categories for various types of bilingual situations have been suggested. Okamura-Bichard (1985:82), for example, maintains that in the second language environment (or in immigrant or minority groups, in the USA), four groups of bilinguals can be distinguished:

Group 1: High in mother tongue
High in English

Group 2: High in mother tongue
Low in English

Group 3: Low in mother tongue
High in English

Group 4: Low in mother tongue
Low in English

The latter group (Group 4) are said to be in a state of “unstable or confused bilingualism”, they are headed towards a language shift to their second language. The process of shift in immigrant groups is not a rapid process, but takes place over a period of time. Therefore, Veltman (1983:15ff) identifies steps in the process of shift from the minority language, to the language of the dominant or host society:

- Minority language retention (monolingualism in the minority language): mother tongue spoken only.
- Simple bilingualism (minority language and English): a small degree of language shift, or use of the host community language.

- English bilingualism (both languages are used equally): monolingualism in the mother tongue eventually leads to a shift to bilingualism in which English is the principle language, and as such, is a threat to the mother tongue, as the mother tongue then shifts to be the second language. Children will then also learn and continue to speak English.
- English monolingualism: the mother tongue is spoken with less frequency (in almost all spheres of life) or not at all. The mother tongue is therefore (almost) completely abandoned as a vehicle of communication, thus also having effects on the children.

English monolingualism results in two further consequences:

- There is less participation in the immigrant group or community, by its members;
- Children are not expected or forced to know the mother tongue. Hence, it is both a present loss (of parents and children) to the minority group, as well as a loss of future support.

When examining the decay of Gaelic, Dorian (cited in Brezinger 1993:6) observes how speakers of the minority speech community show different levels of proficiency, for example:

- There are older fluent speakers who demonstrate full competence.
- We can locate younger fluent speakers who deviate from the norms of the above and
- There are also semi-speakers who speak a reduced form of the language.

Decaying languages, at various stages of decay, can shed light on language universals and linguistic change in general. Dorian's (1983:505) conclusion is that universally, the reduction in use of a language is accompanied by reduction in its structure.

Mougeon (1985:455), in his study of Ontarian French (Canada), makes an important observation when he states that a high level of retention of the mother tongue does not necessarily safeguard it from the influence of English, or simplification. His theory is that in a situation of unstable bilingualism, speakers may be unable to preserve the structural 'integrity' of the subordinate language. Where one or more languages are in contact, Mougeon (1985:455) indicates that these situations are characterised by two (universal in most instances) features: the population undergoing shift is in the minority,

demographically; and, the language being shifted to enjoys wider currency and greater prestige. In some instances a language may demonstrate resistance to change (it can retain its grammatical integrity) despite a situation of bilingualism. This may be seen in the case of Spanish in New York.

Mougeon (1985:479) points out that there is no guarantee that the speech of those who retain the mother tongue at a high level, when in a minority, will be a valid base line for gauging the speech of those who do not maintain the minority language to the same degree. Mougeon (1985:481) concludes that not even a high level of French retention in Canada is a safeguard against grammatical influence from English, just as the use of French on an equal footing with English is not a guarantee against simplification; French-English bilingualism is unstable. When reaching a stage of unstable bilingualism, balanced bilingualism might merely be a transitory stage toward shift to the majority language for some speakers, who are less motivated to preserve the mother tongue.

In her study of language change, Aitchison (1991:204) describes bilingualism as part of the process of language murder – a noticeable decrease in the number of speakers being the first stage in this process. It may happen that there are a few speakers of a language (who, in some instances, may be found in rural areas). When these speakers come into contact with a socially and economically more powerful language, bilingualism then becomes important, and the use of their first language decreases. The first generation of bilingual speakers are fluent in both languages; the next generation are less proficient in the mother tongue, which can be ascribed to a lack of practice. Eventually, the mother tongue is only spoken by the older members of the community, and on fewer occasions. The few remaining speakers are known as “semi-speakers”.

2.4 Language Rights

Smolicz (1985:24) and Costantakos (1982:137), *inter alia*, refer to the attitude of host societies that when immigrants arrive in a new environment it may be expected of them that they will automatically give up their language, among other things. Fishman (1966:375) sums this situation up very succinctly: “There is a ‘message’ which immigrants, other ethnics, and their children quickly get – that ethnicity is foreignness, that both have no value, that they are things to forget, to give up”. Kloss (1971:260), however,

notes that immigrants do have certain rights in order to protect and use their language. The question is posed: are immigrants always aware of these rights which may be to their benefit in retaining their language and if so, what have they done to protect their language?

Kloss (1971) champions linguistic rights for immigrants, and discusses the various arguments, for and against language rights for immigrant groups. He reminds us of an important happening in world history which many prefer to forget or ignore: many of the greatest nations were created by immigrants, for example, the British, French and Portuguese who emigrated to the New World and brought with them their language(s).

2.4.1 Arguments against language rights of immigrant groups (Kloss 1971)

Four arguments are most commonly used to support this viewpoint:

- The tacit compact theory: if a person(s) applies to live in a new country, the host country, by granting permission, is “concluding a compact tacitly implying that the immigrants...waive any claim to minority rights that may have been theirs” (Kloss 1971:254).
- The take-and-give theory: this theory proposes that most immigrants will be more prosperous in the new country than in their previous country, and in return, they must give themselves fully to the new country, including its language and culture.
- The anti-ghettoisation theory: this theory holds that by passing the mother tongue on to the children (the next generations), they are being locked up into a cultural ghetto, and will therefore be excluded from the mainstream of national life, while not being able to catch up with cultural developments of the old land. Linguistic pockets will result in cultural drop-outs. They will also be disadvantaged in their jobs by not being able to speak the language of the host society, or because of their ‘foreign accent’.
- The theory of national unity: people who retain their mother tongue may become a politically disruptive force. Consequently, host countries have a right to require linguistic assimilation from immigrants.

2.4.2 Arguments for language rights of immigrant groups (Kloss 1971)

- The right for immigrant communities to retain their mother tongue (and also in education) is recognised by certain Laws and Acts (e.g. by the United Nations).

- Parents have the right to choose the school they want their children to attend.
- Parents have the right to choose their own form (or branch) of learning for their children.
- There are property rights of parents, teachers, and/or congregations, should they be endangered.
- It is in the interest of the state to retain bilingual citizens who can serve as bridges between countries.
- There is the danger that with the loss of language, the group may lose some of its qualities and traditions which could have made it a valuable part of the nation (see the discussion by Brezinger, 1993:1)
- The presence of a variety of different languages and language-based cultural traditions, could contribute to cultural enrichment of the state and society. (See the discussion by Campbell and Schnell, 1987; § 2.5)

Should there be a declaration of language rights for immigrant communities, a distinction can be made between:

- Promotion-oriented rights: when people make use of a language in many domains and activities, they are promoting that language, in various grades of activities. This can only take place if the minority group has proved that the language can remain in existence for a number of generations, and it is not just a passing phase, they can then request help from the state (1971:260).
- Tolerance-oriented rights: gives leeway to minorities to use their own language in domains for themselves, for example, the founding of newspapers, schools, libraries and associations.
- Acquiescent rights: should be granted when minorities want to cultivate their language and tradition.

Kloss (1971:260–261) refers to the existence of a number of different acts and laws which protect the rights of minority groups' languages and concludes (1971:261): "Thus, it would seem that a world-wide concensus regarding this principle is not entirely beyond reach". We may speak of a degree of progress in this area: the United Nations has declared 21 February as Mother Tongue Day. In the South African context, the Constitution of South Africa not only acknowledges the 11 official languages of South Africa, but many of the minority languages as well (§ 1.9.2).

2.5 Language as a national resource

Campbell and Schnell (1987:178) argue that immigrant languages are national resources. They can be useful for a number of reasons (e.g. trade, tourism, employment, education and the military service), yet many governments neglect them, and later have to spend substantial amounts of money to teach these languages to their citizens again. The competency of those who learnt the language is, nevertheless, not usually the same as that of a young child who acquired the language as a mother tongue. Hence, in many instances immigrant languages are a wasted national resource (see also Papademetre & Routoulas 2001:180: “Comparisons between languages and cultures on the basis of their relevance and usefulness for the nation are always relative because [they are] based on economic and political exigencies”; Sloboda 2003:28 notes that: “The Greek community in Czechia is an asset to the rest of the society of Czechia...particularly through translating services, translations of fiction, cultural and entertainment events, Modern Greek language courses, dictionaries and other linguistic books, etc.)

They further argue that children up to approximately the age of 6 years of age are competent speakers of their mother tongue (i.e. they can be regarded as native speakers). However, up to this age, there are certain areas outside the home, to which they have not yet been exposed, or come into contact with (e.g. the sphere of education). In many instances they are also denied access to these areas. Consequently, there is a shift to bilingualism in the second generation, and a relative complete shift to English in the third generation:

In nearly every major centre in the United States we find large concentrations of homes in which English is not the dominant language of communication. In these homes, children up to the age of five or six regularly acquire and use the home language for all their sociocultural and basic physical needs...later-in-life opportunities in their first language (L1) are precisely those that are typically denied linguistic minority children in our society. The consequences are, of course, predictable...the second generation i.e. the children of immigrants become bilingual and the third generation shifts relatively completely to English (Campbell and Schnell 1987:178-179).

The notion of language as a resource, is also referred to by Batibo (2005:48f), in his examination of African languages. He mentions the primary function of language, namely, communication. In addition to this, he also mentions some of the other functions of language, as discussed in (§ 2), such as self-identity, socialization and group solidarity.

Language therefore also plays an important role in distinguishing different groups of people from each other and in social stratification. Batibo (2005:49) holds the view that African languages are “a source of considerable value”, in general, and they should be regarded as valuable resources on a par with minerals and wildlife. He ascribes their value to their linguistic, cultural and artistic attributes. He says that African languages have linguistic features that are rare or unique among languages in the world. These phenomena contribute to our understanding of the nature of human language as well as the variations in human languages; furthermore, because the African languages are centuries old, they also have great cultural wealth.

Batibo (2005:49) concludes his discussion by suggesting that African languages have the potential to be vehicles of national development, “as they would ensure the positive and active participation of all the people in the country”. He feels it is unfortunate that many African countries are using ex-colonial languages as they are of the opinion that these languages are technically more developed, for example. He further argues that a language is not only a source of great value for a nation, but is also part of national heritage. He feels that most African countries have not paid much attention to their languages, and have not made the necessary effort to ensure the optimal use of these linguistic resources. He suggests that the future of many of these languages is that of doom and extinction, as many of the speakers of the African languages are shifting to the colonial or dominant languages which are regarded as socially and economically more attractive.

2.6 Summary and conclusion

The introduction of the term *language shift* is attributed to Fishman (1966), who was one of the first researchers to conduct extensive research into language maintenance and language shift. He studied the numerous immigrant communities in the United States. Subsequent to his research, many researchers have used his data and theories to expand on his initial research and develop new theories in an attempt to come to an understanding of the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift.

From the overview of the literature in this chapter, it is evident that there is an extensive volume of literature on the issue of language maintenance and language shift. In this chapter, an overview was given of the pivotal issues discussed by Fishman (1966). As indicated above (§ 2.2.7), Fishman’s pioneering research focused primarily on the direct

indicators or factors of mother tongue maintenance, the most important being education, religion, media, cultural organisations and family. These factors can be said to have the greatest potential to contribute to language maintenance.

Other theories discussed were, for example, the close relationship between language and identity. Theories which deal with aspects of identity, maintain that language is one of the aspects of a nation that people can identify with. Language may further assist in playing a role to establish a sense of identity. Identity theories constitute a major contribution in this field of research, and have therefore been examined first. Language plays a pertinent role in *establishing* identity as well as group and ethnic identity. Furthermore, language may be a strong indicator of group identity or group membership, and therefore people may not easily give up their language (e.g. Europe), but in other areas (e.g. USA), giving up or rejection of one's language, may be due to a strong factor, namely, assimilation.

Generation has been identified as a vitally important factor for the transmission of language. For a language to survive, it must be passed from one generation to the next. This factor was initially identified by Fishman and Nahirny, as being relevant to language maintenance and language shift. The issue is again examined by Srivastava and Schermerhorn (1989).

The main thrust of this factor, as discussed by Fishman (1966) is that language shift takes place over three generations. The first generation (or new arrivals) in the host society, are fluent in their mother tongue. The second generation tends to be more bilingual i.e. a decrease in the use of the mother tongue can be noted. Two different phenomena may be observed regarding the third generation: either they may distance themselves more from their ancestral roots, or there may be a renewal or revival of language and culture. In contrast to the main theory of generation, Veltman (1983) introduced a theory in which he observes that language shift takes place more rapidly than we realise – it may take place over two generations, and not necessarily three generations.

Fishman identified ethnicity as an important factor in the field of language maintenance and language shift. Twenty years later, Paulston expanded and elaborated on this notion and proposes her theories of social mobilization, in which she suggests that people in society, may form groups (or live together in communities) for various reasons, and that the society which they are from and live in, can influence their language usage.

Although Fishman (1966) alluded to culture as an important factor in language maintenance, it was Smolicz (1987) who developed an excellent extended theory in this regard, in which he introduced the notion of overarching values and core values. One of the significant issues of Smolicz's theory, is that it demonstrates that there can be a situation of compromise – the host society need not feel threatened by the immigrant communities, and the immigrant communities do not have to give up their core values, such as language and religion.

A significant factor for language maintenance and language shift is socio-economic status (SES). Certain languages (such as English, Portuguese, Spanish and French) are associated with power, because of a colonial past. In a situation of diglossia, speakers may shift to the languages associated with economic, political and sociocultural status, and most importantly, job opportunities. Elitist status and prestige play an important role in language maintenance or language shift.

Bilingualism is closely linked to the study of language maintenance and language shift. Bilingualism may be a precursor to shift. Consequently, many researchers also examine the issue of bilingualism and how it may initiate language shift. Mougeon (1985) discusses the issue of bilingualism: he makes his important observation that a situation of stable bilingualism does not necessarily guarantee the maintenance of the mother tongue.

Some of the other significant issues related to language maintenance and language shift were also examined, such as language as a resource and language rights. Campbell and Schnell (1987) make their important observation that foreign languages should be viewed as a natural resource in a country. Furthermore, it should also be noted that immigrant communities actually have rights to protect and utilize their mother tongues (Kloss, 1971). The crucial question is: are they *aware* of their rights, and what are they doing about it? The answer could impact on the maintenance of their language. Accordingly, Fennell (1981:39) suggests that the future of a language depends, to a great extent, on the people themselves.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH ON GREEK COMMUNITIES

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the studies carried out on the two main Greek communities outside of Greece, namely, America (USA) and Australia (also including New Zealand). Research tends to focus on these two countries, in particular. For this reason the researcher has chosen to focus on this research. Not much significant research has been published on Greek communities in other countries (see, for example, Clogg 1999). There is research on Greek communities in various countries which has surfaced in recent years, for instance, England (Gardner-Chloros et al (2005); Papapavlou & Pavlou (2001); Fotiou (2012), Turkey (Komondouros and McEntree-Atalianis (2007) and in the Czech Republic (Greeks in the Czech Republic; Sloboda (2003). It is, however, not significantly different from the research in the U.S.A. and Australia to warrant detailed discussion here.

Most of the sociolinguistic research conducted on the many different Greek immigrant communities in the USA and Australia tends to focus on the same or similar issues within these communities, for example, a brief synopsis of the history of the community, education, religion, media, inter-marriage, generation differences or similarities, family ties and patterns, and assimilation. The literature on these Greek communities also attests to the numerous and continued attempts by the communities to retain the Greek language.

3.2 The United States of America

3.2.1 The history of the Greek community in the USA

Bardis' (1976) comprehensive study of the Greeks in the USA can be viewed as a primary source of information on the history of the Greek community in the USA. The first arrivals were sailors; there is reference to John, the Greek sailor who, according to legend, sailed with Columbus (Bardis 1976:5). Some of the first arrivals were killed by the indigenous population of America but, as time progressed, Greeks started arriving in the New World

for many of the same reasons that brought Greeks to Australia and South Africa (i.e. economic, political and social reasons). Bardis (1976:5,6) points out that the new arrivals experienced many problems, including language problems, i.e. the language barrier, caused by having to communicate in the host language (English).

Saloutos (1967:1) provides the same picture when dealing with the history of the Greek community in the USA, namely, that they were amongst the last Europeans to immigrate to the USA (i.e. the late immigrants who arrived in the 1950s, 1960s and those who still continue to arrive). Although some arrived earlier as adventurers and sailors during the voyages of discovery and the colonial period, the first major emigration was just before and immediately after World War I (1905– 1914), and the majority arrived after World War II.

In addition to the reasons for immigration given in Bardis (1976), Saloutos (1967:1) mentions various other reasons, for example, for educational purposes: towards the end of the Greek War of Independence (1946–1949), missionaries visited Greece and encouraged the youth to go to America for their education, the idea being that they would return to Greece to help rebuild the country (it is not specified whether these were religious missionaries or simply volunteers who were zealous for the cause). Many of the earlier immigrants also came from the Greek-speaking areas of the Ottoman Empire, in order to escape political and religious persecution by the Turks. As was the case with Greek immigration to South Africa, Saloutos (1967:2) shows that many Greeks went to the USA because of poor conditions in the agricultural sector in Greece, consequently, many came from rural areas.

Kourvetaris (1981:164) notes that the early Greek immigrants were mainly from the working class or from an agricultural background; they had limited skills and education, and there was always the hope that they would return to Greece:

[T]he majority of the initial Greek arrivals in a new country were working class people, mainly from southern Greece and the islands. Most were from an agricultural background, and had limited skills and education. The small number of professionals, who may have gone to the USA, played the role of community leaders. Families, as such, did not immigrate, because they did not expect to stay. Immigration was seen as a source of social and economic mobility for farmers and the lower classes.

Kourvetaris (1971:42) lists three main types of immigrants: the economic immigrant; the religious or political immigrant; and the student or scholar immigrant.

Many of the first arrivals (in the new countries) were young men without families, and teenagers without parents. Many of these arrivals came with the idea of providing for themselves and for their parents or families in Greece. Saloutos (1967:2) identifies the general characteristics of the new arrivals as: their adventurous spirit, their expectation of opportunities in the new country and their intention to return home once they had made enough money.

In comparison with immigration from other countries, Greek immigration to the USA has never really ceased, resulting in increased communities, and continued ethnicity or a “Greek cultural transfusion” (Kourvetaris, 1981:163). This notion can be seen in conjunction with Vlachos’ (1964:131) concept of “transplanting” to explain the continuation of the Greek way of life in a new host society.

In contrast with the earlier arrivals, later immigrants from Greece were better educated and not only from villages or rural areas. Many were sponsored by friends and family of the earlier arrivals from Greece. The similarities between the two groups were that they both brought with them a life-style which was folk orientated, and which emphasised family and tradition (Kourvetaris, 1981:164). Whereas many immigrants from north west Europe settled mainly in smaller towns or rural areas, Greeks and others from south east Europe settled mainly in cities where there were greater opportunities for employment.

Kourvetaris (1981:166) indicates that it was mostly the immigrants from South East Europe who initially encountered the greatest discrimination, as there was a fear of being influenced or “contaminated” by people from a “lower social class”, and a discriminatory law was passed (1924–1965) to limit the number of South East Europeans from entering the USA, and favouring immigration from North West Europe. These types of measures made Greeks (and most of these labelled immigrants) more determined to succeed and move out of the so-called lower social status. Academics and students of Greek culture indicate that, despite differences which may exist between the early and late arrivals, and the different generations, family and religion contribute to maintaining the Greek culture and tradition (Kourvetaris 1981:166).

The Greek community could be viewed as a religious community (i.e. they have strong religious convictions and ties to the church). The priest plays an important role in the lives of the people, and the church is almost an extended family, especially in life events such as weddings, baptisms and holidays (Kourvetaris, 1981:167).

In approximately 1922 the AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) was formed – the largest Greek organisation in the USA. This organisation helped to fight against discrimination and prejudice, and later helped Greeks to gain education, as well as to become involved in social and political activities. It also served as a link between the Greek and American communities; other ethnic institutions such as schools and professional societies were established, including ethnic mass media (radio and TV stations, newspapers and magazines in Canada and America) as well as the Greek Orthodox parochial school system (Kourvetaris 1981:168).

Scholars studying the Greek communities, also examine the pattern of settlement of these communities in the countries to which they emigrate. Similarities can be noted in patterns of settlement and arrival in the USA and in South Africa (cf. Chapter 1). Saloutos (1967:2) indicates that some of the first arrivals in the USA settled in mining states in the west. Upon arrival, they would stay with family, friends or Greeks who were from the same village in Greece, or the same island. This helped new arrivals with accommodation, initial employment and advice. Saloutos (1967:3) notes that the new immigrants were usually from a rural background, but the preference was to settle in a city – indicative of their optimism and determination.

Many new arrivals started off in street trades (for example, selling flowers), but later progressed to owning their own stores. Saloutos (1967:3) notes that many may have done shoe-shining – which did not require an extensive knowledge of English, others worked on the mines or railroad construction and some were fishermen. Farming was avoided as it required capital and farming practice in the USA was different from that in Greece. It was also something they had not really enjoyed in their old country, and which they were trying to leave behind.

According to Saloutos (1967:3), language was a problematic issue. Some Greeks did attend English classes, while others learnt it in a more informal manner. The language barrier

played a role in confining or limiting immigrants to menial jobs. Saloutos (1967:4) sums up the position:

The Greeks, like members of other ethnic and religious minority groups, met opposition from various directions. Their presence was resented by many native Americans...Some recalled days when they could not walk down the streets without being assaulted by youngsters or subjected to the profanity of their elders...Not knowing English and unable to communicate, aggravated matters.

3.2.2 Education

A strong feature of Greek communities is their desire for an excellent education. This may be explained, *inter alia*, in light of the fact that they initially endured discrimination in many of the countries to which they emigrated; education is therefore seen as a means to improve oneself, and the way to a better social standing and way of life. This is evident, for example, when Xenides (1922:107) states: “Greeks seek wisdom. Wherever they go, they open and support schools. Parents are anxious to educate their children well...the public school is a melting pot where children of all races are receiving the same training. They all learn English...”

Initially, there were no Greek schools, only those under the Roman Catholic Church, (Bardis 1976:35f). The parents expressed their concern for the establishment of Greek schools. In the early period of settlement, the church played a role in Greek education (i.e. the priests taught Greek until the arrival of Greek teachers). As the community developed, the various schools in the Greek communities were established (i.e. day schools, afternoon schools and Sunday schools).

At the time of his study, Xenides (1922: 108) reports that there were no parochial schools among the Greeks in America, such as the Roman Catholics had. The only institution at the time was the Greek American Institute in New York. These children received schooling as in a public school but in addition, they were taught the Greek language, institutions and the Greek Orthodox doctrine. The aim was to “preserve the Greek language and religion, besides giving the children the essentials of American education” (Xenides, 1922:108).

Vlachos (1964:125) indicates that attending public schools is an important factor in the assimilation process; conversely, attending Greek schools in the host society limits assimilation, and perpetuates Greek ideals. Vlachos (1964:125) says of Greek education:

“It is seen as part of an integrated Greek-American personality possessing the ‘trinity’ of language, ethnic identity, and Greek Orthodox religion.” Vlachos (1964:126) remarks that the Greek education of the children was a major concern for parents. Small numbers meant that they were not able to create full parochial schools; these schools could only be found in the bigger cities such as Chicago, where there were two day schools. The various types of schools operating within the immigrant communities (as discussed in detail by Fishman, 1966; § 2.2.1) which operate closely with the Church, are also mentioned by Vlachos (1964:127):

1. Day schools – parochial grade schools with both American and Greek teachers
2. Afternoon schools – operated in the afternoon, after American school
3. Catechetical or Sunday schools – function every Sunday, where priests could also act as teachers; Greek teachers or college graduates of Greek descent could assist in teaching.

In addition, there were two higher institutions, under the supervision of the church: St Basil Academy of Garrison (New York), for teachers of afternoon community schools, and the Theological School of Brookline (Boston), for the new priests who would serve in Greek churches in the USA. Vlachos (1964:127) notes that despite an effort by the Greek community and the schools to resist assimilation, the small number of pupils in Greek parochial schools can be seen as indicative of an increasing trend toward participation in the American schools system. Many Greek schools emphasise a combined Greek and American approach, not an exclusively Greek one.

Initially, the church offered tuition in Greek. Saloutos (1964:72) indicates the usual order of events in the communities: after the establishment of the church, a community school would be established and the parish priest would serve as the first teacher. The important aim of the Greek school was “perpetuating the Modern Greek language and...preventing the child from being raised in complete ignorance”.

The importance of education and the Greek school, especially from the parents’ point of view, is highlighted in Saloutos’ study (1967:8) when he states that the establishment of a Greek language school was of concern to the community: “To them this was a matter of necessity as well as of cultural and national pride.” Greek education is of importance for

the parents as they want to communicate with their children in the mother tongue, and they want their children to be afforded the opportunity to study the language (see also § 3.3.4) the ‘community languages’ rationale and the ‘background speaker’ rationale). Learning to speak Greek was very important for immigrant families. In many instances, the schools were built after the church, and often the parish priest would be the first teacher; in certain areas laymen would act as instructors. These schools would also serve as afternoon schools. Day schools for the study of Greek were found only in the largest Greek communities.

After World War II, there was once again an appeal to the Greek immigrant for the preservation of the Greek language. At meetings, for example, they were encouraged to teach their children Greek, and to encourage the study of Modern Greek in public schools and colleges (Vlachos, 1967:31). Many of the Greek parishes maintained Greek schools. Despite an effort to teach the language, there were obstacles: younger generations did not appreciate the value of studying Greek; the priests and parents were not always successful in their attempts to motivate the learning of the language. The attempts to get children to learn the language were made more difficult as a result of assimilation; many of the younger generations felt that learning Greek would not be beneficial in their daily life. Whereas in the past, many Greeks stayed together in ‘colonies’, the newer generations spread themselves in the bigger cities or suburbs. Transport to and from Greek schools posed a problem as did the quality of instruction and degree of achievement in relation to the value of these schools (Vlachos, 1967:32).

From early in the 20th Century, a number of schools that were connected with the Greek churches or communities were opened. As Xenides (1922:108) remarked: “Church and school go hand in hand among the Greeks in all lands. Education has been entrusted to the church”. At the time of his study, Xenides (1922:108) reported that there were approximately 150 Greek churches, but only 40 to 50 schools but they were on the increase. In these schools, the children were taught in the afternoons or evenings to learn “only the rudiments of the Greek language and Greek religious instruction similar to that in Greece...all other subjects are taught in the public schools in English”. Xenides (1922:108) reported that there were also private schools where children and adults could learn Greek. Some operated in the day, others at night.

3.2.3 Religion

In the USA, there has been a long history of debate with regard to language use in the Greek Orthodox Church. For many years the church tried to resist assimilation in order to preserve the Greek national identity. However, this proved to be an almost impossible task in a multilingual and multi-cultural country such as the USA. With time, immigrants realised that the church could not be both American and Greek, and over the years it had to become more 'indigenous' or American, preserving an American identity more than a Greek one. With time, the church also felt that religious issues and the retention of members were more important than linguistic issues.

As early as 1922 a study of the Greek community in the USA was conducted by Xenides. He notes that an important factor for language maintenance was the publication of the Bible in Modern Greek by the American Bible Society and the New York Bible Society (Xenides, 1922:137).

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that as early as 1922 Xenides (1922:144) predicted that: "The Greek church in America may ultimately adopt the English language for its services as the coming generation will have English as their mother tongue and excepting the newcomers will not understand the Greek." Xenides (1922:144) felt that that this may lead to other people (non-Greeks) joining the church, such as American women who had married Greek husbands.

Xenides (1922:144) notes that Greeks who had become Protestant Greeks, were more open to Americanisation and assimilation. His findings show that Greeks who attend American churches are already Americanised, especially the children and young people. Furthermore, he found that in the few Protestant congregations which do exist, Greek is used for the sermon, prayers and hymns, but English hymns are being introduced by the Protestant Armenians. Greek children attend American Sunday schools, unless there is a separate Greek school. Xenides (1922:145) therefore concluded that "English is coming in slowly but surely. Greek may continue to be used for the sake of the newcomers, but for the rising congregation English will be the language of the Greek Protestant churches. They will become Americans".

Continuing, Xenides (1922:148) makes mention of Sunday schools and religious instruction, in general. He discusses the issue of Sunday schools and identifies the need for Greek Sunday school material. The importance of religious instruction in all Greek communities is emphasised, for everyone, not only for children. He felt this was important as the public schools did not offer religious instruction and many parents do not feel that they are able or qualified to teach their children about religion.

In his study of the American community, forty years later, Vlachos (1964:126) also examines the issue of language and religion, and as substantiating evidence, includes a letter sent to Greek parents by the Greek Archdiocese with regard to Greek schools; this indicates the strong desire to perpetuate Greek education, language and religion in the USA:

**FOR THE HAPPINESS
OF ALL GREEK ORTHODOX FAMILIES**

MOTHERS:

1. Send your children to the Greek orthodox Kindergarten and the Greek Orthodox Schools.
2. Only in the Greek School can your children, from a young age, make close friendships with other Greek Orthodox children.
3. Only in the Greek School will your children be protected from bad company that may lead to juvenile delinquency.
4. Only the Greek school, can keep our children within the frame of Greek Orthodoxy, and lead them from the school desk to the Church Choir, to the Greek Orthodox Youth and to the Community or the Ladies Philoptohos Society.
5. The Greek language should be considered as a sacred cause. The Hellenic consciousness, the Greek language and the Greek Orthodox Faith comprise an indivisible triad. Only the Greek school can give all three together to our children.
6. Large communities were dissolved, when they stopped teaching the Greek language to their children.
7. Thousands of American School children are taught a foreign language in thousands of American Public Schools. Why should not our children be taught Greek?
8. Only the Greek school can develop in our children love and admiration for Greece, which is loved and admired and respected generally by all Americans and mankind.
9. Only Greek language reminds your children that they belong to the Greek Orthodox Church.

(Department of Education – Greek Archdiocese)

In addition, Vlachos (1964:130) points out that the Greek language is one of the most important and central features of the Greek Orthodox Church. Vlachos highlights the fact that the first generation is opposed to the use of English in the service. Ancient Greek was also used in the services and was not understood by all Greek-Americans. The language was a deterrent for many in the younger generations, which led them to leaving the church and becoming assimilated. Those Greeks who were in favour of retaining the Greek language and culture proposed that services should be bilingual (half in Greek and half in English). A further suggestion was to have the service in Greek, followed by a summary in English, or to alternate: to have the service in English one week and in Greek the following week.

A significant factor for the retention of language and culture is discussed by Vlachos (1964). He examines how the Greek community's language and culture continues to exist in a new host society. The church plays an important role in the retention of the culture in a new country (see also Steinberg 1978; § 6.5). The term or concept of 'transplanting' is used to explain this phenomenon – continuing with customs and institutions to help to maintain the culture in the new country. Here, Vlachos (1964:131) speaks of the immigrants transplanting the church in an attempt to preserve the traditional way of life. There seems to be a set pattern: the first thing done by Greek immigrants in a new environment is to establish a church or place of worship (Vlachos 1964:131) – usually when there are 300 to 400 people in the new community.

Vlachos poses a leading question: Why is the church so central to Greek culture? The answer is to be found in the history of the people. Constantinople fell in 1453 and Greece was occupied by the Turks for many centuries, the church then became the centre for the preservation of the national conscience. Priests fulfilled the role of teachers and leaders of local communities. Thus, the fate of the Greek nation became closely linked to the church. Because of the central role that religion and family play in the life of Greek-Americans, these domains remain distinctly Greek “and in many respects are more tenaciously conserved than in Greece proper” (Vlachos 1964:148). Assimilation has taken place in other areas such as vocations, organisations and education. The importance of the religious life of the community is also discussed by Saloutos (1967:12), in a later study. He states that religion added to the vitality of the community. Saloutos (1967:12) describes another interesting phenomenon in the USA, which can also be seen in many of the immigrant

communities in South Africa, namely, that women are the ones who continue church attendance uninterrupted on weekdays and Sundays, as they had done in Greece. The men, however, are not always able to do so in a new country; in Greece, church attendance may not have interfered with their work; in the new environment, however, it was not always possible to attend church on a weekday, as it would have meant losing a day's wages (cf. Steinberg, 1978).

Saloutos (1967:13), when examining the retention or maintenance of culture and traditions in a new country, says that living in the same area could influence the maintenance of factors such as religion, traditions and education, as well as participation in the community functions:

When Greeks were clustered in colonies, the compactness of the colony contributed to the preservation of religious and ethnic traditions...Such compactness fostered attendance in the church, the Greek-language school, and various Greek community functions. However, gradual disintegration of the Greek community as the Greeks became Americanized had a reverse effect; it discouraged church attendance, school attendance, and participation in social functions and alarmed those who feared an eventual extinction of the Hellenic spirit in America.

Saloutos (1967:20,21) makes mention of many other factors which had a negative effect on the church, such as, World War I and the Great Depression (some churches in smaller communities had to close, for example). After 1931, however, the church experienced a period of recovery. The church also had the challenge of attracting and retaining the youth. This problem was compounded by the fact that in the USA there are many different denominations, whereas in Greece there is one official state church. Some Greeks became members of other churches; many of the second generation were not fluent in Greek and the priests were not fluent in English which made things more difficult for the church. Saloutos (1967:20, 21) mentions that the older members of the congregation did not want Greek to be replaced by English in the church services; an increase in mixed marriages also had an effect on church membership. Hence, assimilation was starting to affect the Greek Church and its membership.

Saloutos (1973) refers to churches, the press, societies, and new arrivals from Greece as re-enforcers of patriotic sentiment and language. Priests from Greece played an important role in the retention of Greek identity and language. Being foreign-born, these priests spoke only Greek, hence a positive factor for language maintenance. As in the case of education, religion can be an ambivalent factor. For instance, Xenides (1922) suggests

that it would be better, from the church's point of view, for priests or the clergy to be trained in the country where the community finds itself. He explains that the church needs church leaders trained in American ways and ideas, in order to help revive the Greek Church and nation. However, from the point of view of language maintenance, when priests come from the mother country, they play an important role for retaining the language, whereas the American-born priests are less likely to retain the use of Greek in the church.

Some additional factors which had a negative impact on the church are discussed by Saloutos (1973:398). By 1922 the church was in a weaker position for it to retain unity due to factors such as Anti-foreignism which had a negative impact on the retention of language, culture, traditions and group identity, and the situation was made more difficult by problems and conflicts within the church. These problems divided the members instead of uniting them. In addition, despite the attempts of Greek organisations and the church to retain the Greek language, culture and religion, Saloutos (1973) identified other negative factors which counteracted these positive attempts. One such factor was the Greek immigrants' distances between residences, the church and the school which could have hindered attendance of church services and Greek schools. Another such factor was the attempt of the church to discourage mixed-marriages, and some Greeks joined non-Greek organisations or churches, such as Jehovah's Witness, which impacted negatively on the retention of language and culture (Saloutos 1973:399, 400). The Great Depression of 1933 was a further negative force which weakened the link between church and members, as churches in smaller communities were forced to close.

In the period between World War II and 1960, the church continued with attempts to preserve the Greek language, identity and schools. Although the church encouraged the study of Greek, it also used English in certain parishes to entice the younger members to the church. A new immigration act came into effect in 1965, going into full effect in 1968, which led to an influx of new immigrants; 86 000 Greek immigrants came to the USA between 1968 and 1971 which promoted language maintenance. The new arrivals from Greece wanted the use of Greek only in the church, but those who had been in the USA longer (second and third generations), wanted more English to be used; this led to a conflict. The church also placed more emphasis on religious, rather than ethnic matters; it did not really support the retention of 'pure' Greek language.

At the well-known New York Congress held in 1970, Archbishop Iakovos recommended that the church should use English for the liturgy, as was practiced by other Orthodox churches. There were difficulties, however, for immigrants who did not speak Greek and for those of mixed marriages.

In response to the decisions of the 1970 Congress, the Greek press in Athens saw this as an attempt to 'de-Hellenize' the church in the New World (Saloutos 1973:405). A negative reaction was received from areas where mostly Greek was spoken, for example, New York (Saloutos 1973:406). In the end, although the church was trying (and continued) to preserve the Greek identity, it had to yield to these pressures, and could not entirely fight off assimilation, and preserve only the Greek national identity.

In 1970 Patrinos (Saloutos 1973:406) reported that there were many translations of the liturgy and the sacraments, which were used as the priests or church leaders saw fit. These translations allowed those who did not understand Greek to follow the ritual and liturgy. The Archdiocese made a translation which the Archbishop authorised for use in certain situations. It is important to note that the Church Congress did not decide to replace Greek with English, but to use English as and when needed by the parish with the approval of the community and the Bishop. This is not the same as replacing one language with another (see also Bardis, 1976:26). Despite opposition from older generations and the new arrivals to the introduction of English into the church, the clergy tried to create a church more in accordance with the host society and its needs and experiences, in an attempt to retain and accommodate the younger generations.

When commenting on the role of the church in the maintenance of Greek, Bardis (1976) maintains that the church has been both controversial and influential. Leaders and members have been divided into two groups: the traditionalists and the modernists. The traditionalists support the preservation of the Greek language, arguing that this is what the church did in the days of the Ottoman Rule, and feel that things should continue as such (see also Saloutos, 1964:32). This traditionalist view was verbalised by Kassavetis (cited in Bardis, 1976:22) when he referred to Article 2 of the constitution of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America which "specifically states that it is a dogmatic duty of the Greek Orthodox Church to retain the Greek language of the Gospel as the language of the Divine Liturgy". Bardis (1976:21), however, points out that this argument does not hold water as that time period cannot be compared with present-day life in the USA.

The view of the traditionalists is opposed by the modernists, among others, Dr Kopan (cited in Bardis 1976:23), who argues that: the canon law states that the language of the church must be the vernacular of the people, which has been the traditional policy of the church. He further points out that in the days of the apostles, people did not have to learn Greek in order to become Christians, but were accommodated in their own languages. In countries which follow the orthodox religion, the language of the church is the language of the people. This should also be the case in the USA, as the church is no longer an immigrant church, but is now an indigenous church. It follows that it should employ English, as most of the members speak English; the aim of the church is to teach about religion (Christ), and not to teach Greek.

The controversy led to the church being flexible (or sometimes ambivalent) with regard to the Greek language. After 1960, the church still disapproved of intermarriage and assimilation (officially), but emphasised Greek orthodoxy and the Greek language. The church made use of English in order to retain members who could not speak Greek but encouraged members to send their children to Greek Orthodox kindergarten and Greek Orthodox schools, stating: “the Greek language should be considered as the sacred cause. The Hellenic consciousness, the Greek language and the Greek Orthodox faith comprise an indivisible triad. Only the Greek school can give all three together to our children” (Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1964: 188).

This ambivalence in the church regarding the use of language could be seen with the arrival of new immigrants: between 1965 and 1970, approximately 90 000 ‘new’ Greeks arrived in the USA. The new arrivals preferred the liturgies in Greek; did not want to pay membership fees to the church (as the church in Greece is state-supported) and opposed Americanisation. Together with the traditionalists, they strongly insisted on the use of the Greek language, which created some difficulty for the church. In contrast, there were the second and third generation modernists who preferred English. In his conclusion, Bardis (1976:29,30) states:

...from the linguistic point of view, the influential and controversial factor of the Greek Orthodox Church in America has been characterised by fluctuation and ambivalence. Or, one may say, linguistically, the church has been both a cause and a solution – a cause partly leading to the decline of the Greek language in the United States, and a solution or vehicle partly facilitating its survival.

It will be of value to now examine the study of Demos (1988), as many of Bardis' findings and discussions are echoed by Demos' study which took place a little more than a decade later. Demos indicated that despite the fact that many Greeks may have achieved the 'American Dream', which is an indication of assimilation, they have still retained an ethnic self-identification by association with the Greek Orthodox Church. The church is seen as a central or core element for Greek Americans – four out of five Greeks see themselves as Greek Orthodox. Demos shows that the church has played an important role in language maintenance, for example, by means of language classes and Greek schools. The church has, nevertheless, become Anglicized over the years.

Demos' discussion with regard to the church is similar to that of Bardis, outlined above: the use of the Greek language in the church had been a point of discussion for many years. Some priests may have unofficially used English in church services, but official permission was granted in 1970 for the parish priest to use the local or vernacular language, if needed. Older members of the congregation and new arrivals or immigrants, however, were dissatisfied with this decision. The church assured them that Greek would still be the basic and dominant language of the church (Demos, 1988:60).

An option system developed, whereby services could be conducted in either English or mostly Greek. There were Greek-only services in the north and east of the USA, and more English services in the west and south of the country (as this is where one encounters more American-born Greeks). Demos (1988:60) indicates that this phenomenon is in line with the observation by Fishman (cited in Demos, 1988:60), that religion is organisationally "successful" in the USA. In other words, the more successful a religion is, the more de-ethnicised it is. A further implication is that ethnicity shifts from language maintenance to Greek Orthodoxy (i.e. maintenance of the Greek Orthodox faith rather than the language), among those born in the USA.

Demos indicates that in a survey conducted in the USA, with regard to the use of Greek in church services, only a minority said that they would like more Greek to be used. Demos (1988:61) therefore concludes: "the Americanization of the Greek church and the Americanization of Greek-Americans are related".

Costantakos (1982) confirms many of the above findings of the various studies. She also remarks that the church appears to be accepting the change of language, that language shift seems to be inevitable in the search for an indigenous church relevant for the American setting. Although there may appear to be agreement on a change to English sermons, this shift to English was not really favoured by the research group, as observed by Hofman (cited in Costantakos 1982:158):

Use of the mother tongue in church sermons seems to be the most meaningful index of language maintenance because the sermon is probably sensitive to the linguistic needs and preference of the congregation as a whole. If there should be a desire to change the language, it could lead to language shift and de-ethnicisation, and problems for language maintenance. If the ethnic parish has no special ideological or traditional link to the linguistic status quo, Anglification of its services is bound to occur in time.

In her study of the community in America, Costantakos (1982:151) indicates that there is a language shift in progress in the church; the church seems to be accepting this change as inevitable and there seems to be a search for an indigenous church relevant for the American setting where both English and Greek have a place. Costantakos (1982:152) notes the comment of one respondent in particular: “I am now convinced, more than ever, that it is not change to English in church but revamping of Greek and Sunday schools that is in order – family, church and community working together.”

3.2.4 Media and the press

Xenides (1922:109) mentions that there were bookshops in the larger cities in the USA where people could buy books published in Greece; books were also available which had been translated from various languages, including English, into Greek, but the largest contribution to language maintenance was that of newspapers and monthlies. Xenides (1922:109) comments: “Greeks carry with them wherever they go, their love for news...many Greek papers appear and disappear from time to time...the largest Greek newspapers in the world are those in New York, which go all over the United States...and even Greece...wherever Greeks are found.”

According to Saloutos (1964:88), Greek newspapers in America contained international news (news from Greece and the various villages), as well as news about the Greek communities in America. These newspapers benefited those who had little or no knowledge of English and fulfilled a role as the communities grew with new arrivals. Despite many shortcomings and criticisms which may have been levelled at the Greek

press in America, Saloutos (1964:94) points out that the press played an important role in the Greek community, especially for the first generation, and in retaining the language: “the Greek-language press rendered services to the members of the first generation that otherwise would have been difficult for them to obtain. It helped perpetuate the Greek language. It served as an intermediary between the immigrant and the New World”.

There was also an English newspaper, *American Hellenic World*, which was an attempt to accommodate those Greeks (especially the younger generations), who were not literate in their mother tongue. Saloutos (1964:94) notes that when some Greeks enquired why the newspaper was published in English, the editor replied that there were “many good papers published in Greek in the United States and abroad, but few, if any, in the English language. As a result, because they were unable to read Greek, thousands of children born of Greek parents in the United States remained in ignorance of the language, traditions, and ideals of the land of their parents’ birth” (Saloutos, 1964:94). Furthermore, the newspaper aimed to bridge the gap for non-Greeks who were married to Greeks.

Saloutos (1967:10) notes that the Greek-language newspaper was an important aspect of the community life. It was of great benefit to those who were not fluent in English, but who were fluent in Greek. The importance of this press was that it helped the immigrants to adjust to their new environment: “to become better acquainted with American ways and ideas” (Saloutos 1967:10).

After World War I, an attempt was made to retain and increase the readership by introducing an English section to some of the newspapers. The purpose was to attract the second generation who were not fluent in Greek, and who were losing interest in the Greek community. While some newspapers introduced some English, others resisted this idea, as they were more concerned with “preserving and indeed spreading the use of Greek than in increasing the circulation of the newspapers” (Saloutos 1967:11).

Saloutos (1967:11) indicates that the Greek-language press did play an important role in the community as “[i]t helped perpetuate the modern Greek language in the United States; it served as an avenue of communication between immigrants who knew little English and little about the non-Greek world around them; it kept them informed about happenings in the old country...and it eventually published some useful information on how to become a citizen of the United States.”

Saloutos (1967:22) notes that by World War II, the Greek language press was read mostly by first generation immigrants – who by then were decreasing in number and not necessarily playing such a prominent role in community affairs. The ethnic press still played an important role for this generation as they were not proficient in English, and this was one way of keeping in contact with the outside world. The Greek press had a limited influence on those born in the USA, as they were not fluent in Greek.

Similarly, Kourvetaris (1971:58) found that first generation Greeks (76%) displayed an interest in news reports; this is in contrast to the second generation (46%). Because the first generation was not fluent or proficient in English, they tended to listen to the news rather than read it. The first generation would listen to the news on the radio in the ethnic hour, more regularly than the second generation. The Greek Radio Hour played an important role in terms of transmitting Modern Greek news; announcements of activities both in the Chicago Greek Community and in Greece, and of importance – it played Greek music (Kourvetaris 1971:58f).

3.2.5 Generation

3.2.5.1 Introduction

One of the factors which has received much attention in academic research on immigrant and minority language issues is that of generation – the emphasis being on the distinguishing characteristics of the different generations, and the fact that there is a noticeable inter-generational decrease in the use of the mother tongue. Demos (1988:63) mentions “that with each succeeding generation, there is less EMT retention”. EMT (ethnic mother tongue) tends to decrease with each generation.

Before examining the characteristics of the various generations, it should be noted that in the USA the various groups of arrivals are categorised as: (a) early immigrants: before the 1920s and (b) late immigrants: 1950s and 1960s (post-World War II, mixed communities, second and third generation).

3.2.5.2 First generation

The first generation is generally termed 'foreign-born'. Kourvetaris (1971;1981) has done extensive research on the different generations of Greeks in America. In his research, the first generation includes both the early and late immigrants. Their characteristics are that they are usually poor and illiterate owing to their predominantly agricultural background. Many wanted to continue their way of life in America, but this was not always possible. According to Kourvetaris (1971:38), this generation was male-dominated, as the male was usually the provider; the wife was a housewife, but may have been assertive in the home domain, also playing an important role. Children were significant in their lives, and they had to succeed. Work ethic, ethnic family ties, success orientation, competition and ethnic pride are the outstanding characteristics of this generation.

In his study of the different generations in America, Scourby (1980:44) points out the features which identify Greeks of this generation: language, old world customs and homogenous marriages. Any deviation from these 'guidelines' would have constituted a threat. They did not want any change in church services, and they opposed the use of English in services, one of the reasons being that the sermon and liturgy were seen as sacred. The first generation strongly identified with ethno-religious issues.

Vlachos (1964:129) indicates that although there may have been bilingualism in the first and second generations, which can create a certain amount of conflict, this was resolved by assigning certain domains for each language: "Greek-Americans create a dichotomy between internal Greek and external American – Greek is reserved for close, intimate relations and English for open or diffuse social relations." Vlachos (1964:129) notes, however, that there are certain words or phrases which cannot be translated into English, resulting in code-switching. Vlachos (1964:130) points out that the first generation was opposed to the use of English in church services; Ancient Greek was still used. Certain proposals were made to retain or accommodate those who did not understand the language: either to have services in both Greek and English; or to have the service in Greek, followed by a summary in English; or to alternate – one week to use Greek, the next week to use English.

From his extensive studies on the different generations within the American community, Kourvetaris (1971; 1981) has highlighted many characteristics which tend to be universal when examining Greek communities. Despite the fact that the immigrants come from a number of different areas or regions, the common factor among all of them is the ambivalent attitude toward settling in the USA, and the hope that they would one day return to Greece (1971:36) – the immigrant may have been physically in the USA, but “sentimentally and emotionally in his own country” (Kourvetaris, 1971:36).

Saloutos (cited in Kourvetaris 1971:36) says that marriage would usually be the turning point – if Greeks married in the USA, the chances were greater that their stay in the USA would be more permanent. Immigrants viewed the family as facilitating the continuation of culture as it shaped attitudes to culture and tradition, marriage and language.

Kourvetaris (1971:37) refers to the culture conflict which Bardis (1976) alluded to in his study, as contra-culture, i.e. the conflict between the first generation (parents) and children (second generation). Kourvetaris (1971:37) uses the terms ‘traditionalists’ and ‘environmentalists’. Traditionalists wanted their American-born children to be raised as Greeks (for them it is of great importance to retain and preserve the language and religion). Traditionalists are found more frequently in the larger cities with a higher concentration of Greek people. They wanted a typical Greek upbringing for their children, to “instil in them a sense of ethnic consciousness and ‘peoplehood’” (Kourvetaris 1971:37). In contrast, the environmentalists believed that their children should be raised as Americans, but still retain membership of the Greek Orthodox Church, have a Greek name and learn some Greek. Because they were more realistic, there was less conflict with their children and they acknowledged that assimilation could not be stopped, but only temporarily delayed.

Generally, the first generation found it difficult to adjust to the new (American) environment or culture, and therefore to understand their children. Kourvetaris (1971:38) concludes that the first generation displayed a strong ethnic identity, yet they were not completely aloof from the American scene. Businessmen were involved in community affairs, and remained in touch by means of the ethnic and non-ethnic mass media; they displayed some interest in American politics. They were proud of being Greek and American, as America was the country that gave them new opportunities.

3.2.5.3 Second generation

The second generation comprises those who are native-born; one or both parents may be foreign-born. Kourvetaris (1981:38) states that this generation is made up of transitional type families (i.e. children are born and raised in two social worlds or subcultures). One world is particularistic – it is made up of all things Greek; the agents of socialisation instil all Greek values and norms into the child. This is in contrast with the more universalistic or American world, which consists of all the non-Greek elements. The second generation can therefore be viewed as a sociocultural hybrid with dual identity: a product of Greek subculture and American culture – the second generation tended to adopt ‘Greek ways’ which seemed more compatible with the ‘American ways’. Family ties, language and the church were still important in influencing attitudes and behaviour. Attitudes started to change once children grew up and were exposed to and came into contact with American culture. It was not possible for the first generation to have the same influence on all second generation members because they lived in different areas. In smaller towns where the Greek population was smaller assimilation was greater; this is in contrast to larger towns with a bigger Greek population or Greek ethnic colonies.

Scourby (1980:45) maintains that the second generation still identified with ethnicity (i.e. language, tradition and religion), but there was a change as a result of the American ethos of success and upward mobility. The second generation tended to identify themselves as Greek American or Greek Orthodox. The second generation was still expected to speak Greek at home.

Kourvetaris (1981:174) suggests there were four different types of family life-styles among the second generation:

1. The first type were those who had become Anglicised, and there was often a complete abandonment of the traditional Greek way of life (for instance, they adopted English rather than Greek names). This may be because, for them, social status and acceptance by peers was of greater importance than the maintenance of Greek culture. Assimilation therefore came into play, and immigrant families became more like an American family. This possibly took place more often in small towns with a small or dispersed Greek population.

2. Secondly, Kourvetaris (1981:175) speaks of cultural atavism – a type of retrogressive identification with ethnic Greek lifestyle. There were more working-class people in this group, found close to Greek colonies; many of the families could be termed ‘downward mobiles’.
3. A third type of family demonstrates marginality. They have norms and values of a hybrid nature. Their lifestyle cannot be described as authentically American or Greek. They tend to fluctuate between the best of both worlds. Kourvetaris (1981:176) says that this type of family is more representative of the majority of the second generation.
4. A fourth type of family has been termed ‘ethclass’ – a mixture of ethnicity and class. Many second and third generation Greeks tend to follow ethclass and not just ethnicity or class alone – especially in the areas of interpersonal and primary relations, where they marry not only within the same religion, but also the same class. Although Kourvetaris (1981:176) detected this aspect (to some extent) within the first generation, it is more characteristic of the second generation.

In his study of the different generations, Kourvetaris (1981:176) points out that the members of the second generation (as would be in the case for most immigrant communities) are at an advantage because they do not have to start ‘from scratch’ as their parents did. They grew up in a close-knit Greek family. Many facets or aspects of the ethnic subculture are passed on to them, for example, language, religion, values of honour and hard work (*philotimo*) and family honour. Achievement and success are always important and play an important role in the mobility of the second generation; they should not only have pride in, and be a credit to the family, but also to the Greek community.

Saloutos (cited in Kourvetaris, 1981: 38) gives the following description of the new or second generation: the new generation was successful in business and professions, resulting in a new-found status. Kourvetaris (1981:176,177) again points out that Greek families display a higher degree of family cohesion within and across generations; there is no weakening of the family as an institution. Furthermore, Kourvetaris (1981:178) finds that women of the second generation take a greater interest in church and religion than in language.

At the time of his study, Kourvetaris (1971:85) already indicated that an increasing element of English was being introduced into church services – it may not have been uncommon to have a sermon in English. The trend which he detected was that the second

generation was more concerned with their children maintaining ties with the church than learning the Greek language; he makes this observation from the number of children attending parish Sunday schools rather than parish afternoon schools.

Kourvetaris (1981) expresses much the same sentiment in his later study, as in his earlier study of 1971. In his study of 1971, he indicated that the second generation followed more of a cosmopolitan or American way of life (Kourvetaris 1971:38), in contrast to that of the first generation. Orthodox religion became more important than nationality; they still had to learn Greek in order to communicate with their parents. Religion played a vital role in the maintenance of ethnicity, as these two aspects are intertwined for the Greeks – an ethnoreligious minority group. As mentioned, this leads to the development of a dual personality (Greek and American); sociologists refer to this phenomenon as ‘marginal personality’ – people who are members of two cultures but a genuine member of neither; they are caught between two cultures.

Kourvetaris (1981:179) concludes that Greek families in the USA retain their identity through membership of the church. Language and nationality are secondary. Scourby (1980:44), in his discussion of the different generations in the USA, refers to the decision in 1970 to substitute English for Greek in the liturgy, which he says was almost an answer to the grievances of the second generation, who felt that the church was alien and that English could help overcome this alienation, as it was a basis for communication, on various social issues, such as mixed marriages.

A further finding of Kourvetaris (1971:59) is that the first generation almost always read books in Greek, whereas the second generation read books in English. With regard to associations, Kourvetaris (1971:65) found that whereas the first generation tended to belong to non-professional Greek organisations, the second generation tended to belong to non-Greek or Greek-American professional associations. Kourvetaris (1971:85) also mentions professional voluntary associations, which used English as the formal language, which may not have happened previously, and have invited non-Greek guest speakers.

Kourvetaris (1971:81) hypothesises that “the educational achievement of the first generation was static and elementary whereas that of the second generation was more dynamic.” Educational achievements in the second generation were much higher than those of the first generation. Kourvetaris (1971:82) claims that his hypothesis is confirmed

because he found that: second generation husbands and wives achieved a greater educational mobility “although second generation children by necessity learned to speak Greek in order to communicate with their parents, their parents also insisted that they attend Greek afternoon schools”. As a result, their children learnt to read and speak Greek, and their peers would be Greek second generation children. Husbands and wives of the second generation had approximately the same number of years of Greek and American schooling (Kourvetaris 1971:82).

Kourvetrais (1971:85) found that there was not a big difference between the first and second generation in terms of language, both generations being bilingual. The overwhelming majority indicated that they made use of both Greek and English at home, but the second generation used more English than Greek and the first generation more Greek than English. When they moved away from other Greek families, they tended not to speak as much Greek. Kourvetaris (1971:85) found that third generation children came to the Greek schools knowing very little Greek, and that generally they may have resented attending Greek ethnic parish afternoon schools.

3.2.5.4 Third generation

The third generation comprises native-born children and native-born parents, i.e. grandchildren of the first generation or children of the second generation. They can also be the children of inter-marriages during the second generation. Kourvetaris (1981:179) remarks that the third generation demonstrates a decrease in Greek ethnic identity (e.g. language and family norms), but certain aspects of ethnicity can still be detected, for example, politics, religion, Dionysian aspects of Modern Greek culture (i.e. festivals).

Scourby (1980:45) finds that the third generation started emerging in the 1950s. Whereas ethnicity used to be based on both nationality and religion, for all Americans, this is now replaced by religion which becomes an important and even a central feature. Immigrants may give up the ways of the old world, but they do not give up the religion. When Scourby conducted another survey in the 1960s, he found that religion was still part of self-identification. The people did want some changes, such as the introduction of English into the church, but did not necessarily want all orthodox churches to merge.

In contrast to Scourby, Kourvetrais (1981:179) points to the trend that social class lifestyles are more important than ethnicity and religion in the third generation. Education, professional achievement and aspiration are important for this generation which tends to be individualistic and future-orientated. Members of this generation consider themselves primarily as American, but still retain (at least symbolically) an interest in Greek food, music and dancing.

Kourvetaris (1971:39) mentions a comparative study of six ethnic groups (white Protestants, Jews, Greeks, Italians, blacks and French Canadians) which demonstrated a high level of aspiration and achievement among members of third generation Greeks. He also refers to a study by Rosen (1959), whose findings indicate the different psychological and cultural emphasis on achievement among different groups: the Greek child is brought up to be self-reliant and has to be a 'credit to his group' in the community. Together with white Protestants and Jews, Greeks stand out as being more individualistic, activist and future-oriented.

Another characteristic of this generation, detected by Kourvetaris (1971:39), was a renewal of things Greek. This could be ascribed to certain concrete factors: the influx of immigrants after World War II, the release of popular movies (e.g. *Zorba*, *Never on a Sunday*), marriages (Jackie Kennedy who married the Greek shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis in 1968), and summer holidays in Greece, all of which resulted in an interest in Modern Greek ethnicity and culture. These factors could be important for language retention.

Kourvetaris (1981:179) indicates that the third generation did not display an extensive interest in maintaining traditional Greek culture (also referred to as ethnic institutional aspects) such as language, family, marriages within the community. Demos (1988:66) found that there is greater language maintenance among Greeks in the USA, compared with many other immigrant communities, where there was a complete shift to English by the third generation. Even though generation may have a negative impact on the community, it is noticeable that considerably fewer people could not speak Greek (12%), compared with other communities; their only real interest was in the American form of the Greek Orthodox Church.

The influx of new immigrants after World War II may have slowed down the Americanisation or assimilation process of the third generation. It was also found that the American-born Greeks do not necessarily mix or associate with newcomers – this would include dating and marriage. The more assimilated they are, the less likely they are to date from the same ethnic background.

In both studies, Kourvetaris (1981;1971) comes to the conclusion that each generation has at least one distinguishing feature, for example:

- (a) First generation: ethnicity or nationality is important;
- (b) Second generation: religion is important and
- (c) Third generation: social class is important.

Scourby (1980:44) suggests that the locus of identification has changed for younger generations, and poses the question: is class used for identification rather than religion or nationality? He suggests that psychologically, members of the third generation are more secure with Americanism than previous generations. Consequently, class and status are important for identification. Kourvetaris (1981:180) maintains that the higher the social class, the more likely a Greek-American woman is to be removed from her Greek cultural heritage and gender-role restrictions. The third generation is also college orientated – it is a status and class conscious generation rather than an ethnic-conscious generation.

Inter-marriage is better accepted by the third generation, and tends to be the norm rather than the exception. Kourvetaris (1971:39/40) found that the third generation tends to think like Americans and wants to be treated as such. The second generation learnt Greek in order to communicate with immigrant parents, whereas the third generation does not have to learn Greek to communicate with parents (who are second generation); in many instances they disliked attending afternoon classes, which were sponsored by the church.

Saloutos (1967:32), in his concluding remarks on the second and third generations states: “About all that one could expect from most members of the second and third generations was a loose attachment to the birthplace of their parents and grandparents...some acquired a reading, speaking, and even a writing knowledge of the modern Greek language.”

3.2.6 Other factors

There are also a number of other different factors which can either play a role in facilitating the retention of the mother tongue or may work against it. For the sake of comprehensiveness they are added.

3.2.6.1 Area of residence

Demos (1988) found that the maintenance of language and culture is facilitated to a great extent in instances where, specifically, immigrants of the same background live together in the same area(s). This situation affords them the opportunity to speak their language (and practice their culture), not only to one another, but also in daily activities such as shopping. This situation of immigrants living in the same area may also lead to other benefits for language and cultural maintenance, for example, the establishment of a radio and television station.

Demos (1988:63) shows that church services in the north and east of the USA, where there are larger urban populations of Greeks, usually take place exclusively in Greek. He concludes (1988:64) that mother tongue retention is greater among Greek Orthodox Americans in Baltimore, compared with those living in Minneapolis.

In addition, Demos (1988:63), in his examination of Greek parishes also cites the study by Li (1982) who studied Chinese-Americans. There is a positive correlation between minority groups living together in an area and language maintenance. Li gives the example of Chinatown – where language maintenance among Chinese is greater than in the case of those living in more isolated areas or where there are only a few or no other Chinese people and the opportunity to speak the language decreases. The same was found to be true in a study of the Italian community (Lieberson & Curry, 1971): the greater the number of Italians in an area, the greater the number who were unable to speak English.

3.2.6.2 Visits to Greece

Demos (1988:64) maintains that visits to the mother country play an important role in mother tongue retention, and points out that a typical feature of Greek-American ethnicity

is that members of the community should have at least one trip to Greece. The frequency of these trips assists in promoting ethnicity and fluency in the language and therefore has a positive effect on language maintenance.

3.2.6.3 Inter-marriage

Various Greek studies (Demos 1988:64; Kourvetaris 1971:34f; Bardis 1976:35) show that inter-marriage results in a decline not only of ethnic ties (of the Greek spouse), but also of the language, whereas marriage between people of the same background, culture or nationality, on the other hand, has a positive effect on language maintenance.

3.2.6.4 Gender

According to Demos (1988:65), women (more so in the past) may have had less contact with the host culture and therefore language maintenance may have been stronger among women than among men. These differences between men and women do not appear to be of much significance currently. Kourvetaris (1971) has also shown that in inter-marriages if the wife is Greek, there are stronger ethnic ties, than where the husband is Greek. It could be said that language maintenance is greater among Greek Orthodox women, than among Greek Orthodox men. (See also Added (1972:257,258).

3.2.6.5 Age

Another factor examined by Demos (1988:65) is birth cohort or age. The younger people are, the more they are assimilated into the host culture (see also Li (1982:65)). Birth cohort (age) could therefore be a positive indicator of language maintenance.

3.3 The Greeks in Australia and New Zealand

3.3.1 Introduction

This part of the chapter examines Greek communities in Australia and New Zealand and reveals striking similarities with the communities in South Africa and the USA – especially regarding aspects such as history, patterns of arrival, religion and education.

3.3.2 History and background of the community in Australia and New Zealand

Price (1975:1) states that the Greeks are the second largest immigrant community or non-British population in Australia – approximately 300 000 (after 450 000 Italians). Price's study (1975:6) reveals similarities with immigration to South Africa and the United States. The first arrivals were seamen or unskilled labourers and consequently “often became porters or cleaners in city markets or agricultural labourers on sugar or vegetable farms”. Later, some started small businesses such as fish shops, cafes, fruit shops, etc. When more Greek immigrants arrived and there was an abundance of these types of shops or businesses, the new arrivals had to do other jobs such as unskilled or semi-skilled work in factories or construction companies.

With time, and as Greeks changed occupation and status, there was a change in places of settlement. Price (1975:6) gives the example of immigrants who worked in the catering trade and who lived mostly in country areas. After World War II this changed with many working in manufacturing and construction. Consequently, there was a growth of Greek organisations and churches in big cities such as Sydney and Melbourne.

Tamis (1985:26) indicates that the first Greeks arrived in Australia 150 years ago (i.e. 1835). As with other communities which arrived in new countries, the first priority of the community was to form an association in order to communicate and socialise. In 1895 they established the first Greek Orthodox community. Founder members rented a hall and changed it into a church in 1897. By this stage, there were approximately 300 members in Melbourne. The Greek Church was built in 1900 and in 1902 the first Greek afternoon school started. The first societies were established in 1921, with a membership of 350.

The study of Tamis (1985:31) sheds further light on the history of the community, and shows similar trends or patterns of Greek emigration to other communities referred to in this study: 76,3% of the first generation is predominantly from rural areas in Greece and, on arriving in the new country, had to adjust to life in an industrial, urban environment. This change led to the need for cultural and linguistic change, and to the formation of the so-called ‘language islands’ (i.e. groups who stay in the same areas, where the mother tongue is the primary language in daily conversation in the suburbs) in which societies were created in order to overcome the situation of isolation and alienation in a new environment. Tamis (1985:31) offers a plausible explanation for the establishment of many societies as the “expression of an alienated group attempting to retain its cultural identity”.

Tamis (1985:26) mentions important characteristics that the first immigrants had in common: a strong ethnic awareness and commitment to culture and language loyalty, a trend which persisted up to World War II. Tsounis (cited in Price 1975:20) points out that World War II can be seen as a dividing line in the history of the Greek communities. Before the war, Greek immigration to Australia was a small and slow movement; at the start of the war, the Greek population in Australia was estimated at 15 000 Greeks. Following the war, there was an increase in ethnic communities in Australia (i.e. another increase in immigration), including increased Greek immigration in this period, which may be ascribed to: the demand for labour in an expanding Australian economy; unemployment and/or underemployment in Greece; and the Civil War (1945-1949) in Greece.

After the war, the Australian economy expanded, and there was unemployment in Greece, which led to an increase in Greek emigration to Australia, where there was a demand for labour. There was assistance from the Commonwealth (1952) “to initiate new and larger migration chains” (Tsounis, cited in Price, 1975:26). The consequences of this mass immigration were somewhat different from the pre-war period: in the inner cities and more industrialised cities, Greek immigrants tended to settle in concentrated areas – primarily because of cheaper accommodation, transport, and services offered by the ethnic and host community (Tsounis, cited in Price, 1975:29), and as was the case in South Africa, many of the immigrants became shopkeepers, who did well financially because the shops remained open for longer hours.

After the war, the Greek community became more representative of the Greek population as a whole; they were not influenced by or representative of one particular regional group (Tsounis, cited in Price, 1975:29). Most Greek immigrants after the war came to stay permanently. Tsounis (cited in Price 1975:30) adds that where there were no established Greek Orthodox communities, they combined into formal organisations for various reasons, the most important being religious needs and to teach the children Greek. These functions were fulfilled by some of the Hellenic clubs and societies, especially in the smaller country towns.

A large percentage of the immigration to Australia took place between 1956 and 1972. This resulted in the establishment of community organisations by the mid-1960s. By 1960 there were six Greek communities. Many of the new arrivals tended to live in close

proximity to each other (the suburban areas of Melbourne). Tamis (1985:26) reports that the main aim of all Greek communities, according to their own constitutions, was “to promote the Greek heritage and culture and maintain the Greek language”. Each community had its own church, schools and social committees.

The reasons given for emigration (Tamis, 1985:32) are the same as those in the other studies referred to in this study (South Africa and the USA), namely, poverty, politics, joining family, adventure, curiosity and education. Tamis (1985:32) provides the following statistics: 73,3% left for financial reasons; 10,6% to join close family; 3,6% for political reasons; 2,8% to study and 7,2% other reasons.

Tamis (1985:32) indicates that on arrival, 97% of the immigrants were monolingual. Initially, they were accepted in Australia with a certain amount of prejudice. Most immigrants to Australia experienced discrimination for many years. These attitudes of prejudice and xenophobia kept the community socially and occupationally segregated from the main Anglo-Celtic minority group, up until the 1950s. According to Tamis (1985:32), the Australian ruling class “persecuted immigrant groups on the basis of racial, cultural, and linguistic differences. The only places where they were accepted were businesses with ethnic proprietors, the food industry, and the countryside” This treatment resulted in the creation of self-reliant communes where two or three families shared a house. This led to the development of a strong ethnic consciousness and the need for support from or among fellow Greeks.

The differences in language and culture caused immigrants to remain in their own areas, and establish their own churches and schools. Gradually, over the years, as their financial situation improved, they began to move out of the inner suburbs to the outer suburbs of Melbourne. The cycle repeated itself – as was the case with the early immigrants – the new communities emerging in these new suburbs, formed their own new networks of institutions, clubs, churches and schools. The language islands of the first generation retained their strength in the 1970s. In 1983, eight language islands still had a strong organisational structure, with cinemas and clubs. Tamis (1985:34) notes that “Greeks constitute the largest non-British ethnic group in twelve suburbs of the Metropolitan area”.

Hence, with regard to the establishment and pattern of settlement of the Greek community in Australia, Tsounis (cited in Price, 1975:31,32) describes the normal course followed for

the development of an ethnic (or Greek) community, namely, the founding of a Greek Orthodox Community, the ethnic community then founded organisations according to regional or group interests, however, the most important and prestigious institution was the Greek Orthodox Community. Pan-Hellenic organizations which were closely associated with Greek Orthodox Communities were also established.

Verivaki's study of New Zealand (1993:4) displays similarities to the other studies of Greek communities. Most of this community (at the time of the study) was second or third generation. The community is well-established because of continued immigration during the inter-war period. Similar factors played a role in immigration to those in Australia – poverty in the rural areas of Greece after World War II and a labour shortage in New Zealand. Immigrants who initially arrived in the country started in lower status or unskilled jobs, but later progressed to better jobs. The younger (present) generations, are now moving into professions such as medicine, law and commerce. There are approximately 4000 Greeks in New Zealand; 2 500 are in Wellington. The community is characterised by residential contiguity and interaction.

3.3.3 Education

In Australia, the first significant immigrant schools were the German schools started by the Lutheran Church in 1839. They were full-time day schools teaching through the medium of German. This was a strong factor in language maintenance. Legislation during World War I, however, forbade day-school education through the medium of non-English language.

This legislative ban is still in existence today; it has therefore been impossible for immigrants in post World War II to teach their children through the medium of the mother tongue and literature in day schools. Although it was meant to stop German, it affected all immigrants. Consequently, alternative schooling systems appeared, offering classes after school in the afternoons, the evenings or week-ends. This system, adopted by most of the communities, had certain consequences: the children were no longer taught by full-time professionally qualified teachers, but by clergy or lay people and they were no longer taught during ordinary school hours, but after school. Some children did not mind this; others resented it, resulting in conflict with the parents.

Many of the policies in Australia emphasise tolerance and acceptance as expressed by former Prime Minister Fraser (1981), that minority groups should all be accorded their place “that acknowledges their linguistic and cultural needs and rights” (Tamis,1985:42). Multi-culturalism and multilingualism were the official policies of the day. This positive attitude enabled the Greek community to improve the organisation of their educational institutions. The government encouraged and subsidised the learning of the home language, which encouraged second generation students to study Greek and supported the parents’ desire for their children to learn the language – it helped soften the intra-family conflict between native-born children and their parents. Parents were able to point out that the state supported language maintenance efforts (Tamis,1990:495). Parents and teachers highlighted an important issue: community languages other than English need to be supported by the education system in order to have a future.

However, Tamis (1985:42) indicates they may have had an advanced Australian society, yet multilingualism does not always receive universal approval. Despite the positive attitude of the Australian government, Tamis (1985:42) finds that there is still a “noteworthy anglophone discouragement against mother tongue acquisition or at least against attending Greek schools”. Tamis indicates this type of apathy from teachers at state schools toward Greek children in his research – they were discouraged from learning their language. In later research, Tamis (1990:485) again refers to immigrants being discouraged from learning their mother tongue in Australia, after World War II, when they were encouraged to speak only English. Ethnic schools were discouraged and labelled ‘underground schools’.

In contrast to these negative sentiments displayed towards ethnic schools, we may also find some positive feelings towards these schools. If the host community displays a positive attitude, this will result in ethnic awareness and identity through the teaching of the various languages. Whereas previously there may not have been a high regard (status) or need for Greek, as there was no real demand for bilinguals, there is now a higher status for bilinguals. Proficiency in Greek may now be an asset for entry into universities, certain jobs and careers (Tamis, 1990:495) (see also Tamis, § 3.3.4.1). These issues are in line with the findings of Kalantzis (1985:174) who pointed out the importance of foreign languages for employment. This is an important factor for language maintenance.

Tamis (1990:497) makes the prediction that in the future, Greek schools will have pupils who have little or no knowledge of Greek, and that they may draw pupils from a multilingual and diverse socio-economic background. Initially, the Greek schools were bilingual (i.e. certain subjects were taught in Greek and others in English). With time, however, all subjects were taught in English and Greek was also taught as a first language, which included lessons in religion, culture, history and literature.

In his study, Tamis (1990:497) estimates that approximately 55 000 students studied Greek in 300 after-hours ethnic schools in Australia, ranging from mother-tongue speakers to those with little or no knowledge of Greek. He notes some difficulties in this regard: the grading of pupils according to their different ages and skills; irregular attendance; the lack of qualified teachers; scarcity of teaching material; teachers are sometimes seen as foreigners and not Greek Australians; and the overall attitudes of the society and prestige which the language has among teachers and educators.

According to Tamis (1990:498), the teaching of ethnic languages in state schools and the support from political parties for multiculturalism are important factors for language loyalty towards mother tongues and play a role in encouraging ethnic awareness and identity. It is clear that education plays an important role in fostering mother tongue retention. Tamis (1990:498) describes these positive effects for Greek in Australia. Greek was introduced as an exam subject at schools, universities and colleges (1973-1974). This not only increased the functional value of the language, but it also became more prominent and/or acceptable within the Greek community. Hence, Greek was not only associated with ethnic identity but also with career opportunities. Tamis (1990:498) highlights the role played by Greek ethnic schools for language maintenance. These bilingual schools play an important role and counteract Anglo-conformist attitudes which could affect bilingual education and language maintenance. They allow equal development of both English and Greek as has been proved that there is an inter-dependence of first and second language acquisition. Tamis (1990:499) maintains that feelings of inferiority toward the mother tongue can be minimised or averted through this type of school.

Tamis (1990:499) maintains that Greek bilingual schools have positive effects, such as improved family cohesion; improved self-esteem and assisting in producing balanced bilinguals – leading to superior monolinguals in logical thought, conceptual development,

verbal intelligence and divergent thinking. The bilingual daily school plays a vital role to help retain the mother tongue, in order to help counteract negative factors, such as inter-marriage; the church possibly employing English and English being used at home (an important domain for language).

Another scholar who has conducted extensive research on education and Greek schools in Australia is Tsounis (1974). He (Tsounis, cited in Price, 1975:59) describes the aim of Greek schools as: “to teach children Greek, in the hope of helping children understand their origin, religion and culture; and to help inculcate into children the values of Greek civilization.”. Furthermore, the aims and principles of Greek schools are to teach and help preserve the Greek language, the Orthodox religion, and Greek history, civilisation, ethics, customs and traditions; in short, Greek culture. Greek schools also serve children’s needs, for example, enabling them to be able to communicate with their parents and other persons of their own community, whether in Australia or in Greece; to understand and, hence participate more fully, in the life of their particular social and cultural environment, be this the home, the Greek church, the social and cultural activities of communities, fraternities and Pan-Hellenic clubs and societies; and to enrich their knowledge and understand their origin, identity and position in society and the world.

Tsounis’ (1974:iii) study examines two main aspects of the Greek ethnic schools:

- The reasons for the schools and other logistical aspects
- The teaching material and books used in the schools

As with most other immigrant community schools, Greek ethnic schools are known as afternoon schools (*apogevmatina scholeia*), which operate after normal school hours and sometimes on a Saturday. There were approximately 350 Greek schools (the study was conducted in Adelaide and Melbourne). At the time of the study, the majority of the schools were primary schools (*demotica scholeia*), but there was a growing interest in high school, some schools did have high school sections (*gymnasia*).The number of pupils varies from a dozen to 600 pupils; the number of hours of instruction vary from two to eight hours every week. Tamis views the Greek schools are necessary and important institutions because they have arisen to fulfill certain needs, such as preserving the Greek culture and language and being proficient in the Greek language (Tsounis, 1974:35f).

How different people and authorities (Australian and Greek) view the schools and the Greek language itself is of importance, as this will help to answer the question why there are Greek schools and why the Greek language is an important educational issue. Some indicate that this is a finding from Tsounis' (1974:36) research.

Tsounis (1974:36) notes that children recognise the role of (especially the more practical functions) Greek school and the Greek language, namely:

- to understand their parents and other Greeks, and Greeks in Greece – where they hope to go one day;
- to communicate later with clients;
- to gain knowledge this would be useful in later studies;
- to speak among themselves so that Australian students and teachers do not understand, and
- many stated that they would study Greek if the subject was offered at secondary and tertiary schools (Tsounis, 1974:36).

Tsounis (1974:ii) maintains that the ethnic school system is an important social phenomenon because it plays a role in preserving ethnic culture and values; in addition, he maintains that these schools are one of the most important ethnic institutions for the Greeks, because “[it] is through their schools that Greeks strive, in a more formal and organised way, to bring up their children, teach them the Greek language and national culture, and ensure that these are preserved and transmitted to future generations”. Much has been said and written about the need to preserve ethnic cultures and languages but little has been done (in terms of allocating human and material resources). Tsounis (1974:iii) notes that in Australia most of the people have “been generally indifferent, or passive to the linguistic and cultural needs and aspirations of the non-Anglo-Saxon quarter of society”. (see also § 3.3.4).

These schools, nevertheless, perform important functions:

- They help children become aware of and acquainted with the language and culture of their parents, the ethnic community and Greece;
- School concerts are memorable for all participants;

- Learning about the ancient Greek culture creates more ethnic awareness among the older children, and confirmed what they had learned at Greek schools;
- They enable children to become aware of and understand more of their distinctness and special position in society and to gain a sense of belonging to a larger social group, and
- They help to unite the ethnic community because of the co-operation and finance required to run them.

Several more factors explain the wide usage of Greek and the existence of Greek schools in Australia:

- The great difference between English and Greek – the learning of English is difficult for many Greeks;
- Greeks are aware that they possess an ancient, rich and valuable linguistic and cultural heritage which they feel they must preserve;
- The preservation and cultivation of the Greek language has always been of great value for Greeks abroad; this has played an important role in their survival abroad;
- Greeks believe that because the Greek diaspora has survived in other societies, it should also be possible to survive in Australia and
- The absence of facilities for Greeks to learn English

These factors constitute a powerful stimulus to use and learn Greek and to establish Greek schools, where children not only learn the language and culture, but also to communicate in Greek with their parents and others of their community.

As the Australian society was fast becoming a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society, little effort was made to initiate positive measures to help immigrant children overcome their disadvantaged position and some of the educational problems. One of the problems was bilingualism. In Tsounis' (1974:5) opinion, the disadvantages of the Australian school system "has been to strip [Greek children] of their linguistic and cultural heritage and give them few of the system's benefits in return". This approach has then obviously contributed greatly to language shift. On the other hand, one of the more positive aspects of the Southern Australian Education Department was that it changed the zoning rules so that pupils, who were not offered Greek in the schools in their area, could attend schools offering Greek as a subject.

Tsounis (1974:9) maintains that the question of the Greek language in Australia is more than an educational one. It is related to other issues such as assimilation and the type and quality of society and culture into which immigrants are asked to assimilate, the rights of ethnic minorities to preserve their culture, which cannot be done without the use of their languages. (see also § 2.2.1.3).

According to Tsounis (1974:9), should cultural pluralism become acceptable, this could lead to other issues which may have to be addressed, for example, the amount of money and human resources to be allocated to the promotion of ethnic languages and cultures, and whether the teaching of ethnic languages is better left to the ethnic schools or if it should also be undertaken by the Australian schools. (Tsounis, 1974:9) Greek schools are, however, an integral part of the whole structure and life of Greek ethnic communities (Tsounis, 1974:11).

Greek communities tend to become self-sufficient in as many spheres of social and cultural life as possible. Ethnic communities, especially in the capital cities, have developed into sub-cultures. A Greek Orthodox community is a microcosmos of the Greek nation state (Tsounis, 1974:13). According to Tsounis (1974:13), the initial aim of the Greek Orthodox communities was to make “every Greek Orthodox Community the centre of social, cultural and political life of the whole ethnic community. A community was also the most powerful and prestigious ethnic institution”.

Sections of the ethnic community play an important role in the education of Greek children. Tsounis (1974:14) indicates that although the schools may use up much of the finance of the community, they nevertheless contribute to and are an indication of the strength of the community and the support by the members of the community: “they also account for much of the strength, influence and viability of the Community’s institutions. The number of community-owned schools and the number of students at these schools is generally considered a good measure of the Community’s viability and the support it enjoys among Greek immigrants”.

The importance of Greek schools is further highlighted by Tsounis (1974:33) when he refers to the financial aspect or implication of the Greek schools:

The fact that communities are prepared to maintain schools at some considerable sacrifice and financial loss demonstrates clearly the importance they place on the Greek education of Greek children. It also shows the importance of Greek schools in the Community life. It is through its school system that the Community contacts and recruits many members and consolidates its position in the wider ethnic community.

When trying to determine the number of Greek children attending the Greek schools, Tsounis (1974:21) states that it is better to include the pupils whose mothers are Greek, rather than those who have Greek-born fathers. This is because there is a greater inter-marriage among Greek men, whereas the Greek women tend to marry Greek men. The women are also more influential in terms of language learning and attendance at ethnic schools (see also § 1.8.4.2; 1.8.4.3).

In his extensive study, Tsounis (1974), also makes mention of some of the more problematic issues facing these Greek schools. The lack of qualified teachers and teaching resources also contributed to the education department not introducing Greek studies. Yet, as Tsounis (1974:8) indicates, the shortages have resulted because of assimilationist tendencies, or lack of progressive and humane educational policies and practices – a vicious circle. It was known but ignored that among many of the ethnic communities, there were many people with skills and knowledge (teachers, artists and graduates in various disciplines), who could have been used to help with education (Tsounis, 1974:8). Many of these people ended up working in unskilled jobs, thereby being lost to Australian and ethnic culture and education.

Instruction takes place for three to four hours per week, and is always in the Greek language. If there are no teachers, priests act as instructors. There is instruction in the Greek language, the history of Greece, singing and folk dances. Lessons take place after normal school hours, and on Saturday mornings. One of the problems encountered is that teachers sometimes want to teach only in Greek, to pupils whose mother tongue is English. Pupils have to deal with the difficulty of the Greek language, unfavourable conditions of learning and being at school while the Australian pupils are ‘at play’. According to Tsounis (1975:60) few children can be said to have attained “a standard in Modern Greek comparable to that of children in primary school in Greece” (Tsounis 1975:60).

Reasons for low attendance or enrolments at Greek schools in the big communities (Melbourne and Sydney) include:

- Disinterest in and neglect of the Greek education by the community, church and parents alike;
- Newcomers who might feel that it is more important for their children to learn English rather than Greek;
- Many private schools;
- The Macedo-Slav population have their own schools and organizations;
- Few children attend Greek primary schools before seven and after 12 or 13: a belief by many Greek parents and teachers (and also Australian teachers), to avoid language confusion, the child must first go to Australian schools, learn English and then go to Greek schools; there is also a concern for safety –for example, if the child has far to travel to the school, and
- Attendance at Greek school is not compulsory.

It was found that those most concerned about teaching their children Greek are the parents of the Australian-born rather than the parents of the Greek-born children.

Some criticisms with regard to Greek schools are that the Greek school books are difficult to comprehend by children as they become increasingly better versed in English than in Greek, and the subject matter bears little relation to the lives of children in Australia; a relatively small amount of time is given to actual instruction; children resent being at school and studying under adverse conditions (especially in the afternoons); children are not compelled to be at school, nor are there any real tangible (future) rewards; and large classes may contain pupils of different grades.

These factors are in sharp contrast to the Australian state schools. This may result in some negative attitudes by the children, for example, being discouraged at the slow progress in understanding and using the Greek language; children who may be weak in Greek find the exclusive use of the Greek language as the medium of instruction frustrating; Greek schools, like Australian schools, are therefore not entirely fulfilling their aim in helping pupils to become competent bilinguals (Tsounis, 1974:35).

Tsounis (1974:36) states that Greek schools do serve many of these needs, yet it is also true that many of the schools are national and nationalistic institutions where the emphasis is more on preserving the ‘Greekness’ of children rather than in helping them acquire skills necessary to cope with social situations and with the cultural conflicts that arise from them – this can be seen or determined from the contents of teaching material.

Tuffin (cited in Kapardis and Tamis, 1988:107) headed a study on the future of Greek in Australia. Initially, it seemed that the interest in and demand for Greek in South Australia may be decreasing. The decrease in enrolment of children in primary schools gave rise to this notion. However, when Tuffin (cited in Kapardis and Tamis 1988:107) consulted with people involved in the teaching of Greek at various levels, it seems that the opposite is happening (i.e. there appears to be a growing demand for the language). Tuffin (cited in Kapardis and Tamis, 1988:107) therefore poses the questions: is the interest in the language really decreasing? Can the trend be halted or reversed?

Greek use in government schools in South Australia has always been in relation to the number of Greek children in the school. Initially, there was no training for teachers in Australia, and therefore people who had completed schooling in Greece or Cyprus assisted in the teaching of the language. Later, however, teachers were trained in Australia, and added to this group were teachers trained in Greece.

School policy in South Australia encourages scholars to acquire more than one language, and schools to play a role in assisting with the learning of a language other than English. The learning of a new language also assists with the thinking and social development of the pupil: Tuffin (cited in Kapardis and Tamis 1988:109) refers to a very important issue for learning a second language, namely, that one learns about other cultures, which can facilitate a better understanding and tolerance of different people:

The person who learns a second language gains a wider capacity to communicate and an increased confidence in and awareness of the use of language...provides an insight into other cultures; develops cultural awareness and sensitivity.

Tuffin (cited in Kapardis and Tamis, 1988:116) introduces the notion of *critical mass*: when there is a larger community, there is a greater demand for the study of the language,

as is the case in Victoria. The interest and demand for studying Greek at schools and higher educational institutions, as well as the support and interest of the Greek community have resulted in self-regeneration and self-renewal. This critical mass is of importance, because as Tuffin (cited in Kapardis and Tamis 1988:116) indicates, the energy it produces is sufficient to generate and attract a consistent interest and demand in and from the wider non-Greek community. This can contribute to reducing the concept of 'Greek for Greeks'.

Should this critical mass not be present, Tuffin (cited in Kapardis and Tamis 1988:116) suggests that the situation could only be rectified if attitudes and practices are changed in a conscious effort to increase interest and demand for studying Greek in general, but in particular by students of non-Greek background. Tuffin (cited in Kapardis and Tamis 1988:116) therefore recommends that in centres where there is not a critical mass, there would have to be an active intervention for the survival of Greek, as well as intervention in centres for the achievement of goals for the greater access to the study of Greek, which will facilitate intercultural communication and understanding, as well as an increased cultural mobility and interchange.

Giles et al. (cited in Kapardis and Tamis, 1988:166) argue that there is solid institutional support for Greek in education: they refer to the fact that Greek is taught in some primary and secondary schools, as well as the large number of community and private schools which offer the language. Afendras (cited in Kapardis and Tamis 1988:166) refers to bilingual transitional programmes and independent bilingual schools, programmes and tertiary institutions.

Kalantzis (1985:173) found that all students regard English as important for their future and few admitted to having any problems with the language. Further, it was found that the educational implications of the language were more important for the pupils than the political issues, which in turn, were more important for the adults.

Education within the Greek community is also studied by Verivaki (1993) when she examined the status of Greek in New Zealand. She found that community schools alone are not sufficient to guarantee the maintenance of the mother tongue. What is important is that they should attract the support of the community, as this strengthens the school as an institutional resource. Attendance at school will complement other maintenance efforts, for

example, speaking the language at home and at various other institutions. Verivaki (1993) points out that the initial aim of the community schools was to teach literacy in the mother tongue, as the spoken language was generally good. It was only over time that proficiency in the spoken language started to decrease and the schools then had to teach the spoken language as well. She found that this is the current situation in the Greek community.

3.3.4 Religion

The church has great potential to play an important role in the retention of language. However, the issue facing the Greek Church in Australia, as in other Greek communities, was the retention of language versus religion. The Greek Orthodox Church felt it was important to maintain the Greek language, however, if a decrease in church attendance was noted because of language issues (i.e. the use of Ancient Greek in the services, for example), the church emphasized the importance of religion (Christianity) rather than that of language. Hence, many church leaders of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia tend to support the idea of a Pan-Orthodox congregation, ensuring that the religion is accessible to all people and Greeks who are not proficient in the language.

Tamis (1985:48,49) states that in Australia Greek ethnicity usually identifies itself with the Orthodox religion; many church authorities give preference to religion rather than ethnic values. The policy in the Orthodox Church in the USA was followed in Australia, namely, that the priority should be to preserve Christianity rather than the ethnic identity of Greek immigrants, a policy which Tamis (1985:48,49) believes led to the linguistic assimilation of the Greek immigrants. He refers to researchers who argue that the linguistic assimilation of Greek Americans was the result of the policies of the Greek Church in the USA. Archbishop Iakovos felt that the use of Greek as a medium of communication would impact negatively on the growth of the church; Americanisation of members, however, would sustain numbers. Tamis (1985:49) also argued that very few of the third generation Greek immigrants spoke Greek.

Tamis (1985:49), on the other hand, points out that in Australia, the priests are strongly ethnic, and the involvement of the members in the local community in the affairs of the church “is direct and eminent, safeguarding the linguistic and cultural aspects of the ethnicity”. Tamis (1985:49) maintains that after family, the church is the second most important agent for language maintenance.

The role of the Greek Church in language maintenance issues therefore appears to be of an ambivalent nature. This can be seen in Tamis' (1985) examination of the issue. Tamis (1985:49) quotes Haugen (1953) who proposed that "Church is the primary institution which provides the immigrants with a justification for the use of the language". Tamis (1985:49) feels that it is unfortunate that this theory is not applied to the Greek community in Australia. In his research, Tamis (1985:49) indicates that among the persons he questioned, the church was not mentioned as a factor for language acquisition or language maintenance. The reasoning for this is that the priests still adopt the approach of the linguistic bimorphy. The priests use difficult forms of Greek (Koine) which not many people understand, thus Haugen's 'justification for the use of the language' does not always exist, as many do not understand the archaic form(s) of the language. Tamis (1985:49) makes the important point that a strong linguistic domain is wasted. There were many priests who showed initiative in the areas of language loyalty, by establishing and teaching in a number of schools. Further positive measures by the church included an academy for priests and conferences for the youth, focusing on religious issues. The publication *Phoni tis Orthodoxias* (The Voice of the Orthodoxy) makes use of standard Demotic Greek, which is indicative of an attitude promoting language loyalty.

In contrast to the church being seen as playing a pivotal role in language maintenance, some view the function of the church in Australia as assisting in the transition to partial or complete integration into an English-medium church which will further result in de-ethnicisation, as in the USA (Tamis 1990:497). Traditionally, the Greek Orthodox Church was an ethnic or national church, unified by state, ethnicity and language. The movements towards the use of English in the church in the USA and Australia support a transitional linguistic assimilation. Consequently, if this should continue, it will result in language shift and an important domain of language use (religion and church) will be lost to third generation Greeks who would rather attend English services, especially when Greek-born priests are replaced.

According to Smolicz (cited in Kapardis and Tamis, 1988:157), religion showed some signs of weakening (in terms of church attendance); this can be seen in the light of the current general indifference to religious beliefs and practices in Australia. Nevertheless, and of great importance in the Greek Church, is that the power of the church should not be underestimated: it still has the ability to rally Greeks together for religious feasts, and

social and educational enterprises. It can be said that orthodoxy retains its ideological value of symbolic significance which facilitates identification, although the everyday participation may be somewhat doubtful.

Price (1975:6) indicates that for many Greeks, the Greek Church and its related organisations are extremely important; for some “it is the most important factor involved in the continuation of Greek ethnic values”.

In comparison with Australia, Verivaki’s (1993:9) research seems to suggest that, in comparison with Australia, the Greek Church in New Zealand is still playing a significant role in the retention of Greek. Verivaki’s study seems to support this notion. There is the least amount of shift to English in this domain; Sunday services are conducted in Greek. The members of the community use more Greek to all the addressees in the church environment. The church is seen as a Greek domain and, as such, young third generation members employ more Greek in interaction at church, than in any other domain. However, it should be noted that there is a high attendance rate among older people, and it is these members who are most frequently addressed. Verivaki (1993:9) points out that the church or religious domain provides an opportunity for social interaction between members of the community, after the service as well as in church-related issues. Hence, this domain plays an important role in, and has great potential for language maintenance; it appears that language can be maintained the longest in this domain.

3.3.5 Media

3.3.5.1 The press

In examining this domain, Tamis (1985) provided substantial information with regard to the press, radio and television. Tamis (1985:44) notes that in Australia there are more than 90 newspapers published in a community language other than English. The first Greek newspaper in Melbourne *Australis* appeared in 1912, and there were numerous other newspapers which appeared between the 1920s and 1950s. In the 1960s and 1970s, there was an increase in the number of immigrants and the Greek language newspaper industry flourished; there were 27 newsletters circulating among local Greek communities, of the 26 newspapers published since the 1950s, five are still in existence. In the 1980s the

number of newspapers decreased, but the circulation increased. In the 1960s the circulation was estimated at between 600 and 1500 readers; in the 1980s the circulation was estimated at 20 000 readers. A weekly women's magazine had a circulation of 5 500 readers in Victoria and 12 000 nationally – this was the largest circulation of a Greek magazine outside of Greece. There were also three literary magazines published by cultural and student bodies, and there were brotherhoods, unions and student organisations which had their own publications in Melbourne.

Tamis (1985:45) shows that Greek newspapers played an important role in the history of the ethnic press in Australia; for example, some newspapers were the first to carry news about athletic events from Greece and Europe on the same day. At the time of publication of this particular article, Tamis (1985) reports that there was no English newspaper for the Greek community, only one Greek newspaper which had one English page concerning youth affairs in the Monday edition. Tamis (1985:46) explains that this was an attempt by the publishers at a linguistic compromise, in order to attract Australian-born readers. At the same time Tamis (1985:46) warns of certain dangers of employing English in the newspaper, because this could lead to a greater demand for English in the future, and English could eventually take over from the mother tongue.

Furthermore, Tamis (1985:46) states that there were 50 000 members of the community who were monolingual and who may not be readers of the newspapers, for reasons such as a lack of detailed or investigative reporting or a lack of articles pertaining to life in Australia. Tamis's research showed that 36,4% of first generation Greeks read the newspaper regularly; 25% read it often; 26% rarely and 11% never read it. Regarding readership of newspapers by native-born students, 14% read them regularly; 26% read them often; 34% read them rarely and 24% never read them. The readership of Greek magazines is given as follows: only 16% read them regularly and 21% read them often.

Tamis (1985:46) concludes that the quality of the Greek press is not sufficient to attract or impress native-born speakers of Greek. There is, however, an increasing circulation among the first generation, more so than in the 60s and 70s. In the 1960s there was a 20 000 (30%) readership of Greek-born immigrants and in the 1980s there was a 30 000–38 000 (48%) readership of Greek-born immigrants. Many of the Greek newspapers in Melbourne are in Demotic Greek, which is the everyday, spoken Greek. Tamis (1985:46) reports that

“it is not always the generally accepted norm”, and as a result, there are cases of ‘irregular’ language usage, for example, anglicisms, neologisms, simplified grammar and syntax.

3.3.5.2 Radio and television

The first transmissions of programmes in Greek in Australia started in 1951. They took more than a quarter of a century to reach a professional level in the 1980s. At the beginning of the 1980s, Greek programmes were broadcast for 1½ hours per week until June 1982; this increased in July 1983 to two hours per week. 3EA, the main radio station, broadcasts 10.50 hours per week. The main aim of the broadcasts is linguistic and cultural maintenance of Greek ethnicity. The station is politically and commercially unbiased, and does not attract goals outside the direct interest of the ethnic group it serves. The personnel have a sound knowledge of the mother tongue, and programmes are informative and culturally orientated. Broadcasts are aimed not only at the overseas-born Greek, but also aim to attract the native-born generation.

Tamis’s (1985:47) data seem to indicate the success of the broadcasts. According to his statistics for Greek listenership, 47% of first generation listen to the radio station regularly, 30% listen often, 13% and 10% never listen to the radio station. Tamis (1985:47) reports that the listening shift of the native-born was not a significant one. It is significant for language maintenance that the broadcasting hours increased in 1983.

Tamis (1985:47) states that in 1980 multicultural television for 35 hours per week in community languages other than English was introduced. Important for language maintenance were the commercial channels that had Greek programmes for two hours on Sundays. He says that the quality of the multicultural television is high, which encourages native-born members of the community to watch it. Statistics for the viewing of Greek films or programmes were:

- Regularly: 82% for non-native immigrants;
- 76% for native immigrants – almost triple the readership of the newspaper;
- Often – 14% and 19%, respectively (non-native and native immigrants);
- 4,5% - first generation and 4,9% - second generation who do not watch Greek TV programmes;
- Intergenerational watching shift is less than 1%.

In his later study Tamis (1990:491) notes that the mother tongue does enjoy certain areas of prestige and creativity. In the Grecophone media, for example, Australian-born journalists are employed, and there are Greek language radio programmes. There are Greek-Australian authors and poets, Greek literature, tertiary courses and Greek Orthodox bilingual schools.

The importance of the Greek media is further highlighted by Tsounis (1974:44, 45) when he reports that Greek newspapers and magazines were an integral part of the communities, newspapers express the views and promote the interests of the particular immigrant groups, and institutions. The newspapers also shed light on the interests, aspirations, social values and the social and cultural activities and events of Greek communities.

3.3.6 Generations

Smolicz (1988:152) indicates that there is an overwhelming importance of spoken Greek, even among the second generation in Australia. The second generation respondents are not abandoning Greek family traditions in favour of the Anglo-Australian group. There is a positive evaluation of the Greek tradition of collectivist family life. This does not mean that the group is static or that there are no changes; for example, in one of the groups (tertiary respondents), only 15% considered it as vitally important to marry within the Greek group. However, the evidence seems to suggest that the Greeks are likely to prove resistant to any drastic changes: 51% still thought it important to keep close family ties.

There may be a positive attitude towards the language as indicated by Smolicz's (1988) study, however, a later study by Tamis (1990:490) brought to light that: the second and subsequent generation speakers sometimes find it difficult to learn the mother tongue as they are learning from their parents whose knowledge of the mother tongue may already be limited or perhaps faulty. When dealing with inter-generational levels, it will be the home domain where the mother tongue (Greek) is used most (Tamis,1990:491).

A prominent feature of Greek tradition is the special bond that unites Greek families across the different generations, as well as their spirit of solidarity. *Ellenismos* – the notion of a common (or core) culture, is widely held by Greeks themselves. When analysing core culture, a central feature is Greek family life. Smolicz, (1988:151) notes that close-knit

family relations set “the moral and social climate for Greek families, rather than the broad Australian setting”. An important combination of factors for the Greek communities’ survival in the diaspora, are emphasized throughout the literature: family, language and religion.

3.3.7 Other factors

3.3.7.1 Area of residence

The Greek community is one of the largest communities in Melbourne which is an important factor for language maintenance. Tamis (1985:37) notes that there are some overseas-born Greek immigrants who live in country areas, where they come into contact with a strong Anglophone environment. This use of the mother tongue is generally confined to the home domain. In his later study Tamis (1990:488) maintains that bilingual people from rural areas transfer less of the mother tongue and concludes: “the Greek language among third generation Greeks...appears gloomy.” In contrast, in the Melbourne Metropolitan Area, where there is a high concentration of Greeks (a language island), the press and mass media are available to all the people of the minority group. They are able to organise themselves easier and establish various organisations, for example, schools, cultural and social institutions; such groups may be able to rally more power, such as political power (Tamis, 1985:37).

With regard to immigrant communities staying together in a specific area, Tsounis (1974:45, 46) maintains that this phenomenon results in Greek businesses developing, which provides goods and services to that particular community. He maintains that it is a micro-community operating on its own, catering for the specific immigrant community, and to a large extent self-sufficient: “[I]t does illustrate another feature of ethnic communities. This feature is that as the ethnic community grows it also tends to become self-sufficient, or at least partially self-sufficient, in certain aspects of its economic life.” This is similar to the Johannesburg Portuguese community some 20 to 30 years ago – a self-sufficient community where people could buy Portuguese products (and have access to services by Portuguese people) in the shops in predominantly Portuguese suburbs, such as La Rochelle and Malvern (Mcduling 1995:160-162).

In her study of the community in New Zealand, Verivaki (1993:17) also observes that immigrant communities living together in the same area or in close proximity to each

other, provide a good opportunity for use of the mother tongue – including outside of the home. She indicates that this was the case with many first generation immigrants. This type of situation provides the opportunity for the mother tongue to be used in daily interaction with neighbours and in shops. If institutions were built in these areas, for example, churches, schools and community halls, they would support the language. The more concentrated the community is, the easier it is to have more institutions (Verivaki 1993:17).

3.3.7.2 Contact with or visits to Greece

In her discussion of the community in New Zealand, Verivaki (1993:12) pays some attention to this aspect. She found that members of the community regard it as important to have a knowledge of the mother tongue: the first generation in order to keep in contact with ‘home’ (it is especially this generation which always thinks of returning to the country of origin). The second generation regards it as important to have knowledge of the Greek language, when one is visiting Greece. Verivaki (1993:12) concludes that this idea of travel to Greece is an important factor in language maintenance, and a motivation for fluency in the language. Travel to Greece is of importance for both young and old; some girls may travel to Greece with the specific aim of finding a husband, and this is another strong motivation for language maintenance.

Verivaki (1993:19) mentions the positive orientation of the Greeks towards the homeland. This factor emerged particularly with the Greek community in New Zealand (no comparable findings could be found in Australian research). Her findings indicate that in communities where there is greater resistance to shift, this feeling persists up to the third generation. As mentioned, with the first generation, there is always the hope of returning to the mother country permanently. The second and third generations will always attempt to visit the country at least once or to have a prolonged stay or visit. There is also the tendency for some to return ‘home’ to find a marriage partner.

New arrivals making contact with the community are an important factor for language maintenance. Younger New Zealand-born generations have to communicate with the new arrivals in the mother tongue, which is an incentive to retain the mother-tongue Greek.

3.3.7.3 Inter-marriage

Tamis (1985:40) maintains that local Greek community authorities within Australian Greek communities have underestimated inter-marriage as an important factor in language shift. They think the rate of inter-ethnic marriages is still low, but research has shown the opposite to be true – there is a high percentage of inter-marriage which affects the linguistic profile and future for the community. For example, of the marriages in the Greek Orthodox Church, 31,8% in 1981 and 30,7% in 1982 were inter-ethnic marriages, compared with 10,8% in 1972. There may be even more such marriages, which may not have been recorded.

Tamis (1985:40) says that it is difficult for researchers such as sociologists to explain the high rate of such marriages, especially since there is a good male-female ratio, and the community is large. This does not justify such a high rate of inter-marriage. Other research (for example, Neos Kosmos (1983), cited by Tamis) has indicated that 70% of families are strongly against such marriages, but 53% of tertiary level students do not object to such marriages. Tamis suggests that it could be possible that young people who do oppose inter-ethnic marriage are those who are less educated and more conservative. Tamis's research showed that the educated people (61%) opt for a heteroethnic spouse. The second generation males (58,6%) tend to select partners from the broader Australian community, Italians being the most popular (28,1%).

Greek women, on the other hand, were more reluctant to marry outside of the community, but where this happened, it was to Anglo-Celtics or Italians (see also the similar findings noted by Added, 1972:256ff). Greek mothers show a high degree of loyalty to the mother tongue; 75,1% send their second or third generation children to Greek schools, irrespective of the father's ethnicity. Some 56% of Greek fathers, on the other hand, send their children to Greek schools if the mother is of another ethnicity; 50,5% if she is of Anglophone background.

Tamis (1985:41) refers to researchers who have indicated that inter-ethnic marriages are either a result of assimilation and that they have a significant negative effect on language maintenance. They also point out that the cultural and linguistic behaviour of those entering an inter-ethnic marriage depends on several factors: the linguistic tendency of a particular group, the degree of their ethnic awareness and whether they are culturally, religiously or linguistically centred.

Tamis's (1985:40,41) research shows that in the case of the Greek community, those who enter inter-ethnic marriages are usually prepared to accept the spouse's way of life and culture. He suggests that immigrants only adjust to their new environment as their mode of behaviour changes according to the other person's cultural and linguistic background. Tamis (1985:41) cites Tsotras (1982), who maintains that the majority of problems encountered in inter-ethnic marriages were in language and religion.

Kapardis and Tamis (1988:71) confirm that inter-marriage is one of the most influential factors for language shift, and that this was underestimated by the community. As children proceed through adolescence (see also § 2.2.2.3), the parents' influence over the acquisition of the mother tongue will decrease, which results in the dominance of English.

When comparing the findings of studies in Australia with New Zealand, Verivaki (1993:17,18) indicates that less than 20% of married participants had married outside of the group. Young people were still encouraged to marry within the group – even if it meant a trip 'back home'. This could also be because certain groups (Greeks included) are physically distinguishable from others. Inter-marriage may seem to be more acceptable if there is less physical difference. This is an important factor for language maintenance at the community interaction level. Verivaki (1993:18) also confirms that research and literature on the topic shows that inter-marriage leads to a decrease in the use of the mother tongue (and consequent language shift). This language shift to English, as a result of inter-marriage tends to be greater or faster when the mother is the non-community member, as she is usually not proficient in the community language (see also § 3.2.6.3)

3.3.7.4 Age

Verivaki (1993:9) alludes to an important factor found in most immigrant households in New Zealand, namely, the role played by grandparents and older parents, who are usually monolingual speakers. Here she indicates that they are largely monolingual in Greek – an important factor for language maintenance. Younger members, in turn, act as translators for the older members. In these households Greek is spoken; outside the home the age of the person being addressed is the determining factor as to which language is used. Hence, younger people tend to speak English to each other, but “speak Greek to older Greeks in a variety of domains” (Verivaki 1993:9).

3.3.7.5 Occupation or workplace

Tamis (1985:38) indicates that the workplace is also used as a factor in determining whether the mother tongue will retain its position among speakers as well as its ability to gain new speakers. According to Tamis, 64% of the overseas-born immigrants are part of the workplace; 60% are men and 40% are women. Tamis' data also indicate the number of overseas Greek-born immigrants who have the opportunity to speak Greek at work: 58% of the respondents are always able to use the language; 21% are usually able to use the language; 11,5% are rarely able to use the language and 9,5% are never able to use the language. In his later study Tamis (1990:488) again notes that occupation can influence language shift; that bilinguals in a work environment (or those who are exposed to an English environment) tend to transfer more.

The data show that first generation Greek women, when compared with the women from other ethnicities, were numerically more exposed to an Anglophone environment. This could decrease the importance of gender for language maintenance. Employment in Australia tends to be mostly in the 'tradesmen and services' field.

Tamis (1985:39,40) indicates that employment for many of the first generation, correlates with their educational background – many worked as unskilled workers, which Tamis (1985:39,40) considers a positive factor for language maintenance, as many Greeks working in this field did not have to communicate extensively in English: “since the demand for communication in the host language is limited and the technical norm usually employed by the unskilled workers is only in a minimum scope”.

Many Greeks still felt financially self-reliant. This has an effect on language maintenance, as the struggle for survival (running a business) was more important than language maintenance efforts (especially in the 1950s and 1960s). Nevertheless, language loyalty was high as a result of the constant influx of immigrants from the homeland.

3.3.7.6 Social status

Initially Greek-Australians may have been of a low socio-economic position, but this improved with each Australian-born generation. Presence in politics and the teaching of

Greek in the state school system lend some status to the language and community (Giles et al. cited in Kapardis and Tamis, 1988:168). Giles et al. (cited in Kapardis and Tamis 1988:168) note a change or improvement in the socio-economic indicators, in the transition from Greek-born to Australian-born (i.e. first to second generation), who are now employed in better jobs and are better educated. They pose some leading questions which are important to consider for the future of the Greek community, in terms of their social status: How do or will these changes of upward mobility affect the status of the group and the ethnolinguistic vitality? Will the handicap of the Greek-born peer group decrease with length of residence in Australia?

3.5 Comparative summary

Greek communities in the United States and Australia, demonstrated a similar history to that of the community in South Africa. The first arrivals were individuals or sailors, later individuals from predominantly rural areas and islands arrived. Many single people arrived at first, with the idea of working in a new country and sending money back home, and eventually returning to Greece. The main reasons for emigration were: economic, political and social. In the United States, immigrants from south eastern Europe form part of the late immigrants (1950s, 1960s and still arriving) – the people from south eastern Europe tended to settle in urban areas, because of greater employment opportunities. Initially, discrimination and xenophobia made life difficult. The new arrivals were supported by family, friends or persons from the same region. Because many people came from rural or agricultural backgrounds, they had little or no education, so when they came to the new country, they started with small street trades and later progressed to owning shops.

In Australia the Greek community is the second largest immigrant community; the Italian community being the largest. The first arrivals were sailors or unskilled people (mainly from rural areas) and initially had menial jobs, and later on became shop owners. Subsequent to the outbreak of World War II, there was an increase in immigration. The reasons for immigration are the same as those found in the other studies - adventure, poverty in Greece, politics, education and to join family. As in the case of the United States and South Africa, the first arrivals had to deal with prejudice and discrimination. This kind of treatment resulted in a strong ethnic consciousness. The study by Verivaki (1993) gives much the same reasons for immigration to New Zealand.

The same pattern of settlement can be detected in Australia, as in the USA and South Africa: once there were enough people in the different areas, they formed societies, built a church and started Greek afternoon schools. There was a strong awareness and commitment to language and culture.

The literature on Greek communities emphasises the importance of education for Greeks (Xenides, 1922; Kourvetaris, 1971), because education improves social status. As in most communities in the diaspora, the communities in America established afternoon, church and private schools where children received instruction in Greek, despite increasing assimilation (which could be seen from the small number of pupils attending the various Greek schools). The parents placed great emphasis on the Greek schools as they wanted their children to be proficient in the mother tongue and be able to communicate effectively with them.

On the other hand, the positive attitude and actions of the Australian government influenced the organisation of educational institutions, and encouraged pupils to learn the Greek language. A host society may have problems with accepting multiculturalism. The requirement for a language in certain jobs or entry into tertiary education assists in a positive disposition toward the language and bilinguals. Tsounis (1974) conducted extensive research on afternoon schools with the aim of providing people outside the community (i.e. the host community) with information about these schools.

The research indicates that from the time of the first arrivals in a new country, certain factors played an important role in their lives and helped to keep them together, in particular family and religion. Because of the important role played by the church and the priest in the lives of the people, the Greek community is regarded as a spiritual community.

The church did initially resist assimilation in order to preserve the Greek identity. This proved to be difficult in a country like the United States which is a heterogeneous country. With time, the church was no longer an immigrant institution, but an American institution, making language shift inevitable, over time. However, the later immigrants (or first arrivals) support Greek, while the second and later generations preferred the use of English. Continued immigration played an important role in the retention of the Greek

identity, particularly priests from Greece. The church made use of English to attract the younger generations. Ultimately, the church (as well as many influential people) agreed that religious matters were more important than ethnic issues. They made concessions to accommodate the immigrants; after many congresses it was not decided to replace Greek with English, but to use English as and when needed by the parish.

Religion is more significant than ethnic values. The policy on religion of the United States was also followed in Australia (i.e. the priority is Christianity rather than ethnic identity, resulting in linguistic assimilation of the Greek immigrants). Many of the church leaders in Australia support the idea of a pan-orthodox congregation, ensuring that religion is accessible to all people, including those who may not be proficient in the language. Many in Australia and the United States support a transitional linguistic assimilation. In her study on New Zealand, Verivaki (1993) found that Greek is still used in church as the church is perceived as a Greek domain. The church still plays a vital role in language maintenance, because of other issues related to the church: social interaction between community members and the support for community schools.

Apart from the major factors examined in the studies of the Greek communities, there were also a number of other factors examined in these types of studies, which may have an influence on language maintenance or shift, for example: area of residence, visits to Greece, inter-marriage, gender and age. Area of residence is important; persons who live together in the same area, have the opportunity to use their language on a daily basis, compared with a situation where people are not living in close proximity to each other. Visits to the mother country play an important role in the revival and retention of the language and culture. Inter-marriage is a negative factor for the retention of language and culture. Conversely, marriage within the same language group has a positive effect on language maintenance. Younger people are more assimilated into the host culture and display a greater shift to the language of the host society; the older people in an immigrant community have usually not been reared speaking English.

In the USA it was found that the media and the press have great potential to play a role in maintaining the mother tongue, at the same time helping people to settle into a new country. New arrivals have a positive effect on retaining the foreign press. As with the church, the press sometimes introduces English into the newspaper, in order to attract the

younger generations to read the Greek newspaper. For those of the first generation who are not proficient in the mother tongue, the radio plays an important role because they can listen to the news on the radio, and the Greek music.

In Australia, the long tradition of the Greek press dates from 1912. At the time of Tamis' research (1985), there were no English newspapers for the Greek community; one newspaper had an English page for youth affairs in an attempt to attract the youth, as with church services. Greek radio and television transmissions started in 1951.

The largest Greek community in Australia is in Melbourne. It is easier to establish organisations and schools there, and the press and mass media are available to these people. In many instances such communities become self-sufficient in certain aspects of their economic life. Those living in rural areas come into contact more with the Anglophone community, and therefore use Greek mostly in the home domain. In her study of the community in New Zealand, Verivaki (1993) confirms that where immigrants stay together in communities, they have a good opportunity to use the mother tongue – as well as outside of the home.

Generation is a negative factor for mother tongue retention – the mother tongue usage and fluency decreases with each generation. In the USA the various generations have been studied extensively. The first generation is termed 'foreign born' and is usually poor and illiterate, they are opposed to the use of English in church services. There are definite domains for each language. These immigrants hope to return to Greece one day. Family facilitates in the transmission of language and culture. The first generation found it difficult to adapt to the new environment and to understand their children.

The second generation is regarded as a transitional family, i.e. their children are raised in two social worlds or sub-cultures: one world where everything is Greek and one which consists of non-Greek elements. The second generation still identifies with the Greek language, tradition and religion, but there is a change in education, success and upward mobility.

The third generation is native-born of native parents, i.e. grandchildren of the first generation. There is a decrease in Greek ethnic identity, but certain aspects are still retained. Religion is important to this group – it is part of self-identification. This

generation is assimilated – they see themselves as American; there is less display of prejudice and discrimination. Education, professional achievement and social class are important. There is a renewal in things Greek, because of factors such as the release of films with a Greek content. The Greeks still display the greatest retention of language, when compared with other groups. Members of the third generation do not have to learn Greek to communicate with their parents, unlike the second generation.

In Australia it was also noted that younger generations may find it difficult to learn the language from their parents; each generation's knowledge of the language may be progressively limited or faulty. This does not automatically imply that people are abandoning their language. Greeks especially, are resistant to drastic changes. Almost all studies allude, in one way or another, to the vitally important 'mix' or combination of factors so crucial for Greek communities in the diaspora: family, language and religion.

Similar studies (for example, Saloutos, 1964) highlight the importance of language: it was important for children born in the community, to learn the language that 'gave light to the world'. Heritage had to be preserved. Organisations and societies played an important role in the retention of language and customs. The press was seen as important as it helped to retain the Greek language; even a Greek newspaper in English was considered beneficial to those born in the United States, who may not have been literate in Greek. It was important to preserve a Hellenic identity.

There is an increase in inter-marriage which impacts negatively on language maintenance. It is difficult to give exact figures for inter-marriage, as many marriages may not have been recorded. In cases of inter-marriage, the wife attempts to retain the language more so than the husband. Generally, the majority of people still prefer marriage within the group.

The mother in a family shows a higher degree of language loyalty (and especially in cases of inter-marriage) than the father. Fewer Greek women marry out of the group than men. The mother determines language matters and attendance at ethnic schools.

Contact with or travel to Greece plays a role in language maintenance. Many, both young and old, regard it as important to be proficient in the language for contact with Greece or when traveling there. For some, especially the first generation, there is always the hope of

returning to Greece. Knowledge of the mother tongue is necessary for communicating with new arrivals, or for those going to Greece with the specific aim of finding a husband or wife.

Age plays an important role in language maintenance. Researchers refer to the important, if not critical, role played by the older members of the community, especially the grandparents. The age of the person being addressed often determines the language used by the speakers.

In conclusion, the various linguistic studies undertaken in areas where there is a large concentration of Greeks (i.e. the United States and Australia) thus far, generally follow a similar pattern in that they usually examine the same aspects of the community, apart from the linguistic aspects. These issues include the history of the community (including patterns of settlement), education, religion, media, inter-marriage and differences between the generations. Language researchers not only trace how these various facets within the communities have developed over the years, but more importantly, the potential role they may play in facilitating language maintenance. In some instances, there may be other factors which could influence language maintenance and/or language shift, such as, the policies of the government in the host country, which may either be in favour of the immigrant communities' language or to their detriment. It is, nevertheless, important to always bear in mind that there are numerous factors, sometimes interwoven, which can influence the linguistic situation within an immigrant community living in a host society. In the countries examined in this study (the United States, Australia and South Africa) the linguistic situation is so much more complex, as these countries are very heterogeneous, or of a diverse nature, in their demographic make-up. This situation of multi-culturalism and multilingualism means that the various immigrant communities are more vulnerable to linguistic and cultural influences, and consequently, erosion. The immigrant communities and their various institutions are therefore in a position where they have to "go the extra mile" in being so much more innovative, in their attempts to preserve their linguistic and cultural heritage.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the various aspects of methodology and research design will be discussed. The methodology will be examined in three sections: firstly, a general overview of methodological approaches to sociolinguistics will be given, as set out in some of the major works in the field of study; secondly, an overview of the methodologies used by some of the main researchers in the field of language maintenance and language shift, in particular the Greek scholars referred to in this study; thirdly, the researcher will present the methods used in this study to obtain and analyse the data.

4.2. Approaches to sociolinguistic research

4.2.1 Approaches in general

Information and publications on research methodology abound. The leading or prominent works on methodology in the field of sociolinguistics consulted for this study were: Milroy (1987a), Milroy (1987b) and Johnstone (2000), as well as general works on the topic. The methodology discussed by these researchers was, in some instances, of a more general nature, and not always completely applicable to research in the field of the sociology of language. Many of the methods are more applicable to language variation studies.

For this reason, as a starting point, it was necessary for this study of language maintenance and language shift to search for methods *better suited* to this study which are found in Claassen (1983), Du Plessis (1987) and Webb (1983). Webb (1983) was particularly useful because he gives a comprehensive overview of all the important methods and considerations which need to take into account in this type of study. Falk-Bano (1988) and Wong Fillmore (1991) provide an insightful discussion of their own methodology for their respective studies, which was also found to be useful for this study. It was also necessary to look at methods employed by the various researchers on the Greek community in Chapters 2 and 3, given in 4.3.

The point of departure for any research is the 'invention' or development of a research topic. The researcher needs to have a clear idea of what is going to be researched and the fieldwork to be employed in order to collect the data. Johnstone (2000:29) indicates that the researcher should not decide before the time what he/she is going to look for in the data, as this approach, where the researcher may have certain ideas or notions before the time, may cause the researcher to overlook other factors which may be present. The data may assist in leading or guiding the researcher to various frameworks or hypotheses.

When conducting research, researchers may choose between two major approaches employed in research: qualitative and quantitative research. Qualitative research examines how and why. It is more descriptive and interpretative; it can make use of tabulations and comparisons. Quantitative research includes the use of numbers and statistics. The analysis should involve a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods as well as descriptions in order to answer the various qualitative questions with regard to how and why. Sociolinguistic research may require a combination of both these procedures. It is inevitable that statistics will be used in almost every study, even if only a limited amount, and not necessarily of the type requiring complicated formulae, as there has to be some reference to numbers of people, the percentage of people who gave certain responses etc. There is also the 'interpretative' aspect to the research i.e. the researcher also has to decide what it means. The so-called '*raw data*' needs to be interpreted in order to confirm or dismiss a hypothesis.

Klopper (cited in Claassen, 1983: 82) discusses two further approaches to be considered when conducting scientific research, namely: *inductive* and *deductive study*. In an inductive study, a theory is formulated after the data have been analysed; in a deductive study, a *hypothesis* is researched and a theory then drawn up or confirmed, the latter method being the preferred method. This is the method which was employed in this particular study. Webb (1983: 230) advocates this method for sociolinguistic research: the researcher must do research according to or as determined by the hypothesis, and the research is conducted in order to test the hypothesis.

The analytical methods and fieldwork methods to be used in a study will be determined by the aim of the language study. The techniques used in the study will therefore depend on the issues being investigated. Almost all studies in the field of language maintenance and

language shift make use of questionnaires and interviews to collect data. Certain methods help to elicit data or variables required. The study should include socio-cultural data, which is useful in explaining the nature of the community's language usage (Webb, 1983: 230).

Du Plessis (1987:37) distinguishes three logical stages in research methodology, which the researcher finds most suitable for conducting research, and is therefore the method employed for this study. These stages or phases of research can also be detected in the studies conducted by other leading researchers, as discussed in § 4.3, i.e. collecting data, "putting it together", and the analyzing or interpreting the data. In this process of conducting research, interviews and questionnaires are most commonly used, and when processing the data, there may also be a certain amount of statistics or percentages to be calculated.

4.2.2 Data collection

According to Labov (cited in Claassen, 1983:48), the researcher selects a sample of people from the community to be studied; the selection of participants is determined by the nature and aim of the study, and should consist of at least 25 respondents. The random sample of participants must be representative of a wide sociological and geographic area. Webb (1983:231), however, suggests that it is better for a sociolinguistic study to take place within a smaller unit or community (the social network), rather than the entire speech community. The collection of data in sociolinguistic (or language maintenance and language shift studies) is carried out by fieldwork, using interviews and questionnaires. This issue is also addressed by Du Plessis (1987: 37) who states that data can be collected directly (e.g. interviewing the people and making tape recordings) or indirectly (questionnaires sent by post).

One of the most important aspects of conducting sociolinguistic research is indicated by Du Plessis (1987:36) namely, that this type of research cannot be done from behind a desk, but that the researcher has to 'submerge' him/herself into the community, which allows for a greater (intuitive) knowledge of the people one is working with (e.g. cultures and traditions).

These aspects may be read in a book, but to experience them, in many instances, assists in clarifying the exact way of life of the people being researched. Hence, the importance of using both questionnaires and interviews. The researcher should enter or gain access to the community being studied, and preferably be present while participants complete the questionnaire, to speak to as many participants as possible, and interview prominent/key people (e.g. community leaders) within the community. In this regard, Webb (1983:235f) further highlights the need for the researcher to have an intimate knowledge of the life-style, values and norms of the participants; the researcher must attempt to reduce the position of authority and emphasise that he/she merely wants to obtain information; it is important that the researcher's interest in the people and their life-styles must always be sincere.

In addition, empirical data is collected through observation which is essential in sociolinguistics, as sociolinguistics is not merely introspective. Hence, the researcher should also obtain his/her data by observation (Johnstone 2000:24-25). This could be both in terms of participant observation (i.e. the researcher or research team lives within a community for a certain time period) or attending various functions within the community (e.g. a national day celebration) to witness and experience first-hand the happenings within a community.

Webb (1983: 233f) refers to the aims or goals of the sociolinguistic interview as described by Labov. Some of the points mentioned are used in this study to obtain demographic data necessary for the analysis of sociolinguistic data (e.g. age, residence, school, occupation, etc.); to obtain comparable responses to questions to show contrasting attitudes and experiences (among different sub-cultures) and try to obtain a record of attitudes toward language, linguistic features and stereotypes.

In this type of research, the researcher should try to avoid the simple question-and-answer style, but should try to have a conversation and pose questions, making the conversation more spontaneous. Recordings made and interviews conducted in this manner not only provide data for the language study, but also provide information about the social network. One-on-one interviews have advantages: the interviewer has more control over the conversation and the style, obtains good demographic data and quality recordings. When conducting research and interviews, it is important that the researcher should also bear in

mind the ethical issues such as recordings or interviews may not be carried out without the participants' knowledge and/or consent; the anonymity of the respondents has to be guaranteed.

A questionnaire used in an interview situation helps to provide structure to the interview. It can also be used as a control after an informal interview. The questionnaire is a useful control component to collecting data systematically. As in the interview, the hypothesis and aims of the study determine the content of the questionnaire. As the researcher progresses with the study, the content can be adapted or changed, as required.

There are certain features which all questionnaires should contain, such as the cultural background of the language community; they should also elicit a spontaneous response from the participants, in order to give answers that can easily be compared.

4.2.3 Data processing

At this stage of the research, the researcher examines the results obtained from the corpus or body of data. It is possible that the data processing may be influenced by the hypothesis and aims of the study. In instances where statistics have been used in a study, the researcher needs to follow the guidelines for statistical procedures otherwise the results may be inaccurate. Should certain results or aspects of the data not be used, the researcher needs to explain why they have been left out so that the results can be interpreted accurately.

4.2.5 Data interpretation

When discussing the results and interpretation of a study, the results should be placed in the context of a general linguistic theory framework. The interpretation should relate to the aim and hypothesis of the study, the analysis and nature of the study.

4.4 Methodology used by some of the main researchers in this field of study

4.4.1 Introduction

This section attempts to provide an overview of the methodology employed by some of the leading researchers referred to in this study (who have conducted research on Greek communities in the USA, Australia and New Zealand), as not all researchers (or the

articles) give details on how the research was conducted or, in many instances, they may provide only a brief description of what they did, but not always in great detail. This includes the reference to and discussion of the limitations of the studies – this is not always mentioned, or if so, not always in great detail.

4.4.2 Types of studies

Added's (1972) study was a sociological study which was qualitative and of a descriptive nature. He used a limited amount of statistics in his study. The studies by Mantzaris (1978, 1982) were also qualitative studies, with a limited amount of statistical data. These studies were conducted in the disciplines of sociology and anthropology.

Vlachos' (1964) study is a sociological study. He conducts a qualitative and descriptive study, with limited statistical data.

In the study conducted by Kourvetaris (1971), his focus is on the different generations of Greeks in the USA. His work is also qualitative and descriptive of nature, with limited use of statistics.

The extensive study of Bardis (1976) is a qualitative and descriptive study, in which he attempts to provide a comprehensive overview (or a bird's eye view) of Greeks and the Greek language, by examining Greeks and their language in the USA, as well as in other countries – including Greece.

In comparison with most studies consulted by the researcher, Costantakos (1982) is an excellent example of a study which has made use of both qualitative and quantitative methods. Costantakos provides both detailed descriptions of her work and findings, as well as qualitative methods (using different formulae), in order to provide accurate statistical data.

Qualitative and descriptive studies were also conducted by Demos (1988), Tamis (1985) and Verivaki (1993); Demos and Tamis included a fair amount of statistical data in their research.

Although Milroy (1987a & b) conducted research on language variation, she employed qualitative and descriptive methods in her research in Belfast, Ireland. Some of the methods employed in this field of study may also be used for sociolinguistic studies. Milroy makes reference to other leading researchers in the field of sociolinguistics when conducting her research, namely Labov and Gal, whose work is also qualitative and descriptive of nature, with reference to a limited amount of statistics.

4.4.3 Subjects

Some researchers provide information on the subjects they used in their studies, e.g. who the participants were (still retaining the anonymity of the participants); how and why they chose the subjects to participate in their study.

Added (1972:7-9) mentions a number of different methods he employed, until he found methods that worked best for his particular study. Initially, he made use of the telephone book and phoned some people, but this was not a very successful method. This is not a suitable method to be used with strangers: people, by nature, are not always willing to cooperate with a complete stranger requesting an interview or information, more so over a telephone. Thus, Milroy's friend-of-a-friend is a much better method to employ, as people are more willing to agree to an interview if the researcher has been introduced or referred by friends. Hence, Added made use of mutual friends (as in Milroy's friend-of-a-friend method) – a much more successful method.

Furthermore, he consulted various people and organizations (e.g. the Greek Consulate, a Greek Priest, a university student organization), and approached shop or café owners directly. He then would ask these people for names of other friends who could be interviewed. Some interviews were conducted on the spot (i.e. without prior arrangement), which also proved to be an effective method. Speaking Greek to the people places the researcher at an advantage as it “generated both trust and pleasure” (Added 1972:8).

Added obtained background information about the community. Nearly all of the respondents seemed to have gone through the same stages or processes of immigration (Added 1972:10). Therefore, they appeared to be a homogenous group. This would also contribute to making the findings representative of a particular group of people. The

background or general information helped to make the interviews more specific. From all the people he had met, he selected a population sample. Up to this point the information he collected was of a general nature and good for a pilot survey. In total, the number of heads of nuclear families interviewed were 77.

The Greek Consulate was also approached for information. However, this did not prove to be too successful, as he indicates that sometimes information was not always up to date. Hence, it was not always easy to obtain a clear picture of the geographical distribution of the community. In addition, he also made use of the telephone book in an attempt to contact people, but this is not a very successful method (also mentioned by Added, 1972).

Mantzaris (1978, 1982) made use of random sampling; he interviewed people from a variety of different occupational backgrounds – which would therefore assist in gaining an overall picture. As respondents had to be representative of the population, he interviewed 150 people in order for the sample to be representative. Interviewing a large number of respondents would once again assist in gaining an overall picture.

For his study, Vlachos (1964) tried to obtain people from the different generations – first, second and third generation. Similarly, Kourvetaris (1971) used two groups or generations of Greeks: the first generation are all those who emigrated from Greece before the Depression in the 1930s; the second generation are those who are native born from immigrant parents. His participants are married couples and the male spouse had to be of Greek descent in both the groups. To obtain his participants, he took people from churches, a professional association, and friends who referred him to other friends (friend-of-a-friend). This study was carried out in the Chicago area. Participants came from a wide variety of professions in society; he was able to select an equal number of first and second generation married couples. He interviewed 46 couples of the first generation and 46 couples of the second generation.

In Bardis' (1976) extensive study, approximately 200 persons were interviewed – in the USA and Greece (Athens). A complete cross-section of people was chosen: male, female, young, old, professionals, laymen etc.

In the study by Costantakos (1982: 211) participants completed a questionnaire; 40 participants were interviewed in depth using, for example, open-ended questions. In some instances they were interviewed for a second time in order to validate the data. From the detailed description given by Costantakos, it can be said that her sample was very representative, as she used a very broad cross-section of people.

Demos (1988) made use of two Greek Orthodox Churches to gather his data: Minneapolis, Minnesota (est. 1904) and Baltimore, Maryland (est. 1908). The common denominator for the two churches is that they were both very old, and are also characterised by “long-standing family memberships” (Demos 1988:62). An important difference between the two situations is the number of foreign-born people: there were 763 foreign-born persons from Greece in Minneapolis and 3 239 foreign-born persons from Greece in the Baltimore area.

The research group used by Tamis (1985) was aged between 16 and 65, taking into consideration age, gender, education, density and education – an equal distribution among the community. Respondents were also representative in terms of their area of origin (i.e. Northern Greece, Central Greece, South Greece, The Islands and Cyprus). Certain variables were selected in order to help answer questions with regard to the ecology or state of Greek, and to provide a sociolinguistic background of the community.

Verivaki (1993:6) drew up her own community list from different sources (e.g. sports clubs, churches and various organisations). From this list she then randomly selected participants, interviewing 91 people in total (from ages 15 to 88). She also interviewed the participants in the language they preferred (40 interviews in Greek and 51 in English).

4.4.4 Materials and research instruments

When examining the materials and research instruments used by the various researchers, it can be seen how most researchers have conducted research in a very similar manner (i.e. the use of interviews and questionnaires, as well as secondary sources such as books and newspapers).

After interviewing his participants, Added (1972) wrote and recorded the information from the interviews after completing the interview, as writing during the interviews, in some instances, caused the participants to become suspicious.

Mantzaris (1978, 1982) maintains that a variety of methods should be used; one cannot say that one method is best for all purposes and situations. He made use of a questionnaire with many open-ended questions. He noted that respondents sometimes regarded questionnaires with suspicion, if they were typed, but less suspicious if hand-written (Mantzaris 1978:9). Once again, he made use of many open-ended questions. He also conducted interviews.

Vlachos (1964) first sent introductory letters to the participants he had selected for his study. He also sent self-addressed postcards to arrange times of interviews. He made use of a questionnaire with open-ended questions.

Kourvetaris (1971) interviewed participants and mailed questionnaires to participants with whom he could not get into contact. Newspapers and books were consulted to obtain additional information. In addition, he compared studies e.g. a study concerning the American-Russian ethnic community.

Bardis (1976) first conducted library research, making use of both English and Greek resources. Interviews were conducted. His research project was carried out with the assistance of other researchers in order to gather information from other countries.

As a point of departure Costantakos (1982:142) used data from a previous study she had conducted on Greek American sub-cultural continuity. She also made use of a questionnaire. Interviews with open-ended questions were conducted. She noted that the interviews were useful because they helped to substantiate questionnaire responses.

Two Greek Orthodox churches are used by Demos (1988) to gather his data. An introductory letter was first sent to members of the congregations to explain the purpose of the study and asking them to complete a questionnaire. The letter was bilingual: English on one side and Greek on the other side. The questionnaires included a self-assessment question.

Tamis (1985) made use of a bilingual questionnaire as well as interviews. Similarly, Verivaki (1993) also made use of questionnaires and interviews for her study.

Milroy (1987) made use of questionnaires, conversational speech and the friend-of-a-friend method (or social networks).

4.4.5 Procedures (fieldwork)

Added (1972:9) was a participant observer in his study – he was an integral part of the community and friendship circles, and participated in both formal and informal cultural activities. He interviewed 268 heads of nuclear families. After becoming familiar with the participants and the subject, he then selected a population sample. The independent variable was generation-depth. He therefore interviewed 15 families who arrived between 1925 and 1935; 15 families who arrived between 1936 and 1947 and 15 families who arrived between 1959 and 1969.

The first group of arrivals to South Africa (first generation) gave information about the transition period from the homeland to the new country. Comparing new immigrants with those born in South Africa provided important information (and comparisons) for the study. He found that the more familiar the researcher becomes with the subject, the more specific one can become with asking or phrasing of questions. He advises that in the initial phases of the research, the researcher should not take notes in order to reduce any suspicion; simply write down the information after the interview. It is important to write down as much as possible soon after the interview, or else one may forget important details from the interview. Large groups of people do not seem to have a negative effect on the interview process (Added 1972:15). The more people there are, the livelier the conversation is, i.e. it is less inhibited. A question such as: “Tell me about yourself”, helps to restore balance in the conversation. The interviews took place in 3 contexts:

1. Single people – one-on-one interviews;
2. Married couples – two people in a home or café;
3. Big groups – mostly a conversation between different generations and genders.

He also interviewed important or central figures in the community (e.g. religious leaders, teachers, interpreters, translators, lawyers and leaders involved in committees).

At the outset of his study, Mantzaris (1978:4) refers to the shortage of research on the Greek Community. He sent letters to various people and institutions to obtain information. Contacts were made with Archbishops and Greek-owned companies. Quota sampling was necessary and unavoidable.

Mantzaris (1978) contacted participants telephonically and spoke about mutual friends, which helped to create a relaxed and friendly atmosphere. Details of the research were explained. Participants asked to remain anonymous. Interviews were conducted and arranged at a time and place to suite the participants. He did, however, encounter the problem of the observer's paradox – participants tried to gain approval or disapproval from the interviewer on various subjects. He then moved on to another question to avoid conflict. An informal discussion at the end of the interview, allowed for more information to be obtained and to check on ambiguous points. Interviews took 3 - 3½ hours (the formal and informal phases).

Milroy (1987a) examined a range of speech styles, taking into consideration the fact that speakers vary their speech according to the situation (careful and casual style) i.e. she conducted language variation studies. Milroy (1987a) refers to Labov and Gal. Labov also sometimes made use of different fieldworkers e.g. black interviewers. Having people on the inside helps with access and gaining access to the language one wants to study. This could be of great importance in certain studies, as an insider may not be regarded with suspicion, thereby reducing the effect of outside observation on data. He made use of a hidden microphone e.g. when wanting to gain access to gangs.

In Milroy's study in Belfast, some of the requirements were that the fieldworker had to be female, enter the community alone and offer a guarantee of good faith. Gal (cited in Milroy 1987a) suggests that the network structure is a good predictor of variability of the individual speaker (rather than social status). Hence, the network concept was applied in a sociolinguistic study of two different types of community. The indicators in a network may vary from one culture to another and can also be determined by observation.

Vlachos (1964) sent letters to the heads of the households in the area (Anderson) in which he was working. He also included self-addressed postcards asking for a preferred time for an interview. The questionnaire contained 40 questions, most of which were open-ended,

mostly concerned with the seven institutional areas identified by the researcher (economic status and vocations, organisations and formal associations, politics, education, language, religion and family). The pilot study highlighted the need for open-ended questions, and bilingual exchange of comments was necessary, rather than a very complicated questionnaire in English only. The researcher received some replies from the introductory letters. This was supplemented with telephone calls, visits, and explaining his relationship to members of the community (Milroy's friend-of-a-friend method); people were then eager to participate.

The questionnaire was divided into three parts – the biographical part of the interview, questions with regard to structural assimilation in the various institutional areas; many questions of part 2 were repeated (in part 3) in a different way to explore feelings towards cultural assimilation in greater depth. The interviews took place over 8 weeks, each interview lasting approximately two hours. After the interview, the interviewer wrote up the important parts of the interview, while it was still fresh in his mind (Vlachos 1964:153). The researcher participated as a participant observer (e.g. informal talks with community leaders), and also made use of minutes of meetings, in order to examine activities of the community. In terms of data processing, the study was descriptive, therefore, information was collected from interviews, observation of the community, all of which were used to write up information. Responses were presented in table form (everyone filled in the same questionnaire). Open-ended questions were coded by two independent coders.

Kourvetaris (1971) made use of personal interviews and mailed questionnaires to participants he could not come into contact with. Participant and non-participant observation, as well as accessory (supplementary) forms of data (e.g. newspapers and books), was utilized. He further made use of structured and open-ended questions. In addition, he made use of a study on the American-Russian ethnic community. He examined aspects such as status, influence, acculturation, occupation, education, residence and class. To check consistency of the responses of his subjects, he made use of Warner's I.S.C. (Index of Status Characteristics) technique (Kourvetaris 1971:18,19).

Bardis (1976) made use of two main methods in order to gather his data on the topic. Firstly, the researcher carried out random library research – in order to gather information

on various viewpoints regarding his research (i.e. the state and future of Greek in the United States). Both English and Greek sources were consulted, and the researcher translated relevant passages (Bardis, 1976:4). Bardis (1976:1) indicates the polarized state of Greeks in the United States: “some of them advocating the preservation of the Greek language in the United States, while the rest of them wish to emphasise English”. Secondly, he contacted other Greek scholars, or those of Greek descent, in order to make comparative conclusions from various countries (e.g. South Africa, England, Japan and Canada). This is an enormous task, and could only be achieved with the assistance of co-workers.

The instruments employed by Costantakos (1982) were: a socio-cultural questionnaire; a semi-structured in-depth interview (e.g. open-ended questions) with respondents from the sample of 211. Participants were questioned on a wide variety of topics (e.g. ethnicity, Greek tradition, attitudes toward the Greek language, institutions, language shift, de-ethnicization of the church due to language shift, Greek media and press). The researcher (Costantakos) also validated her study by means of a complimentary technique (i.e. the use of interviews to substantiate the questionnaire responses).

Demos (1988) obtained permission from the priests at the two churches to send questionnaires to the members of the congregations. He then sent an introductory letter to the members of the churches to inform them that they would be receiving a questionnaire regarding the retention of the Greek language, and asking for one adult member of the household to complete the questionnaire, regarding their background. The introductory letter was one page in length, English on one side and Greek on the reverse side. The questionnaire, however, was aimed at the bilingual or English monolingual members of the churches. A Greek version of the cover letter with four questions written in Greek was also included in each questionnaire. The questionnaire was ten pages in length and sent to people with an addressed stamped envelope. The parishioners' anonymity was guaranteed. To encourage people to complete his questionnaire, Demos made use of the introductory letter, a follow-up letter and notices in church bulletins. The priests also encouraged the community members to complete the questionnaires.

In order to determine the maintenance of the language, Demos (1988:62) included the self-assessment question (also included in this study): “How well can you yourself

communicate in Greek?" Four options were provided: very well = 4, well = 3, limited = 2, not at all = 1.

The focus of his study is upon speaking ability. 1 800 questionnaires were sent out, 603 (approximately a third) were returned. Each of the respondents completed the English version, but many also completed the Greek version. After eliminating some of the returned questionnaires, a total of 584 were used for analysis (Demos 1988:63).

In Tamis' study (1985) data was collected by means of:

- A self-administered questionnaire to members of the Greek community in Victoria. Questions were in both English and Greek, so as to avoid any preference to any language. The questionnaire was divided into seven sections looking at attitudes toward mother-tongue Greek, proficiency in both languages of the respondents and their children, as well as personal background of the respondents. Respondents were contacted via university students, priests, local Greek communities and Greek afternoon schools.
- A self-administered questionnaire distributed to 1000 students of all three levels of education. Here they wished to examine teachers' attitudes towards students' acquisition and use of the mother tongue.
- Questionnaires were given to 45 inter-ethnic couples – in order to get info from these respondents on their attitude toward the linguistic behaviour of their children.
- Interviews were conducted with student bodies, teachers, principals, inspectors, social workers to obtain data on the teaching of Greek. The researcher also visited schools where Greek is taught.

In her study in New Zealand, Verivaki (1993)) stated that the questionnaires were completed in face-to-face interviews, which she considered the best way to obtain large amounts of comparable data from a range of different individuals. It is best to administer the questionnaire in a culturally appropriate manner (i.e. by a researcher who has a strong interest in the community). It makes a difference if one has some status and acceptance in the community – this helps with the reliability and quality of the data. In this study, the researcher is a second-generation Greek who has resided in the Wellington community her whole life. The community therefore sees such a person as someone with a 'legitimate'

interest in their sociolinguistic situation. Verivaki (1993:5) maintains that she “found their status and acceptance in the community of invaluable assistance in enhancing the reliability as well as the quality of their data”.

4.3.6 Methodology used by the researchers: An overview

When studying immigrant communities, one of the obstacles which a researcher may encounter is the limited research or information on the community being studied. In order to obtain the necessary background information, it is therefore necessary to either access information from a library (e.g. newspapers and books) or interview the older members (or first generation members) of the community.

In some instances a telephone book may be used, or sometimes an Embassy or Consulate consulted, to obtain contact details of members in the community being studied. However, this method is not a very successful method, as people do not wish to talk to a stranger on the phone; in instances where the researcher is referred by a friend, it is more successful. Embassies or Consulates do not always have updated information of the members in their community, and in many instances, people do not always register with the relevant Embassy or Consulate.

The friend-of-a-friend is a more successful method. This method yields good results when contacting people via mutual friends, church leaders (e.g. a priest), community leaders and organizations within the community. Of importance is the social network, as employed by Milroy (1987a & 1987b). Some researchers also report using participant observation (i.e. being part of the community).

When selecting the participants for the study, it is important to make use of random samples (also referred to as a cross-section of the population), so that they may be representative of the population, and the results can be generalized and be representative. When a researcher has a team or co-researchers to assist in a study, they are able to make use of large number of respondents in their research.

One of the most widely used instruments for research is a questionnaire. In some instances, a researcher may initially send an introductory letter to the chosen people in the

community, explaining the purpose of the research. A short while afterwards, the researcher sends the questionnaire to the participants (with an addressed envelope), and after a while, they again send the participants a letter of reminder to complete the questionnaire. In Demos' (1988) study, the priest first spoke to the members of the congregation and he then sent the letters to the participants. The Priest reminded the people in the congregation about the study and the questionnaires. Some researchers indicate that their questionnaires are bilingual, so that there isn't a bias toward one language.

It is also important to try to obtain and include background or biographical information of the participants, in order to place the study in a specific context and this information may also contribute in explaining the data e.g. generation, age or gender as a variable in a study.

Personal interviews, when and where possible, are an important part of research. This can take place in different ways e.g. individual interviews, group interviews and family interviews; after the actual interview, many researchers report having a more informal discussion with the participants. Open-ended questions may be employed in an interview, in order to facilitate conversation. Where note-taking in an interview may cause the participants to be hesitant to speak freely, a researcher should stop writing, and then write down their notes after the interview. In some instances, participants may be interviewed twice, in order to validate data. Furthermore, Tamis also interviewed inter-ethnic couples to examine the linguistic behaviour of the children. For his study, Bardis even had co-workers who interviewed Greek participants in different countries.

In some instances (e.g. Verivaki) a questionnaire should be administered in a culturally appropriate manner (i.e. by a researcher who has an interest in the community). This is in line with some of the methods discussed by Milroy, for example, in some instances it may be necessary or appropriate to use a fieldworker from the community being studied. There is the example of Labov employing a black fieldworker in black communities; in some of Milroy's studies in Belfast, the fieldworker had to be female.

When taking a bird's eye view of the methodology used by the researchers, it can be seen that the studies were indeed very thorough, and in almost all cases, were administered in a culturally appropriate manner, as discussed by Verivaki. The studies can be regarded as representative and reliable as large numbers of respondents were used in them, who in

most cases had been selected randomly, so as to be representative. Bardis even went so far as to include participants from different countries. The researchers made use of questionnaires and interviews – in some instances they interviewed participants to confirm the findings and the responses from the questionnaire. Some researchers also indicate where there may be a weakness with their research (e.g. the use of self-evaluation in a questionnaire). These studies are therefore highly commended and testify of high standards. The researcher of this study (being a single researcher) attempted to follow the methodology of these studies as far as reasonably possible. The researcher attempted to mould his research on these other studies but critically adopted the best elements of all the studies.

4.4 Methodology used for this study

4.4.1 Type of study

As the aim of the study was to determine the present state and use of the Greek mother tongue in the Johannesburg Greek Community, the researcher sought primarily to investigate which factors are assisting with the maintenance of Greek, in spite of the general shift towards English. The researcher made a careful examination of the research methods used in the studies which have been conducted in various Greek communities in the USA, Australia and New Zealand. The researcher based his methodology on these studies. Hence, this study is predominantly a qualitative and descriptive study and, to a lesser degree, a quantitative study, which is in line with most of the research in this field of study.

4.4.2 Subjects

The study was limited to the Johannesburg and surrounding areas, for practical and logistical purposes: firstly, Johannesburg is the largest Greek community in South Africa; secondly, the researcher of this study is based in Johannesburg, and is also a single researcher. Unfortunately, the researcher did not have co-workers or research assistants to assist in conducting far more extensive research e.g. in terms of numbers and different cities. Consequently, the researcher could not investigate Greek in other major cities such as Pretoria, Durban or Cape Town, except for a small pilot study in Pretoria. However, the Johannesburg Greek community may be viewed as a microcosmos of a typical Greek community, as it is the main and largest community in South Africa. As a result, all the

main institutions (e.g. day school, newspaper, radio station) are located in Johannesburg. It can therefore be considered as the main Greek community in the country.

A total of 92 respondents participated in the study. The respondents can be divided into three categories (i.e. including the group of pupils in the pilot study): (a) school pupils (40); (b) a range of adult respondents (43) from different backgrounds and occupations and (c) pupils from a Greek afternoon school in Pretoria (9); the explanation for this follows in this section. The interviews and completing of questionnaires took place over a period of time from 2007 to 2012. A few follow-up interviews with school pupils to confirm findings and discuss certain of the findings took place again in 2013. However, the researcher was constantly in contact with most of the key persons mentioned below (§ 4.4.4), to obtain further explanations, interpretations and/ or translations. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted with a number of key persons.

The school respondents who participated in this study were from SAHETI (the Greek school in Bedfordview, Johannesburg). The researcher chose to make use of pupils from this school as this is where one would find the largest number of Greek pupils together at one school. The researcher worked through the questionnaire with the pupils (at the school), discussing the various issues on the questionnaire, and then afterwards the researcher asked the pupils if they wished to discuss any of the issues further; there was thus a general discussion with the pupils after completing the questionnaire (cf. Mantzaris, § 4.3.5). Other schools (government or private) usually only have a minimal number of Greek pupils. Furthermore, as indicated in the interview with Mrs M. Piperides-Triandafillou (lecturer at UJ), it is the more traditional members of the community (i.e. those who wish to retain the Greek language and culture) who would usually send their children to SAHETI. Hence, these are pupils and parents (or members of the community) who are more likely to display loyalist attitudes i.e. a desire for language and cultural maintenance. It is more likely to be these members of the community who will give a more accurate reflection on the state of the language and its possible future, as they are the main core that will drive the maintenance of the language.

Greeks on the outside or periphery of the community (i.e. those Greeks who have ‘drifted away’ from the community for a number of reasons, such as inter-marriage, assimilation, religious conversion etc.), and are no longer involved to any great extent with other people or activities within the community, and therefore also not concerned with language and/or

cultural issues, were not consulted or interviewed in this study. In the opinion of the researcher, these Greeks would not give any valuable input with regard to language and/or cultural maintenance, as they are usually not interested in maintaining the language anymore. This would constitute a different study, which may possibly also be valuable, but it is beyond the scope of this study.

In a pilot study, high school pupils attending the Greek afternoon/community school in Pretoria were interviewed, as a type of ‘control group’ (or side-study) i.e. to establish if there were any significant differences between Greek pupils attending a full-time Greek school (and therefore being in a Greek environment all day as well as having greater exposure to the mother tongue), and those attending a government school during the day, but then still attending Greek school in the afternoon. In the afternoon/community schools in Johannesburg, there are predominantly primary school pupils attending Greek school; many pupils tend to stop attending Greek school once they go to high school. For this reason, pupils from the Greek afternoon school in Pretoria were included in this study as a type of ‘control group’. Because there is no full-time Greek school in Pretoria as in Johannesburg (SAHETI), many high school pupils continue their study of Greek at the afternoon school. The same method of gathering data was followed with these pupils, as with the pupils at SAHETI: the researcher went to the afternoon school (which is housed in the Greek Orthodox Church in Pretoria), where I worked through the questionnaire with the pupils, and had a general discussion with them after completing the questionnaire.

The adults or non-school respondents all completed questionnaires; the researcher met personally with as many of these respondents as possible for an interview. Initially, these respondents were people known to the researcher, and then the friend-of-a-friend method was employed (cf. Milroy’s method): participants asked their friends or family to complete a questionnaire for the researcher (there was therefore “a combination of an outsider and an insider” approach following Milroy in Falk-Bano, 1988:163). This was limited to a few people, as the researcher preferred to meet with the participants and speak to them personally. Furthermore, the priest at the Greek Church at SAHETI in Bedfordview is known to the researcher, and assisted the researcher to gain access to the community. The priest asked members of the congregation to complete questionnaires for the researcher. The Greek Orthodox Church in Alberton was also approached, as many Greeks from the Johannesburg-south area attend this church, and they also assisted in requesting individuals

to participate in the study. The researcher met with these respondents at these churches after the service on a Sunday. Some of the respondents took questionnaires and returned them to the researcher at a later date, but a fair number of the respondents first spoke to the researcher about the research and the questionnaire. The researcher was therefore able to meet with the participants personally, and have a discussion with the respondents regarding the issues of the study. At this point it should be noted that, in general, people are far more eager to talk to a researcher, rather than fill in a questionnaire (see also, for example, the comments in the studies of Added and Mantzaris, for example). Throughout the entire process, individuals were selected or participated in the study in a random manner (i.e. they were not chosen because of any specific prerequisites, such as educational qualifications, socio-economic status etc.), in order to make the study as representative as possible. More intensive interviews were conducted with 'prominent' or key members of the community (such as teachers, lecturers, a priest, community leaders, the editor of the newspaper), as they are able to provide the necessary insight and explanations about the community or certain phenomena.

4.4.3 Materials and research instruments

As noted earlier in this section (§ 4.3.4; 4.3.5; 4.3.6), one of the problems which a researcher may encounter when conducting research, is a lack of sources or information. The researcher will therefore have to make use of sources such as a library and individuals who may have knowledge of the area being researched.

Initially, my supervisor and library personnel at UNISA assisted me to obtain a comprehensive list of studies of Greek communities, which had been undertaken. The researcher was then able to draw on this data base for information. Furthermore, the researcher primarily made use of a questionnaire (Appendix 17) and interviews. As in the case of the researchers mentioned above, Section A of the questionnaire elicited personal details and the background information of the participants; Section B of the questionnaire examined the language issues - factors which could facilitate the maintenance of, or shift from, the mother tongue. The researcher first drew up his own questionnaire, and then examined questionnaires used by other researchers, (such as Added, Aziz, Costantakos, Bhugwan, Gräbe, Grobbellaar, Johnstone, Mantzaris, Milroy and Vlachos), and added to the questionnaire, using the best and most suitable questions for this project.

4.4.5 Procedures

This study was guided by some of the best or most comprehensive analytical and methodological insights gained in the studies referred to in this study (cf. Chapters 2 and 3), and the researcher applied them to this study of maintenance and shift of Greek in the Johannesburg community, South Africa.

The participants for this study consisted of two groups (and the pupils in the pilot study in Pretoria): the school pupils from SAHETI and adults who were randomly selected from the community. The researcher went to SAHETI, where the school pupils completed the questionnaires at the school, while the researcher was present. The researcher was therefore also able to ask the school pupils questions while they were filling in the questionnaires, as well as speak to the pupils when they had completed filling in the questionnaires. Similarly, the researcher met personally with the majority of adults and key figures who filled in the questionnaires at various places such as churches or coffee shops. Again, the researcher was then able to speak to these participants about the various issues in the questionnaire, in order to gain additional information and insights. The interviews were therefore, initially, structured: the researcher worked through the questionnaire with the participants, at the same time discussing the various issues with the respondents. On completing the questionnaire, the participants would usually speak more freely about the various issues raised in the questionnaire; the researcher was therefore able to gain more clarity and insight into the various issues. The researcher first contacted friends within the community. A priest and members from various committees, including the Hellenic Federation, approached members of the community, on behalf of the researcher to participate in the study. The researcher was then also able to speak to these participants (where possible), to obtain additional information.

Where possible, a networking approach was used. Some of the participants asked family and/or friends to assist the researcher. The direct method of research was employed: where possible, personal interviews were conducted with the interviewees, in which the researcher worked through the questionnaire with the participants in order to explain any questions which the participants may not have understood, and also to gain extra insight or information from the participants. Where possible, interviewees added extra information or

comments as we worked through the questionnaire, which would usually take approximately one hour. This helped to obtain extra information or a broader, general data base. The approach of the study and the information obtained was therefore of a qualitative rather than a quantitative nature, as indicated above.

Interviews were conducted in various places (e.g. church, restaurants, coffee shops etc. – wherever it was convenient for the participants), and the school pupils were interviewed at their respective schools. The researcher tried as far as possible to obtain information from various figures and organisations within the Greek community. Appointments were made, and personal interviews were conducted with the majority of participants. The aim of the study and the interview were always explained to the interviewees. The respondents' anonymity was always guaranteed, and there were no candid recordings. All of those interviewed in the study, whose names are mentioned in this thesis, gave permission for their names to be used.

It is not always possible to gain a comprehensive overview and interpretation of the data and the community merely from the data gained from the questionnaires, as this could lead to a narrow, inaccurate interpretation and/or perceptions. Labov (cited in Milroy, 1987b:60) indicates that the best possible results can be obtained by maximizing the anthropological technique of participant observation or “immersion into a social world”. The researcher has fortunately had quite extensive contact with a number of members of the Greek community over many years, which facilitates one's understanding of the people, their customs and traditions, and way of life.

The following key figures were interviewed and consulted in more detail, where further explanations, insights and /or translations were required. As these are key members of the Greek community who are actively involved in the community (cf. Palaiologos § 3.2.6.6), the researcher consulted them with regard to the various language and cultural issues in the community.

Prof. B. Hendrickz & Prof. Thekla Sansaridou-Hendrickx; Mrs M. Piperides-Triandafillou: lecturers at UJ;

Doctors Cosmas and Victoria Giannakopoulos: Dr Cosmas Giannakopoulos is involved with Greek organizations;

Mr & Mrs Symeonides, who are both involved in the Greek afternoon schools and Mrs Symeonides, a teacher at an afternoon school;

Mrs Plakidou: Education co-ordinator for South Africa at the Greek Embassy (Illovo, Johannesburg);

Mrs Papazoglou-Krystallidis: Greek teacher at SAHETI;

Fr. Petros Parginos: Priest at the Bedfordview Greek Orthodox Church;

Mr Minas Costantopoulos: translator who has been involved in the community for many years;

Mr Costodopoulos: editor of the Greek newspaper *Hellenic News*;

Mr Dimitri Zamanis: involved in cultural activities in the Germiston (Primrose) community;

Mr Aki Themis: involved in the Greek community, Springs.

4.4.5 Analytical framework

The researcher will attempt to place this study and the findings of this study in the context of earlier studies carried out in Australia, New Zealand and the USA. Further the researcher will make use of the theories of leading scholars and studies in the field of language maintenance and language shift, in order to explain the findings of this study, such as Fishman and the researchers discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. The researcher identified the main factors which were given in the literature and will then attempt to examine/explain the data in terms of these factors.

4.4.6 Limitations of the study (Strengths and/or weaknesses of the study)

The results of this study reflect the responses of 92 respondents: 83 in the Johannesburg area and 9 school pupils in Pretoria. The focus of the study was qualitative rather than quantitative. The study was limited to the Johannesburg area, which is the nucleus of the Greek community and its activities in South Africa. Therefore the researcher feels that the information and responses gathered in this particular study gives a fairly accurate reflection of the current state of the language within the community in South Africa, at present. A lack of funding and resources (helpers) meant that this was a small-scale study. It was therefore not possible to conduct more intensive research. A more extensive study with a larger number of respondents from the other main centres (e.g. Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town), may produce a greater variety of responses and insights.

To get participants to fill in a questionnaire can be very problematic, and proved to be a learning curve for the researcher. If possible, a researcher should always try to organise for respondents to fill in a questionnaire under “exam conditions”, on the spot, while the

researcher is talking to the respondents. Once respondents take the questionnaire home, there is no guarantee that they will return the questionnaire. A researcher should therefore include contact details on the questionnaire: phone numbers and an e-mail address, as many respondents indicated that they would have been able to e-mail the questionnaire to the researcher, once they had completed filling it in. Some participants did not return the questionnaire, and the researcher then had to find additional participants to participate in the study. Generally, participants are more willing to speak to a researcher – very much so, rather than filling in a questionnaire (see also Gardner-Chloros, 2005:59).

Respondents are also inclined to leave out certain details, which they may feel are ‘personal’ (e.g. parents’ educational qualifications) or if parents are deceased, respondents tend to leave out details (e.g. which language did you speak to your mother/father?)

In some instances the researcher was not able to make use of certain sources as they were in Greek, and it was not possible to have an entire book translated. It is not easy to find people who are prepared to translate, unless they are being paid to do so. Sections of the most recent South African study (Damanakis, 1998) were translated for the researcher by a friend.

4.6 Conclusion

The methodology to the study was determined by the aim, hypothesis and type of study. The study was primarily qualitative and descriptive by nature, with a limited amount of statistical detail. The researcher attempted, as far as possible, to ensure that the participants were selected in such a way that they would be as representative as possible, by trying to obtain participants from various backgrounds. The participants comprised two groups: school pupils from the Greek school SAHETI and adult respondents. The friend-of-a-friend method assisted the researcher to gain access to a number of participants. A certain amount of participant observation (over the years) allowed the researcher to gain the additional insight into the community being studied. Questionnaires and interviews were used to obtain data, as well as library sources such as books, newspapers and journal articles. The relevant ethical issues pertaining to conducting research were adhered to, for example, there were no candid recordings and the participants’ anonymity was ensured.

The major Greek studies of the USA, Australia and New Zealand served as a basis for the methodology of this research, and the researcher wishes to complement this existing research (i.e. this is the first sociolinguistic study of the Greek community in South Africa). The major researchers (for example, Fishman and Veltman), and theories in the field were used as an analytical framework.

The researcher has made every attempt to ensure that this study may be as accurate and correct as possible, an issue also referred to in the literature: the issue of validity is referred to by Johnstone (2000:61-64) who indicates that research needs to be reliable and valid. A research procedure is reliable if it produces the same results each time it is done. Unfortunately, as there may be in every research project, there were certain practical and logistical limitations. Ideally, this type of research should be undertaken by a research team or co-researchers working with a researcher, in order to include more participants from a number of different cities, providing more responses, and possibly a greater variety of responses.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

5.4 Introduction

This chapter presents the results obtained from Section A of the questionnaire which provides the background information of the respondents, as well as the results from Section B of the questionnaire, which provides a sociolinguistic profile of the Johannesburg Greek community. For the questionnaire see Appendix 17. The numbering of questions corresponds with the numbering on the questionnaire. The personal details of the respondents (such as names and contact details asked in Questions 1, 6 and 7) are not provided, in order to preserve the anonymity of the respondents.

There were two groups of respondents: the school pupils from SAHETI (Grades 8 – 12) and the adult respondents. The results of each group are presented in separate sections: § 5.2 and § 5.3 respectively.

5.5 School Pupils, SAHETI: Grades 8–12

5.5.1 Section A: Background information

Question 1: Name

For reasons of confidence, names are not given.

Question 2: Gender

This group consisted of 40 pupils: 20 of the pupils were male and 20 were female.

Question 3: Age

The average age of the pupils was 16 years.

The ages range from 13 years to 18 years.

Question 5: Address (Suburb)

The respondents are resident in suburbs in and around the Johannesburg area:

Atholl.....	1
Bedfordview	15
Benoni.....	3
Bruma	3
Dewetshof.....	1
Edenvale	3
Greenside	1
Highlands North	1
Linksfield.....	3
Midrand	2
Oaklands	1
Sandringham.....	2
Sandton	2
Senderwood	2

Question 6: Telephone Numbers

Not given for reasons of confidence

Question 7: Number of brothers and sisters

Background information only.

Question 8: Generation

Of your family (in South Africa), which generation are you?

The generation profile of the respondents is as follows: 8 (32%) of the respondents are second generation; 25 (62,5%) of the respondents are third generations and 7 (17,5%) of the respondents are fourth generation immigrants. (Generation is defined according to the definitions given in § 3.2.6, i.e. first generation are the first arrivals in the new host country and therefore foreign born; second generation are the children of the first arrivals and therefore native-born and third and subsequent generations are native born children and native born parents: grandchildren of the first generation or children of the second generation).

Question 9: Religious Denomination

The respondents are all adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church.

Question 10: Nationality/Ethnicity

Please indicate whether you are Greek or Cypriot

The nationality or ethnicity of the respondents is as follows: 31 (77,5%) of the respondents are of Greek origin and 9 (22,5%) of the respondents are Cypriots.

The distinction between mainland Greeks and Cypriots was made because southern Europeans usually differentiate between residents from the mainland and those who live on the various islands, for example, Greece and Cyprus; Italy and Sicily; Portugal and Madeira. This phenomenon is discussed by Fotiou (2012:71): “the difficulty Cypriot Greeks experience in defining a satisfactory identity (cultural or ethnic), due to the fact that, although they are Greek, they constitute a political entity separate from the Greek state.” Fortunately, the influence of English on Cypriot Greek is not sufficient to “alter the ‘Greek’ character of the Cypriot dialect” (Papapavlou cited in Fotiou, 2012: 71).

Question 11: Country of birth

The respondents’ country of birth is as follows: 39 (97,5%) of the respondents were born in South Africa and 1 (2,5%) respondent was born in Zimbabwe.

Question 12: How do you see yourself?

The participants responded as follows:

Greek	22
South African.....	0
Cypriot.....	6
Greek Orthodox	10
Greek South African....	21

When responding to the above question, most pupils chose more than one option. The responses indicate a very strong sense of having a Greek identity. Of all the school pupils interviewed, none saw themselves as South African only, but rather a combination of choices e.g. Greek South Africa, Greek, Cypriot, Greek Orthodox etc.

Question 13(a): Have you ever stayed in any other country/ies, and if so, for how long?

One pupil stayed in Portugal for one year and one pupil stayed in Greece for 8 years.

Question 13 (b): How many years have you been staying in South Africa, if not born here?

As shown in Question 11, all of the respondents, except one, were born in South Africa. At the time of the interviews, the one respondent who was born in Zimbabwe had been living in South Africa for two and a half years.

Question 14: Where were your parents born?

The countries of birth of the respondents’ parents were:

South Africa.....	42
Greece.....	23
Cyprus.....	3
Zimbabwe	7
Egypt.....	2
East Africa	1
Mozambique	1
Zambia	1

Question 15: If not born in South Africa, what were your reasons for immigrating to South Africa?

Reasons provided by the respondents for their families (originally) immigrating to South Africa:

Financial	19 (47,5%)
Social	4 (10%)
Political.....	8 (20%)
Educational	4 (10%)
No particular reason.....	5 (12,5%)

Some respondents indicated more than one reason.

Question 16: Are you considering staying permanently, staying temporarily or not sure?

Respondents' intentions with regard to staying in South Africa:

None of the respondents indicated that they wished to stay in South Africa permanently;
23 (57,5%) of the respondents indicated that they are staying in South Africa temporarily;
17 (42,5%) of the respondents indicated that they are not sure about their future intentions.

The following reasons were given for staying temporarily:

- Go to university and return
- The crime
- Deterioration in the country
- Corrupt government
- BEE (Black Economic Empowerment)
- I want to stay in Greece permanently
- I don't see a future for myself in South Africa
- I want to study overseas
- There are more opportunities overseas
- I need to go back to Greece – to my roots

The following reasons were given by respondents who were not sure about staying in South Africa:

- I have not decided
- I might return to Greece – for family reasons
- My parents want to leave, but I am not sure
- It depends on the economy and the crime
- The crime; the South African government is terrible but it is my birthplace
- I might want to study overseas
- I would like to live in South Africa, but the crime; BEE puts me at a disadvantage
- I think there are more job opportunities overseas; a better way of life
- For racial reasons, to do with education and job opportunities
- After completing my studies, I might have to specialise overseas

Of all the school pupils who completed questionnaires, only one respondent expressed a desire to stay permanently in the country. All of the other pupils indicated that they would possibly only stay temporarily or that they are not sure. The overriding reasons for these responses are related to problems experienced in South Africa after 1994, such as crime and corruption, BEE (Black Economic Empowerment, or Affirmative Action) which results in difficulty in finding a job; political and social uncertainty in South Africa which, in many instances leads to unrest or rioting; better opportunities in overseas countries for studying and jobs (see § 1.9.1).

Question 17: How do you feel about returning to Greece?

22 (55%) of the respondents indicated that they wish to return to Greece; 5 (12,5%) respondents indicated that they do not wish to return to Greece and 13 (32,5%) respondents indicated that they did not know or were unsure about returning to Greece.

Just over half of the pupils indicated a desire to return to Greece.

Question 18: What is your highest educational qualification?

Not applicable to this group.

Question 19: What are your parents' highest educational qualifications?

All the pupils' parents had at least a Matric certificate (Grade 12). A large majority of pupils indicated that their parents have tertiary education in a variety of fields, such as: Architecture, Commerce, Medicine, Law, Education, Engineering and Dentistry. A few pupils indicated that they were not sure about their parents' educational qualifications (see Table 5.1).

Question 20: If you are working, please state your occupation.

Not applicable to this group.

Question 21: Please state your parents' occupations:

The occupations of the respondents' parents are given in Table 5.1 below:

Father	Mother
Property developer	Recruitment agency
Has a restaurant	Public Relations
Has a restaurant	Not sure
Owns shops and shopping centres	Not sure
Chartered Accountant	Interior Designer
Businessman	Not sure
Has a restaurant	Teacher
Has a restaurant and property developer	Teacher
Entrepreneur	Housewife
Has a supermarket	Work together with father
Leather manufacturer	Work together with father
Pharmacist	Pharmacist
Entrepreneur	Work together
CEO – Nando's	Manager of a Nando's store
Builder	Entrepreneur
Engineer	Recruitment
Shopkeeper	Caterer
Restaurant owner	Bursar
Restaurant owner	Has a school
Transport	Housewife
Engineer	Secretary
Owns a business	Works at a computer company
Businessman	CA
Plumber and hotel owner	Housewife
–	Housewife
Advertising	Manufacturing
Entrepreneur	PRO
Chartered Accountant	Oral hygienist
Owns restaurants	Owns restaurants
Businessman	Chartered Accountant
Financial Manager	Lawyer
Manager	Specialist Baker
Import and Export	Ballet Teacher
Businessman	Unemployed
Engineer	Personnel Consultant
Business Owner	Doesn't work
Business Owner	Housewife
Businessman	Housewife
CEO of Soccer Club	Self-employed
Engineer	Advocate

Table 5.1: Occupation of respondents' parents

The educational qualifications and occupations of the pupils' parents clearly demonstrates the upwardly mobile trend which is characteristic of the younger generations within immigrant communities in a host society, and a clear shift from semi-skilled jobs such as shop/café owners, which was a strong characteristic of the first arrivals or the first generation.

5.2.2 Section B: Sociolinguistic profile

5.2.2.1 Education

Question 1.1: What is the language of instruction at your school?

The language of instruction for pupils at SAHETI is English.

Questions 1.2: Is/ was Greek offered at your school?

Greek is a compulsory subject at SAHETI.

Question 1.3: If so, do you (did you) take it as a subject?

For questions 1.2 and 1.3 all respondents' replies are 'yes', because SAHETI is a Greek school, it is compulsory for all pupils to take Greek, but the language of instruction for all other subjects is English. These respondents therefore do not attend Greek community afternoon schools, as they already take Greek at school.

Question 1.4: If not, why not?

Not applicable to this group.

Question 1.5: How much time do you devote to doing homework?

The average amount of time spent on doing homework varies, but can be indicated as approximately 2 hours.

Question 1.6: How much time do you devote to doing Greek homework per day?

The average amount of time devoted to Greek homework varies from 15 to 30 minutes.

Question 1.7: Did you attend Greek afternoon school? (Specify which one).

Not applicable to this group.

Question 1.8: If not, why not?

Not applicable to this group.

Question 1.9: How much time did you devote to doing homework from Greek school?

Not applicable to this group.

Question 1.10: What are your average marks for Greek?

The average is 73,8% (the majority of pupils achieving distinctions).

It is evident that pupils are achieving very good results for Greek/ Greek school, despite the amount of time dedicated to Greek homework. This issue will be discussed in more detail in § 6.2.1.1.

Question 1.11: If you went to university, would you take Greek as a subject?

14 (35%) pupils indicated that they would take Greek as a subject at university, in contrast to 26 (65%) pupils who indicated that they would not continue with Greek at a tertiary level.

The following reasons for studying Greek at a tertiary level were given:

- It is my mother tongue
- To improve: to speak the language better, understand better, learn more about our past
- To keep my Greek up to standard and for when I travel
- If I move to Greece it would help me to get a job easier
- I would like to extend my knowledge of Greek in the future
- Interested in the Greek language and it is my culture.
- Want to know more of the language
- For an extra language.
- Do well at it and understand it fully as a subject.
- Want to study my language, feel patriotic and it is a spiritual language.
- It is a beautiful language, full of richness and culture.

The following reasons for not studying Greek at a tertiary level were given:

- I speak the language at home therefore already know the language
- I only need basic Greek
- It is too difficult to study a language I'm not fluent in
- My family (parents and grandparents) speak the language to me enough

- I have already learnt the language
- More Maths inclined.
- Do not want further my study in Greek after school.
- Socialising with Greeks will teach me.
- Do not think it is necessary.
- Want to study Electrical Engineering; Greek would take up too much time.
- Would prefer to study another language – already know Greek from school.
- Not widely spoken, therefore, English is a better option. Can already speak Greek.
- By the time I leave school, I will already know how to communicate in Greek.
- Depends on career choice.
- Not part of the degree I want to do.
- Rather focus on other subjects; keep up Greek at home.
- Don't want to go into finer detail of the language, speaking it is good enough.

Question 1.12: In which language do you count?

28 (70%) of the pupils count in English; 1 (2,5%) counts in Greek and 11 (27,5%) count in both languages.

5.2.2.2 Cultural/social involvement

Question 2.1: Have you ever been involved in any Greek cultural/social activities?

Please specify.

38 (95%) of the pupils indicated that they have been or still are involved in one or more activity within the community, such as, Greek dancing, debutantes, sport or community work.

Question 2.2: Do you go to Greek/Cypriote clubs?

Of the pupils, 2 (5%) go to the clubs regularly; 9 (22,5%) go occasionally; 25 (62,5%) seldom attend and 4 (10%) never go to the various clubs. The majority of pupils indicated that they do go to the Greek/ Cypriot clubs, “occasionally” or “seldom”.

5.2.2.3 Media

Question 3.1: Exposure to media

The responses to the questions on Greek media are given in Table 5.2 below:

	Regularly	Seldom	Never
Do you read Greek newspapers/ magazines?	3 (7,5%)	18 (45%)	19 (47,5%)
Do you listen to the Greek radio station?	8 (20%)	21 (52,5%)	11 (27,5%)
Do you watch the Greek TV Channel?	15 (37,5%)	18 (45%)	7 (15,5%)
Do you read Greek books/literature?	1 (2,5%)	23 (57,5%)	16 (40%)
Do you watch Greek movies/ plays/ concerts?	8 (20%)	21 (52,5%)	11 (27,5%)
Do you watch Greek videos/ DVDs?	6 (15%)	24 (60%)	10 (25%)
Do you listen to Greek music/ CDs	36 (90%)	3 (7,5%)	1 (2,5%)

Table 5.2: Exposure to Greek media

The results presented in Table 5.2 indicate that music is the most popular form of media entertainment. It can also be noted that school pupils do not listen to the radio station or watch the television channel very often. Newspapers and magazines are also not read very often. The responses to the questions on the use of electronic media are given below:

Question 3.2 (a): Do you go onto Greek websites?

15 (37,5%) of the pupils go onto Greek websites; 21 (52,5%) pupils do not go onto Greek websites and 4 (10%) pupils seldom make use of these websites.

Question 3.2(b): Do you send e-mails in English, Greek or both languages? If you send e-mails in Greek, do you type the Greek words using the English alphabet?

22 (55%) of the pupils send e-mails in English; 1 (12,5%) sends e-mails in Greek, using a Greek keyboard and 17 (42,5%) pupils send e-mails in both languages.

Question 3.3 (a): Do you send smses (text messages) in English, Greek or both?

13 (32,5%) pupils send smses in English only and 27 (67,5%) pupils indicated using both Greek and English when sending smses. None of the pupils indicated using Greek only in this category.

Thus, regarding smses and e-mails (Question 3.2 (b) (above)), the pupils indicate using either English or both languages. Only one respondent indicated sending e-mails in Greek,

as they have a Greek keyboard. When typing e-mails or smses, many send messages in Greek, using the English alphabet. This phenomenon may also be detected on social network sites such as Facebook.

Question 3.3 (b): When having a conversation on a phone or cell phone (mobile phone), do you normally speak Greek and/or English? With whom do you speak which language; under which circumstances do you speak which language?

A selection of responses is given below:

- Greek with grandparents, swearing, exclusivity. English with friends and parents.
- Mostly English; Greek with grandparents, when angry and for exclusivity.
- I use both languages mostly. Greek with grandparents, family and friends in Greece; exclusivity; English with friends and parents.
- I use both languages. Greek with grandparents and for exclusivity. Both languages with friends; English with parents.
- Friends – Greek and English; Parents – English.
- Father – Greek; Mother – both; Friends – both; Grandparents – Greek.
- Greek with Greek family; other friends and family – both.
- Greek with family, English with friends and mother.
- Mostly English, Greek with grandparents.
- Both languages; Greek with family, English with friends. If I can't think of a word in English, I use Greek and vice versa.
- English. I use Greek for expressive purposes; with parents and friends – both languages.
- English with parents or Greek when someone is around. Greek with grandparents.
- Both languages, Greek with parents and grandparents. Friends in South Africa – English; Friends in Greece – Greek. Also depends on emotions, how I feel, I will use Greek.
- I use English but Greek with Greek family.
- English with friends in South Africa; Greek with friends and family in Greece.
- Mostly English but will also use Greek when speaking to family, especially grandparents.
- Both languages with mother; grandparents; friends.
- English with friends; Greek with family.
- Both languages. English with friends/family; Greek with grandparents and family in Greece/Cyprus.

- Mostly English, Greek with Greek family and relatives.
- Greek with my family, English with my friends and we use Greek words that can't be translated into English.
- Greek with my father, grandparents and godmother, English with my mother and siblings.
- English with my friends and family – use a few Greek words with the family; only Greek with my grandparents.
- Greek with my grandparents, with everyone else we use English with certain Greek words.
- I use English, only speak Greek to people who can't speak English, for example, family in Greece or so that other people can't understand the conversation.
- Mostly English. Speak to grandparents in Greek. There are certain words, phrases or expressions in Greek which a person will use (can't say in English), or if you don't want people to understand your conversation.
- Friends – English; father – Greek and English; other – English; family from Greece – Greek.
- Grandparents – Greek; Friends – English; parents and at home – Greek; when angry or happy will use both; and use Greek for exclusivity.

When examining the language(s) used in telephone conversations, the extensive use of Greek only with grandparents is the most noticeable feature; the grandparents therefore play an important role in the use and retention of the language. Many respondents also indicate using Greek with family members and family in Greece/Cyprus. From the responses it is not possible to quantify the amount of each language used, but the use of Greek, English or quite a substantial amount of code-switching was noted when examining the language used with parents and friends.

5.2.2.4 Religion

Question 4.1: Do you prefer church services in English, Greek or both languages?

7 (17,5%) pupils indicated that they prefer church services in English; 10 (25%) pupils prefer church services in Greek and 23 (57,5%) pupils prefer church services in both languages.

The reasons provided for the preference of English in church services are as follows:

- To understand the service and the message at the end

- The Greek service has Ancient Greek in it, I don't understand it.
- Easier to follow.
- You understand more.

The reasons provided for the preference of Greek in church services are as follows:

- That is how I grew up.
- It helps you to learn the language, have had Greek services since birth.
- If you are Greek, Orthodox, you should understand it.
- Sounds better, makes me feel better.
- It is my language.
- Feels more normal.
- Grew up hearing only Greek, English too modern for religious purposes.
- More deep and meaningful, it is our culture, a part of Greek Orthodoxy.

The reasons provided for the preference of both languages in church services are as follows:

- I don't understand some words in Greek therefore translations are good.
- Greek for the culture, English to understand.
- Easier to understand.
- The church I go to uses both languages.
- You can understand and translate it.
- They say it in Greek but then repeat it in English to understand it.
- The church service in Greek and then translated.
- In English to understand; the Greek to learn.
- It is good – it helps to understand the meaning of the service.
- I understand both so it is okay.
- I don't mind – understand both.
- I understand the English better than the Greek, but the proper way is Greek.
- A clearer understanding of the service.
- To understand the translation.
- Understand English better, you can follow when it is in English; like to have some Greek, so as not to lose my "Greekness".

It is clear from the above responses there is a strong preference for bilingual church services.

Question 4.2: In which language do you prefer the prayers, the sermon and the liturgy?

The responses for language preference in the different parts of the church service are given in the Table 5.3 below:

	The Prayers	The sermon	The Liturgy
English	6 (15,3%)	17 (43,5%)	8 (20,5%)
Greek	29 (74,3%)	12 (30,7%)	25 (64,1%)
Both	4 (10,2%)	10 (25,%)	6 (15,3%)

Table 5.3: Language preference in different aspects of the church service

*1 – No response

Although many respondents indicate a preference for bilingual church services, many prefer the prayers and liturgy in Greek or both languages. While there is a greater preference for English sermons, the preference for the retention of the use of Greek (together with English) in the different aspects of the church service is noted.

Question 4.3: Do you think that English should replace Greek in the Church services?

(This question is similar to Question 4.1, however, it assists the researcher to confirm the respondents' perspective on this issue by posing the question again, in a slightly different manner).

Only 1 (2,5%) pupil agreed that English should replace Greek in the church services; 31 (77,5%) do not want Greek to be replaced by English and 8 (20%) pupils provided 'other' responses. The reasons given for the use of both languages in Church services were:

- No because the church is Greek and we are Greek Orthodox.
- No, we are Greek Orthodox, so it should be Greek.
- No, not in a Greek Church
- Greek is part of the religion and makes us different to others.
- Because we are Greeks and we should follow our religion.
- We should keep it as it is in Greece, keep it traditional.
- It will be taking away too much of the religion.
- It is good to learn Greek and understand it.
- Some people don't understand English, but understand Greek.
- Still need the Greek feeling in the church.
- Things were originally in Greek and it's better.
- Nice to still have Greek and for people to speak Greek.

- Should be a mixture of both.
- Because it is Greek Orthodox, if English replaced it, Greek people will lose their Greekness.
- Both should be used, so that people don't lose the Greek language.
- It is Greek Orthodox therefore Greek should be predominant.
- It is our national language and I am Greek Orthodox. Therefore Greek should stay.
- It will lose the true culture of the Greek religion.
- It's tradition.
- Part of being Greek is to listen to services in Greek.
- Detracts from Greek Orthodoxy.
- If they only speak English, the Greek language will be lost more.
- There should be a mixture for it to be a more understandable service, ancient passages should remain in Greek.
- Definitely not, it is richer this way, we need both cultures.
- There should be both, if only in English, Greek would be lost.
- Use both: Greek should be kept as part of the religion. Use English to understand so that the service does not becoming boring.
- Use both, in a Greek church – use Greek, the majority of the people are Greek.

Some of the 'other' responses given were:

- Not entirely replace Greek, but we need the English for those who convert to Greek Orthodoxy – to understand the service.
- There should always be some Greek in the services.
- Not necessarily replace Greek, but it should be easier to understand.
- Not fully – use Greek for prayers; old people only understand Greek.
- Not completely – the essence of the history could be changed.
- There should be a balance – a certain amount of Greek should be maintained, but they should introduce English to appeal to the younger generation.

Although many pupils demonstrate a preference for bilingual church services, there is still a strong feeling that a certain amount of Greek should be retained in a Greek church, as the language adds to the character of the church and the church services.

Question 4.4 In which language do you pray?

In response to this question, 9 (21,95) of the pupils said that they pray in English; 3 (7,3%) pupils in Greek; 29 (70,7%) pupils indicated that they pray in both languages, and one gave all three options. Hence, the majority of respondents indicate the use of both languages for prayers.

Question 4.5 How often do you attend church services?

The following responses were given:

Daily	0
Weekly.....	7
Monthly	21
Special occasions....	21
Never	0

It is difficult to calculate exact statistics for the frequency of church attendance, as many respondents indicate more than one response for this question e.g. weekly and on special occasions. All respondents do, however, attend church services, even if only on a monthly basis.

Question 4.6: Do you think that going to church helps you to keep the ways of the “old country”?

In response to this question, 16 (40%) pupils answered that going to church contributes to keeping the ways of the “old country”; 20 (50%) pupils indicated that it contributed a little and 4 (10%) pupils felt it did not contribute to keeping the ways of the “old country”.

Question 4.7: How do you feel about your children marrying out of your religious faith (inter-marriage)?

In response to this hypothetical question, a fair number of pupils indicated that they would not mind if their children married out of the Greek Community, however, it is evident that there is a fairly large preference (in general—own addition) for children to marry within the community i.e. a Greek person; many indicate the possible loss of language, culture, religion and family ties, should their children not marry a Greek person. (Although the participants were not asked directly in the questionnaire about whether they themselves would inter-marry (an oversight of the researcher), the responses given by the participants, as well as the interviews with the participants, and discussions with persons in the community, reveal an overall preference for marrying within the community).

A selection of the most common responses is given below:

- It depends if the women will convert.
- It depends on the woman
- Not good – I want my grandchildren to be fully Greek
- I don't like it
- I would prefer Greek to Italian
- I would prefer Greek but Italian is fine.
- I don't mind – depends who it is with
- Italian or Greek.
- I don't mind – as long as they are happy.
- I don't mind – but prefer Greek
- It wouldn't be an issue.
- I don't mind if it is someone of the same belief for example, Italian, Spanish, but not African, Indian, i.e. different beliefs.
- I don't believe strongly in that, but try to keep as much of the heritage as possible.
- It wouldn't bother me.
- I would prefer Greek, but it's okay.
- It would be nice if they married Greek.
- I would prefer to marry just Greek Orthodox.
- I don't like it – prefer to marry the same religion.
- I would prefer them not to – don't really like it.
- As long as they are happy, but would prefer to keep it Greek.
- It has a great effect, will be better to marry someone of the same faith, but otherwise don't mind.
- Inter-marriage can make life harder, I wouldn't.
- I don't mind, as long as they make the person happy and make a good spouse.
- It's not an issue, but if the person is Greek, it will help to retain the culture.
- Not someone Portuguese, but otherwise not too fussy.
- Not too happy about it, might accept it.
- Not at all phased, as long as they change to Greek Orthodox.
- I would find it okay, but would advise my children to follow our religion.
- As long as they are Christian.
- I don't mind, but would prefer Greek.

- Not too happy because beliefs and traditions are not the same, but the decision is theirs.
- As long as they are European and Christian don't mind because culture and backgrounds are similar.
- I would not like it but it is their choice. Will be better for their children to be (of) a mono-religious/culture – Greek.
- It would have to accept it but will not be very happy because I would feel that my child will lose part of their culture.

5.2.2.5 Contact with family/friends overseas

Question 5.1: How often do you go to Greece (or Cyprus)?

18 (45%) pupils indicated that they travel to Greece once a year; 3 (7,5%) pupils indicated travelling to Greece more than once a year; 13 pupils (32,5%) indicated that they go to Greece every 2 to 3 years and 6 (15%) pupils indicated that they seldom visit Greece.

A large number of respondents usually go to Greece or Cyprus once a year; many have a set pattern (e.g. every second or third year). The number of respondents who do not or have not been to Greece is minimal.

Question 5.2: How often do you have family/friends from Greece (or Cyprus) visiting you?

25 (62,5%) of the pupils indicated that they often have family/friends visiting from Greece (or Cyprus); 14 (35%) pupils indicated that they seldom have visitors from overseas and 1 (2,5%) pupil indicated that they never have visitors from overseas.

These results indicate that generally, visits to friends and family in South Africa, are far less frequent than visits from South Africa to Greece (or Cyprus).

Question 5.3: How often do family/friends migrate to South Africa?

In this regard, 9 (22,5%) pupils indicated that they have had family or friends who have immigrated to South Africa (during their lifetime); 11 (27,5%) indicated that it is not very often that friends or family have immigrated to South Africa; 19 (47,5%) indicated that they have never had friends or family immigrating to in South Africa (there was no response from one pupil (2,5%)).

These results indicate a decrease in new immigrants coming to the country.

Question 5.4 (a): Do you keep in close contact with family/friends overseas?

Of the 40 pupils, 37 (92,5%) indicated that they keep in close contact with family and friends overseas and only 3 (7,5%) pupils indicated that they seldom keep in contact with family and friends overseas.

Question 5.4 (b): If so, do you communicate with them in English, Greek or both languages?

2 (5%) pupils indicated using English only in contact with friends and family overseas; 15 (37,5%) pupils indicated using Greek and 23 (57,5%) pupils indicated that they make use of both languages.

It is clear that the overwhelming majority of respondents keep in contact with family or friends overseas, but the majority of respondents use both English and Greek in communication with them, and a few make use of Greek only.

5.2.2.6 Contact with friends/family/neighbours/strangers

Question 6.1 (a): Are many of your friends Greek?

38 (95%) of the pupils indicated that many of their friends are Greek; only 2 (5%) indicated not having many Greek friends.

Question 6.1 (b): If so, do you speak to them in English, Greek or both languages?

In this regard, 8 (20%) pupils indicated the use of English; 1 (2,5%) pupil indicated the use of Greek and 31 (77,5%) indicated that they make use of both English and Greek.

Question 6.2: Under which circumstances will you speak to your friends (other people) in Greek, and when will you change from English to Greek?

The most common or prominent reason for code-switching (the use of both languages inter-changeably) is exclusivity – the use of a language so that other people do not understand what is being said. Other prominent reasons for code-switching were: if something cannot be translated into English very well, or can be better expressed in Greek; or to express various emotions (e.g. anger, joy); or in sporting activities. A selection of

responses is given below:

- Exclusivity
- Fooling around/playful and exclusivity
- Exclusivity and soccer matches (sport)
- School friends – English; Certain family members and friends – Greek often
- At school – English; Going out (social) – both
- Sport – speaking in front of another team/opponents – discussing strategies
- Expressive purposes/confidentiality
- Both languages, use Greek – add in when talking about others or having a good time
- Randomly – just start speaking it
- Used speaking in both and at the same time – no real reason for changing
- When you can't say something in English.
- When you go out (socialising), angry.
- I speak to friends in English except in the Greek class; it also depends on different moods – you will speak Greek.
- To express yourself – you will use Greek words and phrases.
- Depends on who I'm talking to and who must understand (exclusivity).
- When there are non-Greeks we use Greek, but between/ among each other we use English.
- When something doesn't make sense in English.

Question 6.3: What was the first language you learned as a child?

20 (50%) pupils indicated that Greek was the first language they learnt as a child; 11 (27,5%) indicated English; 8 (20%) indicated learning both languages as a child and 1 (5%) was not sure.

Question 6.4: How well do you speak Greek?

Of the 40 pupils, 9 (22,5%) indicated that they speak Greek very fluently; 30 (75%) fairly fluently and 1 (2,5%) indicated a little. A large majority of respondents indicate that they can speak Greek 'fairly fluently', followed by 'very fluently'. These figures and responses seem to be indicative of a high level of proficiency in the language.

Question 6.5: How well do your parents speak Greek?

The responses for the above question are given in Table 5.4 below.

	Very fluently	Fairly fluently	A little	Not at all
Father	30 (75%)	7 (17,5%)		3 (7,5%)
Mother	22 (55%)	17 (42,5%)	1 (2,5%)	

Table 5.4: Parents' fluency in Greek

All the respondents indicated that their parents can speak Greek either 'very fluently' or 'fairly fluently'. There are a few instances where the numbers were higher for fathers who spoke Greek 'very fluently' as opposed to the mothers 'fairly fluently'.

Question 6.6: How well do your parents speak English?

The responses for the above question are given in Table 5.5 below.

	Very fluently	Fairly fluently	A little	Not at all
Father	31 (77,5%)	8 (20%)		1 (2,5%)
Mother	37 (92,5%)	1 (2,5%)	2 (5%)	

Table 5.5: Parents' fluency in English

Almost all the respondents indicated that their parents could speak English 'very fluently'.

Question 6.7: Language in the home situation: Which language do you speak to your family members?

The responses to the questions on the use of language in the home are provided in Table 5.6 below.

	Mostly Greek	Mostly English	Both	Other (please specify)
Mother	3 (7,5%)	17 (42,5%)	20 (50%)	
Father	7 (17,5%)	19 (47,5%)	14 (35%)	
Brothers/sisters		28 (71,7%)	11 (28,2)	* 1 no brothers or sisters
Grandparents	31 (81,5%)		7 (18,4%)	* 1 no response * 1 no grandparents
Other (e.g. in-laws)	1	4	7	

Table 5.6: Language use in the home/with family

The results for language use within the family context illustrate an almost even spread of ‘mostly English’ and ‘both’ when speaking to the mother, father, siblings, in-laws etc. However, in strong contrast, almost all of the respondents indicate using “mostly Greek” with grandparents; very few indicating the use of ‘both’ languages when speaking to grandparents.

Question 6.8: Do you/would you encourage your children to speak and write the Greek language so that they will keep it alive?

In this regard, 39 (97,5%) pupils indicated that they would regularly encourage their children to speak and write the language to keep it alive; only 1 (2,5%) pupil indicated that he/she would not do this.

Question 6.9: Do you/ would you correct your children’s Greek at home?

37 (92,5%) pupils indicated that they would regularly correct their children’s Greek at home; 1 (2,5%) indicated that they would seldom do this and 2 (5%) responded that they would never do this. Therefore it is clear that the vast majority of respondents indicated ‘regularly’ correcting their Children’s Greek at home.

Question 6.10: Do you think the Greek language plays an important role in the cohesion between members of your family?

Of the 40 pupils, 19 (47,5%) felt that Greek language plays a very important role in the cohesion between family members; 13 (32,5%) felt that it was important and 8 (20%) felt that it was unimportant. Therefore, it is clear that the majority of respondents feel that the Greek language plays an important role in the cohesion of family unity.

Question 6.11(a): Are any of your neighbours Greek-speaking?

Of the 40 pupils, 17 (42,5%) indicated having Greek neighbours; 23 (57,5%) do not have Greek neighbours. Thus the responses are almost evenly divided for this question.

Question 6.11(b): Do you speak to them in English, Greek or both?

Of the pupils who have Greek neighbours, 7 (41,1%) speak to these neighbours in English; 3 (17,6%) speak to these neighbours in Greek and 7 (41,1%) speak to these neighbours in both languages. The responses indicate that there is an even spread of either ‘English’ or ‘both’ languages, the minority of respondents indicating the use of Greek only.

Question 6.12: Do you speak to strangers (e.g. shop-owners), who are Greek, in English, Greek or both languages?

Under these circumstances, 5 (12,5%) pupils speak to Greek strangers in English; 6 (15%) speak Greek to strangers and 29 (72,5%) pupils indicate using both languages in such instances. For the above question, therefore, the majority of respondents, indicate using 'both' languages in contact with strangers.

Question 6.14: Do you have Greek friends at university/college (or when you did attend university/college)?

For respondents who do have friends who are already at university/ college, it can be noted that there is an almost even spread of using either 'English' or 'both' languages.

5.2.2.7 Language loyalty

Question 7.1: Do you consider Greek literature interesting?

17 (42,5%) pupils consider Greek literature interesting; 6 (15%) do not consider it interesting and 17 (42,5%) were undecided. The same number of pupils find the Greek literature interesting as those who are undecided. There is thus still a fair amount of interest in the literature.

Question 7.2: Do you think Greek authors, generally speaking, are as good as authors of other languages?

22 (55%) pupils feel that Greek authors are as good as authors of other languages; 3 (7,5%) responded in the negative and 15 (37,5%) were undecided. Therefore, slightly more than half the respondents indicated that Greek authors are as good as authors of other languages.

Question 7.3: Do you consider the Greek language beautiful?

37 (92,5%) pupils consider the Greek language to be beautiful; 1 (2,5%) did not view the language as beautiful and 2 (5%) were undecided. Therefore, the results indicate that the overwhelming majority of respondents consider the Greek language to be beautiful.

Question 7.4: If you could choose between speaking another European language fluently, and speaking Greek fluently, what would you choose?

Of the 40 pupils, 22 (55%) pupils would prefer to speak Greek fluently; 12 (30%) would prefer to speak another European language fluently; 5 (12,5%) pupils would like to speak both Greek and another European language fluently and 1 (2,5%) was undecided.

Question 7.5: Do you consider Greek to be: as good as any European language; inferior to other European languages, or undecided?

39 (97,5%) pupils feel that Greek is as good as any European language; only 1 (2,5%) was undecided. There is clearly an absolute majority of respondents who feel that Greek is ‘as good as any European language’.

Question 7.6: Do you feel it is important to be completely fluent (speak, read and write) in your mother tongue?

35 (87,5%) pupils indicated that it is important to be completely fluent in one’s mother tongue; 5 (12,5%) felt it is not important.

A selection of the most recurring reasons given for it being important to be completely fluent in the mother tongue, are given below:

- So that people can respect you.
- Keep your language alive and practice it.
- If one goes to Greece, you can understand and speak.
- Communicate with other Greeks.
- It is our mother tongue and when you go overseas, you can speak it.
- Yes, it will help if you emigrate.
- Your culture and religion is lost in a way.
- It is part of our religion.
- It defines our culture.
- If it is your language, you should know how to communicate in it.
- You just have a better knowledge.
- It is important to keep the culture.
- If it is your mother tongue, why wouldn’t you be fluent?
- Because it is the language where you come from.
- So I can communicate with people who are of the same nationality; it makes me feel proud to speak Greek.
- It is good to be able to go to your home country and be able to fit in like a “local”.
- I like to know my roots.
- It shows you have a background, culturally.
- To show your dedication and love towards your patriotic homeland.
- To maintain culture and tradition.
- Maintains a sense of identity.

- It keeps your nationality.
- To keep it going.
- It is good to be able to communicate with other Greek people fluently.

The following reasons were given for it not being considered important to be completely fluent in the mother tongue:

- Don't think it is important – as long as you know where you are coming from, it is good enough. The other is a bonus.
- Nowadays English is more common, even in the Greek Community.
- It is not an issue, it does not mean you are denying your roots if you don't speak the language.
- To understand the basics is important, but one doesn't have to be completely fluent to understand it.

Question 7.7 Do you feel proud or ashamed of being Greek?

39 (97,5%) of the pupils indicated that they are proud of being Greek; 1 (2,5%) pupil indicated that he/she 'does not mind' (i.e. has no particular sense of pride or shame).

The following reasons were given for feeling proud of being Greek:

- I like the language and can speak to my friends in Greek
- Proud of my heritage
- The greatest civilization on earth with the greatest discoveries/inventions
- I feel it's the best
- Feels good and a lovely culture
- Greek is the best language
- Because it is my language
- Greece is the best country
- I love the Greek culture, religion and the country itself.
- I just like the language and enjoy it.
- You must be proud and happy of your culture and religion as it is unique.
- It is in my blood and my heritage – most words originate from Greek.
- I love my religion and culture.
- It defines who I am.
- I like my religion.
- Inexplicable patriotism.

- Greeks are well-known for things that have happened in the past.
- I love being Greek.
- Greeks are the best.
- Freedom, loyalty of the people, beauty of the country, food, friendliness of the people.
- Love Greece.
- Beautiful country, good history, lots of things originate from Greece, beautiful language; I'm just simply proud.
- The history, the language is beautiful, an amazing country, most things originate from the Greeks.
- I love being Greek.
- It has many pro's.
- I love being Greek because I love the people, music, food, atmosphere of Greece.
- I am proud of my nationality.
- It was one of the first languages to ever exist.
- It is my nationality and I am proud of it.
- I feel that whatever nationality I am doesn't change the person I am (don't mind).
- I am proud of my heritage, culture, history.
- The Greek accomplishments, way of life, attitude, spirit, etcetera.
- Too deep to explain – more of a spiritual pride.
- Influenced the world with Architecture, Technology, democracy, language, Maths, Science and Biology.
- Rich culture, unity of people, spirit.
- There is a lot in our culture that I'm grateful for.
- There's a lot in the culture to be proud of as well as a lot of other things.
- Many important figures in history are Greek and it has a rich culture.
- Greece is a country of thousands of years of history and generations. It has a beautiful culture, language, tradition and personality and I am so proud to be a part of that.
- Greek people come from a very rich background and I feel we have nothing more but greatness to look back on.

There is a common thread in these responses, for example: A proud heritage, the culture, the language, the religion, the achievements of the Greeks and their influence on the world. This question should also be seen in conjunction with Question 12 (How do you see yourself?), where the responses were very indicative of a strong sense of identity with the Greek/ Cypriot identity.

Question 7.8: Attitudes

The responses to the questions regarding the attitudes of the respondents' parents towards the use of Greek and English are presented in Table 5.7 below.

	Strongly agree	Yes	No	Do not care
Do your parents like you to speak Greek? *	26 (63,4%)	14 (34,1%)	1 (2,4%)	
Are you ever forced to speak Greek at home?	2 (5%)	6 (15%)	32 (80%)	
Do your parents mind if you speak English at home?	1 (2,5%)	3 (7,5%)	31 (77,5%)	5 (12,5%)
Do your parents prefer you to speak Greek rather than English at home?*	3 (7,3%)	14 (34,1%)	16 (39%)	8 (19,5%)

Table 5.7: Attitudes of parents to language preference

* 1 respondent gave 2 responses: mother – yes; father – no (inter-marriage).

Question 7.9

The following responses to the questions regarding the feelings of the respondents (pupils) towards the use of Greek and English are presented in Table 5.8 below.

	Strongly agree	Yes	No	Do not care
Would you like your children to speak Greek at home?	7 (17,5%)	25 (62,5%)	3 (7,5%)	5 (12,5%)
Would you force your children to speak Greek at home?	2 (5%)	7 (17,5%)	30 (75%)	1 (2,5%)
Would you mind if your children spoke English at home?		2 (5%)	38 (95%)	
Would you prefer your children to speak Greek rather than English at home?	4 (10%)	15 (37,5%)	15 (37,5%)	6 (15%)

Table 5.8: Attitudes of pupils to language preference

Almost all respondents indicate that, although their parents definitely prefer them to speak Greek at home, most are never forced to do so and their parents do not mind if they speak English at home.

In response to the question “Do your parents prefer you to speak Greek rather than English at home?” the responses vary; it can be noted that many parents would still prefer their children to speak Greek at home, although there are a wide range of responses.

Questioning the pupils on their attitudes, a majority of respondents indicated, at least, ‘yes’ to the hypothetical question “Would you like your children to speak Greek at home”. Similarly, the majority of the respondents, just like their parents, also indicate that they would not, however, force their children to speak Greek at home.

Almost all of the respondents indicated that they would not mind if their children spoke English at home. Many respondents would prefer their children to speak Greek at home, but there is also a wide variety of responses, ranging along a continuum from strong agreement to not caring.

Question 7.10 How important do you feel it is to maintain the Greek language?

33 (82,5%) of the pupils felt that it is very important to maintain the Greek language; 6 (15%) of the pupils feel it is important and only 1 (2,5%) felt it is unimportant to maintain the Greek language. The greater majority of respondents indicate that it is ‘very important’ to maintain the Greek language.

Question 7.11 Which reasons do you feel are important for maintaining the Greek language?

The respondents chose the following options from the list:

Cultural	37 (92,5%)
Ethnic.....	31 (77,5%)
Communication	37 (92,5%)
Linguistic	26 (65%)
Professional	13 (32,5%)
Return to Greece.....	30 (75%)
Sentimental	28 (70%)
Religious.....	34 (85%)

The respondents indicated a number of different reasons for the importance of maintaining the Greek language. Culture, communication and religion are clearly the prominent reasons for maintenance of the language.

5.6 Adult respondents

5.3.1 Section A: Background information

Question 1: Name.

For reasons of confidence, names are not given.

Question 2: This part of the research group consisted of 43 persons: 27 male respondents and 16 female respondents.

Question 3: The average age of the respondents was: 45 years of age for the male respondents and 43 years of age for the female respondents.

Question 4: Marital status

Married 21
 Single 15
 Divorced 6
 Widowed..... 1

Question 5: Address (Suburb)

The respondents are resident in suburbs in and around the Johannesburg area:

Cyrildene 2
 Bedfordview 2
 Sandton 2
 Germiston 1
 Alberton 10
 Edenvale 5
 Bruma 1
 Linden 1
 Glendower 1
 Kempton Park 1
 Buccleuch 1
 Greenside 1
 Weltevreden Park ... 1
 Robertsham 4
 Bergbron 1
 Pretoria 1
 Tulisa Park 1
 Dowerglen 1
 Hyde Park 1
 Paulshof 1
 Randburg 1
 Sunninghill 1
 Solheim 1
 Roodepoort 1

Question 6: Telephone Numbers.

Not given for reasons of confidence.

Question 7: Number of brothers and sisters.

Background information only.

Question 8: Generation

The generation profile of the respondents is indicated as follows: 17 (39,5%) of the respondents are first generation; 18 (41,8%) of the respondents are second generation and 8 (18,6%) of the respondents are third generation.

Question 9: Religious Denomination

The respondents are all adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church.

Question 10: Nationality / Ethnicity

The nationality or ethnicity of the respondents is indicated as follows: 29 (67,4%) of the respondents are Greek and 14 (32,5%) of the respondents are Cypriot.

Question 11: Country of birth

The respondents' country of birth is as follows:

Greece.....	7 (16,2%)
South Africa.....	31 (72%)
Cyprus.....	2 (4,6%)
Other (Tanzania, Congo, Mozambique).....	3 (6,9%)

Question 12: How do you see yourself?

The participants responded as follows:

Greek	12
South African.....	2
Cypriot.....	2
Greek Orthodox.....	9
Greek South African.....	29
Cypriot and Greek South African.....	1
Greek African	1

Similarly to the responses provided by the school pupils, many adults also provide a combination of responses.

Question 13 (a) Have you ever stayed in any other country/ies, and if so, for how long?

Respondents not born in South Africa come from a wide variety of different countries. Some born in South Africa have also lived in another country for a number of years, and then returned to South Africa again. Some of these countries include: England, Greece, France, Tanzania, Australia, Congo, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Canada, USA, Cyprus and Oman.

Question 13 (b) How many years have you been staying in South Africa, if not born here?

Most respondents not born in South Africa, have been living in South Africa for many years, ranging from 3 to 50 years.

Question 14: Where were your parents born?

The respondents gave the following responses:

Greece.....	37
Cyprus.....	20
South Africa.....	13
Ithaca	2
Lesvos.....	2
Egypt.....	2
Crete	1
Kenya.....	1
Congo	1
Mozambique	2
Malawi.....	1
Romania.....	2

* 1 – no response

Question 15: If not born in South Africa, what were your reasons for immigrating to South Africa?

Reasons provided by the respondents for their families immigrating to South Africa:

Financial	7 (41,1%)	(Parents moved)
Social	4 (23,5%)	(Marriage, Mother's family)
Political.....	3 (17,6%)	(Conditions in Africa; Dictatorship in Greece)
Educational	2 (11,7%)	(High School)
No particular reason.....	0	
Other	1 (5,8%)	(Parents immigrated)

In many instances respondents indicated more than one option. In some instances in immigrant communities, they may not have necessarily immigrated “independently”, but may have come with their parents or family when they were much younger, in some instances, therefore, reasons given for immigration may be those of their parents or family.

Question 16: Are you considering staying permanently, temporarily or not sure?

Respondents' intentions with regard to staying in South Africa:

22 (51,1%) of the respondents indicated that they wish to stay permanently in South Africa; 3 (6,9%) indicated that they will be staying in South Africa temporarily; 13 (30,2%) respondents were not sure and 5 (11,6%) respondents did not give a response.

The following reasons were given for staying in South Africa permanently:

- This is my home; I will only leave if my children emigrate.
- This is my home now.
- Our roots are here.
- Born here, my life is here.
- Family commitments in South Africa.
- I love this country.
- Established in business – contacts and networks.
- I love South Africa – good quality of life.
- Born here, die here.
- I love the country.
- Born here, therefore South African of Greek heritage.
- Born in South Africa, consider it my home.
- South Africa is a great country and great opportunities. Most of my family live in South Africa.
- My children are here and they grew up here, I have my work and my family is happy.
- My family is here.

The following reasons were given for staying in South Africa temporarily:

- It depends on the radicalization of the masses.
- The unstableness of the country and education of the people.
- Greece is the place to be.
- I do not see a safe future – corruption, crime, mismanagement, etc.

The following reasons were given by respondents who were not sure about staying in South Africa:

- Political events, but may consider Cape Town.
- Many different factors can influence one's decision.
- The crime rate in South Africa – not sure about my long-term future in South Africa.
- Political and social uncertainty.
- I don't know about my future as an old person in South Africa.
- It depends on the political situation.
- The crime, a lot of family overseas, but your life is here.
- The crime in South Africa.
- It depends on what my children decide to do after they get married.

- I would like to experience life living in Greece permanently.

The responses given by the respondents for this question strongly indicate that the political situation in South Africa remains of great concern for most people. In addition, after the political changes of 1994, there are the added issues of crime and corruption (see § 1.9.1).

Question 17: What is your attitude toward returning to Greece?

6 (16,2%) respondents wish to return to Greece; 16 (37,2%) respondents do not wish to return to Greece; 18 (41,8%) did not know or were not sure and 2 (4,6%) did not provide a response.

Despite the changed political situation in the country (as mentioned above), many of the older generation are not always enthusiastic about returning to Greece, because of the reasons provided above, for example, they are settled here, have family here, people may have a business etc. It is easier for younger people to emigrate, who have not, as yet, established themselves in a career,

Question 18: What is your highest educational qualification?

The educational qualifications of the respondents are listed below:

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. B.Sc | 16. Standard 8 | 31. B.Com; B.Proc |
| 2. Chartered Accountant | 17. B.Pharm (Hons) | 32. Honours Degree |
| 3. Not provided | 18. B.Com (MBM) | 33. B.Com; LLB |
| 4. B.A. (Hons) | 19. Computer Diploma | 34. B.Com |
| 5. College Diploma | 20. B.Sc (Physiotherapy) | 35. Tertiary Education |
| 6. B.Sc (Engineering) | 21. B.Compt | 36. Tertiary Education |
| 7. B.Pharm | 22. Matric | 37. Engineering Degree |
| 8. Honours Degree | 23. D.Litt et Phil (Psychology) | 38. Tertiary Education |
| 9. Honours Degree | 24. B.Sc (Hons) (BDS) | 39. Tertiary Education |
| 10. Diploma – Optometry | 25. BDS | 40. B.Sc (Elect & Electronic Engineering) |
| 11. Postgraduate | 26. B.Com (HDE) | 41. High School |
| 12. High School | 27. B.A. (HDE) | 42. Matric |
| 13. Business Management Diploma | 28. B.A. (Hons) | 43. B.Com (Economics) |
| 14. University Degree | 29. Doctor (Optometry) | |
| 15. Standard 8 | 30. Optometry Degree | |

From the above list of qualifications, the increase in educational qualifications can be noted, when compared to educational qualifications of the first generation, for example (see, for example, the educational qualifications listed below for Question 19). This also validates the important emphasis placed on education by the Greek community (see, for example, Koenderman (1977), Appendix 2); see also the section on education with reference to the American Greek Community, § 3.2.2).

Question 19: What are your parents' highest educational qualifications?

The educational qualifications of the respondents' parents are given in Table 5.9 below:

Respondent number	Father	Mother
1	Diploma – Electrician	Hairdresser
2	High School in Greece	High School in Greece
3	Secondary School	Secondary School
4	Accountancy Diploma	Matric
5	High School	High School
6	Partially completed High School	Partially completed High School
7	Equivalent of Standard 9	Not provided
8	Bachelor's Degree	Diploma after High School
9	School	School
10	Standard 6 in Greece	Matric, O-levels in Zimbabwe
11	Postgraduate	College Diploma
12	Primary School	Not provided
13	High School	High School & Accounts Qualification
14	University Degree	University Degree
15	Grade 6	Grade 5
16	Primary School	Primary School
17	Grade 12	Grade 12
18	Grade 12 } In Greece	Grade 12 } In Greece
19	Grade 12	Grade 12
20	Tertiary Education	Grade 12
21	Standard 5 Equivalent	Standard 5 Equivalent
22	Standard 7	Primary School
23	Standard 10	Standard 10
24	High School	College
25	Primary School	College
26	School level (?)	School level (?)
27	Matric	Grade 5
28	Matric	Matric
29	Diploma in Optometry	Matric
30	Degree	Degree
31	Standard 5	Standard 4
32	Honours Degree	Degree
33	Matric	Standard 8
34	Technical Qualification	Nursing Qualification
35	Primary School	High School
36	Primary School & Technical Qualification	Primary School & Technical Qualification
37	Primary School & Technical Qualification	Primary School & Technical Qualification
38	High School	High School
39	4 years Primary School	4 years in Primary School
40	Not provided	Not provided
41	Auto Electrician Qualification	Matric & College
42	Technical School	Matric & College
43		

Table 5.9: Educational qualifications of the respondents' parents

The above responses illustrate the increase in educational qualifications, over the years, when compared to that of the first arrivals.

Question 20: If you are working, please state your occupation:

The respondents' occupations are as follows

1. Computer Programmer
2. Chartered Accountant
3. Retired
4. Mining Consultant
5. Pharmacist
6. Journalist
7. Assistant Manager
8. Optometrist
9. Teacher
10. Retired
11. Business Owner (IT company)
12. Hydrotherapist
13. Self-employed
14. Self-employed
15. Student
16. Sales Executive
17. Security Analyst
18. Physiotherapist
19. Restaurant Owner
20. Draughtsman
21. Lecturer
22. Dentist
23. Teacher
24. Teacher
25. Teacher
26. Optometrist
27. Optometrist
28. Attorney
29. Advocate
30. Advocate
31. Director of a Property Company
32. Clinic Director
33. Teacher
34. Civil Engineer
35. Secretary and Caretaker for a Greek Community
36. Chief State Veterinarian
37. Divisional Manager – Electrical Projects
38. Secretary for a Greek Community
39. Student
40. Work in a Finance Department for a Company

The various careers indicated above testify to the upwardly mobile trend which can be noted in most immigrant communities, when compared to the first generation or the first arrivals.

Question 21: Please state your parents' occupations:

The parents' occupations are given in Table 5.10 below:

	Father	Mother
1	Electrician and later Cafe Owner	Hairdresser and later Cafe Owner
2	Hotelier	Office Clerk
3	Carpenter	Housewife
4	Businessman	Housewife
5	Plumber	Housewife
6	Deceased	Retired
7	Director of Companies	Director of Companies
8	Deceased	Doesn't work
9	Tailor	Housewife
10	Deceased	Pensioner
11	Accountant	Secretary
12	Deceased	Deceased
13	Deceased	Deceased
14	Director of a Company	Housewife
15	Deceased	Widower
16	Deceased	Pensioner
17	Self-employed	Self-employed
18	Self-employed	Self-employed
19	Self-employed	Self-employed
20	Retired	Part-time Guide
21	Retired Shop Keeper	Housewife
22	Own Business	Not provided
23	Truck Business	Housewife
24	Dental Technician	Not provided
25	Dental Technician	Not provided
26	Shop Owner	Not provided
27	Shopkeeper	Assistant
28	Businessman	Housewife
29	Optometrist	Director of a Company
30	Pharmacist	Housewife
31	Hairdresser	Hairdresser
32	Attorney	Manager – Retail Store
33	Butcher	Retired
34	Self-employed	Housewife
35	Fitter & Turner	Not provided
36	Builder	Housewife
37	Plumber	Housewife
38	Plumber	Housewife
39	Pensioner	Pensioner
40	Farmer	Housewife
41	Carpenter, Bricklayer	Housewife
42	Self-employed – Auto Electrician	Dress Designer
43	Auto-Electrician	Dress Designer

Table 5.10: Occupations of the respondents' parents

(See Added (1972:58 ff) for a detailed discussion of occupations of the first arrivals).

The respondents' parents had generally lower status occupations. We can note that there are still a fair number of women who are housewives which is consistent with much of the research on immigrant communities (i.e. most women in immigrant communities may stay at home).

5.3.2 Section B: Sociolinguistic profile

5.3.2.1 Education

Question 1.1: When you were at school/university, what was the language of instruction?

The overwhelming majority of respondents (approximately 33) reported that the language of instruction at school or university was English, and not Greek (the mother tongue). Some (who indicate that they were born outside of South Africa) indicated that the language of instruction was Greek or that they took the language as a subject at university. A few respondents who had studied at UJ (RAU) indicated English and/or Afrikaans as a language of instruction.

Question 1.2: Was Greek offered at school?

8 (18,6%) respondents indicated that Greek was offered at school; 31 (72%) respondents indicated that Greek was not offered at school and 4 (9,3%) did not provide a response.

Question 1.3: If so, did you take it as a subject?

Question 1.4: If not, why not?

Some of the reasons given for not taking the language, or attending Greek (afternoon) school (1.8), are the following:

- It was not offered at the time, and I feel that I have lost out;
- To attend Greek School we had to pay and have transport;
- It is not an easy language, so I am not interested.
- Lived in a small town where it was not available – learnt from my parents
- My parents did not have the funds
- Not available in my hometown

Some of the respondents, however, attended Greek afternoon school, in instances when the language was not offered at school.

Question 1.5: How much time did you devote to doing homework?

On average, the responses vary from one to three hours; a few respondents indicated more than this amount of time.

Question 1.6: How much time did you devote to doing Greek homework?

The majority of respondents usually indicate a minimal amount of time spent on homework for Greek or Greek school. The average varies from half an hour to one hour. There are a few respondents who state having spent some more time on homework for Greek or Greek school (for example, 3 or 4 hours per week) [see Question 1.9].

Question 1.7: Did you attend Greek School? (Please specify which one)

Question 1.8: If not, why not?

Most of the respondents who attended Greek school, stated the Greek schools they attended or the various venues where Greek afternoon/community school may have been held. Some of afternoon schools/venues are as follows:

- Hellenic College (Protopapas) – up to Standard 4
- In primary school we had lessons at Malvern High School
- I went to school in Greece
- In Tanzania (Arusha), in Athens (Psychiko)
- The Alberton Community School
- Afternoon school in Zimbabwe
- Very limited – took place in a church hall
- Discovery on the West Rand
- Bloemfontein
- I went to SAHETI
- Robertsham/Winchester Hills Afternoon/ Community school
- Johannesburg Greek Community School
- I lived in a town where it was not available, thus I learnt from parents
- Pretoria Community School
- No – my parents did not have the funds
- No – not in my hometown
- I had private lessons
- Not interested
- After hours at SAHETI
- The Brakpan Greek Community

Question 1.9: How much time do you devote to doing homework from Greek school?

Discussed in conjunction with Question 1.6

The responses for this question indicate that on average, respondents spend between ½ hour – 1 hour on Greek homework. (see also the responses to Question 1.6).

Question 1.10: What were your average marks for Greek or Greek school?

Overall, the results obtained by the majority of respondents, can be said to range from above average to excellent (approximately 75% - 90%). The majority of respondents had attained a distinction in the subject.

Question 1.11: If you were to go to university, or had the opportunity, would you take Greek as a subject?

13 (30,2%) of the respondents indicated that they would take Greek as a subject at university; 24 (55,8%) of the respondents indicated that they would not take Greek as a subject at university and 6 (13,90%) respondents did not provide a response.

The following reasons for studying the language at a tertiary level were given:

- I have done the subject at RAU and am now doing Honours.
- After completing BSc (Honours), I did Greek 1, 2 and 3 for non-degree purposes.
- If it is offered, yes.
- A love for my heritage.
- To further my knowledge.
- I did Greek as an Arts credit for BSc.
- In retrospect, if I was now presented with the opportunity.
- I took it as a subject at RAU (UJ).
- I am a Greek teacher.
- I studied in Greece.
- I am currently doing 3rd year Greek at RAU (UJ).

The following reasons for not studying the language at a tertiary level were given:

- I only did it up to Standard 4 level so I would struggle at university; I did a BSc (Computers) so I could not do the subject.
- I know the language already.
- It was not available.
- I didn't have time.

- It was not offered at college.
- My course was too full with other subjects,
- I did a B.Compt Degree – financial subjects only.
- It is not necessary.
- Only Ancient Greek was available.
- It was not offered as part of university course.
- It is too difficult.
- It was not offered at university at that time.
- It was not offered as part of the course.
- There was very little time to fit in another subject/language.
- It wasn't offered in my faculty.
- I studied to be a vet (in Greece).
- There were too many other commitments/ subjects in my degree.

Hence, there are a number of various reasons given for the majority of respondents indicating why they would not study Greek at tertiary level.

Question 1.12: In which language do you count?

17 (39,5%) of the respondents indicated that they count in English; 5 (11,6%) respondents count in Greek and 21 (48,8%) of the respondents count in both languages.

There is a general preference for both languages or English.

5.3.2.2 Cultural/social involvement

Question 2.1: Are you involved in any Greek cultural/social activities?

With regard to this issue, nearly all the respondents were somehow involved in, or participated in at least one activity. A selection of the various activities is listed below: Greek dancing (the majority of respondents have at some stage of life learnt a certain amount of Greek dancing), Greek organisations/clubs, Greek societies at university, women's societies, drama societies, Bible study, festivals and socials, Hellenic Boys' Scouts, church committees and church youth, congresses, cultural tour of Cyprus and soccer (sport).

Question 2.2: Do you go to Greek/Cypriot clubs?

9 (20,9%) respondents indicated that they go to the clubs regularly; 21 (48,8%) indicated

that that go to clubs occasionally; 8 (18,6%) seldom and 3 (6,9%) never go to the clubs. 2 (4,6%) gave no response. The majority of respondents, 88,3% (38 out of 43) do attend the various clubs.

5.3.2.3 Media

Question 3.1: Exposure to Media

The responses to the questions on Greek media are given in Table 5.11 below.

	Regularly	Seldom	Never
Do you read Greek newspapers/ magazines?	11 (25,5%) (on Internet)	20 (46,5%)	12 (27,9%)
Do you listen to the Greek radio station?	20 (46,5%)	18 (41,8%)	5 (11,6%)
Do you watch the Greek TV Channel?	26 (60,4%)	14 (32,5%)	3 (6,9%)
Do you read Greek books/literature?	13 (30,2%)	14 (32,5%)	16 (37,2%)
Do you watch Greek movies/ plays/concerts?	15 (34,8%)	21 (48,8%)	7 (16,2%)
Do you watch Greek videos/ DVDs?	13 (30,2%)	21 (48,8%)	9 (20,9%)
Do you listen to Greek music/ CDs	36 (83,71%)	7 (16,2%)	

Table 5.11: Aspects of Greek media

When comparing these responses to those of the school pupils (Table 5.2), the popularity of music is again noted. The responses validate that it is the older generations who tend to read newspapers, listen to the radio station and watch television, more so than the younger generations.

Question 3.2 (a): Do you go onto Greek websites?

The following responses were given:

15 (34,8%) respondents go onto Greek websites; 21 (48,8%) do not go onto Greek websites; 2 (4,6%) respondents seldom go onto Greek websites and 5 (11,6%) respondents gave no response.

Question 3.2 (b): Do you send e-mails in English, Greek or both languages? If you send e-mails in Greek, do you type the Greek words using the English alphabet?

14 (32,5%) respondents send e-mails in English; 4 (9,3%) send e-mails in Greek (using the English alphabet); 17 (39,5%) send e-mails in both languages and 8 (18,6%) respondents

gave no response. These respondents all maintained that they used a certain amount of Greek or Greek words, but spelt with the English alphabet. In this regard we also need to note that many respondents who may have a Greek keyboard are able to type in Greek, but these keyboards are not always available in South Africa. A few people who indicated that they have these keyboards, stated that they make use of the Greek alphabet more regularly.

Question 3.3 (a) Do you send smses in English, Greek or both?

19 (44,1%) respondents send smses in English; none of the respondents indicated the use of Greek in this regard; 20 (46,5%) respondents indicate the use of both languages, respondents make use of the English alphabet for the Greek words; one respondent referred to this phenomenon as ‘Greeklsh’! (with regard to this phenomenon see, for example, research by Androutsopoulos (2009) and Laghos et al, (2013)) ; and 4 (9,3%) respondents gave no response.

With regard to the electronic media, we note the phenomenon that many respondents write in Greek using the English alphabet. Hence, transliteration is playing an important role in language maintenance, as the Greek language is still being used.

Question 3.3 (b) When having a conversation on a phone / cell phone, do you normally speak Greek and/or English? With whom do you speak which language; under which circumstances do you speak which language?

A selection of the most recurring responses is given below:

- English with friends, my children, nephews, nieces, etcetera; Greek to elders, parents, grandparents, older family
- Both languages but mostly English, depends on the person’s knowledge of English
- Greek if they speak the language, otherwise English
- Usually English, Greek with some family and friends
- Greek with my mother, both with Greek friends and family, English with non-Greek people
- Greek with family and family in Greece, my mother, sometimes my brothers
- Greek with my father, both with friends
- Greek with my mother, wife, daughter, certain friends, the rest in English
- Greek with Greek people, English with all others
- Both and definitely Greek in private
- Greek with parents, Greek family, both languages with brothers and friends

- Greek with parents and older family, both languages with brother and sister
- Greek with family and friends who cannot speak English, English to everyone else
- Greek with grandparents and family overseas, both languages with Greek friends, otherwise English
- Greek with older family and parents, both languages with friends and other family
- Greek to a Greek
- Greek with parents and family. English with people of the same age
- In South Africa, mostly English with Greek friends. In Greece, mostly Greek with South African and Greek friends; only Greek with Greek people there
- Greek with parents and family; English with cousins
- I speak Greek fluently (cannot read or write very well), so I speak Greek to the people who cannot speak English, for example, family in Greece or Cyprus
- Mostly English. Greek to make a point.
- Greek with my mom; English with my brother
- Both: Greek with Greeks, English with English-speaking people
- Both languages; Greek with Greeks – especially older people
- Usually both with family and friends.

The responses are once again in agreement with many of the findings in the literature, namely, that most people tend to speak Greek with parents, grandparents (or elders), and people who may not be very fluent in English (including people in Greece or Cyprus), but most people will speak English to their peers and there is a fair amount of code-switching, depending on the situation (for example, the need for privacy).

5.3.2.4 Religion

Question 4.1: Do you prefer church services in English, Greek or both languages?

In this domain, 7 (16,2%) respondents indicated that they prefer church services in English; 6 (13,9%) prefer church services in Greek and 30 (69,7%) prefer church services in both languages. The results for language and religion indicate that there is an increase in the preference for church services in English, but more so in both languages.

The reasons provided for the preference of English in church services are as follows:

- Easier to understand.
- The Ancient Greek scriptures are not understandable to many.

- Easier to understand.
- To understand everything.

The reasons provided for the preference of Greek in church services are as follows:

- It is a Greek church.
- The Greek chant goes with the syllables of the Greek language – it loses its meaning in English.

The reasons provided for the use of both languages in church services are as follows:

- In Greek one thinks about some of the words, English is easier to listen to, one becomes tired and bored if you have to concentrate on Greek for too long.
- One becomes accustomed to Greek, it also depends on how well the priest speaks Greek/pronounces.
- 2nd generation, etcetera, can understand the service.
- Comfortable either way.
- Understand more.
- I understand the Greek well, but for those whose Greek is not so good, English should be used to accommodate them.
- Greek – this is how it was when I grew up, but English – I understand more.
- The Byzantine chant loses its feeling of tranquillity when sung in English.
- To understand.
- I like Greek because of the depth of the words/language, English is good for those who do not understand/speak Greek.
- I prefer Greek because I understand it, but for my children I don't mind the English.
- English helps, if the priest uses Ancient Greek, it is difficult to understand.
- It is nice to keep its origin/original form, but one cannot always understand Ancient Greek, then English is better.
- Many services use 'higher' or older Greek, it is difficult to understand, Modern Greek will be better.
- The Greek language in church is very old and difficult to understand.
- Easier to understand both languages, can follow the service easier.
- More balanced, I enjoy the tradition.
- Don't mind.
- The church services are in traditional Byzantine hymn which maintain a sense of tradition, however, it is not spoken by the parish or people in general.

- The Greek used in church is from the Byzantine period and I don't understand it well.
- If it is in Demotic Greek it is more understandable, otherwise I would prefer English so as to have church with a message.
- To understand better.
- I understand both, but sometimes I prefer Greek as it feels more traditional to have church services in Greek rather than in English.

The Greek Orthodox Church is a national/ethnic church (i.e. connected to a certain nation and language). However, in a country like South Africa where people are exposed to and use English on a daily basis (as is also the case in the United States of America and Australia), there is a growing preference for the use of a certain amount of English for church services; Bilingual services are strongly preferred.

Some respondents feel that they understand English better, especially in instances where Ancient Greek may be used; some also indicate that religious jargon may be more difficult to understand in Greek, as indicated by some of the above responses. There is still a preference to retain a certain amount of Greek, however, as the language is an integral part of the church, and to retain the Greek character of the services.

Question 4.2: In which language do you prefer the prayers, the sermon and the liturgy?

The responses for language preference in different parts of the church service are given in Table 5.12 below.

	The Prayers	The sermon	The Liturgy
English	9 = 20,9%	19 = 44,1%	10 = 23,2%
Greek	20 = 46,5%	8 = 18,6%	16 = 37,2%
Both	14 = 32,5%	16 = 37,2%	17 = 39,5%

Table 5.12: Preferences for language in the different parts of the church service

From the above table, the preference for English in sermons is noted, and the use of both languages for the liturgy; it is only in the case of prayer – in the church – that there is a dominant preference for the mother tongue. The language of prayer for people's own personal prayers is given below in the responses question 4.4.

Question 4.3 Do you think that English should replace Greek in the Church services?

4 (9,3%) of the respondents felt that English should replace Greek in the church services;

30 (69,7%) respondents did not want Greek to be replaced by English and 9 (20,9%) respondents provided 'other' responses.

The reasons provided for English to replace Greek in the church services are as follows:

- Yes, we are in an Anglophone country.
- Yes, the purpose of the church is to maintain its flock, it is necessary and important to ensure that the flock (English-speaking) is maintained.
- My wife doesn't know Greek.
- So all people can understand.

The reasons provided for English should not replace Greek in the church services are as follows:

- We must not lose it totally from the church.
- It should be mixed.
- No, use both languages (Modern Greek) for people who don't understand Greek so well.
- No, not entirely.
- No, you lose the beauty and it is difficult to translate everything into English, The bilingual books can assist people who don't understand.
- Greek is more authentic.
- More traditional and exposure to the language.
- Greek has a huge value, adds to the mysticism.
- Greek is a very rich language, but I also understand that the new generations cannot always follow.
- No, Greek South Africa must attend Catechism classes to understand the service, they can follow the translated service books.
- No, we have to learn our culture and the language.
- No, they must just use both languages to cater for all generations.
- They must use both languages to cater for everyone, and bring the youth to church.
- No, not entirely. Certain aspects of the church should remain as they are.
- No – it is a Greek church, it is part of Greek culture, one should try and preserve it.
- Not replace Greek, but use it in parts of the service.
- No, we need to keep a certain amount of tradition; some things sound better in Greek.
- No – people should have choices – Greek vs. English.
- No – it will destroy the “essence” of the Orthodox service.

- I enjoy the service more in Greek even though I don't understand a lot of the Greek.
- No, they should strike a balance between traditional Greek and English which we understand. The English translation is sometimes non-sensical.

Other responses provided were as follows:

- When it is a bilingual service, everything is repeated so many times.
- Use both.
- Not totally.
- Not completely, but a little English is nice.
- Not entirely, tradition should still be observed, the languages should alternate.
- Not entirely. Perhaps there should be Greek and English sermons.
- Not completely, but at least the sermon should perhaps be in both languages.
- English should not replace Greek but should be introduced to assist and make the sermon to be understood by people who cannot understand Greek.
- No, certain things should be in English, but then the purpose of trying to carry on culture and tradition and passing it on would be defeated.

From the above responses it is evident that even though many respondents would like the introduction of more English in church services, there is still a strong feeling that the mother tongue should not be completely replaced by English; possibly a more dominant use of Modern Greek for all aspects of the service would be beneficial to those who may not be very fluent in the language (especially the language which makes the church what it is (a central feature), and distinguishes it from other denominations. The language also contributes to the tradition.

Question 4.4: In which language do you pray?

12 (27,9%) respondents indicated praying in English; 13 (30,2%) respondents pray in Greek and 18 (41,8%) respondents pray using both languages. The responses to this question are very much evenly spread, with a slight majority indicating a preference for the use of both languages.

Question 4.5: How often do you attend church services?

The respondents provided the following responses:

Daily	0
Weekly.....	19
Monthly	14
Special occasions.....	15
Never	0

Many respondents indicate more than one option, for example, weekly and special occasions. From observation and consultation with a priest, it can be said that, in general, church attendance is very good, with most Sunday morning services being well-attended.

Question 4.6: Do you think that going to church helps you to keep the ways of the “old country”?

20 (46,5%) respondents feel that going to church helps to keep the ways of the “old country” a lot; 13 (30,2%) feel it helps a little; 7 (16,2%) indicated that it does not help at all; 1 (2,3%) respondent felt it was irrelevant and 2 (4,6%) respondents gave no response.

Some respondents qualified their responses by saying that it also depends on one’s socialising – who one is talking to; the church is for my faith and spiritual life, not for patriotism.

There appears to be a fair number of people who feel that the church reminds one of the home country or, in some way, plays a role in retaining ethnic consciousness and certain customs or traditions of the home country.

Question 4.7: How do you feel about your children marrying out of your religious faith (inter-marriage)?

The following responses were given with regard to inter-marriage:

- Not too happy, would give advice, but will not try to stop my child
- Prefer Greek Orthodox, but as long as the person is Christian it would be okay
- No problem, just not Muslim
- One should stick to your own roots
- Not too concerned, must be “managed”
- Strongly against inter-marriage, from my own experience I feel deceived and betrayed
- If he/she still marries a Christian, it is not so difficult as if one had to marry a non-Christian, as it would then be very difficult to pass the faith on
- Not married yet, so still an issue
- I am against it
- All people are God’s children
- Preferably not
- Christ is important, I’m not absolute
- It was hard at first, but one overlooks it for love and happiness
- I would prefer my son to marry in the faith

- Definitely prefer Greek Orthodox
- It is easier to marry someone of the same religion
- It causes a lot of problems, and the children are confused and undecided
- A bad thing
- I will encourage my children to marry in the faith – with inter-marriage there are many problems
- Prefer Greek
- Don't mind – as long as the person is Christian
- Would prefer Greek Orthodox
- It is important for the person to have some cultural background, or the partner should be prepared to learn and follow your tradition
- Okay – I did
- I married an Italian, so I can't judge my children
- No particular feeling toward this
- As long as they are happy, but would prefer if they married within the religious faith
- I myself have inter-married, so not too sure
- Not a problem provided they have a good, healthy marriage
- I would not approve if I had children
- I would like my children to get married in my religious faith

5.3.2.5 Migration/visits to and contact with family/friends overseas

Question 5.1: How often do you go to Greece?

In response to this question, 10 (23,2%) respondents indicated that they go to Greece every year; 11 (25,5%) indicated that they go to Greece often; 9 (20,9%) indicated that they have a set pattern (every 2, 3, 4 years); 12 (27,9%) indicated that they seldom go to Greece and 1 (2,3%) respondent indicated that they never go to Greece.

The responses indicate that there is a definite link with the mother country. Most respondents visit Greece on a fairly regular basis. Respondents who have never been to Greece are marginal.

Question 5.2: How often do you have family/friends from Greece visiting you?

In this regard, 6 (13,9%) respondents indicated that they have family/friends visiting them from Greece every year; 6 (13,9%) indicated that they often have visitors from overseas –

there is a set pattern (every 2, 3 or 4 years); 24 (55,8%) respondents indicated that they seldom have visitors from overseas and 7 (16,2%) respondents indicated that they never have family/friends visiting from Greece.

The above responses are in direct contrast to the previous responses of people from South Africa visiting Greece. These responses indicate that it is very seldom, and in most cases almost never, that people from Greece tend to visit family/friends in South Africa. The general trend within this community is to go overseas to visit family and friends, and not vice-versa.

Question 5.3: How often do you have family/friends immigrate to South Africa?

In this regard, 12 (27,9%) respondents indicated that they seldom have family or friends immigrating to South Africa and 28 (65,1%) respondents indicated that they never have family or friends immigrating to South Africa.

Therefore the majority of respondents indicate that that they never have friends or family immigrating to South Africa.

Question 5.4 (a): Do you keep in close contact with family/friends overseas?

The following responses were given:

41 (95,3%) respondents indicates that they keep in contact with family and friends overseas while only 2 (4,6%) respondents indicates that they have limited contact with family and friends overseas.

An important factor for language maintenance – contact with family and friends overseas. We can see from these responses that almost all respondents keep contact with family/friends overseas; those who indicated that they have minimal contact with people overseas, are in the minority. Furthermore, it is also important to examine the language used in this contact with people in Greece/Cyprus.

(b) If so, do you communicate with them in English, Greek or both languages?

1 (2,3%) respondent indicated that they communicate with family and friends overseas in English; 20 (46,5%) respondents indicate that the use of Greek in this regard and 22 (51,1%) respondents indicated the use of both languages. As with many areas of language usage, we note the almost equal number of responses between Greek only and both English and Greek. Thus, this domain can play an important role in the continued use and retention of Greek.

Some additional responses were: *Greek with relatives; English with people who have left South Africa.*

5.3.2.6 Contact with friends/family/neighbours/strangers

Question 6.1(a): Are many of your friends Greek?

The following responses were given:

36 (83,7%) respondents indicated that they have Greek friends and 7 (16,2%) respondents indicated that not many of their friends are Greek.

(b): If so, do you speak to them in English, Greek or both?

Respondents gave the following responses:

4 (9,3%) respondents indicated using English when communicating with friends; 6 (13,9%) indicated using Greek; 31 (72%) indicated the use of both languages (including those who do not have many Greek friends) and 2 (4,6%) gave no response.

Respondents also often indicate that they speak to friends from South Africa in English; but friends from/in Greece in Greek. The above responses indicate a definite preference for bilingual communication with Greek friends in South Africa. Use of English only or Greek only is minimal.

Question 6.2: Under which circumstances will you speak to your friends (or other people) in Greek, and when will you change from English to Greek?

The following responses for this question were given:

- If there are older people present, I will use Greek; English if people don't understand Greek very well
- Mostly English; Greek if there are people from Greece, and English if people are not so fluent in Greek
- Greek to Greek speakers
- It depends on peoples' preference
- It depends on the occasion and place
- It depends on the fluency of others, generally English
- For exclusivity or if the person does not understand English
- Switch between the two, also for exclusivity and privacy
- With friends, we use both, also depends on what sounds better, funnier and sometimes name-calling

- If people are fluent in Greek, I speak at every opportunity so as not to lose the fluency
- When discretion is needed
- In order to be understood
- Both languages regularly
- Depends on what/which one allows one to communicate better
- Exclusivity or if one does not know the Greek word, you use the English
- When there is a need to switch
- Exclusivity or speaking about Greek topics, for example, sport, religion, news, etcetera
- Exclusivity or when one cannot communicate or find the correct word
- Often use both languages – English with Greek words; exclusivity
- One uses English words if you do not know the Greek, some things can't be expressed so well in English
- If it is something about Greece or a Greek topic, and exclusivity
- Socially – if you can express yourself better in Greek; with older people as a sign of respect, especially if their English is weak; to a priest and Greek dignitaries
- If the group is predominantly Greek; exclusivity
- If one can express oneself better in Greek
- Mostly English. If in the company of those who do not understand Greek, we will talk English
- We speak Greek with the older generation who do not speak English well
- Speak mostly to elders in Greek, everyone else in English
- When speaking casually I tend to switch to Greek
- I use Greek to express something that cannot be conveyed in English. Converse mainly in English
- Use Greek for general conversation and exclusivity
- Mostly English
- Always Greek
- English
- Older generations if uncertain where they were educated, will speak Greek, but to South African Greeks I speak to them mostly in English, with some buzz words in Greek
- If people understand Greek because they will communicate and understand better
- Only Greek

- At Greek school, lectures at university; socially – telling jokes, exclusivity; when all the people in the group understand
- Socially or at church; we speak English if someone in the group doesn't speak or understand Greek.

Question 6.3: What was the first language you learnt as a child?

In this regard, 30 (69,7%) respondents indicated Greek as the first language learnt as a child; 9 (20,9%) indicated English; 3 (6,9%) indicated both languages and 1 (2,3%) indicated both French and Greek. The majority of respondents indicated that Greek was the first language they learnt as a child.

Question 6.4: How well do you speak Greek?

In this regard, 18 (41,8%) respondents indicated that they speak Greek very fluently; 24 (55,8%) speak Greek fairly fluently and 1 (2,3%) respondent indicated speaking Greek a little.

Question 6.5: How well do your parents speak Greek?

The responses are given in Table 5.13 below:

	Very fluently	Fairly fluently	A little	No response
Father	37 (86%)	2 (4,6%)	0	4 (9,3%)
Mother	35 (81,3%)	4 (9,3%)	1 (2,3%)	3 (6,9%)

Table 5.13: Respondents' fluency in Greek

Question 6.6: How well do your parents speak English?

The responses are given in Table 5.14 below:

	Very fluently	Fairly fluently	A little	Not at all	No response
Father	12 (27,9%)	17 (39,5%)	7 (16,2%)	3 (6,9%)	4 (9,3%)
Mother	13 (30,2%)	12 (27,9%)	11 (25,5%)	4 (9,3%)	3 (6,9%)

Table 5.14: Respondents' fluency in English

The above responses testify to the fact that the older generations (1st and 2nd generations) were still very fluent in the mother tongue, as they had, for example, received schooling in the mother tongue or immigrated from Greece or Cyprus. A fair number of the older generation also appear to have a good knowledge of English.

Question 6.7: Language in the home situation.

Which language do you speak to your family members?

The responses for this question are given in Table 5.15 below:

	Mostly Greek	Mostly English	Both	Other (please specify)
Mother (40*)	26 (65%)	7 (17,5%)	7 (17,5%)	
Father (37)	2 (62,1%)	7 (18,9%)	7 (19,9%)	
Children		1		
Brothers/sisters (39)	4 (10,2%)	18 (46,1%)	17 (43,5%)	
Husband/boyfriend/ partner (12)	3 (25%)	6 (50%)	2 (16,6%)	A bit of Portuguese 1 (8,3%)
Wife (15)	2 (13,3%)	8 (53,3%)	5 (33,3%)	
Grandparents (21)	20 (95,2%)	1 (4,7%)		
Other (e.g. in-laws) (24)	10 (41,6%)	10 (41,6%) (elders)	4 (16,6%)	

Table 5.15: Language use in the home/with family

* Indicates number of respondents who gave response

1 – no response – no family to speak to

The responses in the above table tend to correlate with much of what is indicated in the literature on the subject, for example, the important role of the home (and parents) domain in retaining a language.

Question 6.8: Do you/would you encourage your children to speak and write the Greek language so that they will keep it alive?

In this regard, 34 (79%) of the respondents indicated that they would regularly encourage their children to speak and write the Greek language to keep it alive; 6 (13,9%) respondents would seldom encourage their children in this regard; 1 (2,3%) respondent would never encourage their children in this regard and 2 (4,6%) respondents did not give a response. The fact that the greater majority of respondents would make a concerted effort to keep the language alive among their children is a positive factor for language maintenance.

Question 6.9: Do you/ would you correct your children's Greek at home?

31 (72%) respondents would regularly correct their children's Greek at home; 10 (23,2%) respondents would seldom correct their children's Greek; 1 (2,3%) respondent would never correct their children's Greek and 1 (2,3%) respondent did not give a response.

The large majority of respondents therefore maintain that they would correct their children's Greek at home.

Question 6.10: Do you think the Greek language plays an important role in the cohesion between members of your family?

24 (55,8%) respondents felt that Greek plays a very important role in the cohesion between members of the family; 12 (27,9%) felt it played an important role; 6 (13,9%) respondents felt it was unimportant and 1 (2,3%) did not give a response. The majority of respondents affirm that the Greek language plays an important role in the cohesion between family members (or simply, in family life).

Question 6.11(a): Are any of your neighbours Greek-speaking?

In this regard, 13 (30,2%) respondents indicated having Greek-speaking neighbours while 30 (69,7%) respondents do not have Greek neighbours. A marginal number of respondents have Greek neighbours, therefore the results are not really significant.

(b) Do you speak to them in English, Greek or both?

In this regard, 1 (7,6%) respondent speaks to their neighbour in English; 4 (30,7%) respondents speak to their neighbours in Greek and 8 (61,5%) respondents speak to their neighbours in both languages. Another response given was: speak to the mother in Greek, the children both languages (hence, bilingualism with the younger generations).

Question 6.12: Do you speak to strangers (e.g. shop-owners), who are Greek, in English, Greek or both languages?

In this regard, 24 (55,8%) respondents speak to Greek strangers in Greek while 19 (44,1%) respondents indicated speaking to Greek strangers in both languages. The majority of respondents use the mother tongue (or both languages) when speaking to strangers; in comparison, fewer people use the mother tongue when speaking to friends or neighbours.

Question 6.13(a): Are any of your work colleagues Greek?

In this regard, 30 (69,7%) respondents have Greek colleagues at work and 13 (30,2%) respondents do not have Greek colleagues at work. A considerable number of respondents have Greek colleagues at work, therefore, many respondents come into contact with Greek people in their daily work environment.

Question 6.13 (b): Do you speak to them in English, Greek or both languages?

In this regard, 4 (13,3%) respondents speak to their Greek colleagues in English; 6 (20%) respondents speak to their colleagues in Greek and 20 (66,6%) respondents indicated the use of both languages in this regard.

In communicating with other Greek people in the work environment, bilingualism is the primary means of communication.

Question 6.14(a): Do you have Greek friends at university/college (or when you did you attend university/college)?

In this regard, 33 (76,7%) respondents have or had Greek friends at university/college; 4 (9,3%) respondents did not have Greek friends at university/college and 6 (13,9%) respondents did not give a response. A large number of respondents had Greek friends when they continued with tertiary education.

Question 6.14 (b): Do you speak to them in English, Greek or both languages?

In this regard, 7 (21,2%) respondents speak/spoke to Greek friends at university/college in English; 4 (12,1%) indicated the use of Greek and 22 (66,6%) respondents indicated the use of both languages. Hence, the above responses indicate that a large number of respondents have daily contact with other Greek people at work or university (tertiary education), and bilingualism is the primary means of communication.

5.3.2.7 Language loyalty

Question 7.1 Do you consider Greek literature interesting?

In this regard, 30 (69,7%) respondents indicated that they consider Greek literature interesting; 3 (6,9%) respondents do not consider Greek literature interesting; and 10 (23,2%) respondents were undecided. From the above responses, we can detect a positive attitude, in general, toward Greek literature. Those who are ‘undecided’ may possibly not have received formal instruction in Greek, or only a limited amount of education in the mother tongue. Their knowledge of, and contact with, the mother tongue would therefore be minimal.

Question 7.2: Do you think Greek authors, generally speaking, are as good as authors of other languages?

In this regard, 29 (67,4%) indicated that Greek authors are as good as authors of other

languages; 2 (4,6%) respondents were not in agreement with this statement and 12 (27,9%) respondents were undecided.

Question 7.3: Do you consider the Greek language as beautiful?

In this regard, 39 (90,6%) respondents consider the Greek language as beautiful while 4 (9,3%) respondents were undecided. The above responses indicate an overwhelming sense of pride in the language.

Question 7.4: If you could choose between speaking another European language fluently, and speaking Greek fluently, what would you choose?

The responses for this question are given in Table 5.16 below.

Greek	34 (79%)
Another European language	6 (13,9%) 1+1 (French) +1 (Italian) + 2+1 French
No response	1 (2,3%)
Both	2 (4,6%) 1 (Italian) + 1 (Italian)

Table 5.16: Preference for speaking Greek vis-à-vis another European language

As with the above question and responses, it can be noted that the majority of respondents would prefer to be proficient in their mother tongue. This could therefore tie up with the sense of pride that the people have for their language.

Question 7.5: Do you consider Greek to be: as good as any European language, inferior to other European languages or undecided?

In this regard, 39 (90,6%) respondents indicated that Greek is as good as any European language; 1 (2,3%) respondent felt that Greek is inferior to other European languages and 3 (6,9%) respondents were undecided (Too small in the great scheme of the world – minority language)

Question 7.6: Do you feel it is important to be completely fluent (speak, read and write) in your mother tongue?

In this regard, 37 (86%) respondents feel it is important to be completely fluent in one's mother tongue; 5 (11,6%) respondents did feel that it is important and 1 (2,3%) respondent indicated both yes and no.

The majority of respondents again indicate the importance of being proficient and literate in one's mother tongue, which is indicative of their positive attitudes towards the mother tongue.

The following reasons given by the respondents as to why it is important to be completely fluent in their mother tongue:

- It is always an advantage to speak many languages, including your mother tongue.
- In South Africa children communicate in English, because of education children did not master Greek, only at SAHETI (in the primary school).
- It relates to your roots and culture.
- It helps you to know who you are, your cultural background.
- I can only speak the language I feel that I have missed out not being able to read and write.
- It is difficult to continue knowing, reading. Writing Greek in a foreign country, but it is the only way to feel a sense of culture and to pass it on to my family one day.
- The more the better. Speaking is very important, then reading and writing.
- It preserves the national identity.
- Efficient communication is a vital part of being human.
- Our language keeps us Greek, not just having a Greek surname.
- You can lose it if you don't read and write it.
- In order not to lose it from generation to generation, because we live in another country.
- To communicate and if you go live in Greece.
- You can go to Greece and not worry about the language aspect.
- It is a big part of the culture.
- Heritage is an important part of my life – being Greek (an established background), it helps with individuality/differentiate from others.
- It is my heritage.
- So that you cannot forget your roots.
- I speak fairly well, I would like to perfect that.
- It is wonderful to be able to communicate in as many languages as possible.
- It is important to maintain your roots and traditions.
- Although my generation speaks mostly English, our Greek heritage is important.
- To keep the culture alive in a country other than Greece or Cyprus.

- Although I didn't have formal Greek education, my parents did home schooling. My children must not lose out on the opportunity of learning to speak and understand Greek.
- It is my mother tongue.
- Over the years more people have not found it important and now most Greek youngsters don't know the basics of Greek.

The following reasons given by the respondents as to why it is not important to be completely fluent in their mother tongue:

- It is a minority language.
- Cannot read and write but speak okay, it is enough to retain the soul of the culture.
- I am a Greek South African, it is more important to be able to speak the language in which you live and were born.
- If we live in another country outside of Greece, it should be more important to be fluent in that language.

The following reasons given by the respondents where they indicated both 'yes' and 'no' for this question:

- It would be good to be totally fluent, but in South Africa you don't really need to read and write Greek often.

Question 7.7: Do you feel proud/ashamed of being Greek?

All 43 (100%) respondents indicated that they are proud of being Greek (only one respondent answered that "It's okay to be Greek")

The above response indicates a resounding sense of pride in being Greek. Much of this pride is attributed to, predominantly, the achievements of the nation in the past, for example, the Greek Empire, the philosophers, mathematicians, etcetera.

The following reasons given by the respondents as to why they feel proud to be Greek:

- Many of the inventors, scientists, mathematicians (Archimedes), etcetera, were Greek. Many words in English are derived from Greek.
- My heritage, roots, the history.
- Rich historical and cultural legacy.
- Despite a minority status, we are very unique, not necessarily the language as such, but the attitude.

- A rich inheritance – religion, language, culture, tradition, etcetera. A proud history – we have overcome invasions. We stick together when we have to. Greek food.
- It was difficult at school to be different, but I later came to understand the culture and faith; few other cultures compare or have so much to offer.
- It is a Greek thing – watch the movies “300”, “Troy”, etcetera.
- The Greeks have a history of philanthropy and *philotimo* – have disseminated so much value to the human race.
- Words cannot describe it.
- I am Greek!
- A beautiful language, amazing heritage and history. The way we come together as a community is a lovely thing.
- The background of my family and I am proud to be Greek.
- Was brought up with the belief, and I believe: “If I wasn’t born Greek, I would be unlucky”.
- Greek music is the best; we are a great nation.
- We stand out among South Africans, who don’t really know their background or heritage, or where their background originates.
- Greece is the cradle of civilization.
- It is part of my heritage, sense of identity; a rich history.
- Greece is the centre of civilization, therefore, of course I am proud to be Greek.
- As a historian, I am aware of the historical significance of the Greek culture to the Western Civilization.
- There is a rich history and culture of Greek dating back more than 2000 years.
- “Runs in my blood”, it is who I am.
- Greek traditions are ancient with philosophies, literature and history.
- Having a sense of identity is important in my development as a human being.
- I’m very proud of what the ancients gave to the world. Even Modern Greeks are found all over the world, doing very well and contributing to their new found homes, for example, Australia, United States of America and South Africa.
- The best race in the world.
- Because of the Greek history and culture.
- Sometimes a bit embarrassed about certain habits, for example, punctuality.

- Glad to have a ‘support structure’ and way of living that comes with being and living as Greek.
- What’s not to be proud of?

Question 7.8: Attitudes

The attitudes of the respondents’ parents are given in Table 5.17 below.

	Strongly agree	Yes	No	Do not care
Do your parents like you to speak Greek?	22 (55%)	17 (42,5%)		1 (2,5%)
Are you ever forced to speak Greek at home?	11 (28,2%)	7 (17,9%)	20 (51,2%)	1 (2,5%)
Do your parents mind if you speak English at home?	6 (15,3%)	7 (17,9%)	26 (66,6%)	
Do your parents prefer you to speak Greek rather than English at home?	12 (30%)	15 (37,5%)	6 (15%)	7 (17,5%)

Table 5.17: Attitudes of respondents’ parents for preference of language use

* No responses = 1

Question 7.9:

The attitudes of the respondents are given in Table 5.18 below:

	Strongly agree	Yes	No	Do not care
Would you like your children to speak Greek at home?	13 (31,7%)	21 (51,2%)	1 (2,4%)	6 (14,6%)
Would you force your children to speak Greek at home?	7 (17%)	6 (14,6%)	27 (65,8%)	1(2,4%)
Would you mind if your children spoke English at home?	1 (2,24%)	8 (19,5%)	31 (75,6%)	1 (2,4%)
Would you prefer your children to speak Greek rather than English at home?	11 (26,8%)	15 (36,5%)	10 (24,3%)	5 (12,1%)

Table 5.18: Attitudes of the respondents for preference of language use

* No responses = 2

From the responses presented in the above tables, it is evident that the parents of the respondents (older generations) definitely prefer the use of the mother tongue with their children/in the home situation. This can also be the case where many of the older generation speak very little or no English.

The responses of the younger generation also indicate a preference for their children to continue speaking the mother tongue. Fewer respondents would enforce the use of Greek, but there is still a moderate preference for the use of the mother tongue. There is still a strong case for the maintenance of the mother tongue (viz. Would you like your children to speak Greek at home?; Would you prefer your children to speak Greek rather than English at home?).

Question 7.10: How important do you feel it is to maintain the Greek language?

28 (65,1%) respondents indicated that it is very important to maintain the Greek language; 12 (27,9%) respondents felt that it is important to maintain the Greek language; 2 (4,6%) respondents felt it is unimportant and 1 (2,3%) respondent did not give a response. All of the issues dealt with above pertaining to attitude/feelings toward the language and the retention of the language, seem to be validated by the above question; the overwhelming majority of respondents, essentially, feel it is of importance to retain the mother tongue.

Question 7.11: Which reasons do you feel are important for maintaining the Greek language?

The respondents chose the following options from the list:

Cultural	38 = 90,4%
Ethnic.....	30 = 71,4%
Communication	32 = 76,1%
Linguistic	17 = 40,4%
Professional	12 = 28,5%
Return to Greece.....	14 = 33,3% (holidays; perhaps return one day)
Sentimental	23 = 54,7%
Religious.....	26 = 61,9%

No responses = 1

The respondents again provide a number of different reasons for the importance of maintaining the Greek language. With the adult group, culture, communication, ethnic and then religion feature as the prominent reasons for the maintenance of the language.

The above list helps to give a bird's eye view of some of the issues dealt with in the research.

5.4 Conclusion

Examining the responses for the questionnaires given by the two groups (i.e. the school pupils and the adults), reveals almost identical responses for the two groups of

respondents, in general, especially pertaining to the issues which are of importance for this study, namely, language issues.

With regard to education (§ 6.2.1), the school pupils all study Greek because it is a compulsory subject at SAHETI. Many of the adult respondents have studied Greek at different places, for example, they either went to school in Greece/Cyprus, attended Greek afternoon/community school, and some had also attended SAHETI. There are thus many opportunities to study the language and become literate in it.

In the domain of religion (§ 6.3), the majority of respondents prefer church services in both languages, however, they do not want the Greek language to be replaced by English. The issue of inter-marriage remains a ‘difficult’ issue, and there is a general preference for homogenous marriages in both groups.

The majority of respondents have also been involved in cultural/social activities (§ 6.4) within the community, especially Greek dancing.

When examining the exposure to different aspects of Greek media (§ 6.5), music plays the greatest role in this area, among all the respondents. The new forms of electronic media and communication (internet and cell phones) have an important role to play in language maintenance; this is because many of the respondents (especially the school pupils – the younger generation), transliterate i.e. write messages in Greek, using the English alphabet.

There are a few areas where slight differences between the two groups can be detected, for example, the frequency with which respondents travel to Greece (§ 6.6). Although there are generally set patterns, it appears that more school pupils go to Greece annually, but in the adults group, the frequency of travel appears to decrease.

Both groups of respondents demonstrate a definite pattern of continued contact with family and friends in Greece/Cyprus; just over half of the respondents indicate the use of both languages in this area of contact. In other areas of communication with family and friends (§ 6.7), there is an overwhelming amount of bilingualism (or code-switching), the overriding reason being for exclusivity or privacy. For half of the school pupils, Greek was the first language they learnt as a child, whereas for the majority of adult respondents (older

generations), Greek was the first language they had learnt as a child. For both groups, the overwhelming majority indicate the use of Greek with grandparents.

Whereas the majority of school pupils saw their stay in South Africa as temporary, just over half of the adult respondents indicated that they wished to stay in South Africa permanently – a difference in different generations. Younger generations have not yet established themselves, so emigration is an easy process, whereas for older generation who have established themselves in a country, emigration is more complex.

Similarities in terms of perception or sense of identity can be noted, both groups see themselves in very much the same way, namely, as Greek, Greek Orthodox or Greek South Africans.

Overall, a very positive picture emerges from these results, with regard to language loyalty (§ 6.8). The majority of respondents are in favour of the retention of the language, as displayed in this study. Other vitally important issues for the maintenance of the language were, for example, that both groups of respondents indicated that they would encourage their children to speak and write the Greek language to keep it alive; they consider the Greek language as beautiful and as good as any European language; they feel it is important to be completely fluent in their mother tongue, and of course the overwhelming sense of pride in being Greek. In Chapter 6, the results from the questionnaires will be discussed.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the results obtained from the questionnaires, as set out in Chapter 5, are analysed and discussed in conjunction with the results from the interviews (this is therefore an integrated presentation). In other words, the information obtained from the interviews (where applicable) is used to moderate the results from the questionnaire, and the data from the interviews contributes to expanding on information and providing further explanations.

The chapter is organised in terms of the factors identified in the literature as playing a role in language maintenance and language shift, namely: education, religion, socio-cultural involvement, media, family, contact situations and language loyalty.

6.2 Factors

6.2.1 Education

6.2.1.1 Introduction

Education is the one factor which has the greatest potential for influencing language shift and maintenance (cf. § 2.2.2). Mougeon (1985:476; § 2.3.7) refers to the most apparent, and certainly most important, reasoning for learning the mother tongue in school, namely, that immigrant children will lose their mother tongue (partially or totally), when they are constantly exposed to the dominant language only in the school environment. The literature overview presented in Chapter 2, with specific reference to Fishman (§ 2.2.2), highlights the important role played by education in the retention of the mother tongue, in immigrant communities.

However, despite the important role of education in retaining the mother tongue, education remains an ambivalent (or shift) factor. In many instances, children in immigrant

communities may not have the opportunity, or easy access, to study their mother tongue at school or in the medium of the mother tongue, but only the language of the host society - as is the case in South Africa. In all private and government schools in South Africa, the language of instruction is English (or Afrikaans). Although a fair number of Greek children attend the Greek school (SAHETI), where they study Greek (as a compulsory subject); the language of instruction (or Language of Learning and Teaching) for all other subjects is English, which potentially counters attempts at language maintenance. However, it is safe to suggest that the many opportunities to study Greek (both the full-day and afternoon schools) are playing a vital role in both the literacy and retention of the Greek language.

The recent introduction and recognition of Greek as a Matric subject (2006, see Appendix 6) is a positive factor for the language – this can be seen in conjunction with, and verified by, the views of Kalantzis (1985) and Tamis (1990) (cf. § 2.3.6), namely that the study and recognition of the language as a school subject leads to an improved status of the language. Seen overall, there are a number of positive factors working in favour of the language in the domain of education.

In this section the domain of education will be examined under the following headings: (a) the all-day school (SAHETI), (b) the afternoon or community schools and (c) tertiary education. Note that information regarding the afternoon schools could not be collected from Group A (school pupils), because they all attend the full-time Greek school, SAHETI. In order to gain information about afternoon/community schools, the data was collected from Mrs Symeonides. Further information in order to gain a broader perspective of the situation within the community was collected from the adult group, some of whom had attended afternoon schools in various places (including Johannesburg), and the group of high school pupils from the Pretoria community school who were involved in the pilot study. This was deemed necessary, as there were not many high school pupils at community schools in Johannesburg and they were scattered around many suburbs, making it difficult to collect information.

6.2.1.2 Responses from pupils at the all-day school (SAHETI)

The first part of this discussion relates to the results obtained from the questions in Section B of the questionnaire (Questions 1.1 – 1.4), and which were set out in (§ 5.2.2.1). These

questions deal with one of the most important issues in education, namely, whether Greek is offered as a school subject, or not. This issue is of great importance as the study of the language at school contributes greatly to the maintenance of and literacy in the mother tongue.

In this study, 40 pupils from SAHETI (§ 1.8.7.3), completed questionnaires. Pupils attending this school are in a fortunate position as they have the opportunity to study their mother tongue at school, as Greek is a compulsory subject for all pupils attending the school (Questions 1.2 – 1.3). Consequently, this type of school contributes greatly to fostering literacy in Greek and the maintenance of the language. The school also has a church on the premises, and church services form part of the school programme; consequently, the religious aspect is incorporated into the school system, re-enforcing the acquisition and maintenance of the Greek language. Pupils are therefore exposed to the study of the language at the school as well as at church services, which play an important role for the re-enforcement of the language, religion and culture. (There are also church services at this church for the local congregation on a Sunday.) The school and its various activities therefore play a pivotal role in language maintenance. The school complies with the view advocated by Fishman (1964:103,104; § 2.2.2.1) that the instruction of the foreign language should begin as early as possible, and that it should continue intensively and for as long as possible. The pupils are, however, Anglicised to a large degree, and have been so for a long period of time, as almost all the pupils were born in South Africa (§ 2.2.1.2). Nevertheless, the mother tongue speakers at the school, when studying Greek as a subject, will receive instruction in Greek, including the various aspects of the subject, such as, history and culture, the theoretical ethnicity aspect of the subject; (see Fishman's term "symbolic-intellectual-cultural" subjects, discussed in (§ 2.2.2.2). The non-Greek pupils (just under half of the pupils in the school), are initially in separate classes for Greek, and once they reach a certain level of proficiency in the language (possibly the start of high school), they gradually start to merge with the mother-tongue speakers. Non-Greek pupils attend the school as the school has a good reputation and attains very good Matriculation results. At SAHETI, teachers will speak in Greek (to the mother-tongue speakers) as pupils have been learning Greek from Grade 1 (or pre-school).

The results of Matric Examinations (Appendix 7 & 8), are an indication that pupils have received a thorough instruction and preparation for these examinations, consequently, they

are excelling in Greek as a subject (see also the results obtained by pupils at community or afternoon schools § 2.2.2.1, Appendix 18). Mrs Papazoglou-Krystallidis (Interview, 2011), Senior Greek teacher at SAHETI, pointed out that Greek is a language which needs to be practised. Hence, a certain amount of homework or tasks are given each day, even if only small amounts, such as, spelling, translation, reading, internet research etc. She said that the Matriculation examinations are set by teachers at SAHETI and moderated by the head of SAHETI. They are then forwarded to the IEB (Independent Examinations Board). The IEB is the main authority for Matric Greek in South Africa; IEB and GDE (Gauteng Department of Education) candidates write the same examination (i.e. GDE candidates are entered for the IEB exam and the GDE accepts these results). The Greek Consulate has an Educational Representative (see Appendix 4), who is responsible for overseeing Greek Education in South Africa. Teachers are locally trained (at the University of Johannesburg), as well as sent from Greece. Consequently, this ensures that the teaching of Greek, not only in South Africa, but also in the various communities in the Diaspora, in general, is consistent in terms of content and standards, in order that the standards achieved by the pupils and students for Greek may be accepted as reliable and valid. The Greek Government therefore continues to play an active and a progressive role in the teaching and maintenance of the Greek language in the Diaspora (see also Bradshaw & Truckenbrodt, 2001).

From the foregoing discussion of results obtained from pupils, the researcher is of the opinion that, in general, there is still a good command of the language, particularly among this sector of the Greek community (i.e. the more traditional Greeks who send their children to Greek schools and therefore wish to retain the language and culture). These results could be indicative of a high level of proficiency in the language, which is reinforced at church, in the Greek family and community life. Furthermore, these results could also be indicative of a positive situation for language maintenance in this immigrant community. There is a core of the younger generation who will maintain the language.

An indication of shift is found in the language in which respondents count (Question 1.12). With regard to the school pupils, the majority of pupils count either in English or both languages. The results for the adults are very similar: The majority count either in English or both languages. Very few respondents indicate counting in Greek only. This could possibly be explained in light of the fact that for most Greek pupils in South Africa, the

language of instruction at school is English and Mathematics at school is taught in English. The majority of adults have also been educated in English and are living in South Africa; business will also be conducted, to a large degree in English.

6.2.1.3 Responses regarding community/afternoon schools

Greek is only offered as a subject at the private all-day Greek school, SAHETI, and is not available as a subject at government schools in South Africa. In addition to SAHETI, pupils can study Greek at an afternoon/community school, or at certain private schools (for example, Marist Brothers in Linmeyer or Crawford College), where the subject is taught in the afternoons. It can therefore be noted that there are increased opportunities to study Greek which is evidence of the continued and increased attempts within the community to teach and retain the language. Having a full-time Greek school as well as other well-organised afternoon schools, is undoubtedly an important factor in favour of language maintenance (§ 2.2.2.1).

The general trend which can be detected is that pupils attend these afternoon schools when they are in primary school, but in high school there is less time to attend these schools, and to do extra homework. This tendency is also noted by Fishman (1966:118,119) who points out that as children grow up (and increase in age), so their interest in afternoon school decreases (see also § 2.2.2.2). Kapardis and Tamis (§ 3.3.3; 3.3.7.4) also refer to the parents' influence over the acquisition of the mother tongue which will decrease as children proceed through adolescence, which results in the domination of English over the mother tongue, although there is a constant increase in students continuing their education in Greek at the secondary level. Within the Johannesburg area, it is mostly primary school pupils who attend afternoon/community schools and few pupils continue with afternoon school once they go to high school, because of time constraints.

Interviews conducted with Mrs Symeonides in 2011 (a teacher at a community school) and Mrs M. Piperides-Triandafillou (a lecturer at UJ) provide further insight into the domain of education. At this stage, the majority of pupils within the community are attending Greek school, even if only in the primary school. Accordingly, Mrs M. Piperides-Triandafillou indicated that there are still many parents who insist that their children must attend Greek afternoon school. (The important role of parents in this regard is also referred to in

§ 3.3.3.2 and confirmed in the literature (cf. Tuffin § 3.3.3; 3.3.4.1). On the downside, it is estimated that approximately 30% - 40% of children within the community never attend any form of Greek school (see § 3.2.2).

Mrs Symeonides (Interview) indicated that in the 1970s and 1980s there was a strong attendance at the Greek afternoon school operating at the church in central Johannesburg. Many pupils attended this school and it was well organised – to the extent that they had a bus which would transport pupils to and from the afternoon school (which is normally a factor hindering pupils attending afternoon schools even in the USA and Australia; see the discussion of Religion and Education in § 3.2.2 and § 3.3.3). Approximately 67 children attended this Johannesburg afternoon school, which operated from Monday (2 p.m. to 5 p.m.) to Saturday. However, as the centre of Johannesburg changed in terms of demographics and safety (i.e. after the political changes which took place in 1994, discussed in § 1.9.1), so the numbers of pupils attending this school decreased and pupils started attending Greek schools in the suburbs. It is therefore important to note that parents were not easily deterred by these negative factors, but ensured that their children still attended Greek school in the suburbs and Greek schools were maintained at a considerable sacrifice (see also § 3.3.3; 3.3.3.2).

Mrs Symeonides emphasised the pivotal and crucial role which parents play in language retention (see also Fishman § 2.2.2; 2.2.6; Papdemetre & Routoulos 2001); it should be *a way of life* (§ 2.2.2.3). She indicated that approximately 75% of parents don't speak Greek at home (cf. the observation by Tamis in § 3.3.6, that second and subsequent generation speakers may find it difficult to learn the mother tongue as they are learning from their parents whose knowledge of the mother tongue may already be limited or faulty; the home environment is very important for mother tongue use and inter-generational learning). It is easier to communicate in English, especially for children born in South Africa. Hence, it is important to encourage the speaking of Greek at Greek school, and the participation in the performances and celebrations on the National Day. While teaching pupils in Greek school, one also has to, initially, use both English and Greek (a fair amount of translation is necessary), and gradually this leads to an improvement of Greek. This particular issue has been discussed extensively in the literature on the topic (§ 3.3.4; § 3.3.4.1; § 3.3.6).

Mrs Symeonides further pointed out that emigration (a large number of people returned to Cyprus in 1994) has also affected the number of pupils attending Greek school, as there are now fewer children in the community. By further implication, this also affects inter-marriage, as the Greek community is now smaller, and marriage out of the community is more frequent. The community has decreased from approximately 120 000 to approximately 40 000 people (see also Greek Community, 2005 and Damanakis, 2003). The issue of fewer people, or fewer speakers, as a threat for the language is mentioned by Bamgbose (1993:19). This decrease in the number of people in the Greek community could be a major cause of shift (cf. the critical mass, as referred to by Tuffin, § 3.3.3.2). However, the situation may not be completely dismal, as Kloss (cited in Fishman 1966:206ff) points out that the number of people in a group is also an ambivalent factor. A large number of people in a community may assist with establishing organisations and a press, for example. A large community may also result in more contact with the English environment and factions within the community. A smaller number of people, on the other hand, may have certain negative consequences such as a shortage of manpower; a smaller group is easier to control, however, and it is more personal as people know each other.

At the time of starting this research, it was difficult to locate any large group of Greek afternoon school pupils in the Johannesburg area, therefore a pilot study was conducted at the community school in Pretoria, where a fair number of high school pupils attend a community school. The reason for the larger number of pupils is that in the Pretoria area (which is 60 km north of Johannesburg), there is no full-time Greek day school as in Johannesburg. Consequently (in areas outside of Johannesburg), it was possible to locate slightly more high school pupils who attend afternoon school, than in the Johannesburg area. The researcher therefore made use of the Pretoria afternoon school as a type of control group, in order to locate a fair number of Greek pupils at one location. The pupils in a control group, who were interviewed in Pretoria (in the pilot study, Appendix 18), attend government or private schools during the day and the Greek community school in the afternoons. The results obtained from this group can be viewed in Appendix 18.

The issue of sufficient qualified Greek teachers in Johannesburg (and in South Africa in general) does not appear to be a problem at present, as teachers are also sent from Greece, should there not be sufficient local teachers (cf. 2.2.2.2; 2.2.2.3). There are therefore a number of foreign-born teachers who speak both the mother tongue and English. This can

be seen as a positive factor for language maintenance (see Appendix 4). Consequently, in South Africa, one finds a mixture of both local teachers as well as foreign-born teachers. This intervention of the Greek government to supply Greek teachers in the Diaspora is a positive factor for the promotion of Greek education, (cf. Dorian 1987:61,62). The Greek government plays an important role in supporting language maintenance. The role of the South African government always plays an important role, as Greek has been recognised as a Matric subject (Appendix 6).

The responses of the adult respondents to questions will now be discussed. It can be noted that only a minority of adult respondents indicated that Greek was offered as a subject at school or a language of instruction. For the few who were educated in Greece or Cyprus, the language of instruction was obviously Greek, which plays a significant role in facilitating literacy and proficiency in the mother tongue. Hence, for the majority of respondents who grew up in South Africa, the language of instruction was English; in some instances English and Afrikaans or Afrikaans only (for example, at the former Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), now University of Johannesburg, where Afrikaans was the medium of instruction until the university made changes to their language policy, to include instruction in English as well). A few of the adult respondents indicated that they either took Greek as a subject at school or attended Greek school. With regard to the adult respondents it can therefore be said that four main trends can be detected with regard to their schooling and the study of Greek at school level: (a) some are 'foreign' i.e. went to school in Greece or Cyprus (or another country) and were therefore schooled in Greek (or in the language(s) of the country where they grew up); (b) some attended the Greek school (SAHETI); (c) some attended community/ afternoon schools and (d) a minimal number have never had Greek schooling.

A minimal number of respondents indicated that they did not attend Greek school due to lack of interest. Others did not have the opportunity to attend a Greek school as they lived in a town where there was no Greek school and therefore learnt the language from their parents only. In general, however, there is a positive attitude among the majority of respondents towards Greek school, and the majority did attend Greek school, even if only in primary school; once again, a positive factor for language maintenance. Most of those who did not attend Greek school indicated that they wished that they had attended afternoon school. Similarly, attitudes were encountered by Costantakos (1982:157) in the

USA, who stated that some of her respondents “expressed regrets for having resisted the efforts of home and afternoon schools.”

6.2.1.5 Responses regarding tertiary education

In terms of tertiary education, it should be noted that the study of Greek at universities in South Africa is restricted. Despite Greek communities in Cape Town and Durban, the universities in these large cities do not offer the language. This situation can be considered in the light of Zentella’s (1986:35) observation, commenting on the situation in the USA:

Of immediate concern is the lack of courses for native speakers in many colleges and universities, including well-endowed institutions, that serve a significant number of language minority students.

At present, the situation in South Africa is as follows:

- Ancient (Classical) Greek is offered at several universities, for example, at UNISA and the University of Pretoria. This language is usually offered at universities which offer degrees in Theology, as many of these courses require a basic knowledge of Hellenistic Greek.
- University of Johannesburg (formerly Rand Afrikaans University) is the only university in South Africa which offers Modern Greek (Appendix 9).
- Modern Greek used to be offered at the University of the Witwatersrand (1984 – 1989; 1992 - 2001) (Appendix 10), but is no longer offered.

When examining the responses given by the SAHETI pupils, it is interesting to note that the majority of pupils, in each case, indicate that they would not continue with studying Greek on a tertiary level. It is unlikely that these responses are because of negative attitudes towards the language, but rather because many pupils are in a situation where they are learning the language at school up to Matric level, or have attended afternoon school, they are therefore already quite proficient in the language. Many of the respondents provide similar responses, such as: “they already speak the language, therefore they do not wish to pursue any further studies in the language; they already speak Greek so they would prefer to learn a new language; the subject does not always fit in with certain degrees, such as Engineering or Medicine.” Most respondents therefore do not feel the need to continue with Greek at a tertiary level, but rather to pursue career-orientated studies. These

responses were confirmed in a follow-up interview with pupils at SAHETI: they did not wish to continue with Greek at a tertiary level, as they have already studied the language at school. Many pupils simply want to be able to speak the language (for communication); advanced reading and writing is not that important to them, as it is probably not a requirement in their future careers.

Interestingly, the results of the control group in Pretoria, who only attend afternoon school, are very different. The majority indicated that they would want to continue with Greek on a tertiary level. This could possibly be explained in terms of the fact that they are not exposed to the language as much as the pupils in a Greek school, and consequently, they may not be as fluent in the language and have such a vast knowledge of the language as the pupils in a Greek school, and therefore feel the need to learn more.

When examining the responses given by the adults with regard to studying “Greek at a tertiary level”, we note that the majority of respondents indicate that they did not or would not study the language on a tertiary level. Again, very similar reasons to those reported in many different immigrant communities can be noted, such as the language was not offered at a tertiary institution; they were not able to fit the language into their course of study; they feel that they are sufficiently literate and fluent in the language. Many are also wary or hesitant to study the language on a tertiary level if they have not studied the language at school. In many instances, they are also not aware that when studying a foreign language, it is possible to first do a beginner’s course at university, and therefore not start immediately with an advanced study of the language.

6.2.1.5 Conclusion

When comparing South Africa, the USA and Australia, it can be noted that there are numerous similarities in the domain of education. Historically, once there were a sufficient number of Greeks who had arrived and settled in a new country, they would always give priority to the building of a church and then a school, or finding a suitable venue for Greek school, should there not be sufficient funds immediately available to build both a church and a school. Great importance is attached to Greek schools and the maintenance of the language – this is evident from the fact that Greek schools are retained, even if at a high cost. The USA and Australia have, over the years, established community and full-day

schools which have played a significant role in the maintenance of language and culture in the communities in the Diaspora. The recognition of Greek as a school subject and the language being offered at tertiary level plays an important role in the increased status of the language, and this also has a positive effect not only on pupils and students wishing to pursue their study of the language, but also the maintenance of the language and culture.

6.3 Religion

When examining the results from the questionnaire for Question 4.1, it is evident that there is still a strong feeling for the retention of Greek in church services: 77,5% of the school pupils and 69,7% of the adult respondents indicate that Greek should not be completely replaced by English. Despite the fact that bilingual services are preferred, there is a strong inclination to retain Greek in the service, and not replace it completely with English. It is also very significant that the younger generation is in favour of retaining Greek.

The overwhelming majority of respondents indicated a preference for bilingual church services. A number of different reasons are given for this, but most importantly it should be noted that the younger generations find it easier to follow certain parts of the church service or the sermon in English, as opposed to the entire service being in Greek. The respondents feel that retaining Greek for parts of the service also helps to keep tradition, and certain concepts are better expressed in Greek. Most respondents find it difficult when Ancient (Classical) Greek is used. This was also confirmed in a discussion with pupils from SAHETI, who gave the reason that they do not attend church services very often, as they do not understand the Ancient (Biblical) Greek. Although church services are 'bilingual', pupils indicated that many of the church services are still three-quarters in Greek and one-quarter in English. Some pupils, however, pointed out that one can follow the translation in the books used in the services. Father Parginos (Interview) also mentioned that the Greek used in church services is very similar to Modern Greek; if one is proficient in Modern Greek, then one should be able to follow the church service.

Similar reasoning for retaining Greek is given by both school and adult respondents, for example:

It is a Greek church;

To keep things traditional or authentic;

The language helps to distinguish it from another church;

*It would detract from Greek Orthodoxy – the language is part of the ‘essence’ of the church and the services and
It helps to retain the culture and language.*

The responses therefore testify to the inter-related nature of language and religion in a national church such as the Greek Orthodox Church. Because the majority of respondents do not want Greek to be completely replaced by English, as well as the youth, the responses are not indicative of a strong language shift, but rather a situation of relatively stable bilingualism in this domain. Consequently, it would appear that the church has the potential to fulfil more than merely a religious/spiritual role in the lives of the community; the church may still be in a position to play a role in the retention of the language. There is an added argument for a situation of stable bilingualism in the church domain, when these responses are seen in conjunction with the responses to Question 4.3: “Do you think English should replace Greek in the Church services?”

The preferences for language in different parts of the service (see Table 5.12) also indicate the general preferences for bilingualism and retention of Greek. For the prayers: the large majority indicate a preference for the use of Greek; for the sermon: the majority of responses are divided between English-only sermons and the use of both languages. For the liturgy, there is a preference for the use of Greek; the adults are almost evenly divided on the issue between Greek only and both languages. For the question, “In which language do you pray” (Question 4.4) the overall majority of respondents indicate that they pray in both languages, English or Greek.

According to Father Parginos (Interview), the language used in the church depends on the priest. The first generation priests used only Greek (cf. § 3.2.3.2). In South Africa, at present, many of the churches have bilingual services, and there is a tendency to increasingly use English, in an attempt to attract and retain the youth (cf. § 3.2.3.2). Although one may still find priests being sent from Greece, younger priests educated in South Africa tend to speak more English. Older priests and priests from Greece, by contrast, speak more Greek (see also § 3.2.3.2). Father Parginos indicated that he starts his service in the Bedfordview congregation in Greek (for the older people), and gradually introduces English. The youth attend church services more at the churches that make more use of English. This phenomenon can be seen in the light of Fishman’s (1966:128)

discussion on generation and religion, namely, that an emphasis on language maintenance may cause the younger generations to lose interest, and is therefore less frequently practised with the younger generation (§ 2). Father Parginos estimates that there are approximately 300 congregants who attend the church service on a Sunday in Bedfordview. This can be ascribed to the language issue, in his opinion. Furthermore, the congregation may also request which language they would like to be used for certain functions, such as a baptism. Many prefer the use of English as the main language for these functions, with a certain amount of Greek in the service.

With regard to church attendance, it is very difficult to give an accurate indication of exactly how often people attend church activities, as most respondents usually give more than one response for this question, for example, ‘weekly’ and ‘on special occasions.’ From the responses given in this study, it could be safe to say that many respondents attend church services at least on a monthly basis, but an overwhelming majority attend special occasions (e.g. weddings, Easter, Christmas and festivals). These findings correlate with those of an earlier study (Steinberg 1978:16) which indicates that the majority of respondents attend special occasions in South Africa; it could therefore be said that this may be a trend which has been going on for many years (see also § 3.2.3.2) . From observation by the researcher, however, it can be seen that church services are generally well attended on Sundays. This can be explained by a number of different factors, for example: for the first arrivals there were no churches, until they were gradually built by the communities (Interview: Mrs. M. Piperides-Triandafillou, lecturer at U.J.). The changes that have taken place over the years in terms of work are important: a large majority of the first arrivals or generations were shop-owners, who worked very long hours, seven days a week. Attending church services or socialising was minimal (see the studies by Added 1972 and Steinberg 1978 in this regard). Steinberg (1978) notes a decrease in church attendance in the new country (South Africa), in contrast to church attendance in the country of origin. However, over the years, the later generations have more professional jobs, allowing more time for participation in the various activities within the community. There are a large number of young people attending church services, which is significant. This indicates that the religion and traditions are being passed on and this may support maintenance of the language.

From the interviews with respondents it appears that those who convert to another denomination are in the minority. Some have moved to charismatic churches. Mrs M. Piperides-Triandafillou (Interview) says that leaving the Orthodox Church can be ascribed to parents who have not had a strong influence on their children in terms of language and religion. In order to prevent parishioners going to another denomination, the Greek Orthodox Church has also become more bilingual, in an attempt to retain the youth. In the early 80s there was a charismatic movement (or revival), in South Africa, and many people wished to be part of this “rebirth” process, and consequently went to a charismatic church; after a while, however, this movement lost momentum. In a discussion with Father Parginos, he indicated that secularisation is more of a problem than parishioners converting to another denomination. For many Greeks, religion is seen as part of tradition, therefore, many may remain Orthodox because of being Greek, not necessarily because it is a conviction.

There are few Greeks who are Catholic. This may be ascribed to various reasons. Some Greek people may be of Italian origin, due to the Italian invasion of Greece in World War II. These Greeks are therefore not necessarily converts, but are born into Catholic families. There are approximately 100 000 Catholics in Greece (Bardis 1976:29; see also § 3.2.3). Inter-marriage also plays a role: in some instances, if the mother is Catholic, the children will grow up in this tradition (Interview, Father Parginos and Mrs Symeonides). Furthermore, some girls have attended convents, and have subsequently joined the Catholic Church (Interview, Prof. Ladikos and Prof. Barnes, UNISA).

Most of the school respondents feel that the church has only a small role to play in keeping the ways of the “old country”; a large number of adult respondents, by contrast, feel more positive about the role of the church in the retention of customs and traditions of the mother country. The responses of the adults could possibly be explained in terms of the fact that many older people were either born in Greece or Cyprus, or may have lived there for a period of time; consequently, they may feel more strongly about the role that the church can play in the maintenance of customs and tradition, and how inter-related the two factors are, especially in the case of the Greek Orthodox Church (which is a national church). This issue was included in the study by Steinberg (1978:17), who explains that he included this question in an attempt to see whether ethnicity (potentially) played a role in

church attendance and religious practice, in general; importantly this was confirmed by more than half of the Greek respondents:

This was with a view to gauging, if possible, any degree of ethnic consciousness involved in church attendance and religious observance generally...whereas over half the Greeks affirmed that church going helped “a lot”, among the Portuguese nearly three quarters of the sample replied “not at all”. This divergence may well be connected with the respective national and universal dimensions of the church in Greece and Portugal.

Inter-marriage, a primary factor for Anglicisation and heterogeneity (§ 2.2.6; 3.2.6.3), especially within the Greek community, where there is a national or ethnic religion, remains a sensitive issue. Even though respondents may indicate that they do not object to inter-marriage, still generally display a deep-seated preference for homogenous marriages; this was detected when interviewing respondents (Question 4.7). This is indicative of a desire to retain religion, culture and language (see also § 3.2.3). Inter-marriage has, over the last few years, become more acceptable, more of a ‘normal’ phenomenon. According to Mrs M. Piperides-Triandafillou (Interview), this can also be ascribed to a trend which has started to take place in Greece. This is also in line with the findings of Costantakos (1982:154), who also found an increase in socialising and marriage out of the group in the USA and Australia (see also § 3.2.5.3; 3.2.6.3; 3.3.7.3; 3.3.7.4 above).

Although many respondents may appear to be more tolerant of this issue than in the past (e.g. the older generations could sometimes threaten to disinherit sons or daughters who inter-married), the greater majority would still prefer Greek marriages. As marriage is a core value (cf. Smolicz 1985:27), it is clear that the general avoidance of inter-marriage in the Johannesburg community will prevent a rapid language shift.

In conclusion, it could be said that, at present, the church is still playing a role in the maintenance of the language, but has potential to play a far more significant role. The fact that the majority of respondents, including the youth, do not want English to completely replace Greek in the church services, and would prefer bilingual church services, is a positive indicator of language maintenance. Furthermore, the current bilingual approach to the language issue may also have a positive effect on church attendance and cultural coherence to keep the community together.

6.4 Socio-cultural involvement

There are a number of clubs (both Greek and Cypriot) in the various Greek communities (Appendix 5). They are either independent clubs (e.g. the Cypriot club in Bedfordview, Johannesburg is an independent club), or they may be part of or affiliated to the community centre, for example, the church, offices and a large hall for various functions, form one big complex. The complex is usually the central gathering point for the community in that particular area, for example: Germiston, Alberton, Benoni, Brakpan, Springs etc. Johannesburg is the central and most prominent city of the greater Witwatersrand area, which comprises four main areas: the North, South, East and West Rand (See Appendix 5 for the list of community centres). These areas surrounding or adjacent to Johannesburg are usually regarded as falling within the jurisdiction of the Johannesburg area. The clubs and communities have great potential to play a role in the maintenance of language and culture (§ 3.3.4), and so the fact that they are geographically accessible to as many people as possible, is an important aspect for language and group maintenance (cf. Fishman and Nahirny, 1966:156).

With regard to attendance of the various clubs, the majority of respondents do, if only seldom, attend these clubs (Question 2.1 and 2.2). It is usually when there is a specific festival that is being celebrated, that many people will attend these big festivals, for example, name days, Saint Days or if the church has been named after a specific saint. In a discussion with pupils at SAHETI, they also pointed out that most of these festivities or fêtes are not well advertised, therefore the general public do not know about these happenings. As a result, it is mostly members from within the Greek community, who attend these functions. As outsiders are de facto excluded, these events serve to re-enforce the sense of solidarity of the community which could have a positive effect on language maintenance.

There are also organisations representing the different regions or areas in Greece from which the immigrants have come (for example: Cyprus, Crete etc.) i.e. regionalism (see Appendix 5, names of organisations) (§ 2.2.3.2). These clubs or organisations attempt, inter alia, to maintain the traditions and customs from that particular area or island in Greece such as the food and celebrations, but mainly the traditional dress and dances from a particular area, (confirmed in an interview with Mrs Papzoglou-Krystallidis, SAHETI),

and play an important role in cohesion and helping those from different areas to come into contact with one another (see Appendix 19). At this point, perhaps it should be borne in mind that in terms of the theory of Paulston (§ 2.3.4.2; 7.2), the Greeks in South Africa (the host society), are an ‘ethnic group’ i.e. a group of people who share a common history and values; culture and religion play a pivotal role in personal identity.

Music and dancing play an important role and are a major part of various activities of the clubs and organisations, Fishman (1966:165) indicates that the activities can have an influence on language maintenance, should the activities (such as singing traditional songs) make use of the mother tongue. Different activities are also aimed at different age groups. Consequently, clubs and organisations need to constantly be aware of what activities their members have a preference for, in order to attract the people, and especially the youth. An important occurrence within the community (and will be discussed again under ‘media’, § 6.4), is that many Greek singers come to South Africa on a regular basis. There could be at least three or four singers a year or even more, who come to South Africa (for example, Anna Vissi, Andonis Remos, Stelios Rokkos, Angela Dimitriou, Dalaras, Peggy Zina and Elena Papparizou). These concerts play a great role not only in the socialisation within the community, but also have potential to play a role in language maintenance.

As can be seen from the responses given by both the school pupils and adults in this section there is, or has been, a great involvement by almost all the respondents, in at least one activity within the community (Question 2.1). Almost all respondents have, at some stage, been involved in Greek Dancing or learnt Greek dancing (for example, belonging to a club or organisation which offers Greek dancing, or from teachers within the community), as Greek dancing is something all Greeks should know (or are expected to know) how to do, as dancing is a prominent part of Greek social life, for example, at weddings, parties and celebrations at clubs. This exposure to Greek music and culture is a further important factor for the maintenance of language, culture and tradition. Many school pupils indicated also being involved with sporting or social activities and debutantes (§ 5.2.2.2; Questions 2.1 and 2.2). Pupils at SAHETI also pointed out that the Boys’ Scouts is an important activity, through which they are exposed to an aspect of Greek traditions. Socials (basically a “get-together” held at the community centres or night clubs) are extremely popular activities, not only within the Greek community, but one could say in all immigrant communities, as they provide an opportunity for Greeks to meet and socialise,

as well as to meet new people. Occasionally, there are “PIG” socials: Portuguese, Italian and Greek.

A further issue examined by Fishman (1966:167) with regard to the clubs and organisations is the issue of leadership or chief officers (§ 2.2.3.4). Fishman (1966:17) found that, at the time, the core members and leaders employed the mother tongue more frequently than the general membership or the public. The nativity of the chief officers is an important determining factor in the use of the mother tongue. Belief in language maintenance was associated with language use in the various organisations. Fishman highlights that the first immigrants in the USA came from rural areas consequently, language maintenance was habitual. In the South African context, it can also be noted that many of the first immigrants were from a rural background, and so the mother tongue would also have been habitually employed. Furthermore, Fishman and Nahirny (1966:315) suggest that, in order to promote maintenance, the leaders of these clubs and organisations should display an interest in cultural aspects (e.g. literature, music) and, where possible, should hold a position or portfolio similar to his/her occupational status, for example, an accountant being the treasurer of a club.

In the context of the Greek clubs in South Africa, there are no prescribed requirements for leaders to be foreign born or native born. The clubs are run according to their constitutions. Language issues depend on whether the leaders are foreign-born (more use of the mother tongue) or native-born (more Anglicised). When the clubs were established many years ago by the first generation, Greek would (possibly) have been the main language employed; nowadays, there is an increase in the use of English among the members of the clubs (Interview, Father Parginos).

The important role played by the parents in encouraging their children to participate in the ethnic and cultural activities is also pointed out by Fishman (1966:184; § 2.2.3.4). As in the case of the attendance at afternoon school, so the children’s involvement in ethnic life may also decrease as they become older. In this regard, and of importance for language maintenance, is that Fishman (1966:184) suggests a correlation between involvement in ethnic life and language retention. From observation (attending some functions and observing church attendance while conducting interviews), it was noted that the various functions and activities in the community are well supported by all ages, including the youth (cf. § 2.2.3.4). These are the important factors for the maintenance of the language and culture.

The role of various organisations and churches is emphasised by Nahirny and Fishman (1965:315,316) and Fishman (1966:156), namely that they assist immigrants from a common background to meet for assistance and support, and because there is a need for a sense of community, which is provided by these organisations. The views put forward by most researchers with regard to the various clubs, are that they have a positive role to play in the community.

In contrast to the positive views of most scholars with regard to the role of the clubs within the communities, Mantzaris (1978) felt that the clubs were not relevant as they did not achieve what they set out to do. To support his view he quotes a Greek expression: “There are numerous organisations in South Africa reminding us of the old Greek saying: “four Greeks, five parties” (Mantzaris 1978:182). This may have been the situation in the 1970s, however, the researcher is of the opinion that today the situation is quite different. The first generations were not in a position to attend clubs or socialise extensively as many people worked long hours (e.g. the café owners). It should be borne in mind that, since then, the communities and organisations have grown and developed, and the situation is very different at present, as can be observed from the attendance at special occasions and festivities. Even though the figures indicate that attendance is not frequent, there is an overwhelming participation in and attendance at ethnic and community affairs and activities (see § 5.2.2.2).

Observation within the various immigrant communities in South Africa will also reveal that with the younger generations there is an increase in the number who are upwardly mobile; the new generations are usually wealthier, and together with these characteristics, there is also a new, increased awareness and pride in their background and culture (see also § 3.2.5.3). Many South Europeans (Italians, Greeks and Portuguese) openly display and acknowledge their nationality, by displaying the flags and rosaries on their cars. Observation of these communities has revealed that there appears to be an increased interest and pride in the community and community affairs by the younger generations. This trend is in line with trends elsewhere. For instance, Clyne (1988:71) points out that in the USA culture, of which language is symbolic, and not use of the language, has been revived. Pandharipande (cited in Fase et al, 1992:262), remarks that should immigrants lose their language because of shift; this may result in greater participation in ethnic or religious activities to compensate for the loss of their linguistic identity (nevertheless these activities can still play a certain role in retaining the language, see Paulston below). Observation of these communities has certainly revealed that there is renewed interest in

the culture and a desire to identify with the culture in Johannesburg. The important role that culture can play in retaining a language or slowing down shift, is highlighted by Paulston (1987:87, 88): it may not maintain a language, but it can reduce the rate of shift. This phenomenon could therefore take place over a number of different generations. One can view Paulston's observation in conjunction with Fishman's (1972:49) suggestion that cultural organisations are more important than the press or broadcasting for language maintenance, and play an important role in both language and cultural maintenance, in the USA. Similarly, in the context of the Greek communities in South Africa, the clubs have great potential to play a role in the retention of language and culture. Hence, membership of and participation in these clubs are of great importance for the maintenance of both the language and the culture.

If maintenance is to be supported, the clubs need to pay special attention to the activities which they host and arrange, as these activities are important in determining attendance at the functions, and importantly, the age groups. It is important to ensure that the youth become involved and stay involved. From the responses obtained in the study, it would appear that the clubs and organisations are encouraging the youth to attend the various functions and activities, and therefore increasing the potential for linguistic and cultural maintenance. The clubs do contribute to language maintenance, but they tend to support the maintenance of culture, rather than language directly which, nevertheless, facilitates the maintenance of the language, to some degree. A wide variety of activities are taking place at present, for example, student organisations, women's societies, drama clubs, religious societies (youth groups), boy scouts, cultural societies, sports clubs/days.

Hence, it could be said that the organisations play a significant, although limited, role in the retention of the Greek language in South Africa, as well as the customs and traditions of the areas in Greece from which the immigrants come.

6.5 The media

6.5.1 The newspaper (printed media)

Although the majority of respondents indicated that they "seldom" or "never" read the newspaper (which is indicative of a decline in readership), and less school respondents read the newspaper than the adult respondents do, a few respondents (including a few pupils from SAHETI) also indicated reading Greek newspapers (or news items) on the

internet. With the increasing use of the internet, it is possible that there may, in future, be an increased number of youth or younger generations, reading these newspapers on the internet. Hence, the newspaper may play more of a role than it appears to, at present. A possible explanation for the low number of readers could be that many people (especially of later generations) may not always be very proficient in the mother tongue, if they have been educated in South Africa and lived here for most or all of their life, and more so if they have never had formal instruction in the language. The older persons (or first generation), as we have seen from the history of the community, were not highly educated, and therefore may not be very proficient in the reading; possibly they may not read the newspapers so frequently, but prefer to listen to the radio, a trend indicated by Fishman (§ 2.2.5.2). The newspapers probably cannot be regarded as a very significant factor in helping to retain the Greek language in South Africa (§ 3.2.4), however, the Greek Press contributes to the preservation of the national identity of the Hellenes in South Africa (Marinou-Hadjitheodorou, 2003). Unfortunately, the Greek press is under pressure because of the “very limited subscriptions and not many advertisements, due to the drastic dwindling of the Community, mainly over the last two decades” (Marinou-Hadjitheodorou, 2003:2).

In an interview with the editor of the Greek newspaper, Mr. Costandopoulos, (Appendix 14) he indicated that there have been a number of newspapers within the community over the years – starting in approximately 1902 (e.g. *Apokalypsis*, Cape Town, 1902; *New Hellas* 1913; *Afrikanis* 1918; 1933 see Mantzaris 1999:135). At present the newspaper is called the *Hellenic News*, which has been in circulation since 1999 (Appendix 14). It is a monthly publication. It is a bilingual publication, in an attempt to attract people from all age groups to read the newspaper. This language policy can also be seen in line with Fishman’s (1966:2) observation that bilingual publications are an attempt to target all people in the community (i.e. those who are proficient in the mother tongue and those who are not so literate in the language). The language of the articles is also determined by the contributors, who submit their articles to the newspaper in the language of their choice, Greek or English. The content of the newspaper covers a wide variety of topics, for example, Church news (a priest regularly writes an article in English specifically aimed at the youth), happenings in Greece and messages from the Greek government, sport and messages at a specific time of the year (e.g. Christmas). There are also inserts from the different clubs and societies. With regard to circulation, approximately 1 200 newspapers

are distributed countrywide; 60% of which are in Gauteng. There are also approximately 60 overseas subscriptions – these are usually to Greeks who have emigrated from South Africa. In many instances, one will find these newspapers sold in *Spar* (if Greek-owned), for example, or usually most Greek-owned shops, more so in areas where there will be a fair amount of Greek people, for example, Bedfordview.

The current Greek newspaper can also be viewed in the light of Fishman's (1966:51) findings and discussion of newspapers (§ 2.2.4.1). The trend detected by Fishman (1966:55) could also be applicable to the Greek newspapers published in South Africa, namely, that there would have been a directional sequence from non-English publications to bilingual to English-only publications (see also Tamis, § 3.3.5.1).

A further consideration to be borne in mind is that Greek is a language which is not easy to read (especially if educated in English) unlike, for example, Italian or Portuguese, as the Greek alphabet is different from the English alphabet. This factor is also referred to and discussed by Tamis (1985:34).

The preceding discussion may also possibly help explain the results (i.e. very low reading rates) reflected with regard to the number of people reading Greek books or literature. With regard to library books, certain libraries may still have a few Greek books, but nowadays they are used minimally (Appendices 15 & 16). The libraries which have Greek books are, for example, the Central Library in the Johannesburg city centre. Most people avoid going to the city centre because of safety reasons (see § 1.9.1).

Previously, there used to be a Greek bookshop in the centre of Johannesburg. The shop has closed down, and so it has now become more difficult to import books (as well as all the other items that were sold at the shop) from Greece. There are a few restaurants in the Johannesburg area which have a small selection of books, but apart from that, books have to be bought mainly on the internet, or brought by family and friends when they come to South Africa. Religious books can be bought from some of the churches (see also § 3.2.4).

6.5.3 Television, film and music

Greek films and plays are also not very common place within the community, thus explaining the low number who attend such events. There are Greek film festivals occasionally, but there is no fixed pattern, for example, every year at a specific time. The

festival can consist of, for example, two or three films which may have won prizes in Greece, or it can be the premier of a significant film such as *Eleni* (1986). Other films which have been shown in the last 5 years include *Kinodontas*, *Mia gineka stin andistasi*, *Gimni sto dromo*, *Head on*, *Xerizomeni genia*, *I melisses*, *Ipolohagos Natasha*, *Politiki kouzina* and *My big fat Greek wedding*.

Occasionally, there are theatre productions. In 2013 there were two very successful theatre productions (in English) at *The Theatre on the Square* (Sandton), and there is a possibility that they will be performed in Durban, and later in Cyprus in 2014. *Meze*, *Mira and Make-Up* is a satire of the experiences of a young girl growing up in the Greek community in Johannesburg; *Soil* deals with the controversial Turkish invasion and occupation of Cyprus. These productions were extremely well received and attended.

Television (see Appendix 13) is also a popular and easily accessible form of entertainment for all age groups. This form of media has an almost infinite potential to influence language usage and maintenance. The results reveal that the greater majority of the adults do watch the Greek Channel (ERT) (the results seem to be evenly split between watching the TV station “Regularly” and “Seldom”). It is possible that more would watch the TV channel, if the monthly fee were less. Not everyone in the community, therefore, has this satellite channel. Few watch DVDs. This could possibly also be ascribed to availability (as discussed above with regard to the availability of books). In a discussion with Father Parginos, he indicated that the TV channel is also very ‘adult’ orientated (i.e. a lot of news content). Consequently, younger people do not watch the TV channel very often. There are additional pay channels available which have a greater emphasis on entertainment, but very few have these channels, as it is at an additional cost, over and above the one main channel.

As discussed above (see § 6.3), and now confirmed by the responses of the school pupils and adults in interviews, it can be seen that music is one of the most important or influential factors which can play a role in language maintenance. This factor is enhanced by the concerts which take place within the community. These concerts have, up to now, been very well supported by the community. In a discussion with pupils at SAHETI, they also confirmed that they enjoyed attending these concerts, which are usually a big family outing. The tickets for these concerts are very expensive, varying from R500-00 to R1 500-

00. Hence, this may not be affordable for all. This could possibly affect attendance at these concerts in the future. Because of the large number of people who have attended these concerts up to now, they are usually held at a very large venue, for example, Emperor's Palace (Kempton Park). The number of concerts vary – approximately two or three concerts every year. Exposure to music is potentially a significant factor for language maintenance in South Africa, as it is also one of the most popular aspects of the media.

The question arises: why does music play such an important role in the community? A discussion with Mrs M. Piperides-Triandafillou (a lecturer at U.J.) and Mrs Symeonides (community school teacher), shed light on this aspect. There is a large amount of music and poetry which, essentially, deals with themes from the history of the Greek people which is a complex history, characterised by numerous wars and being enslaved for so many years until they eventually gained freedom and independence (democratic elections held in 1974). These themes capture the imagination of the Greeks and stir their patriotic sentiments.

A large amount of poetry has been set to music. This poetry is very often of a patriotic or revolutionary nature, and deals with different aspects of Greek history. Much of Greek poetry deals with the Turkish occupation of Greece (1453 – 1821). While the Greeks were enslaved by the Turks, there was a strong oral tradition and folk songs were written about this period of history. Music was one way of retaining the tradition and culture, as the enslaved Greeks could not write books. The oral tradition therefore assisted in passing on the tradition and culture from one generation to another. A variety of different genres of songs were written, including love poetry.

The theme for much of this music is that of freedom. Many songs describe heroic events based on the history of the Greek people, for example, the death of soldiers and warriors. The revolutionary and patriotic songs helped to give the Greeks courage to fight. The music therefore became interwoven into the culture and history of the Greeks. This music is therefore a source of information about their history. In the 1900s, composers set poetry about the Greek identity to music. It can therefore be said that music describes the *romioissini* (essence) of Greekness – especially with regard to the history, language and culture. The arts, and especially music, are used for the *expression* of feelings in different times. After gaining independence from the Turks, the lower classes had no education.

Therefore, the songs and the poetry were important in helping to educate the people.

There are two significant Greek composers, Mikis Theodorakis and Manos Hatzidakis, who have had a great influence on Greek music. Mikis Theodorakis composed the music for the films *Zorba the Greek* (1964) and *Serpico* (1973). Manos Hatzidakis composed the theme song for the film *Never on a Sunday* (1960). (He also composed the tune for *Paper Moon* from the play *A Streetcar named Desire* by Tennessee Williams).

The younger people enjoy the more modern (pop) music (as well as the more traditional music), as it is enjoyable to sing along to it and dance to it, when it is played at parties (Interview, Father Parginos). Pupils at SAHETI also indicated that they enjoy the music because it is vibrant ('vibey'); one can dance to it, and one can relate to it.

6.5.3 The Greek radio station (The New Pan-Hellenic Voice)

The radio station (broadcasting on 1422 MW) is now a fairly well established institution within the community, established in 1995 (Appendix 12). A radio station has great potential to play a role in language maintenance and in the life of the community (§ 3.2.4). The responses to the questionnaire indicated that a fair number listen to the radio station, (the respondents indicating 'regularly').

One of the possible negative aspects for the radio station is that it broadcasts on MW (Medium Wave); the quality of the broadcasting may not always be as clear and as far-reaching as broadcasting on FM. This may therefore impact on the most important factor in favour of radio, namely, its portability (Fishman 1966:75). However, technology has once again proven to be a positive factor for language maintenance: the Greek radio station can now be accessed via the Internet (Broadband Streaming). Hence, Greeks throughout the country, and even in other countries, can listen to the radio station. This may be a positive factor for increasing listenership of the radio station, and have some influence on language maintenance.

In an interview with Father Parginos, it was also revealed that the radio station is aimed more toward the older generations (in terms of the content). This is also in line with Fishman's (1966:91) view that it is a challenge for FLB to be relevant to younger

generations, who may not necessarily have language and cultural maintenance at heart, compared with the older generations. This was supported by a discussion with pupils from SAHETI, who indicated that they do not listen to the radio station very often, as it serves older people.

6.5.4 Electronic media

From the responses of the school pupils and adults it can be seen that they are starting to utilise Greek websites. A few indicated that they also access Greek newspapers via the Internet. It is interesting to note that there are an increasing number who are sending e-mails, but more specifically, smses in both languages – an indication that the new technology has great potential for increasing exposure to the language. These forms of media have a very strong role to play: many respondents indicate that they often send e-mails or smses, typing the Greek words using the English alphabet (one respondent referred to this transliterated Greek as “Greeklish”!). In a discussion with pupils from SAHETI, they pointed out that some of the new cell phones have a special feature where the user can choose the alphabet they wish to use. However, the pupils said that it is difficult to write in Greek, so they still prefer to use the English alphabet to write a message in Greek. Transliteration is therefore an increasingly important factor in the daily use of the language. Some respondents, however, indicated that they have Greek keyboards for their computers and are thus able to type in Greek.

With regard to telephone conversations (Question 3.3b) the responses in interviews are very similar to responses given in Tables 5.6 & 5.15 regarding language used with different family members. The majority of school respondents indicate speaking almost exclusively Greek with their grandparents and using it for situations of exclusivity. Greek is also used when speaking to family in Greece or Cyprus. The “emotional context” can also determine which language is used, for example, if someone is angry, they may use Greek to express this anger.

There are a variety of responses for language used with parents and friends. There tends to be frequent use of English with parents on the telephone and both languages when speaking to friends and other family members. It is difficult to determine the exact extent of Greek code-switching.

Seen overall, the adult respondents (older generation) indicate a more frequent use of Greek with parents and family within this domain, and to a less extent the use of both languages. The school pupils, on the other hand, display a greater use of English with their friends, and English or both languages with their parents. The use of Greek with grandparents remains a constant.

6.6 Migration and contact with the home country

Visiting the mother country and having contact with family and friends in the country, is a very important factor in retaining and re-enforcing the mother tongue (§ 3.2.6.2; 3.3.7.2). Visitors are therefore in a situation where they are exposed to Greek in all spheres of daily life, such as: home, media and entertainment. Greek is therefore used in all functions of daily life.

When examining the responses given for this section, it was clear that virtually all the respondents do go to Greece, although different travel patterns may be detected. Some go every year, while others may have a set pattern, for example, every two or three years. It is noticeable that the adult respondents indicate a lesser frequency regarding overseas visits.

These results indicate that this contact with the mother country could play an important role in the retention of language, as regular contact with Greek-speaking relatives and friends is an incentive to maintain the language. The fact that the youth travel to Greece more frequently than the adults, is a significant indicator of travelling in the future, and thus for the maintenance of Greek.

The results also indicate that individuals in South Africa do still have family and friends from Greece or Cyprus visiting in South Africa, however, there are virtually no more Greeks emigrating from Greece to South Africa nowadays, as there was in earlier times. These streams of immigration in the past would most definitely have had a positive effect, especially the 1960s and 1970s when many Greeks, came to South Africa and settled in certain urban areas ('language islands') such as Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville. Hence, the factor of the continued stream of new arrivals who have a positive influence on the language of an already-existing immigrant community, is now virtually non-existent. However, this situation may be changing, even if gradually. Greeks may be starting to emigrate to South Africa (including some who have not lived here before), because of the

current financial crisis in Greece (Interview, Father Parginos). This occurrence was further confirmed in a discussion with a group of pupils from SAHETI, who indicated that Greek people were starting to return to South Africa (within the group that the researcher spoke to, there was a pupil who had recently arrived from Greece). These new arrivals may possibly have an effect on the language within the community.

One could ascribe this situation (i.e. no new arrivals from Greece), with great certainty, to negative or unfortunate circumstances and negative perceptions of South Africa which are currently plaguing the community (i.e. crime and fears with regard to personal safety); corruption; certain politicians within South Africa and Zimbabwe who create negative conditions in the country; affirmative action (or Black Economic Empowerment) which, in many instances, is perceived as being applied unfairly (i.e. well-qualified people will be discriminated against because of race), as borne out by the responses to Question 16 (§ 5.3) and the interviews. Mantzaris (1999:126) comments on this issue: “The ‘psychology of fear’ prevalent among large strata of the Greek immigrants especially after the 1976 Soweto riots led many to return to Greece.” Furthermore, the importance of this factor is also referred to by Lopez (1978:276): “the appearance of high language loyalty is due to the direct effect of continuing mass immigration...the inescapable conclusion is that were it not for new arrivals from Mexico, Spanish would disappear from Los Angeles nearly as rapidly as most European immigrant languages vanished from cities in the East.”

Exposure to the language in the mother country must have a positive effect on “renewing” or “revitalising” the language. This fact is attested to by Demos (1988:64,70), who indicates that overseas visits (or geographic mobility) is of such great importance in the improvement, retention and renewal of the mother tongue that “visits to Greece represent a major way of maintaining the Greek language.” Verivaki (1993:12) also refers to the importance of the language when visiting the mother country (second generation especially) and for the first generation for whom the language is very important – some of the community always think that they may return to Greece one day. Most immigrants tend to think this way, for instance, the hope of returning to their country of origin once they retire.

Contact or communication, in general, and more so with countries overseas has become much easier with the new advances in technology, for example, cell phones and the Internet. Making contact with friends and relatives overseas is almost instant, whereas in the past the use of postal services and poor telephone connections made contact more

difficult. As indicated in McDuling (1995:153), in most immigrant communities, persons from overseas phone their family and friends in South Africa in times of concern. In this regard, responses to Question 5.4 indicates that almost all the respondents (with very few exceptions) keep close contact with family and friends in Greece and Cyprus.

A small majority of respondents communicate in both languages, followed by those who use Greek only. Respondents may use both languages in instances where friends or family members have returned to Greece from South Africa, and are therefore bilingual; bilingual communication (or code-switching) is common-place (especially among younger generations). Communication in Greek only would therefore be largely limited to those who have resided in Greece or Cyprus their whole life, and speak predominantly or only Greek, and from those in South Africa, it would be mostly the first generation who would speak Greek only. This issue was also confirmed in an interview with pupils from SAHETI, who said that they speak only Greek to family and friends when they are in Greece, but in South Africa it is mainly mixed communication.

Visits to the mother country or the possibility of returning permanently, or to retire (for example, Holmes et al, 1993:12), is also a strong factor for retaining the language, as a country like Greece (and Cyprus) is a unilingual country. This motivation is indicated in a number of responses. In response to Question 17 (§ 5.2.1), just over half of the school pupils expressed a desire to (possibly) return to Greece; by contrast, the majority of adult respondents did not know or were not sure about returning to Greece. This could possibly be ascribed to the current financial situation in Greece and Cyprus; from general conversations with members of the community, it appears that they feel, generally, they have a good life in South Africa, provided there is political stability (see also the reference to issue earlier in § 6.6 by Mantzaris). In a discussion with a group of pupils from SAHETI, some pupils were also of the opinion that financial factors play a role in determining where one will move to or settle.

This phenomenon of returning one day (especially to retire), can be detected among many immigrant groups (see, for example, McDuling, 1995:154). In such instances, in South Africa, parents are more insistent on their children learning the mother tongue and children are also more enthusiastic about attending ethnic schools or language lessons (cf. Simon et al, 1984:93; cf. also Falk-Bano, 1988:169). There is a general view that visiting Greece (or the home country) has a positive effect on language maintenance. Many parents are therefore in favour of their children learning the mother tongue, in order to keep contact

with 'home' and for travel to Greece. Furthermore, the age-old hope of so many immigrant people – the hope of returning to the mother country one day, is noted by researchers such as Added (1972:243); Saloutos (1967:2) and Kourvetaris (1981:164), which gives them a strong motivation to retain the mother tongue.

6.7 Contact situations

In the various daily contact situations between members of the Greek community, there may be a number of different factors influencing the use of the mother tongue in various situations or domains. One such important factor is, for example, is the person being addressed. Members of an immigrant community will almost always speak in their mother tongue when speaking to older members of the immigrant community or people who hold a certain position (for example, a priest or an ambassador). Individuals within an immigrant community may have the opportunity to use their mother tongue in certain shops, banks or businesses within the community. One of the most important determining factors for the use of the mother tongue is that of exclusivity (i.e. the use of a language for privacy).

6.7.2 Contact with friends

With regard to contact with friends, it appears that there is a shift taking place, as the majority of respondents (72% of the adult respondents and 77,5% of the school pupils) indicate the use of both languages when speaking to friends. This language use could possibly be explained in terms of those who have either grown up in South Africa or spent many years in an English environment hence, it is natural to speak English. Only 13,9% of the adult respondents make use of Greek only, when conversing with Greek friends. The daily exposure to and use of English, has clearly caused a shift to English. There is currently a situation of bilingual language usage, where English appears to be replacing the mother tongue in this domain, but the rate of replacement is not easy to determine.

This phenomenon can be explained in terms of the integrative and instrumental motivation for learning a language. The younger generations feel a need for integration into the host society. This integration can also be related to identity – speakers may use a language to identify with someone in a particular situation. It could therefore be said that in many instances, they may use a language to identify with and be accepted by a host society (see

Kalantzis, 1987, § 2.3.2; 2.3.6). A large number of respondents indicated that they see themselves as Greek South Africans (§ Question 12; 5.2.1), which substantiates this explanation. They see themselves as assimilated and part of the host society, yet still retaining the link with their roots and the Greek identity. This is also in line with Smolicz's observation (1988:148), who indicated that Greeks born in Australia are no longer immigrants, but Greek Australians (§ 2.3.2; see also Papademetre & Routoulas 2001:180,181).

The use of a lingua franca (English) is also of importance, as it is a language of access – or instrumental purposes. Most immigrant communities need to speak the language of the host society in order to have access to areas of daily life, such as employment, shopping, goods and services (see also Cartwright, 1987:204; Fotiou, 2012:71; § 2.1).

When examining the various reasons for the use of the mother tongue (or code-switching) (see also § 2.3.2; 2.3.7) with friends (Question 6.1 and 6.2), very similar responses to what is found with almost any immigrant community can be noted, for example, exclusivity, speaking to the older generations, if the other person does not speak English. These findings can be related to the study by Bennett (1992:67) with her study of Dutch in Australia: “Several informants referred to the use of Dutch as a secret language or for jokes and many associated it with feelings of warmth, happiness, security and pride.”

There are also instances when it may sound better or individuals can express themselves better in the mother tongue; certain words or phrases simply cannot be expressed or translated very well into another language (see the responses for Question 6.2). Sometimes code-switching may happen spontaneously, for no deliberate or specific reason (see McDuling, 1995:156). This is also indicated by Crystal (1989:363), when he states that in informal speech, code-switching “is a natural and powerful communicative feature of bilingual interaction” (see § 2.3.7). Hence, the communication with friends seems to still play a role (even if only a restricted role) in utilising and retaining the Greek language.

Question 6.3 (What was the first language you learned/spoke as a child?) may be difficult for some respondents to answer accurately, however, it may still be a guide as to how many learnt Greek as a mother tongue, according to the definition given by Veltman (1983:30), namely, that the mother tongue is the first language spoken as a child (see also the two options suggested in bilingualism studies, § 2.3.7).

Of the adult respondents (who were a mixture of first and second generation immigrants), the majority of respondents (69,7%) indicated having spoken Greek first as a child; half of the school pupils (50%) indicated having learnt Greek first (the respondents could be regarded as 3rd or 4th generation). This shows a decrease in number, indicating a shift towards English.

It can also be noted that there are a number (20,9%) of adult respondents who indicated that they spoke English as a child. This could possibly be indicative of the start of a shift to English with the later generations in South Africa (3rd generation), staying in South Africa and being more exposed to English (and/or Afrikaans). This observation could possibly explain some of the responses, namely, that the majority of respondents indicate that they speak Greek 'fairly fluently'.

A question like "How well do you speak Greek" (Question 6.4) may produce subjective responses, but could still act as a guide or indicator of proficiency in the language. The majority (75%) of the school respondents indicated "Fairly well". Only 22,5% of the school pupils indicated "Very Well", compared with 41,8% of the adults, which indicates a shift.

Although only 22,5% of the school pupils indicate speaking Greek "Very well" very well, 75% indicate speaking the language "Fairly well". These results are indicative that the language is still being retained, and it should also be borne in mind that these are the responses of pupils at a Greek school, thus they are taking Greek as a subject up to Matric level, and their knowledge is likely to improve.

For Question 6.5 (How well do your parents speak Greek?) (Table 5.4 and 5.13), a large number of school pupils indicate that their parents speak Greek 'Very fluently', interestingly more so among the fathers than the mothers. This can be explained in terms of a predominantly English environment, and that the newer generation of women are no longer housewives, but more career-orientated. The greater majority of adult respondents (above 80%) indicated that their parents speak Greek 'Very fluently'. This can be explained because they are the older generations, who are still more proficient in Greek. Although this shows an expected shift away from Greek proficiency, this could still to some degree possibly be favourable for language maintenance, as these older generations

are now the grandparents, who usually tend to speak almost exclusively Greek with their grandchildren, and are still able to influence the younger generation.

When examining the responses for Question 6.6 (How well do your parents speak English?) (Tables 5.5 & 5.14), the responses of the school pupils and the adult respondents, the results clearly show the second and subsequent generations are fluent in English and are indicators of a state of bilingualism in the community.

There is a clear shift over the generations; despite this shift the results indicate that the older generations, or grandparents, are possibly still playing a role in the retention of the Greek language. Code-switching, is still playing a role in retaining the language to some degree. The fact that 75% of the school pupils indicate speaking Greek “Fairly well”, is also a positive factor in favour of the maintenance of the Greek language.

6.7.2 Contact in the home situation/with family members

The majority of school respondents indicate that they speak either “Mostly English” or “Both” languages with their parents. In a discussion with a group of pupils from SAHETI, when asked which language they speak with their parents, they instantly replied “English”. In contrast, the majority of adult respondents still indicate speaking “Mostly Greek” with their parents (an older generation). This is typical of what may be found in many immigrant communities – parents of the older generation still speak the mother tongue for most of the time, with their children.

Despite this clear indication of a shift away from the use of Greek between the generations, 47,5% of the school pupils and just over half (55,8%) of the adult respondents indicate that Greek plays an important role in the cohesion between family members (§ 2.2.6) (see also § 3.3.6). There is a clear shift among the parents and siblings to English.

The home environment (see also § 2.2.5.2; 2.3.2; 2.3.3) is extremely important for the daily use and retention of the mother tongue; the mother-child relationship obviously playing a pivotal role (see Barnes, 1989:145); Ramat (1979:146) alludes to the fact that the language parents choose to speak to their children, largely affects language maintenance or language shift. In contrast, even though the family and home domain play an important

role in language usage and retention, Jamieson (1989:107) also points out the fact that this does not guarantee the maintenance of the mother tongue. However, within the Greek community, the importance of family is highlighted by Smolicz (1985:26,27) when he states that “family cohesion helps to preserve both language and religion...In the case of the Greek group, family and religion seem to be firmly entrenched in its life in Australia.” The importance of home life for language retention is also referred to by Gumperz and Wilson (1971:151, cited in Sridhar 1988:85): “the maintenance of the ethnic separateness of home life.”

The important role of parents in determining language use, is also discussed in detail by Veltman (1983:42ff), who refers, *inter alia*, to the important role of the mother in language maintenance. This is also discussed in studies such as Added (1972; § 1.8.4.3) who indicates that in the Greek community, the daughter is the one who usually does not marry out of the community, and also ensures that the children still attend Greek school (see also § 3.2.6.3; 3.3.7.3; 3.3.7.4). This is in contrast to the son who is more likely to marry out of the community and is not too concerned with the children attending Greek school. (See the responses for the language loyalty, Question 7.8 and 7.9, Tables 5.7; 5.8; 5.17 & 5.18). These results indicate that there is still a strong desire by parents for their children to speak Greek, and the participants in the study would also like their children to speak Greek. These responses are therefore important for the maintenance of Greek in South Africa. Hence, although in practice a shift to English may be detected, the attitudes and loyalties of the members in the community are very strongly indicative of a desire to maintain the language, which is important for the maintenance of Greek.

The questions “Would you encourage your children to speak and write the Greek language...?” (Question 6.8); “Do you/would you correct your children’s Greek at home?” (Question 6.9) and “Do you think the Greek language plays an important role in the cohesion between family members of your family?” (Question 6.10) were taken from questions included in research in other Greek communities; they give a good indication of the parents’ involvement in and desire to retain the language, as language also facilitates the transmission of cultural values to the children. Seen overall, the responses for these questions can be viewed in a positive light. Almost all the respondents’ responses to these questions were affirmative; very few indicated answers in the negative (“Never” or “No response”). These positive responses could be very favourable for the maintenance and

retention of the language, provided the members of the community do carry through with their good intentions.

The results of the school pupils indicate an overall increased use of English for communicating with parents and siblings; Greek still being used the most for communicating with grandparents (§ 2.2.6). These results are then also in line with findings by researchers such as Young (1988:323) who indicates that shift occurs over succeeding generations and Lopez (1978:267) who points out that the second and successive generations do not pass on the mother tongue. The adults are also demonstrating a shift, although not as much as the school pupils. Therefore, as mentioned above, it is extremely important that they need to carry through with their good intentions of maintaining and transmitting the language to the younger generations.

6.7.3 Contact with neighbours

In this domain there is a clear shift in progress, as the majority of respondents use English; the use of Greek only being marginal. It appears that there is a shift towards a situation of bilingual communication in this domain.

The responses given by the Greek adults for this question indicate, as mentioned previously, that the aspect of “language islands” (Jamieson, 1989:102) is not as strong or prevalent as it used to be. There is therefore not a high concentration of Greeks in the same area. Many of the immigrant communities would have benefited from the influx of new arrivals in the 1960s and 1970s, when there were still many new arrivals from Europe, and they tended very much to settle in the same areas; not only suburban areas, but inner-city suburbs such as Hillbrow, Joubert Park, Yeoville and Berea. However, as these older suburbs in Johannesburg, and especially the inner-city areas, experienced a rapid decline after 1994, the older residents moved out of these areas to other suburbs. This resulted in the break-up of these language islands (§ 2.3.7). This could obviously have a detrimental effect on language and cultural maintenance.

The Greek people living in a certain area, for example, Alberton or Germiston are spread over a large area, so one does not necessarily find people from the same background being neighbours. Popular suburbs are, however, Bedfordview and Senderwood, as the Greek

school (SAHETI) is situated in Bedfordview. In this regard, there is a noted preference for the use of both languages (bilingualism) with neighbours.

6.7.4 Contact with Greek-speaking strangers

When examining the responses of the adults, there is a greater use of the mother tongue when talking to Greek strangers (e.g. shop owners, meeting with other Greek people for the first time). Just over half use Greek and the rest have bilingual conversations when talking to Greek strangers and shop owners, compared to when people are talking to friends and neighbours. The use of both languages by the adult respondents indicates a gradual shift in this domain. (Interestingly, there is no use of English only). However, there is more of a shift in this domain among the school pupils, the majority of whom indicated the use of “Both” languages.

An interesting observation is that many people who own a business (e.g. *Spar*), would be e.g. 2nd (or older) generation, therefore being more fluent or proficient in Greek, and be inclined to speak the mother tongue more often and automatically. Members of the Greek community may be speaking in English or inter-changing between English and Greek. However, once they wish to discuss business or a serious issue, it is usually the mother tongue which is then immediately employed. As suggested (McDuling, 1995:161), this change in language, noted in other immigrant communities, could possibly be ascribed to solidarity, group identity, and usually the hope of “striking a better deal” with a fellow countryman. Although it may be more prevalent among older people, younger people are also “under pressure” to conform to the use of the mother tongue with older people, when serious issues or business deals are being discussed, as older people will automatically use the mother tongue when discussing matters of a serious nature.

6.7.5 Language in the work/university environment

The responses for Questions 6.13 and 6.14 (Are any of your work colleagues Greek, Do you speak to them in English, Greek or both languages?; Did you have Greek friends at university/ college, Did you speak to them in English, Greek or both languages?) are once again indicative of the fact that in South Africa the work and study environment are dominated by English, and this Anglicization process is evident from the responses – the

use of both languages (bilingualism) or English is the overriding response. The responses of the younger generations indicate a shift in these domains towards English.

Although these questions were not generally applicable to the school pupils, a few did answer them, possibly because they may have week-end or holiday jobs; and some indicated having friends who are already at university. The few respondents who did answer these questions, also indicated the use of both languages or English. These results generally support a strong case of bilingualism and code-switching in the Greek community.

There are certain instances, as in most immigrant communities, namely, various businesses within the community, (see also Kalantzis, 1985), where Greek is required, such as banks, travel agencies, consulates and embassies, bakeries and certain shops. In some of these areas of work or employment, specifically the women, may not need to be fluent in the language of the host society, as they may be dealing largely with persons from their own community, for example, in places such as bakeries, book shops or shops which cater specifically for the community. These women will therefore be speaking in their mother tongue most of the time. Tamis' (1985:52) findings indicate:

Greek working women are numerically the most exposed ethnic group. Furthermore, it is evident from the finding that in the workplace which is the strongest factor for language shift, there is no direct demand for communication in the host language. Consequently, Modern Greek is maintained strongly.

From interviews and observation, this pattern also seems to be true of the Johannesburg Greek Community.

6.8 Language loyalty

The questions in this section attempted to elicit a deeper, underlying attitude and loyalty toward the language, language maintenance and language shift. Many of these issues are viewed as highly important or sensitive issues, and may be seen as part of the core of Greek identity (see also § 2.3.2). Language and national loyalty, however, it should be noted, are very subjective and idealistic.

Questions 7.1 and 7.2 (Do you consider Greek literature interesting?; Do you think Greek authors, generally speaking, are as good as authors of other languages?) examine the attitudes toward Greek literature and authors. The school pupils (Grade 8 – 11) mostly indicated that they were “Undecided” in their response. A possible explanation could be that they have not been exposed to Greek literature and have been educated in English from the start of their schooling. It could be that they are therefore able to make a comparison between Greek and English, and possibly any other language(s) which they may have learnt (e.g. French or Italian). The Grade 12 pupils (and the pupils in the control group), however, indicated an overwhelmingly positive response to the issue of Greek literature and authors, which is a strong indicator of loyalty (this could possibly be explained in terms of an increased awareness of and appreciation for culture and language acquired with age).

With regard to the adult respondents, a very positive attitude toward the literature and authors of the language can be detected, in spite of the fact that some respondents have had limited formal instruction in the language. There is thus a positive attitude toward and pride in the literary-cultural aspect of the language, but more so among the older respondents and generations.

An extremely positive attitude is once again revealed when respondents were asked to indicate whether they consider the Greek language as beautiful (Question 7.3). Almost all of the school pupils indicated a positive response for this question; 90,6% of the adult respondents regard the language as beautiful. This pride in the language could be a very positive factor for language maintenance. Whether it will actually manifest in continued language use is uncertain, however.

The responses for Questions 7.4 and 7.5 again indicate a great degree of pride in the language. The overwhelming majority of school pupils (97,5%) consider Greek to be as good as any European language; 55% would prefer to be fluent in Greek as opposed to another European language. The majority of adult respondents indicate that they would rather be fluent/proficient in Greek, than another European language (and some indicate both Greek and another language). In a similar vein, the overwhelming majority of respondents also indicate that Greek is as good as any European language. Possibly, this reflects the phenomenon discussed by Li (1982:112): the returning grandson’s (third generation) wish to revive what the fleeing sons (second generation) wished to forget.

Further, the majority of respondents, both school pupils and adults, indicate the importance of being completely fluent in their mother tongue (Question 7.6). Once again a very positive attitude towards the mother tongue is displayed – an important factor for language maintenance.

Finally, what could be regarded as the most central aspect of one's being (Do you feel proud/ ashamed of being Greek? Question 7.7), is directed at the very heart of the individual. The implications are also are you proud of your history, descent, nationality, and all that is associated with the nation? In response, 98% of the school respondents indicated 'Yes'; a resounding 100% (adult respondents) indicate a very definite pride in being Greek, a number of reasons being provided, the most evident which we associate with the people and the country, also being the foremost, namely, the history of the country (the Greek Empire; Alexander the Great and his achievements); the philosophers and mathematicians; inventors; the origin of Western Civilization (§ 2.3.4 (f); § 2.3.6).

Seen overall, the responses for this section are indicative of a very positive attitude toward Greek (and all things associated with the language and people). The respondents view the language as beautiful; proficiency in the mother tongue is important; the mother tongue compares favourably to other European languages, and there is a preference to be proficient in the mother tongue; there is a strong desire to maintain the language (see also Gardner-Chloros, 2005:74,77). Overall, there is a definite and genuine pride in being Greek, and in the language, which can be evidenced from the seriousness with which the members of the community respond to these issues when being questioned.

6.10 Conclusion

The results indicate that a language shift is taking place over the generations within the Johannesburg Greek community. There is a shift from the use of the mother tongue to an increasing use of English, but more specifically both English and Greek (bilingualism), in nearly all spheres of daily use and communication, but there are factors which are slowing down this shift.

Education certainly has a leading role to play in the literacy and maintenance of a mother tongue, and in the Greek community it is evident that they are making a reasonably good

effort to maximise this avenue. Apart from the all day school (SAHETI) which has been in existence for almost 40 years (and where Greek is a compulsory subject for all pupils attending the school), there are afternoon schools in almost every community throughout the country. Even though a majority of pupils may attend afternoon schools only in primary school, what is important is that they are still being taught the basics of the language (reading and writing). These aspects need to be taught in a language such as Greek, because as the researcher has indicated previously, the Greek cannot simply be read or written, as the alphabet is completely different to the English alphabet. The fact that more schools are offering Greek in the afternoons, is a promising prospect for the language. By offering distance education, UJ (the only university offering Modern Greek) is also assisting in making the language available to more Greeks, as well as those who wish to learn the language.

Religion has great potential to play in the maintenance of a language, and to a certain extent, culture. The use of the Greek language in church services is a positive factor for the retention of the language. A number of immigrant communities (e.g. Italian, Spanish and Portuguese) are Catholic which is categorised as a universal church and not linked to a specific language, therefore the services are conducted in English. The Greek Orthodox Church, on the other hand, is a national church – associated with a specific nation and language. Most church services are in Greek or bilingual. The majority of respondents also want the retention of a certain amount of Greek in church services in order that it may still ‘feel’ like a Greek church, and this is indicative of the general feeling of the community. The church is therefore still playing an important role for the retention language, and can continue to do so in the future.

There is a fair amount of involvement in cultural and social activities, some more so than others. These organisations are playing a role in maintaining culture and tradition, and to a certain extent, language. There are certain activities, such as Greek dancing which almost every Greek person has, at some stage, learnt. Students at university are almost always involved in the Greek/Hellenic organisations on campus. Certain communities, such as the Alberton community, for example, produce plays. The prominent cultural and social activities are very well attended.

It would appear that books, magazines and newspapers, at this stage, have a marginal effect on the maintenance of the mother tongue. This has been affected by the fact that there are no more Greek book shops; it has therefore become difficult to obtain reading

material from Greece. The radio station has a limited effect on the maintenance of the language. It appears that it is the older generations, as opposed to the youth, who listen to the radio far more regularly. However, the media (radio and television) has great potential for playing a role in the maintenance of the language, and as such, should be exploited more.

We can watch, with interest, the role which the new forms of electronic media will play for languages i.e. the internet, cellular phones (smses), and social networks such as Facebook.

The large majority of Greeks also visit Greece, if not once a year, then usually a set pattern, for example, every two or three years. Visits to Greece and Cyprus undoubtedly have a positive effect on language as Greece and Cyprus are unilingual countries. Examining contact and communication with family and friends in Greece/Cyprus, we can note that the gap between Greek only, and Greek and English is narrowing. An increasing number of people are using both English and Greek in their communication with friends and family in Greece/ Cyprus. Possible explanations are that individuals could be communicating with family/friends who have returned to Greece/Cyprus from South Africa. The respondents in the research group are also second, third and fourth generations who are now fully bilingual.

In the case of the school respondents, there is an increase in the use of English or English and Greek when speaking to their parents; in contrast, the adults (an older generation), largely still speak to their parents in Greek. In communication with friends and spouses the shift towards bilingual communication can be noted. Nevertheless, attitudes toward language and ethnic background are extremely positive, which can play an important role for facilitating the maintenance of language, culture and traditions (see Bamgbose 1993:19).

Hence, certain factors such as religion, education, cultural organisations, visits to Greece and communication within the family demonstrate that Greek is being maintained to varying degrees. In other areas again, there may be a greater shift to English or bilingual communicative patterns. The positive attitudes toward the language and nationality have great potential to play a role in the retention of the language. It is important that leaders in the community and organizations need to exploit aspects such as the media and any other possibilities, where the youth may also be targeted, and to be at the forefront of language maintenance, for minimising the shift to English.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Overview of thesis

In the first chapter, the hypothesis, the aim and the motivation for the study were set out. Furthermore, the history and background of the Greek community in South Africa were outlined, including details for the reasons of immigration, and indicating, where possible, the contributions of the early individual Greeks, and later the Greek community, to South African society.

The primary motivation and aim for the study was to fill the lacuna in the existing literature on Greek communities globally. Although it was noted that there are some studies on the South African Greek community (e.g. Added, 1972; Mantzaris 1978, 1982 and Damanakis, 2003), there are no sociolinguistic studies of the community, whereas extensive sociolinguistic studies have been conducted on Greek communities in the USA and Australia. By drawing on the rich tradition of research in the USA and Australia, this study examined language shift and maintenance in the South African situation.

From the aim of the study which was to determine the factors in the host society responsible for facilitating or inhibiting the use of Greek, the following hypothesis for this study was derived:

Despite a detectable language shift which is taking place within the Greek community, certain factors or agents within the community are slowing down this process of language shift, and are assisting in the maintenance of the Greek mother tongue.

In Chapter 2 the terms *language maintenance* and *language shift* were defined. The researcher attempted to give a comprehensive overview of the theories formulated by the leading researchers in this field of study: firstly, by presenting an overview of the foundational theories of Fishman, and secondly the theories of other leading researchers in the field, who developed their own theories often using the comprehensive studies of Fishman as a point of departure for developing their own theories.

Chapter 3 was a synopsis of the literature on language shift and maintenance in the two biggest Greek communities outside of Greece, namely, the USA and Australia. The main aspects of the communities that were examined in these academic studies were included, such as the history of the community, education, religion and the media. The synopsis also gives an insight into the functioning of Greek communities in general.

The main methodological issues and techniques employed in this type of sociolinguistic study are examined in Chapter 4, and the methodology employed by the researcher to obtain the data for this study was set out. The researcher made use of questionnaires and interviews. The respondents comprised two groups: school pupils from the Greek school (SAHETI), and adults who were members of the congregation of the Greek Orthodox Church, who volunteered to complete a questionnaire or to be interviewed, or persons who were introduced to the researcher by the ‘friend-of-a-friend’ method.

The results obtained from the questionnaires were presented in Chapter 5, which includes information regarding the social, educational and occupational background of the respondents.

The results obtained from the questionnaires were discussed in Chapter 6, in the light of the interviews, as well as taking into consideration insights from the literature on language maintenance and language shift, and the literature on the Greek communities in the USA and Australia. The following factors were identified and discussed with regard to the maintenance of the Greek language in South Africa: education, religion, media, cultural/social involvement, migration, contact situations and language loyalty. The findings generally supported the hypothesis that was set out in Chapter 1.

7.2 A discussion of the significance of the findings of this research

The overall results indicate that a language shift is taking place in the Greek community of Johannesburg. This can be attributed to various factors. The most obvious is that the Greeks are a relatively small ethnic group, living in a host society, where English is a dominant language (see, for example, § 2.2.5.2), and therefore it is essential to be able to communicate in English, for all daily activities such as education, employment, shopping, access to goods and services (§ 2.1). In the South African context, therefore, English has

an important instrumental value, resulting in a gradual and continuous language shift from Greek to English; the functional domains of the mother tongue therefore decrease. This is typical of language shift taking place in a heterogeneous society, as reflected in the explanation of De Vries (cited in Fase et al, 1992:214): “many immigrants, refugees and sojourners *have no alternative* in this matter...such people will have to change their habitual language use to that of the surrounding community” (own emphasis). The instrumental value of English therefore plays an important role in determining the shift in the Greek community.

In an attempt to identify with and be accepted by members of the host society (and in some instances to be rid of a ‘negative’ stereotype), minority groups may use the language(s) of the host society. For the Greeks in South Africa, English may also have an integrative value, which also plays a role in language shift. The issue of integration into the host society by a minority group, is referred to in Jamieson’s (1980:109) study of language loss in New Zealand:

...particularly on the part of the younger generation, to become as much like New Zealanders as possible, in order not to share the disadvantages, as they see them, that their parents and grandparents experienced.

Paulston (1987:34) (§ 2.3.4.2) suggests that various social conditions will determine how groups will behave with regard to language shift and maintenance which can be related to nationality or ethnicity. Ethnicity emphasised a shared past; nationalism places emphasis on the political aspects of a people or nation and an independent state. Ethnicity is less of a bulwark against language shift, whereas nationalism more strongly leads to language maintenance. The Greeks in South Africa do not constitute an independent nation within South Africa, but are one of many immigrant communities within a heterogeneous society, so language maintenance is more difficult to achieve. The results can be viewed in terms of ethnicity, rather than nationalism, as South African Greeks have no political power, and no independent state.

On the other hand, the positive relationship between language and culture also needs to be borne in mind (§ 2.3.5) (e.g. Aziz 1988:134; Rohra 1986:46-47; Prabhakaran 1992:171). Positive feelings displayed toward the mother tongue could result in the pride demonstrated toward nationality and vice-versa. An important viewpoint is highlighted by Chritpherson (1986:519): the mother tongue is part of one’s innermost being as a member

of a nation or ethnic group. Consequently, there is a sense of identity related with the mother tongue. Parekh (cited in: Aziz 1988:18) aptly refers to the essence of this phenomenon: “A mother tongue is the necessary basis of self-esteem and self-respect.”

It should also be borne in mind, at all times, the important issues highlighted by Smolicz (1987:17), namely, that for Greeks, family, language and religion are core values (§ 2.3.5). Because of the centrality and importance attached to these aspects we can, with some certainty, predict that the situation of stable bilingualism should continue. The issue of social value should also be borne in mind, as indicated by Paulston (1987:46): with what do people associate their language: modernity and opportunity or shame? (§ 2.3.6). The results of the study are only indicative of overwhelming pride in the language and culture, and that the language is on a par with other European languages. Therefore, there is also a case for the maintenance of Greek in South Africa. We can detect a dichotomy: the Greek community has a desire or a need to integrate with the host society. In contrast, there is the loyalty toward the mother tongue and their own ethnic group. The strength of the loyalty may play a determining role in whether the language will be maintained or not.

In considering the results of a study of this nature we also need to take into account an important observation of Damanakis (2003), which may have an important influence on language maintenance and shift in the Greek community of South Africa. On the one hand, the New South Africa offers the protection of the rights of everyone who is living in South Africa (i.e. maintaining identity, religion and language). However, South Africa is also viewed as politically unstable. Crime remains a problem and consequently, many Greeks have emigrated to other countries as well as returning to Greece and Cyprus. The future of the community is seen as being entwined with the developments in the country (see also the responses given by the participants in § 5.2.1, Question 16; § 1.9.1).

A brief synopsis of the main factors supporting maintenance of Greek in Johannesburg follows (see also Gardner-Chloros, 2005:56). At present, the Greek community is in a fortunate position with regard to Greek education. Apart from the all-day school (SAHETI), there are numerous afternoon schools. A large number of pupils are therefore at least gaining a basic level of literacy in the mother tongue. Greek is now a recognised Matric subject (by the new Gauteng Department of Education) and certain private schools are also offering the subject in the afternoons, thereby making it even more accessible to

more pupils. Furthermore, the Greek community is also in the fortunate position with regard to teachers: there is no shortage of Greek teachers. There are local teachers as well as teachers who are sent from Greece. The average results obtained for Greek as a Matric subject are, overall, of a very high standard.

Tertiary education also has potential to play an important role in the process of literacy in and maintenance of the mother tongue, although the influence of this sphere of education in South Africa is of a limited nature at present. At present, The University of Johannesburg is the only university offering Modern Greek. Fortunately, the university offers distance education, thereby making tertiary education accessible to students nationwide.

In the domain of religion, there is a strong preference for firstly bilingual services and secondly for services in either English or Greek at present; it is therefore evident that religion still has an important role to play in the continued use of and the retention of Greek in the Johannesburg community. Bilingual services are already taking place within the community at some of the congregations, and this may increase due to the demand and in an attempt to attract and retain the youth.

The domain of religion has great potential to assist in the maintenance of the mother tongue, and the introduction of some of the suggestions in the literature on the topic may also be of benefit for the church in South Africa, for example, an equal amount of English and Modern Greek used in church services; the service in Greek and a translation or summary in English afterwards; using English and Greek on alternate Sundays (§ 3.2.3).

When examining the socio-cultural activities within the community, it can be noted that there are many Greek clubs and organisations in the community, therefore they are easily accessible for most members of the community. These various clubs or societies are involved in a variety of activities, such as, sporting, cultural, welfare and social activities, thus catering for a wide variety of interests. They play an important role in helping to retain the culture. The overwhelming majority of Greeks have, at some stage, participated in some or other activity, most notably, Greek dancing.

These clubs and organisations have great potential to assist in the maintenance of the mother tongue, bearing in mind the relationship between language and culture (e.g. Aziz 1988:166; Prabhakaran 1992:171). The various clubs and organisations are therefore also important agents for the maintenance of language, although they currently seem to play a greater role in cultural rather than linguistic maintenance (cf. Fishman 1972a:49).

It is with a certain amount of surprise that we note the results for the various aspects of the media, more so when examining the results of the school pupils (i.e. the younger generation). One would expect more support for these various agencies, yet the results yielded are quite negligible. We can therefore understand when Fishman (1972a:49) suggests that cultural organisations can be more important than the press or broadcasting. It can be noted that there is little interest in newspapers and books, but there is an increase in the number of pupils who listen to the radio station (most indicating 'seldom') and television (including DVDs) enjoy more support. However, it is music which has the greatest support among the different aspects of the media. Almost all respondents indicate listening to Greek music. It therefore appears that, at present, the printed media has a limited effect on the maintenance of the mother tongue.

With the ever increasing changes that are taking place in the field of technology (i.e. electronic communication), it is suggested that this new domain could also have positive implications for the maintenance of Greek. As indicated by the respondents, many are starting to make use of Greek websites and in terms of sending e-mails and smses, individuals are increasingly sending bilingual or Greek messages (typing words in Greek using the English alphabet, i.e. transliterating; § 2.2.1).

With regard to speaking on a phone or cellular phone, the responses are very similar to the day-to-day communication patterns. With school pupils, the tendency is to speak English with friends, and Greek with older Greek people such as grandparents. The adults (older generation) indicate a greater use of the mother tongue in this regard with all Greek people, as well as bilingual conversations, thus demonstrating a greater maintenance of Greek in comparison to the younger generations.

The results indicate that almost all respondents go overseas, either once a year or many people usually have a set pattern, for example, every second or third year. The general

trend is for respondents from South Africa to visit friends and family in Greece or Cyprus. It can also be noted that family or friends come to South Africa from Greece, even if it is not as frequent as travelling to Greece. One of the main deterrents for coming to South Africa is primarily the issue of crime, and especially the way it may be depicted in the media. It is for this very reason that immigration to the country has almost come to a halt, which is a negative factor for language maintenance. However, it appears that this situation may be changing, at present, because of the current economic crisis in Greece and Cyprus. Some persons are returning to South Africa, as well as those who are coming to South Africa for the first time.

When examining contact situations, the following domains of language usage were examined: language used with Greek friends, family (home environment), Greek neighbours and strangers, colleagues at work; friends at college or university. These domains are generally characterised by a situation of bilingualism.

When examining the factor of language loyalty, immediately evident, not only from the results, but also from general interaction with Greek people, is the extremely positive attitude towards the mother tongue and nationality. Almost every one of the respondents indicated being extremely proud of being Greek.

The Greek community has, over the years, become a bilingual community, and at present there is a situation of relatively stable bilingualism. In terms of the various categories suggested for bilingual groups (§ 2.3.7), the researcher is of the opinion that the Greek community can still be viewed in Group 1 of Okamura-Bichard's categorization of bilingual communities: (relatively) high in mother tongue, high in English. Thus, in terms of Veltman's categories, they can, at present, be seen in the group of English bilingualism (both languages are used equally).

7.3 The value of maintaining a minority language, such as Greek, in South Africa

The question often arises why there is a need or importance for the maintenance (or revival) of a minority language, and why immigrant communities should not simply shift to the language of the host society? First and foremost, let us consider the observation made by Victor Hugo (www.wordspy.com/waw/Hugo-Victor.asp) in this regard, which

refers to the significant role which language, inter alia, plays in the shaping of nations and civilisations:

To rescue from oblivion even a fragment of a language which men have used and which is in danger of being lost – that is to say, one of the elements, whether good or bad, which have shaped and complicated civilization – is to extend the scope of social observation and to serve civilization.

Scholars have put forward various reasons for maintaining minority languages. The importance of foreign languages within a host society cannot be emphasised enough. These issues have been repeatedly referred to, especially in light of the research of Campbell and Schnell (1987:177) (cf. also Makin, 1992:71), who refer to people who speak foreign languages within a host society as a national resource. These “natural resources” in a nation should therefore be nurtured from an early age, as it would save governments and private companies having to spend money on teaching languages to citizens at a later stage. Languages are also of vital importance not only for tourism and trade with other countries, but also for careers such as translators and interpreters. Clyne (cited in Fishman 1991:385) indicates Australia’s rationale for language maintenance “on the basis of social equity, cultural enrichment, and economic strategies.” Australia emphasises literacy in English, but then also declared priority languages “including some that are predominantly community languages (e.g. Greek, Vietnamese)”. This reasoning could also be applicable to South Africa, which is also a multi-cultural society (see also the arguments suggested later by Leal (cited in Vendeiro,1987) for the relevance of learning and maintaining minority languages (see also Papademetre & Routoulas, 2001).

Because of the link between language and culture, there is also the rich cultural heritage which needs to be preserved, especially the Greek cultural heritage. From centuries of history, the Greek nation was prominent in world history and they were also responsible for the foundations of Western civilization. The Greek language is therefore the key to a rich cultural heritage. Furthermore, Greek fulfills the requirements of an international language, according to Grobbelaar (1990:112):

- It has scientific and technical terminology;
- It has a variety of rich literature – all the literary genres, as well as general and academic publications;

- It can be used as a medium of communication with individuals in other countries where there are large Greek communities e.g. Australia, New Zealand and the United States.

Over 300 000 people use the Greek language in Australia; 85% of the Greeks live in Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide (Tsounis 1974:3). There are Greek communities which have been formed – large in numbers, concentrated in small areas; this has necessitated and ensured the wide and frequent use of the language. These communities have developed into well-organised and close-knit groups with a large number and variety of institutions. Hence, Greek is used in Greek homes, Greek Churches, in 600 Greek organisations, coffeehouses, and Greek newspapers. Greek is also used and in demand in various Australian institutions which deal with Greeks, such as places of employment and government institutions.

In his study of African languages, Batibo (2005:32ff) refers to the important functions of these languages, and the key reasons why languages should be maintained. Although his argument is primarily for the retention of African languages, this could also be applicable to other minority languages. Language, in general, is essential for communication, interaction and socialization – both verbally and in its written form. Language plays an important role in cultural transmission: culture is embedded in language and, as such, is transmitted through language, to future generations. This can be done by means of stories, education and songs, inter alia. Because music occupies such a prominent place in the lives of the Greek people, it already plays an important role in the sharing of information regarding the history of the Greek people. Language plays a significant role in providing a group of people or individuals with a sense of group identity and self-identity. It is language which, primarily, distinguishes one group of people from another. Language is therefore linked to ethnic groups.

Batibo (2005:34) refers to the aspect of socialisation. Socialisation plays an important role in the lives of all Greeks, for example, the many festivals or celebrations which are held within the community – as well as the more informal gathering at a coffee shop! These occasions are therefore a perfect opportunity for Greeks to use and be exposed to Greek, both the language and the music.

Apart from the fact that language is the most obvious means of self-identification, language also plays a role in assisting individuals or speakers to establish a sense of belonging, solidarity and cohesion – more so if the speakers share the same natural language and are from the same country of origin. This aspect also plays a prominent role in the Greek community – the language plays an important role in creating a sense of solidarity among the Greek immigrants. There is a tendency for individuals to show ethnic loyalty because of the sense of linguistic and cultural identity and solidarity it creates. Language can also indicate social relations (i.e. show closeness or distance between a speaker and a hearer). A close relationship can be established when speakers use a ‘home’ dialect or language. An informal style can be used to indicate a more relaxed relationship between speakers.

There is a relationship between language, thought and intelligence. In this regard, we can consider the scholars and theories which emphasise the importance of mother-tongue education – especially in the foundation years of education. (Hence, these observations put forward by Batibo (2005) can play an important role in promoting the use of Greek within the community, and consequently serving as important methods and motivations for the retention of the language).

In his study of Greek afternoon/community schools, Tsounis (1974, § 3.3.5.1) sets out the arguments in support of the retention of Greek in a host society (Australia) and the continued existence of “Greeks schools” in such a host society, which may also be applied to the South African situation, to ensure the maintenance of the language (the great difference between English and Greek – the learning of English is difficult for many Greeks). Greeks are aware that they possess an ancient, rich and valuable linguistic and cultural heritage which they feel they must preserve; the preservation and cultivation of the Greek language has always been of great value for Greeks abroad – this has played an important role in their survival abroad; Greeks believe that because the Greek diaspora has survived in other societies, it should also be possible to survive in Australia (the absence of facilities for Greeks to learn English).

It should also be borne in mind that the attempt to revive or retain languages is not an isolated or unusual phenomenon. Rather, language shift and the attempts to retain languages are universal phenomena (cf. Aziz 1988:167-169), from which no minority

language group seems to be immune, as indicated by Brezinger (1993:1,8), in his study of minority languages in Africa:

worldwide we notice an increasing tendency among members of the ethno-linguistic minorities to bring up their children in a language other than their mother tongue, thereby abandoning their former ethnic languages and consequently...the great majority of minority languages, however, will be neglected and finally disappear, the same way minority languages did and still do disappear in other parts of the world

This issue is also highlighted by Fishman (1996:84): “There are millions upon millions of people around the world that are working for their language on all continents.” Hence, the retention of Greek in South Africa should not be seen in isolation, but as part of a global move to retain Greek in the Diaspora.

The maintenance of minority languages in a country like South Africa is particularly relevant as South Africa is a multilingual country, not only because of the many indigenous languages, but also the many immigrant communities. Many of the minority languages – including Greek – are now also recognized in the Constitution (§ 1.9.2).

The advantages, or value, of studying the mother tongue are highlighted, for example, by Tamis (1990:499) and Leal (cited in Vendeiro, 1987): improved family cohesion, cultivate self-esteem, generate balanced bilinguals. Campbell and Schnell (1987) also highlight the importance of foreign languages for a country – they are like a national resource. The parents of pupils who have no education in the mother tongue need to be more actively involved in encouraging and supporting their children to make use of the new opportunities. Pupils need to be made aware of certain issues, such as: speaking the language does not mean that one is automatically literate in the language, as well as the importance of passing the language onto future generations.

Hence, there are benefits of studying Greek for both mother tongue as well as non-mother tongue speakers. Mother tongue speakers become literate and proficient in their mother tongue, as well as being afforded the opportunity to learn about their history, culture and traditions. Non-mother tongue speakers have the opportunity to learn a foreign language, which can be beneficial for both travel and business opportunities (i.e. instrumental values of a language). The learning of a new language also assists in understanding other peoples’ cultures, as well as bridging gaps between persons of different backgrounds (integrative values of a language).

In summary, the following rational reasons or motivations for the maintenance of minority languages have been put forward: economic reasons (e.g. trade and tourism; careers such as translating and interpreting); cultural reasons (the teaching of a language includes teaching about the culture); scientific reasons (e.g. research and publications in various languages); political reasons (for use in the foreign/diplomatic service; the use of or need for different languages in the military service; use in contact and negotiations with different countries – especially the countries from which the minority groups come, living in the host society); social reasons (the language is used at the various functions and festivities which the minority groups organize) and personal reasons (for daily use with family, friends and within the community or personal preference).

In concluding, Zentella (1986:41) emphasizes the positive value of maintaining a language:

My basic premise is that an approach to foreign languages, literatures, and linguistics that is rooted in the humanities must stress *the political, social, and economic advantages that accrue to the nation that reaches out beyond its traditional linguistic barriers* (own emphasis). Such efforts enrich the lives of its citizens, who deepen their understanding and appreciation of the value of variety in human life.

It can be noted how these sentiments echo those of Campbell and Schnell (1987), who maintain that a country may benefit from the preservation of minority languages for its own use and resources.

7.4 Recommendations for the maintenance of Greek in South Africa

The study by Damanakis (2003) makes the following recommendations:

- Greek needs to be recognised and be part of the school programme (This has now been realised in South Africa).
- Greek can be taught as a 2nd or a foreign language with the appropriate educational/instruction material.
- Teachers must be informed of changes made in Greek language teaching taking place in foreign countries.
- Emphasis must also be placed on the cultural aspect for teaching.
- Topics taught must be age-appropriate for the students, and deal with current issues.
- The work should be varied and colourful.

- The Greek Channel (ERT) should also have educational programmes – and aimed specifically at Greeks who live in remote areas.
- The role of parents in retaining language and culture is vital and should be encouraged.

Zentella (1986:39ff) discusses, extensively, a number of very valuable recommendations to assist with the maintenance and development of minority languages. Many of her arguments and suggestions have been incorporated in my suggestions for the maintenance of Greek in South Africa:

- New ways of teaching a foreign language should be examined. This is done to some extent by lecturers in the Greek Department at the University of Johannesburg. Language teacher associations should also play a role in fostering and creating language maintenance organizations and support existing ones. The large number of Greek teachers in South Africa can play an important role in this aspect. Professional associations for languages and linguistics should also assist or oversee the efforts of language maintenance organizations, to also include language minority concerns as part of their objectives, research, proposals and meetings.
- Members from within the community (e.g. retired persons) can be used for conversationalists, guest speakers, teacher's aides etc. These suggestions could possibly work in the South African context.

With the introduction and official recognition of Greek as a Matric subject by the GDE, authorities and community leaders should encourage pupils to take advantage of the opportunity to study the language – even South African pupils should be made more aware of this opportunity to study another foreign language. As mentioned previously, an estimated 30% - 40% of pupils may not receive any form of instruction in the mother tongue. These 30% - 40% of pupils should be targeted in an attempt to get them to attend the Greek community schools.

It is suggested that leaders and organisations within the community need to play a more active role in promoting and encouraging people to make use of these various forms of the media. Clubs and organisations should attempt to increase and attract members, but also keep a register of members and their details, so that they may be easily contacted, thus creating an effective networking system - similar to Milroy's friend-of-a-friend method; people can contact other people within the community to inform people of happenings and

events. Nowadays this can be done easily and effectively with the new technology in communication, such as smses, e-mails and social networks (e.g. Facebook). Advertising campaigns can also assist in helping to increase membership as well as to inform people about events or celebrations. In general, people always respond well to incentives. Thus, a membership card, which allows for certain benefits (even at businesses within the community e.g. discount schemes), could also motivate people to obtain official membership of an organisation or club.

Consequently, leaders and organisations within the community should take advantage of the positive attitudes displayed by the large majority of people in the community, in an attempt to create an awareness of the language shift situation among all the people, and possible solutions for this problem. Members of the community should be made aware of the instrumental and integrative values of a language – it is required for contact with and travel to Greece and Cyprus, and other countries, as well as then being able to identify with and fit into another community or country, should one travel or emigrate.

As mentioned previously, the newspaper and radio station are making an effort to appeal to all people within the community, across the board, by making use of English as well (the newspaper is bilingual and the radio station does not broadcast in Greek only). Therefore, there needs to be more of an awareness created and people encouraged and constantly reminded about these aspects of the media. Because of increased attendance at church services, the priest (or the various clergy) could possibly, at the end of church services, also encourage people to make use of these forms of media, as the priest is someone who has a large influence on the people (for example: “Don’t forget to listen to this programme on the radio” or “Have you read this article in the newspaper?”).

The television station could possibly introduce more serials or “soaps” in an attempt to increase viewership, as these are usually popular programmes. Because there is no longer a Greek bookshop, this will impact on the import of DVDs. Perhaps community leaders need to investigate this aspect, in an attempt to make these different aspects of the media more easily available to the community i.e. the import of books, magazines and DVDs, for example. The researcher also suggests that a Greek film festival should be an annual event with an element of prestige attached to the event, held across the country in the different cities.

It could be argued that music is playing a significant role in maintaining the language, and the concerts which take place throughout the year (singers who come to South Africa from Greece), are therefore of great importance. The great potential which the media, and other forms of entertainment such as the theatre, have for the maintenance of the mother tongue should be realized and vigorously exploited.

The new technology can also be used for the benefit of language, and should also be encouraged by, once again, creating an awareness among the community of these advances. Teachers, for example, could refer pupils to Greek websites which deal with aspects taught in Greek/ Greek school.

7.5 Recommendations for further research

There are a number of limitations in a study of this nature. This study was conducted by a single researcher, with limited funding. This study was limited to the Johannesburg area, but could be extended by conducting further research in the main centres in South Africa where Greek communities are located (e.g. Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town), in order to obtain a more comprehensive picture of Greek in South Africa.

Some ideas for further research are noted below:

- Sociolinguistic research on code-switching and bilingual families;
- Psycholinguistic research on the teaching of Greek to children of a Greek background;
- A study of the variety of Greek used in South Africa, which particularly looks at the influence of English on Greek;
- A study focusing specifically on the contribution of Greek individuals and/or Greek organisations and businesses to the South African society and the achievements of Greeks in South Africa;
- The contribution, role and functioning of the legendary Greek café (also known as the corner café) to suburbia from the 1950s to the 1980s, and the subsequent change from café owners to supermarket and restaurant owners;
- A study of Greek Matric examination scripts to determine typical errors and shortcomings in the teaching of Greek, with an aim to improve the teaching of Greek;
- The role of Greek music in the maintenance of the Greek language and culture;

- With the increased use of new technology, such as cellular phones and the internet, an analysis could be conducted of smses and e-mails, to examine the extent of transliteration.

7.6 Concluding statement

The hypothesis formulated and stated in Chapter 1 is confirmed by this study: a language shift can be detected within the Greek community of Johannesburg, more specifically among younger generations. Simultaneously, however, there are agents within the community that are playing an important role in restraining this language shift, such as, education, music, contact with family and friends in Greece/Cyprus, participation in cultural activities (e.g. Greek Dancing), and the aspect of pride in being Greek and for the Greek language, culture and history. The current situation could be viewed as relatively stable bilingualism or multilingualism, within the core of the Greek community which is slowing down or inhibiting the process of language shift from the mother tongue to the language of the host society (cf. Jones in Haugen et al, 1981:50).

The findings from this study have shown that music plays an important role in the lives of the Greek people. This is a factor which has not been mentioned or researched extensively in other studies of Greek communities, and therefore might be a fruitful topic for further research. Furthermore, the study has revealed that the new advances in technology are proving to be a new untapped source for language maintenance. With reference to cell phones, the internet and social networking sites (e.g. Facebook), many Greeks send messages and e-mails in Greek, using the English alphabet.

Exact predictions regarding the future of a minority language are difficult to make, and may also be merely tentative, for the literature in this field of study indicates, such situations can change. With the appropriate measures, motivation and incentives in place, the Greek language could be maintained for some time in South Africa: there are sufficient speakers and institutions to achieve this. The use of the dominant language (English) does not necessarily have to have a totally detrimental effect on the mother tongue. If the Greek community have the desire, and take appropriate steps, they can maintain their mother tongue, culture and traditions. Clyne (cited in Fishman 1991:388) discussing language maintenance in Australia, observes that: “opportunities for language maintenance and delaying language shift are quite plentiful.”

A promising outlook for language maintenance is put forward by Tamis et al, (cited in Bradshaw & Truckenbrodt, 2001): “The Greek community internationally is reported to be very effective at language maintenance and in Australia the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Greek community has been noted...attribute this to strong intergenerational ties, however, language maintenance in immigrant communities is also dependent on access to effective language education programmes.” In agreement with this view is that of Smolicz (cited in Gardner-Chloros, 2005:77): Greek immigrant communities are a typical example of a migrant group that consider language as a core value (together with Orthodoxy and family values, § 2.3.5), consequently, “Greek immigrants maintain their ethnic language in the host country to a greater extent and for longer than other immigrant groups.”

We are provided with a sense of hope and optimism, and we can view language maintenance as a reality, when examining Fishman’s (1991:481) response to the definitive question: can threatened languages be saved? He answers ‘Yes’, more than in the past, “by following careful strategies that focus on priorities and on strong linkages to them, and only if the complexity of local human identity, linguistic competence and global interdependence are fully recognized. More languages are threatened than we think, and they are not necessarily only the smaller, more disadvantaged ones either.”

Furthermore, we can take note of Weinreich’s (1963:108) promising observation with regard to language maintenance and language shift:

In general, the possible effects of language loyalty in counteracting language shifts should be carefully sifted. Many languages with low “prestige” have been able to hold their own against threatening shifts for long periods; Many “obsolescent” languages have received new leases on life through a rejuvenated language loyalty among their speakers

In closing, the researcher identifies with Fishman’s (cited in Crawford 1996:197) notion of sanctity and the uniqueness of language – there is indeed something unique and sacred about language:

I just feel God through that language because it brings me closer to the spirit and the soul and life as well as life after death. So, underlying all of this there must be a life-style in which there is a sense of the sanctity of custom and tradition. The ultimate source of all societal dedication is a feeling that one is dealing with something that is out of the ordinary, hum-drum experience.

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Appendix 1 Immigration to South Africa

1951 - 1960

	Immigrants	Visitors
1951	111	76
1952	131	95
1953	115	62
1954	173	64
1955	234	54
1956	289	76
1957	266	26
1958	196	121
1959	235	89
1960	315	105
TOTAL	2,065	768

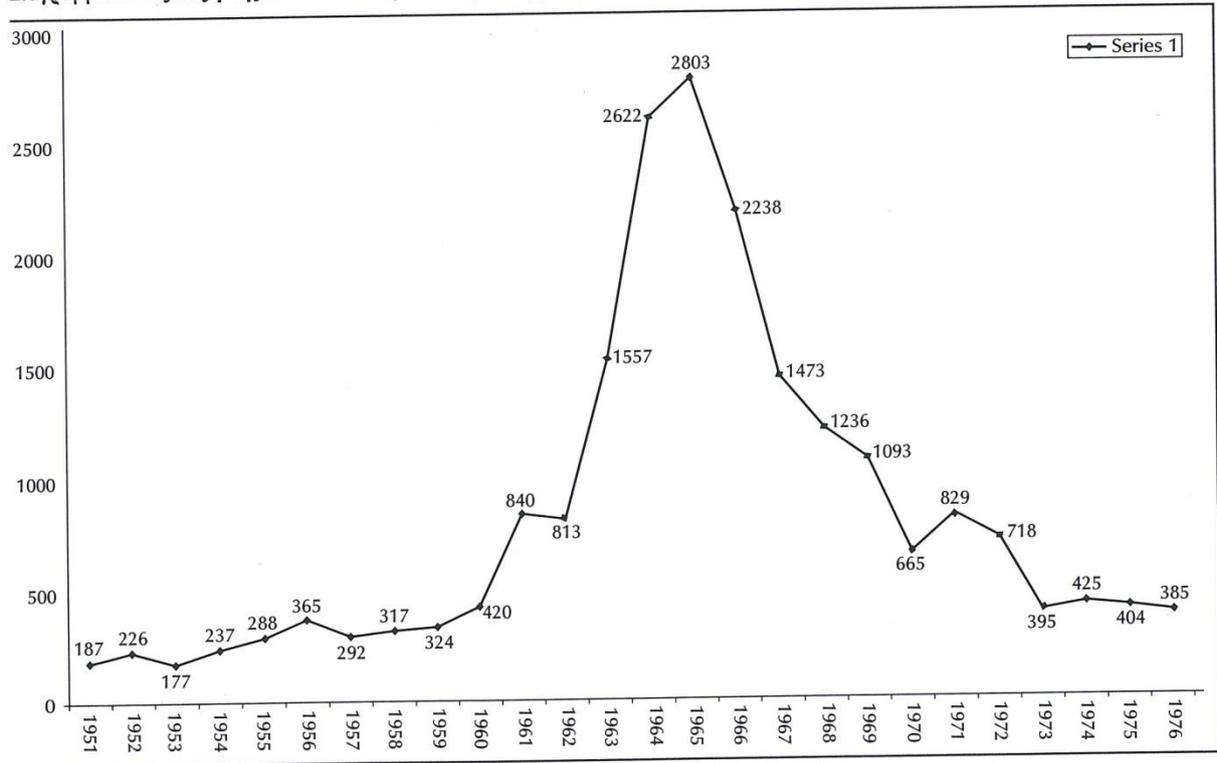
1961 - 1970

	Immigrants	Visitors
1961	694	146
1962	511	302
1963	1 207	350
1964	1679	943
1965	1 740	1 063
1966	1 507	731
1967	995	478
1968	1 071	265
1969	894	199
1970	492	173
TOTAL	10 790	4 650

1971 - 1976

	Total Immigrants
1971	829
1972	718
1973	395
1974	425
1975	404
1976	385
TOTAL	3 156

Διάγραμμα 1: Εξέλιξη της εισόδου Ελλήνων στη Ν. Αφρική 1951-1976



Πηγή: Όπως πίνακες 1, 2 και 3.

(Damanakis, 2003:23-25)

Appendix 2

Greek cafés

Sunday Times, Business Times, July 24, 1977

SA'S R800M CAFE SOCIETY

By Tony Koenderman

Everybody has one, whether he lives in Johannesburg's affluent northern suburbs or the poorer areas of Port Elizabeth.

And while South Africa's R800-million-a-year cafe society lacks the flair of Parisian cafe society, it is every bit as much a part of our fundamental life-style.

Not a cafe at all, but a neighbourhood convenience store, this type of business so dominated by the Greek community that it is also widely known as the "Greek shop".

And at a time when major stores – supermarkets and hypermarkets – are gobbling up ever more of the country's food retail trade, the corner cafe survives on late hours and a busy trade in confectionery, cigarettes, soft drinks, perishables – and high mark-ups.

According to A.C. Nielsen, the market research company which concentrates on the "food universe", there are just under 27 000 stores in South Africa which sell food.

Of stores in white areas, 2 700 are classed as "medium-sized" (average turnover R219 000 a year) and 11 100 as "small" (turnover R52 000 a year).

Most of the medium-sized stores, and 60-70 per cent of the small are thought to be corner cafes, which would make a total of about 10 000 corner cafes in the country.

However, those with extended trading hours may be fewer. A 1970 survey showed only 3000 had extended trading hours.

And while small stores in general are losing out to bigger supermarkets – their share of retail trade slipped from 28 per cent in 1970 to

18 per cent now – there will always be a place for the convenience store.

Though harassed by price control officers and the police for selling restricted goods out of hours, they provide a valuable service to the community, which often extends to cashing cheques and supplying goods 'on tick'.

Blairgowrie cafe owner Archimedes Charalambous says he has amounts of up to R100 owing to him. He cites bad debts as one of his constant worries.

Mr Charalambous, a 27-year-old Greek Cypriot, is typical of many of South Africa's Greeks in that his fare to his country was paid by a relative.

Bit by bit, his entire family has been, brought out in this way.

He was set up in business with the backing of an uncle and he has no ambition to expand his business or go into any other line.

He complains that the local authorities hand out too many trading licences, which results in a glut of competitive cafes.

He keeps a gun under the counter in case of assault, but hasn't had to use it yet.

George Bertolis, editor of the Greek Press, a newspaper which reaches most Greeks in Southern Africa, says the major influx of Greeks to this part of the world was during the 1960s, when Cyprus was in turmoil and Greece itself was torn with strife.

Most of them went into the cafe field because it was one of very few business activities open to someone with only a limited knowledge of English or Afrikaans.

But many dream of better things for their children. There is a drift away from the cafe trade, where an influx of Portuguese is beginning to replace the Greeks.

Stelios Joannou and his wife Panayota, known in their neighbourhood as Stanley and Janet, say they don't want to give their two children the same kind of life.

But they are grateful to South Africa for the opportunity it has given him to better themselves.

"In Cyprus I was just a carpet for the rich people to walk on." Mr Joannou says "Here you can improve yourself as long as you are prepared to work."

"But I want my children to be well educated and move up in the world – not work 14 hours a day like I do."

Stanley's Randburg shop is open every day of the year, from 07h00 to 21h00 – except Christmas Days when it opens only for the morning.

He started in business with only R1 000 and is in partnership with his father-in-law. He wanted to open a fish and chip shop, but a restaurant in the same block decided to give his business a boost by buying in bulk so that he could cut his prices.

He is fiercely patriotic about South Africa. "There are troubles everywhere." He says. "I am not worried about the future. At least here you have a chance to make something of yourself."

His main problem is shoplifting – some of it by white children. But he is philosophic about it. "You can't blame them because they don't understand," he says.

John Constatopoulos, a 28-year-old Athenian came to South Africa in 1971 and bought himself a partnership in a bakery.

After that life, when he worked until midnight every day, he finds his 14-hour daily stint easy going. He runs a cafe and bakery in Fontainebleau, Randburg.

The long hours don't seriously affect his social life, he maintains. With his wife Irene,

who speaks no English, he goes out two or three times a week. Most of their friends are cafe owners.

Most cafe owners seem to be doing well financially.

At an estimated gross margin of 20-25 per cent, a turnover of R100 000 a year, which is not uncommon, would yield an income of R20 000. Even after deducting overheads, that's not a bad profit.

According to A.C. Neilsen, the big buffer corner cafes have against economic strictures is their propensity to hold stock.

"When they feel the squeeze, they can reduce their stockholding, and make use of a cash and carry wholesaler" a Neilsen spokesman said.

"So the corner cafe is still a very viable business."

Appendix 3

Home language by suburb

HOME LANGUAGE BY STATISTICAL REGION AND DISTRICT (URBAN AND NON-URBAN)

Region	Total	Afrikaans	English	Greek
Johannesburg	203 369	47 499	116 502	2 701
	218 951	49 966	128 542	2 651
	422 320	97 465	245 044	5 352
Randburg	53 616	6 935	40 093	244
	55 402	6 771	41 853	281
	109 018	13 706	81 946	525
Germiston (includes Bedfordview)	62 868	24 536	29 374	657
	62 128	23 908	29 596	593
	124 996	48 444	58 970	1 250
Alberton	24 782	12 709	8 986	251
	24 095	12 284	8 819	216
	48 877	24 993	17 805	467

**HOME LANGUAGE BY STATISTICAL REGION, DISTRICT,
CITY/TOWN AND SUBURB**

Region	Total	Afrikaans	English	Greek
Bellevue	1 633	84	1 045	94
	1 8011	96	1 187	83
	3 434	180	2 232	177
Bellevue East	1 614	78	948	118
	1 800	89	1 093	135
	3 414	167	2 041	253
Berea	7 735	487	5 486	236
	9 255	623	6 851	216
	16 990	1 110	12 337	452
Johannesburg S/C	15 145	3 239	8 169	677
	17 431	3 481	10 098	618
	32 576	6 720	18 267	1 295
Kensington	6 152	428	4 520	69
	6 583	457	4 895	74
	12 735	885	9 415	143
Regents Park	1 741	322	572	14
	1 716	322	577	12
	2 435	148	1 139	22
Robertsham	2 476	652	1 320	44
	2 576	733	1 333	41
	5 052	1 385	2 653	85
Rosettenville	4 830	606	2 866	42
	5 240	665	3 178	33
	10 070	1 271	6 044	75
The Hill	1 606	155	1 163	23
	1 829	222	1 299	28
	3 435	377	2 462	51
Triomf	2 402	1 727	285	77
	2 496	1 827	308	73
	4 898	3 554	593	150
Turffontein	3 637	915	1 472	19
	3 574	952	1 453	23
	7 211	1 867	2 925	42
Yeoville	4 205	146	2 924	188
	4 807	150	3 515	191
	9 012	296	6 439	379
Johannesburg (A) +	202 752	47 282	116 356	2 700
TOTALS	218 284	49 734	128 422	2 651
	421 036	97 016	244 778	5 351

Appendix 4

Interview with the Educational Representative for Greek Education in South Africa

Interview with Mrs Plakidou, Head of Greek Education in South Africa at the Greek Consulate in Johannesburg

Of great importance is the spread of the Greek language, not only in South Africa, but abroad, as much as possible.

Teachers and priests are seconded to South Africa. In some instances, for example, where there may not be a teacher, the Priest can also act as a teacher. He also teaches the religion in the schools.

The Greek Ministry of Education secondes teachers all around the world to teach Greek with the aim of **expanding** the Greek language.

The church in central Johannesburg is the oldest church in Johannesburg (in 2007).

Teachers go to different countries to teach, but they must pass a language proficiency test of the country they are going to.

In total, there are 90 teachers in Africa. There are 40 teachers in South Africa; approximately 6 in Johannesburg. These teachers are then spread throughout 18 communities and 8 of the teachers work at Saheti.

In Saheti (the Greek school) there are approximately 1000 pupils, 400 of which are Greek, the remainder of the pupils are of various other nationalities or backgrounds. Greek is a compulsory subject for all pupils attending the school.

In the community schools, pupils' work is corrected but they do not always write formal exams.

Greek has now also been introduced into the South Africa curriculum as a Matric Subject - Second Additional Language (Both GDE and IEB).

A teacher can be seconded for up to 5 years, but in South Africa many have opted to stay longer.

However, there are problems facing teachers who come to South Africa: crime, the price of airline tickets, rent is sometimes more expensive, poor or unsafe public transport.

Consequently, the Greek government usually has to make an extra payment of approximately €1200 to teachers in South Africa, to compensate for the poor exchange rate.

Because there are many expenses for new teachers to South Africa, they are also financially assisted by the Bank of Athens (given a loan), as these are permanent employees.

Furthermore, in Africa, there are also 5 full-time Greek schools with Greek teachers seconded by Greece: 2 in the Congo, 1 in Kinshasa, 1 in Ethiopia and 1 in Sudan. There are also 2 primary schools (like Saheti) in Zimbabwe.

There are also schools in Lusaka, Malawi, Zambia, Nigeria (Lagos).

There is also a Priest in Malawi (Blantyre) who goes to Le Longe on a Saturday to teach.

The schools teach language, culture, civilization and religion.

In Greece, both primary and high school consists of 6 grades – as opposed to South Africa – 7 grades in the primary school and 5 grades in the high school.

There needs to be at least 12 students for Greece to send a teacher to another country, for example, Lusaka has 26 students.

The Community, Church and Diplomatic Authorities all need to request a teacher, but the Church needs to support the request.

In South Africa and Zimbabwe (Southern Hemisphere) schools start in the third week of January and end in the first week of December. Other countries in Africa follow the school year of the Northern Hemisphere i.e. they finish in June.

With regard to tertiary education, a university must send a request to the Greek Ministry of Education for lecturers. At this level, they teach only Philology. Lecturers will be sent from Greece to work at RAU (UJ).

THE GREEK AFTERNOON SCHOOLS

Interview with Mr Hercules Symeonides

Approximately 37 years ago, there were 120 000 people in the Greek Community. Many people left after 1994, mainly due to the crime in the country; before this, the people were very happy in the country.

The schools started teaching from the time the first generations arrived in the country. Parents had a strong influence (there were not sufficient afternoon schools at that stage). Today, second and third generations are being taught in these schools.

Inter-marriage can be a problem, because the mother has a very important influence on the mother tongue.

The community, together with the Greek Government, is making an attempt to retain the culture and language (e.g. there is the Minister of Education, who is part of the Cultural Attaché in South Africa).

The Greek Government sends teachers and books to South Africa. A lot of money is spent on education and books in South Africa, even though South Africa is a small country.

The first afternoon school was in the centre of Johannesburg, but was closed due to crime in the city centre.

The afternoon schools (in Johannesburg) are now situated in the suburbs, for example, Cyrildene, Robertsham, Regent's Park, Rosettenville, Houghton etc.

The afternoon schools can also take place in government schools.

There is usually 1 teacher per school.

With regard to content (syllabus), the afternoon schools attempt to cover all aspects, for example, language, history, culture etc.

There are also teachers who teach traditional dancing.

Much effort goes into these schools (and to retain them) – they have a school, even if only for 5 pupils.

There are also many different sporting clubs, where children can also do Boy Scouts. The reason for the number of different clubs is that they represent many different areas or islands of Greece.

Appendix 5

Greek communities in South Africa

Schools, pupils and teachers reporting to the office of the Educational Attaché in South Africa

Schools	Pupils	Teachers
Pretoria	77	2+2 locals
Germiston	19	1
Linden	16	1
Lonehill	14	1
Cyryldene	9	1
Springs	18	1 local
Pantanassa	6	1
Benoni Brakpan	22 9	1
Vereeniging	24	1
Krugersdorp	26	1
Alberton Rustenburg	18 12	1
Klerksdorp Potchefstroom Lichtenburg	20	1
Welkom	25	1
Bloemfontein Kimberley	55	2
Cape Town	100	4
Port Elizabeth	40	2
East London	22	1
Durban	70	4
SAHETI	979	8
Robertsham Rosettenville	24	1 local
Triomf	30	1
RAU (UJ)	-	2

Johannesburg, 2-4-2007

Greek communities outside South Africa

Country	Schools	Pupils	Teachers
Ethiopia	Nursery School	8	1
	Primary School	73	5
	High School	36	9
Sudan	Nursery School	12	1 local
	Primary School	14	3
	High School	18	10 + 1 local
DRC Lumbubashi	Nursery School	12	1
	Primary School	23	3
	High School	13	8
DRC Kinshasa	Primary School	15	2 + 2 locals
	High School		
DRC Canaga	Department for Greek Language	270	2
Zimbabwe	Department for Greek Language	85	2
Zambia	Department for Greek Language	24	1
Malawi	Department for Greek Language	21	1
Nigeria	Department for Greek Language	12	1

Johannesburg 3-4-2007

Educational Attaché
South Africa
Zimbabwe

School year 2007-2008

	Total number of schools	Total pupils			Total number of pupils serving the schools			Total number of employees beyond classrooms			Local teachers				
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total		
Nursery	1	5	8	13	0	2	2								
Primary	1	37	37	74											
High	-	3	1	4											
Total	1	45	46	91	0	2	2								

Educational Attaché
 LEMONIA PLAKIDOU-KRIATSOTOU

Educational Attaché
Ethiopia

School year 2007-2008

	Total number of schools	Total pupils			Total number of pupils serving the schools			Total number of employees beyond classrooms			Local teachers		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Nursery	1	3	10	13		1	1						
Primary	1	27	46	73	3	3	6						
High	2	14	26	40	3	9	12						
Total	4	44	82	126	6	13	19						

Educational Attaché
 LEMONIA PLAKIDOU-KRIATSOTOU

Educational Attaché
Sudan

School year 2007-2008

	Total number of schools	Total pupils			Total number of pupils serving the schools			Total number of employees beyond classrooms			Local teachers		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Nursery	1	2	4	6			0					1	1
Primary	1	4	11	15	3		3						
High	2	5	11	16	4	6	10						
Total	4	11	26	37	7	6	13					1	1

Educational Attaché
 LEMONIA PLAKIDOU-KRIATSOTOU

**Educational Attaché
DRC - Lumbumbashi**

School year 2007-2008

	Total number of schools	Total pupils			Total number of pupils serving the schools			Total number of employees beyond classrooms			Local teachers		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Nursery	1	3	7	10	0	1	1						
Primary	1	13	9	22	2	1	3						
High	2	9	7	16	4	4	8						
Total	4	25	23	48	6	6	12						

Educational Attaché
Lemonia Plakidou-Kriatsotou

**Educational Attaché
DRC - Kinshasa**

School year 2007-2008

	Total number of schools	Total pupils			Total number of pupils serving the schools			Total number of employees beyond classrooms			Local teachers		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Nursery													
Primary	1	2	5	7									
High	1	4	1	5	2	1	3				1	1	2
Total	2	6	6	12	2	1	3				1	1	2

Educational Attaché
Lemonia Plakidou-Kriatsotou

**Educational Attaché
DRC - Kananga**

School year 2007-2008

	Total number of schools	Total pupils			Total number of pupils serving the schools			Total number of employees beyond classrooms			Local teachers		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Nursery													
Primary	1	450	450	900		1	1						
High						1	1						
Total	1	450	450	900		2	2						

Educational Attaché
Lemonia Plakidou-Kriatsotou

**Educational Attaché
DRC - Nigeria**

School year 2007-2008

	Total number of schools	Total pupils			Total number of pupils serving the schools			Total number of employees beyond classrooms			Local teachers		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Nursery													
Primary	1	7	4	11	1		1						
High													
Total	1	7	4	11	1		1						

Educational Attaché
Lemonia Plakidou-Kriatsotou

**Educational Attaché
Malawi**

School year 2007-2008

	Total number of schools	Total pupils			Total number of pupils serving the schools			Total number of employees beyond classrooms			Local teachers		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Nursery													
Primary	1	7	7	14	1		1						
High	1	2	9	11									
Total	2	9	16	25	1		1						

Educational Attaché
Lemonia Plakidou-Kriatsotou

**Educational Attaché
Zambia**

School year 2007-2008

	Total number of schools	Total pupils			Total number of pupils serving the schools			Total number of employees beyond classrooms			Local teachers		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Nursery													
Primary	1	10	19	29	1		1						
High													
Total	1	10	19	29	1		1						

Educational Attaché
Lemonia Plakidou-Kriatsotou

Appendix 6

GDE Circular: Recognition of Greek as a Matric Subject



UMnyango WezeMfundo
Department of Education

Lefapha la Thuto
Departement van Onderwys

Circular 30/2006

Date: 21 June 2006

Topic

**Approval of Modern Greek as an
Additional Subject to be Listed in
the National Curriculum Statement
Grades 10 – 12 (General)**

Enclosures

None

Distribution

- ✓ Principals and Staff of all Ordinary Secondary Schools
- ✓ Schools for Learners with Special Education Needs and ABET Centres
- ✓ All Divisional Managers and Senior Managers at Head Office and District Offices
- ✓ Members of School Governing Bodies
- ✓ Teacher Organisations and Unions
- ✓ Relevant Non-Governmental Organisations

Enquiries

Directorate: Examinations and Assessment
Tel: (011) 355 0792

On request, this circular will be made available in Afrikaans, isiZulu or Sepedi within 21 days
Also available on the GDE website at: www.education.gpg.gov.za

Office of the Head of Department

Room 1009, 111 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, 2001
PO Box 7710, Johannesburg, 2000

Tel: (011) 355 1511 Fax: (011) 333 5546 E-mail: ceogde@gpg.gov.za OR mallelep@gpg.gov.za

APPROVAL OF MODERN GREEK AS AN ADDITIONAL SUBJECT TO BE LISTED IN THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM STATEMENT GRADES 10 – 12 (GENERAL)

1. PURPOSE

This circular deals with national policy regarding the approval of Modern Greek as an additional subject to be listed in the National Curriculum Statement for Grades 10 – 12 (General).

2. LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

- 2.1 National Senior Certificate: A Qualification at Level 4 on the National Qualifications Framework as published in Government Gazette Vol. 744, No. 27819 of 20 July 2005.
- 2.2 National Education Policy Act, 1996.
- 2.3 The South African Schools Act, 1996.

3. NSC PROVISOS

National education policy stipulates that National Senior Certificate (NSC) candidates may offer a maximum of one subject developed by accredited assessment bodies other than the Department of Education, provided that such a subject is accommodated in the National Education Policy.

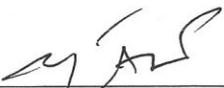
4. MODERN GREEK AS SUBJECT

- 4.1 Premised on the above policy, the Consulate of Greece, with the assistance of the Faculty of Modern Greek Language at the University of Johannesburg and the Independent Examinations Board (IEB), developed Modern Greek as a NSC subject in accordance with the requirements determined by the Department of Education.
- 4.2 On 17 April 2006 the Minister of Education granted approval that Modern Greek: Second Additional Language be listed in the National Curriculum Statement Grades 10 – 12 (General) as a non-official language developed by an accredited assessment body, namely the IEB.
- 4.3 Modern Greek Second Additional Language has been documented as follows in paragraph C2 of the policy document, National Senior Certificate: A qualification at Level 4 on the National Qualifications Framework (NQF):

NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

SUBJECT	SUBJECT NUMBER		
	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
Modern Greek Second Additional Language	04070012	04070023	04070034

- 4.4 The IEB will be responsible for the assessment and final exit examination of Modern Greek, and will ensure that the requirements as stipulated by Umalusi, the Council for General and Further Education and Training Quality Assurance, are met.
- 4.5 In view of this, learners offering Modern Greek **must** as part of their normal subject registration for the National Senior Certificate at the school of attendance **also register with the IEB for the conduct of the assessment and final external examination of the subject.**
- 4.6 Modern Greek will be implemented for the first time in Grade 10 in January 2007 and the first external examination (Grade 12) will be conducted in 2009.
- 4.7 Learners opting to offer Modern Greek may do so from 2007, subject to the provision that a maximum of one subject developed by an accredited examinations body other than the Department of Education may be included in the subject package of a National Senior Certificate candidate.



MALLELE PETJE
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

Appendix 7

IEB Matric Results for Greek

2009

Modern Greek Second Additional Language – 41 candidates nationally

	Total
Level 7	12
Level 6	13
Level 5	14
Level 4	2

2010

	Total
Level 7	15
Level 6	8
Level 5	11
Level 4	4
Level 3	1

Level 7 (80% +)

Level 6 (70% – 79%)

Level 5 (60% – 69%)

Level 4 (50% – 59%)

Level 3 (40% – 49%)

Appendix 8

GDE matric results for Greek

SubSystem	SubSystemName	Examination Date	Province	Province Name	Irregularity	SubjectInternal	Subject	SubjectName	Grade	EnteredMale	EnteredFemale	EnteredTotal	WroteMale	WroteFemale	WroteTotal	MalePassHG	MalePassSg	MalePassLG	FemalePassHG	FemalePassSG	FemalePassLG	TotalPass	Pass%	Male A	Female A	Male B	Female B	Male C	Female C	Male D	Female D	Male E	Female E	Male F	Female F	Male FF	Female FF	Male G	Female G	Male GG	Female GG	Male H	Female H		
A	SENIOR CERTIFICATE (FULL-TIME)	200011	8	GAUTENG	Excluded	2114	2151	MODERN GREEK ADVANCED LEVEL	H3	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	100.0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

SubS	Date	SubjectNo	SubjectName	SumOfWrote	SumOfPassed	SumOfNo A	SumOfNo B	SumOfNo C	No D	No E	No F	No FF	No G	No GG	No H	No Conv to E	No Conv to F
A	200211	02161	MODERN GREEK ADVANCED LEVEL	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	200411	00145	GREEK SG	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Exam Date	Alpha code	Subj code	Subject Name	Entered	Wrote	Pass on 30%	Pass on 40\$	Pass 0 to 29	Pass 30 to 39	Pass 40 to 49	Pass 50 to 59	Pass 60 to 69	Pass 70 to 79	Pass 80 to 100
200911	MGRSA	13361024	MODERN GREEK SECOND ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

Appendix 9

Statistics relating to Greek students: University of Johannesburg

Cancel Date	(Blank)
Subsidy Type	(Multiple Items)
Exemption Granted For Subject	N
Faculty School Name	All

Enrolments Subject Name	Calendar Year									Grand Total	
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011		
DISSERTATION: GREEK							19	32	12	8	71
GKS GREEKPAPER 2								2			2
GKS GREEK CULTURE		3	3	1		5	1	1			14
GKS GREEK GRAMMAR AND TRANSLATION			3	1	1	2					7
GKS GREEK HISTORY		2	3			5	1	1			12
GKS GREEK LANGUAGE AND TRANSLATION		5									5
GKS GREEK PAPER 2							1				1
GKS GREEK POET(S)		3		3		5					11
GKS GREEK POETRY/POETS							1	1	1		3
GKS GREEK PROSE WRITER(S)		5	1	2		6					14
GKS GREEK PROSE/AUTHOR/S								1	1		2
GREEK 1A	18	30	17	14	13	4	2	5			103
GREEK 1B	13	24	15	12	12	4	2	2			84
GREEK 2A	3	6	6	12	4	3	1	3		2	40
GREEK 2B	2	6	6	10	3	3	1	2		1	34
GREEK 3A	2	3	3	3	2	2					15
GREEK 3B	2	3	3	3	2	2					15
GREEK 3C	1	3	3	3	2						12
GREEK 3D	2	3	3	3	2						13
GREEK A	31	29	15	4	1	1	1	1			83
GREEK AB	4										4
GREEK B	41	25	16	6	2				1		91
GREEK CULTURE										1	1
GREEK GRAMMAR AND TRANSLATION										1	1
GREEK HISTORY										1	1
GREEK PAPER 1										1	1
GREEK PAPER 2										1	1
GREEK PROSE/AUTHOR/S										1	1
GREEK RESEARCH ESSAY										1	1
MINOR DISSERTATION: GREEK							1	3			5
MODERN GREEK 1A	21	13	21	8	4	2	1	1		4	75
MODERN GREEK 1A (DISTANCE ED.)	7										7
MODERN GREEK 1B	19	10	18	5	3	2	1	1		3	62
MODERN GREEK 1B (DISTANCE ED.)	8										8
MODERN GREEK 2A	9	5	6	4		5		1		2	32
MODERN GREEK 2A (DISTANCE ED.)	9										9
MODERN GREEK 2B	8	4	5	5		4		1		2	29
MODERN GREEK 2B (DISTANCE ED.)	9										9
MODERN GREEK 3A	1	2	2	3	2	1	2			1	14
MODERN GREEK 3A (DISTANCE ED.)	5										5
MODERN GREEK 3B	1	2	2	3	2	1				1	12
MODERN GREEK 3B (DISTANCE ED.)	5										5
MODERN GREEK 3C	1	2	2	3	2						10
MODERN GREEK 3C (DISTANCE ED.)	2										2
MODERN GREEK 3D	1	2	3	3	2						11
MODERN GREEK 3D (DISTANCE ED.)	5										5
SHORT DISSERTATION: GREEK									1	1	2
SUBJECT METHODOLOGY GREEK			1	2				1			4
SUBJECT METHODOLOGY GREEK A MODULE 1	1										1
SUBJECT METHODOLOGY GREEK A MODULE 2	1										1
SUBJECT METHODOLOGY GREEK B MODULE 1	1	1									2
SUBJECT METHODOLOGY GREEK B MODULE 2	1	1									2
THESIS: GREEK							9	14	6	7	36
THESIS:GREEK									9	6	15
Grand Total	252	185	155	105	81	67	67	48	46		1006

MODERN GREEK

Learn Modern Greek and get to know the culture, literature and history of contemporary Greece. You will be able to speak the most ancient European language and not to say "it is all Greek to me!" anymore.

MODERN GREEK 1 A & 1 B

No prior knowledge of Modern Greek is required. This course introduces the learner to Modern Greek basic grammar & syntax, writing, reading comprehension and listening skills. It is guaranteed that within the first two lessons you will be able to read Greek! In the second semester you will be introduced to the world of Modern Greek poetry by studying certain poets of the 19 & 20th century (e.g. Cavafis, Ritsos etc).

MODERN GREEK 2 A & 2 B

More advanced study of the Modern Greek language. Study of literature of the 20th century in connection with the interchange and influence of concurrent European literary schools. Introduction to Greek history and culture from Byzantium to Tourkokratia. The Greek Revolution of 1821 to recent years and the relations of Greece with neighbouring states.

MODERN GREEK 3 A & 3 B

More advanced study of Modern Greek literature, e.g. Nikos Kazantzakis Zorba the Greek and other works, Constantine Cavafis and George Seferis within a South African context. Byzantine and post-Byzantine literature. Byzantine history, the influences of Byzantium on Africa and Byzantium's cultural contribution to modern world. Modern Greek linguistics, translation of different types of texts, Greek-English and English-Greek.



RECOMMENDED DEGREE PROGRAMMES

We recommend a degree in BA Languages with majors in:

- * Modern Greek and Ancient Greek or
- * Modern Greek and Latin or
- * Modern Greek and English or
- * Modern Greek and French

We also recommend a BA General with majors in: Modern Greek and Classical Culture



FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT:

The Department of Greek and Latin Studies
B Ring 7 • Tel: 011 559 2735

barbaral@uj.ac.za or zezacharopoulou@uj.ac.za



Appendix 10

Statistics relating to Greek students University of the Witwatersrand

Modern Greek

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
IA	26	9	20	7	5	7
1B		11	19	20	11	15
II		10*	7	7	6	2
III			5	6	2	3

* Including 2 'new' students

(Continued)

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
MOGR100	9	2	3	1		2	1			
1A	3	3		4		2	1	3	1	2
MOGR109		2								
II			3	1	2	1	1	1	1	
III		1		3		1		1	1	

Appendix 11

An example of cultural activities within the community: Primrose (Germiston)

Interview with Mr Dimitri Zamanis.

The church organises a poetry competition, and has, at times, received 150 entries. There are different age categories: very young children up to the age of 12; ages 12 – 18; 19 and older.

The Hellenic Cultural Movement of South Africa (EPNEC)

This organisation was started in 1978, and deals with all cultural aspects such as art and poetry.

They also have a choir of approximately 30 – 40 members (from all different backgrounds), and they sing English, Afrikaans and Greek songs. Money for this organisation is provided by the Greek Government (The General Secretary of Hellenes Abroad).

The choir also includes children from disadvantaged backgrounds, and the organisation pays for all their costs.

The Hellenic Federation is the head or controlling organisation to which all organisations belong i.e. all Hellenic Communities and Brotherhoods.

The churches also produce their own monthly magazines.

Appendix 12

The Greek Radio Station: The New Pan-Hellenic Voice

Hellenic Radio broadcasting on 1422 medium wave, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week from our studios based in Johannesburg, Gauteng, we are especially proud of our commitment to excellence which is reflected in our programmes.

Radio programming today is not directed to a wide audience but to specific segments and radio industry leaders are conscientiously aiming for a smaller and more specialized niche market. Our programmes include news, sports, financial/economic updates, factual programmes, health issues, dedication shows with music from the old traditional favourites to the latest and most modern music.

Hellenic Radio caters to a niche market. Bearing this in mind it makes sense for an advertiser to target a specific consumer because reaching that consumer becomes more valuable than trying to reach every potential buyer. We are the most targeted, flexible, cost-effective, image-building medium available today.

Today's advertisers should be sensitive to ethnic-oriented cultures and realize that the standard and general media advertising patterns, may not always be the most effective in reaching an ethnic community. In conclusion, when different cultures are addressed in the language of their roots, an emotional chord is struck and a positive bond is created which can serve as a major tool.

HISTORY

Hellenic Radio was founded in 1995 by a group of members of the Hellenic Community who were broadcasting programmes through the medium of the Portuguese radio station at the time. The station was formulated with the support of the community structures as a section 21 company in terms of the broadcasting requirements.

The New Pan-Hellenic Voice began broadcasting on the 828mw frequency and enjoyed a vast listener ship over a large area of Hellenes. Unfortunately the frequency was changed by the broadcasting authorities to the 1422mw range which resulted in a sharp decline in listener ship.

The reduction in listener ship had a huge effect on the income earning ability of the station and thus became mainly reliant on advertising income, versus the ability to collect membership fees from its members.

In 2001, the station underwent a huge transformation where the memorandum and articles of association were amended in consultation with ICASA to accommodate new checks and balances and to ensure that the community radio station operated in the bounds of good governance and in terms of the broadcasting regulations.

Whilst the station's ability to raise a large membership in the corporate structure is hindered, listener ship has continued to grow and the support of the station within the Hellenic community is now solid.

Hellenic Radio programmes:

- News and current affairs
- Variety of musical programmes
- Factual Programmes
- Theatre & Cinema
- Live link-ups with stations in Greece and Cyprus
- Religious Programmes
- Educational Programmes
- Social Welfare Programmes

The station being a community based station offers its services to Hellenes, Hellenic organizations and the Greek Orthodox Church faithful. In addition the station is in the forefront of:

- Philanthropic fund raising activities
- Community fund raisers
- A very successful blood drive
- The Tsunami Relief Fund for Asia
- Differently Abled Initiative

The future is dedicated towards improving the current formulae and sustaining the communication needs of our community. The youth is being encouraged to become involved at all levels of organization and activities.

Hellenic Radio is dedicated to the improvement of relations and the wellbeing of South Africa's Hellenes. The station is South African, upholding the social, cultural and religious aspiration of Hellenes.

The renewal of the license is a vital and necessary requirement for our community

MISSION

To promote the group interest of the Hellenic community of South Africa primarily through community broadcasting.

To provide world-class broadcasting and information services

To develop and advance our networks in South Africa and abroad Meet the requirements of our community.

Sustain growth in the earnings of the New Pan-Hellenic Voice and make a fitting contribution back to the community

We put the community first

We are professional

We respect each other

We work as one team

We are committed to continuous improvement!

Extracted from: <http://hellenicradio.org.za>

Appendix 13

The Greek Television Channel: ERT

PROFILE OF ERT SATELLITE

Hellenic Satellite Television is, par excellence, the audiovisual link with “Hellenes Abroad” and simultaneously the main vehicle of the international presence of ERT.

It is one of the most fundamental communication mechanisms, which keeps the Greek language alive and safeguards historical memory at the vestas of Greeks abroad; it is also a contemporary carrier of reliable and pluralistic information, on both the events which define the course of the homeland, as well as on those developments which compose the international landscape.

The ERT satellite program is currently transmitted on a 24-hour basis, mainly Free-To – Air (FTA) in Cyprus, Europe, the Middle East, North America, Africa and Australia. It also forms part of the cable networks in Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany and Holland. Via an EBU initiative, the ERT satellite program is transmitted by cable in Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro and will soon be distributed in more Eastern European countries.

Finally, in compliance with contemporary technology structures, the satellite presence of ERT will be broadcasted also via the Internet, in the form of free “internetwork” television of high quality, wherever it is technically feasible.

ERT sat has created a special program, consisting of the broadcasts of the three national Greek channels, NET, ET-1, ET-3, RIC and its own specialized programs, targeted at the global promotion of Greece.

The formation of the profile of the program follows in a general sense, the philosophy of horizontal zones. The evening zone is varied and includes programs of all kinds. On weekends the program is developed vertically, incorporating more programs of entertainment and sports.

The philosophy and ambition of ERT- sat is to meet the requirements of a varied and de facto multicultural audience, while simultaneously maintaining a stable axis, that of the promotion and reinforcement of Hellenic identity in an already globalized environment.

Extracted from: www.ert.gr on 28th May 2010: ERT online

Appendix 14

The Greek Newspaper: “Hellenic News”

In an interview with the editor of the newspaper (Mr Costandopoulos) he indicated that there have been a number of newspapers within the community over the years – starting in approximately 1902. At present the newspaper is the “Hellenic News”, in circulation since 1999. The newspaper is a monthly publication, and is a bilingual publication – in an attempt to attract people from all age groups. The language of the articles can also be determined by the contributors – people submit articles in the language of their choice: Greek or English. The contents of the newspaper cover a wide variety of topics, for example: Church news (a priest specifically writes an article in English aimed at the youth), happenings in Greece, messages from the Greek government, sport, and messages at a specific time of the year (e.g. Christmas). There are also inserts from the different clubs and societies. With regard to circulation, approximately 1 200 newspapers are distributed countrywide; 60% of which are in Gauteng. There are also approximately 60 overseas subscriptions – these are usually for Greeks from South Africa.

In many instances, one will find these newspapers sold in *Spar* (if Greek- owned), for example, or usually most Greek-owned shops, more so in areas where there will be a fair amount of Greek people, for example, Bedfordview.

Appendix 15

Information relating to Greek library books in the Johannesburg area

Telephonic interview with Mr David Stone, Sandton Library.

The usage of Greek books from public libraries in the Johannesburg area has decreased significantly over the past few years, but we could say, more specifically, from 1994.

Initially, many Greek books were taken out from the Johannesburg Central Library and the Hillbrow Library; these two libraries had the largest collection of Greek books. This was during the 1960's and 1970's when there was an influx of Greek immigrants to South Africa. Apart from settling in various suburbs, many people also stayed (if only initially) in the city centre or Hillbrow.* Hence, access to these libraries was very easy, as well as for people staying in suburbs, as many people would go to the Johannesburg city centre and Hillbrow for shopping or outings (e.g. theatre, cinema, Greek clubs and restaurants etc.).

However, as political changes started taking place in 1990, the Johannesburg City Centre (and most other city centres in South Africa, for example, Pretoria, Durban etc.) and Hillbrow, unfortunately, spiraled into a state of decay, and the city centres also became unsafe. People living in the city centres moved into the suburbs. Theatres and restaurants, for example, in the city centres either closed down or relocated to the suburbs; cinemas relocated to shopping centres in the suburbs.

Consequently, people very seldom or never, go into the city centres. People also no longer make frequent use of libraries in city centres. Hence, Greek books are very seldom taken out of these libraries nowadays.

* “for foreign immigrants...it was a pitstop before entering the metropolis proper...Although communities tended to stick together...Yugoslavians, Hungarians, Portuguese, Afrikaners...Italians...each to his own” (Saunders, C (ed) 1992 Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, The Real Story: Cape Town, London, New York, Sydney, Montreal: The Reader's Digest Association Limited).

Annexure 16

Greek books available from Johannesburg Public Libraries

112 record(s) selected to SELECT list #0.
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 1 of 112 BRN 769527

Paize, Kosta
 Afrike kai Madagaskare : taxidiotikes entuposeis / Kosta Paize. - 1989
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0845204 041 Rosettenville

Work 2 of 112 BRN 769372

Ta AGAPEMENA mou diegemata / epimeleia, Alke K. Tropaiate, Demetre Giakou ;
 eikonografese, Bas. Zese. - [196-?]
 JGR Greek Juvenile
 GREEK
 769372.1 v.2
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 3 of 112 BRN 802964

Burchill, Julie
 [Ambition. Greek]
 Filodoxia / Julie Burchill ; metafrase, Efe Arbanite. - c1990
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S2141133 007 Jhb Lending Library

prn12.tmp

Work 4 of 112 BRN 852502

Oikonomidou, B. G.
 Anagnostiko b' demotikou / Basil. G. Oikonomidou. - 1974
 JGR Greek Juvenile
 GREEK
 1 Copy S2144930 041 Rosettenville
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 5 of 112 BRN 753153

Bront%, Emily, 1818-1848
 Anemodarmena upse : muthistorema / Emily Bront% ; metafrase, Bas. L.
 Kazantae. - c1980
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1806511 007 Jhb Lending Library

Work 6 of 112 BRN 737527

Kazantzakis, Nikos
 Anfora ston greko / Nikos Kazantzakis. - [1982]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0854868 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 7 of 112 BRN 753122

Robbins, Tom
 [Another roadside attraction. Greek]
 Amanta : to koritsi tes ges / Tom Rompins ; metfrase, Giorgos Mparouxes. -
 c1987
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1294637 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 8 of 112 BRN 755228

Papadiamante, Alexandrou
 Ta apanta / tou Alexandrou Papadiamante ; epimeleia, G. Baleta. - 1972
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 755228.1 v.2 1 Copy S0845201 007 Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 755228.2 v.5 1 Copy S1948398 052 Yeoville

Work 9 of 112 BRN 793749

Samarake, Antone
 Arnoumai : diegemata / Antone Samarake. - [196-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0450074 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 10 of 112 BRN 756556

prn12.tmp

France, Anatole
 To biblio tou filou mou / Anatol Frans ; metafrase, Thanos Kostopoulos. -
 [196-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1394961 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Work 11 of 112 BRN 790877

Doctorow, E. L., 1931-
 [Billy Bathgate. Greek]
 Mpili Mpathukeit / E.L. Doctorow ; metafrase, Gianna Murat. - c1990
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0854861 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 12 of 112 BRN 755230

Masterson, Louis
 [Bitch is bad. Greek]
 Tzolen / Louis Masterson. - c1984
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1143050 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Work 13 of 112 BRN 527796

Ludlum, Robert
 [Bourne ultimatum. Greek]
 To telesigrafo tou born / Robert Ludlum. - 1992
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0680103 EE Parkhurst
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 14 of 112 BRN 802949

Mortman, Doris
 [Circles. Greek]
 Kukloi Zoes / Doris Mortman ; metafrase, Tete Grabane. - c1991
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0428577 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 15 of 112 BRN 5208771

Paton, Alan
 [Cry, the beloved country. Greek]
 Kiapse hora agapemene / Alan Paton. - [1961]
 GREEK
 GR Greek Adult
 1 Copy S3036261 044 Jhb African Studies Library Room 98 823 PAT = NOT
 FOR LOAN - RESTRICTED ACCESS
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 16 of 112 BRN 780705

prn12.tmp

Hilliard, Nerina
 [Dark intruder. Greek]
 E magissa ki o tsigganos / Nerina Hiliarnt ; metafrase, Maire Demopoulou. -
 c1975
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1956446 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 17 of 112 BRN 793900

McLaglen, John J.
 [Death rites. Greek]
 Oi lofoi tou thanatou / Tson Maklagklen ; metafrase, Stefanou Paraleisanou.
 - c1983
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1980467 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 18 of 112 BRN 753474

MacNeill, Alastair
 [Death train. Greek]
 To treno tou oIethrou / Alastair MacLean - Alastair MacNeill ; metafrase,
 Markos Hrones. - c1991
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0271329 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 19 of 112 BRN 802988

Hesse, Hermann
 [Demian. Greek]
 Ntemian : hroniko tes efebeias tou Emil sinklair / tou Erman Esse ;
 metafrase Mene Koumantarea. - 1969 (1983 printing)
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0854882 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 20 of 112 BRN 898206

Forsyth, Frederick, 1938-
 [Devil's alternative. Greek]
 I lisi tou diabolou / Frederick Forsyth. - c1980
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S2237054 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Work 21 of 112 BRN 779914

Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr Isaevich, 1918-
 Diegemata / Alexandrou Soltzenitsin ; metafrase apo ta rossika, Nikes
 Triantafyllide, Kosta Messare. - [197-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1956256 041 Rosettenville

prn12.tmp
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 22 of 112 BRN 779868
 Eleutheriou, Manou
 To dieuthunterio : diegemata / Manou Eleutheriou. - 1963
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s1956252 041 Rosettenville
 Work 23 of 112 BRN 711084
 Terzake, Aggelou
 Dihos theo / Aggelou Terzake. - [196-]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s1635266 LS Lending Services
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 24 of 112 BRN 756553
 Kirst, Hans Hellmut
 Dr Zorgke : o kataskopos horis ihne / H.H. Kirst ; metafrase, O.
 Arguopoulou. - c1965
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s0460182 022 Killarney
 Work 25 of 112 BRN 737622
 Buck, Pearl S. (Pearl Sydenstricker), 1892-1973
 Drakou genna / Perl Mpak. - [197-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s0525134 041 Rosettenville
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 26 of 112 BRN 802968
 Fotiade, Demetre
 E akte ton sklabon / Demetre Fotiade. - 3e ekdose. - 1967
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s1142530 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Work 27 of 112 BRN 793737
 Theofilopoulou, L.
 E apologia tou pat : istoria enos pa'diou : muthistorema / L.
 Theofilopoulou. - 1976
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s1980442 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 28 of 112 BRN 756552
 Muribele, Strate
 E daskala me ta hrusa matia : muthistorema / strate Muribele. - 20e ekdose.

prn12.tmp

- c1956
GR Greek Adult
GREEK
1 Copy s1811196 007 Jhb Lending Library
Work 29 of 112 BRN 793691

Sartre, Jean-Paul, 1905-1980
E fantasia ; skiagrafia : mias theorias ton sugkineseon ; Tria dokimia /
Jean-Paul Sartre ; metafrase semeioseis Aim. Hourmouziou. - [197-?]
GR Greek Adult
GREEK
1 Copy s0854114 041 Rosettenville
Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
Work 30 of 112 BRN 793699

Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm, 1844-1900
E gennese tes tragodias / Freiderikou Nitse. - [196-?]
GR Greek Adult
GREEK
1 Copy s1980433 CL Jhb Lending Library
Work 31 of 112 BRN 737529

Tsiforos, Nikos
E pinakotheke ton elithion / Nikos Tsiforos. - c1973
GR Greek Adult
GREEK
1 Copy s0525141 007 Jhb Lending Library
Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
Work 32 of 112 BRN 527757

Higgins, Jack
[Eagle has flown. Greek]
O aetos petaxe xana / Jack Higgins ; metafrase, Markos Hrones. - 1992
GR Greek Adult
GREEK
1 Copy s0680104 EE Parkhurst
Work 33 of 112 BRN 793710

Frank, Anne, 1929-1945
To emerologio tes Annas Frank / Anna Frank ; metafrase, prologos, Kosta
Kalliga. - c1956
GR Greek Adult
GREEK
1 Copy s1980437 007 Jhb Lending Library
Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
Work 34 of 112 BRN 756247

Ballard, J. G., 1930-2009
[Empire of the sun. Greek]
E autokratia tou eliou / J.G. Ballard ; metafrase, Efe Fruda. - c1990
GR Greek Adult
GREEK
1 Copy s0734609 007 Jhb Lending Library
Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7

Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112] ^{prn12.tmp}
 work 35 of 112 BRN 803010

Beckett, Samuel, 1906-1989
 [En attendant Godot. Greek]
 Perimenontas ton Gkonto ; Telos tou paihnidiou / [Samuel Beckett] ;
 metafrase, Elenes Barika. - 1970
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s0854883 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

work 36 of 112 BRN 769531

Smith, Betty
 Ena dentro megalonei sto mprouklin / [Mpettu Smith] ; metafrase, Othonos
 Arguropolou. - [196-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s0594023 007 Jhb Lending Library

work 37 of 112 BRN 740154

Mesrin, Zak
 To enstikto tou thanatou / Zak Mesrin ; metafrase, Tete Hronopolou. -
 [1975?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s1143051 HQ Central Branch Book Stores
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

work 38 of 112 BRN 780739

Mortimer, Carole
 [Fantasy girl. Greek]
 To mustiko tes eutihias / Karol Mortimer ; metafrase, Manina Zoumpoulake. -
 c1983
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s1956456 034 Rosebank

work 39 of 112 BRN 793704

Hatzopoulos, Konstantinos
 To fthinoporo / Konstantinos Hatzopoulos. - [197-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s1980435 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

work 40 of 112 BRN 793684

Bousboune, Antone
 Galazies ores / tou Antone Bousboune. - 1983
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s0838212 007 Jhb Lending Library

work 41 of 112 BRN 756230

prn12.tmp

Maniatakou, Giorgou
 Grammena sto hioni / Giorgou Maniatakou. - 1965
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1811184 KL Killarney
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 42 of 112 BRN 793716

B"ll, Heinrich
 [Gruppenbild mit Dame. Greek]
 Omadiko portraito me mia kuria / Heinrich B"ll ; metafrase apo ta Germanika,
 Gianne Lampsas. - c1972
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0451790 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 43 of 112 BRN 779866

Faulkner, William, 1897-1962
 [Hamlet. Greek]
 To horio / Ouilliam Fokner ; metafrase D.P. Kostelenou ; epimeleia St.
 Stauropoulou. - 1969
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1956250 CL Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 44 of 112 BRN 720098

Archer, Jeffrey, 1940-
 [Honour among thieves. Greek]
 Metaxu klefton eilikrineia / Jeffrey Archer ; metafrase, Basiles
 Kallipolites. - c1994
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1150728 034 Rosebank
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 45 of 112 BRN 753479

Rouage, Loui-Sarl
 To horio tes amartias / tou Loui-Sarl Rouage ; metafrase, Kosmas Polites. -
 1983
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1294681 KL Killarney
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 46 of 112 BRN 779906

Theofilopoulou, L.
 To hrusoruheio plemmurizei : diegemata / L. Theofilopoulou. - 1977
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 2 Copies

prn12.tmp

1 = S1980446 007 Jhb Lending Library
 2 = S1956253 041 Rosettenville
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 47 of 112 BRN 793902

Simenon, Georges, 1903-
 [Inspecteur Cadavre: Greek]
 Ste skia tes upposias / Zorz Simenon ; metafrase, Euas Andreade-Pournara. -
 c1974
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s1980468 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN

Work 48 of 112 BRN 793753

Zweig, Stefan, 1881-1942
 Tozef Fouse / Stefan Tsbaih ; metafrase, K. Meranaiou. - [197-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1980445 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 49 of 112 BRN 802962

Huxley, Aldous, 1894-1963
 [Island. Greek]
 To nesi / AIntous Haxleu ; metafrase, A. Aidine. - c1984
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0854879 007 Jhb Lending Library

Work 50 of 112 BRN 710035

Robbins, Tom
 [Jitterbug perfume. Greek]
 To aroma tou onirou / Tom Robbins. - 1986
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1294625 067 Florida
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 51 of 112 BRN 521006

Gordimer, Nadine
 [July's people. Greek]
 Oi anthropoi tou Juli / Nadine Gordimer ; metafrasi apo ta Anglika, Eleni
 Kekropoulou. - 1991
 GREEK
 GR Greek Adult
 1 Copy S0715008 044 Jhb African Studies Library Room 98 823 GOR = NOT
 FOR LOAN - RESTRICTED ACCESS
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 52 of 112 BRN 793736

Samara, Thaleias X.
 Kai alektor den elalese : muthistorema / Thaleias X. Samara. - 1971
 GR Greek Adult

prn12.tmp

GREEK

1 Copy S1980441 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN

Work 53 of 112 BRN 803019

Germanos, Freddy

Kalenuhta deie Oskar-- / Frentu Germanou. - c1982

GR Greek Adult

GREEK

1 Copy S0791366 007 Jhb Lending Library

Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2

Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

19 JUL 11 URICA v 7

Work 54 of 112 BRN 769522

Anastaselle, Strate

Keratozoh : diegemata / Strate Anastaselle ; haragmata se linoleoum,

Giorgos Bakirtzes. - 2 ekd. - 1981

GR Greek Adult

GREEK

1 Copy S0594021 007 Jhb Lending Library

Work 55 of 112 BRN 756555

Magkle, Gianne

Kontrampatzedes tou aigaiou : muthistorema / Gianne Magkle. - [196-?]

GR Greek Adult

GREEK

1 Copy S1811198 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN

Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2

Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

19 JUL 11 URICA v 7

Work 56 of 112 BRN 779911

Maugham, W. Somerset (William Somerset), 1874-1965

Krufes epithumies / Somerset Mom ; metafrase, Demetre Konstantinide. - [197-

?]

GR Greek Adult

GREEK

1 Copy S1956255 041 Rosettenville

Work 57 of 112 BRN 720101

Filippou, Filippou

Kuklos thanatou : astunomiko muthistorema / Filippou Filippou. - 1987

GR Greek Adult

GREEK

1 Copy S1448876 073 Sandown = DEFAULTED * OUT due 25/11/09

Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2

Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

19 JUL 11 URICA v 7

Work 58 of 112 BRN 779863

Stendhal, 1783-1842

Lamiel e anikanopoiete / Stantal ; metafrase, Aggelou N. Purgiote. - [197-

?]

GR Greek Adult

GREEK

1 Copy S1956249 041 Rosettenville

Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2

Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

19 JUL 11 URICA v 7

Work 59 of 112 BRN 521170

prn12.tmp

Gordimer, Nadine
 [Late bourgeois world. Greek]
 O isteros astikos kosmos / Nantin Goritimer ; metafrasi Thanos Georgiou. -
 c1988
 GREEK
 GR Greek Adult
 1 Copy S0715007 044 Jhb African Studies Library Room 98 823 GOR = NOT
 FOR LOAN - RESTRICTED ACCESS
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 60 of 112 BRN 779908

Theofilopoulou, L.
 Liga apo do kai liga apo kei / L. Theofilopoulou. - [197-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1956254 041 Rosettnville
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 61 of 112 BRN 527812

Clark, Mary Higgins
 [Loves music, loves to dance. Greek]
 O telefteos choros / Mary Higgins Clark. - 1992
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 2 Copies
 1 = S0680098 EE Parkhurst
 2 = S0680106 034 Rosebank
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 62 of 112 BRN 720613

Topaz, Jacqueline
 [Lucky in love. Greek]
 E tuhere pati / Zaklin Topaz ; metafrase, Spuros Papageorgiou. - c1987
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1378570 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 63 of 112 BRN 753127

West, Morris, 1916-
 [Masterclass. Greek]
 E aristokratia tou egklematos / Morris West ; metafrase, Antreas Sokodemos.
 - c1990
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0504809 KL Killarney

Work 64 of 112 BRN 793706

Germanou, Frentu
 Me sughorete lathos / Frentu Germanou. - [197-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1295824 007 Jhb Lending Library

prn12.tmp
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 work 65 of 112 BRN 802947

Alexiou, Elle
 Me te lura : muthistorema / Elle Alexiou. - 2e ekdose. - c1978
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0838905 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 work 66 of 112 BRN 805911

Williams, Charles
 [Mix yourself a redhead. Greek]
 Men empisteuesai tis gunaikes / Tsarls Ouilliams ; metafrase, Thanase
 Zabalou. - c1983
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S2018006 052 Yeoville
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 work 67 of 112 BRN 755199

Metropoulou, Kostoula
 Mousike gia mia anahorese / Kostoula Metropoulou. - 1980
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0854830 LS Lending Services Store
 work 68 of 112 BRN 793687

Basileiou, I.
 Mpali : paradeisos s'ena nesi / I. Basileiou. - [1972]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1394962 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 work 69 of 112 BRN 753264

Karagatse, M.
 To nero tes brohes / M. Karagatse. - [195-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1806524 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 work 70 of 112 BRN 756253

Moravia, A.
 [Noia. Greek]
 E plexe : muthistorema / Almperto Morabia ; metafrase, Kostoulas
 Metropoulou. - 1969
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0865301 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 work 71 of 112 BRN 793697

prn12.tmp

Selinko, Annemarie

[Ntezire] : istoriko muthistorema / Annemarie Selinco ; metafrase, Magdas Kainada ; diakosmise, Giorgou Barlamou. - 1954

GR Greek Adult
GREEK1 Copy S1747577 007 Jhb Lending Library
Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2
Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

19 JUL 11 URICA v 7

Work 72 of 112 BRN 755234

Spring, Howard

[O Absalom! Greek]

Uie mou, uie mou! / Haouarnt Springk ; metafrase, Anthe Athenaiou. - [196-?]

GR Greek Adult
GREEK

1 Copy S1294811 022 Killarney

Work 73 of 112 BRN 779856

Dostoyevsky, Fyodor, 1821-1881

O efebos : muthistorema / Fiontor Ntostogiefsky. - [197-?]

GR Greek Adult
GREEK1 Copy S1956247 007 Jhb Lending Library
Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2
Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

19 JUL 11 URICA v 7

Work 74 of 112 BRN 710213

Camus, Albert, 1913-1960

O eftixismenos thanatos / Alber Kami. - [19--?]

GR Greek Adult
GREEK

1 Copy S0263870 052 Yeoville = DEFAULTED * OUT due 05/04/01

Work 75 of 112 BRN 803003

Kazantzakis, Nikos

O kapetan Mihales : eleuteria e thanatos / Nikou Kazantzake. - [198-?]

GR Greek Adult
GREEK1 Copy S1374925 007 Jhb Lending Library
Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2
Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

19 JUL 11 URICA v 7

Work 76 of 112 BRN 527733

V zquez-Figueroa, Alberto

[Oc,ano. Greek]

Oceanos / Alberto V zquez-Figueroa ; metafrase, Katiana Matzaridou. - c1992

GR Greek Adult
GREEK

1 Copy S0680086 041 Rosettenville

Work 77 of 112 BRN 789449

Homer

[Odyssey. Greek]

Omerou Odusseia = The Odyssey of Homer. - 2nd ed. - 1959 (1984 printing)

GR Greek Adult
GREEK

789449.1 v.1 1 Copy S1971123 070 Diepkloof Zone 1
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 78 of 112 BRN 898139

Lountemis, Menelaos
 Oi architektones tou tromou : astra kai ropala / Menelaos Lountemis. - 3e
 ekdose. - 1977
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S2237052 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN

Work 79 of 112 BRN 852503

Cronin, A. J. (Archibald Joseph), 1896-1981
 Oi duskoles stigmes tou sannon / A.Z. Kronin ; metafrase V.G. Papagregore. -
 [19--?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S2144931 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 80 of 112 BRN 813690

Schur,, Edouard
 Oi megaloi mustai : symbole eis ten mustiken istorian ton threskeion /
 Edouard Schur ; metafrasis, Konst. Dem. Ktiste. - [196-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 813690.1 v.2

Work 81 of 112 BRN 802967

Remarque, Erich Maria
 Ores agapes ores polemou : muthistorema / Erih Maria Remark ; metafrase,
 Stellas Bourdoumpa. - 1975
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0620100 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 82 of 112 BRN 753266

Koletsou, Baggele
 Palirroia kai Ampote / Baggele Koletsou. - 1984
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1401327 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN

Work 83 of 112 BRN 793711

Hamsun, Knut
 Pan : muthistorema / Knout Hamsoun ; metafrase apo ta norbegika, Basile
 Daskalake. - 1970
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1980438 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

prn12.tmp

Work 84 of 112 BRN 803007

Fuks, Ladislav
 [Pan Theodor Mundstock. Greek]
 O kurios Thodoros Mountstok / Lantislav Fouks. - c1975
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0458083 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 85 of 112 BRN 852489

Saint-Pierre, Bernardin de, 1737-1814
 [Paul et Virginie. Greek]
 Paulos kai virginia / Mpernanten nte Sain-Pier ; metafrase, D.P. Kostelenou
 ; epeimeleia, S.L. Stauropoulou. - [19--?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0468695 CL Jhb Lending Library

Work 86 of 112 BRN 755218

Leos, Demetres D.
 ... Piso sta spelaia : muthistorema / Demetres D. Leos. - 1989
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s1811094 041 Rosettenville
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 87 of 112 BRN 793898

Hamilton, Donald
 [Poisoners. Greek]
 Epaggelmaties dolofonoι / Ntonalnt Hamilton ; metafrase, Thanase Zabalou. -
 c1979
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy s1980466 034 Rosebank

Work 88 of 112 BRN 803016

Papagianne, Ninila
 Mia pole mia zoe / Ninila Papagianne. - 1969
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0620083 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

Work 89 of 112 BRN 527719

Harris, Thomas
 [Red dragon. Greek]
 Kokkinos drakos / Thomas Harris ; metafrase, Markos Hrones. - c1992
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0680107 067 Florida

Work 90 of 112 BRN 802992

Tsiforos, Nikos

prn12.tmp

Ta remalia eroes / [Nikos Tsiforos]. - 1983
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1275576 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112] 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7

work 91 of 112 BRN 769524

Tahtses, Kostas
 Ta resta / Kostas Tahtses. - c1988
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1375284 007 Jhb Lending Library

work 92 of 112 BRN 737528

Thakinou, Christou P.
 To roino tis dropis : saxalini 1st septemvriou, 1983 ora / Christou P.
 Thakinou. - 1985
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1375288 CL Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112] 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7

work 93 of 112 BRN 711082

Zalokosta, Hrestou P.
 Roupe1 / Hrestou P. Zalokosta. - [196-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0865325 007 Jhb Lending Library

work 94 of 112 BRN 793690

Sagan, Françoise, 1935-
 [Sarah Bernhardt : le rire incassable. Greek]
 Sara Mpernar : to gelio horis teleiomo / Fransouas Sagan. - c1988
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1980432 007 Jhb Lending Library = DEFAULTED * OUT due 23/05/03
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

work 95 of 112 BRN 720645

Michener, James A. (James Albert), 1907-
 [Sayonara. Greek]
 Sagionara / James Michener ; metafrastes, D.P. Kostelenos. - 1965
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1213939 HQ Central Branch Book Stores = WITHDRAWN
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]

work 96 of 112 BRN 720597

Parker, Una-Mary
 [Scandals. Greek]
 E petra tou skandalou / Una-Mary Parker ; metafrase, Eliva Tsagkarake. -
 c1990
 GR Greek Adult

prn12.tmp

GREEK
 1 Copy S1150704 KL Killarney
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 work 97 of 112 BRN 527815

Ripley, Alexandra
 [Scarlett. Greek]
 Skarlet : i suneheia sto osa pairnei o anemos tes Margaret Mitchell /
 Alexandra Ripley ; metafrase, Basiles Kallipolites. - c1992
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 527815.2 v.2 1 Copy S0680084 HQ Central Branch Book Stores
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 work 98 of 112 BRN 527764

Harris, Thomas
 [Silence of the lambs. Greek]
 I siopi ton amnon / Thomas Harris. - 1991
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0680105 CL Jhb Lending Library GREEK
 work 99 of 112 BRN 898143

Pascal, Blaise, 1623-1662
 Skepseis / Blaise Pascal. - [197-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S2237053 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 work 100 of 112 BRN 527809

Deighton, Len, 1929-
 [Spy line. Greek]
 Petonia / Len Deighton ; metafrase, Alekos Manolides. - c1990
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 2 Copies
 1 = S0680099 022 Killarney
 2 = S1294620 EE Parkhurst
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 work 101 of 112 BRN 779867

Chekhov, Anton Pavlovich, 1860-1904
 [Steppe. Greek]
 E stella ; Thalamos 6 ; E kuria me to skulaki / Anton Tsehof. - c1972
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1956251 CL Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 work 102 of 112 BRN 805900

Pargeter, Margaret

prn12.tmp

[Substitute bride. Greek]
 Monterna stahtopouta / Margkaret Partzeter ; metafrase, Stelios Papakostas.
 - c1981
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S2018007 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 work 103 of 112 BRN 753430

Panagiotopoulou, Spuroi
 Thalassina keimena / Spuroi Panagiotopoulou. - [196-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1154851 LS Lending Services
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 work 104 of 112 BRN 745968

Mann, Thomas, 1875-1955
 [Tod in Venedig und andere Erz.,hlungen. Greek]
 O thanatos ste benetia ; Tristanos ; Gladius dei ; O nomos / Thomas Mann ;
 metafrastes Ares Diktaios. - 1976
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1780280 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 work 105 of 112 BRN 769510

Savarin, Julian Jay
 [Trophy. Greek]
 Tropaio / Julian J. Savarin ; metafrase, Giorgos Kousounelos. - c1990
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1922717 HQ Central Branch Book Stores = WITHDRAWN
 work 106 of 112 BRN 756250

Archer, Jeffrey, 1940-
 [Twist in the tale. Greek]
 Paihnidismata / Jeffrey Archer ; metafrase, Alekos Manolides. - c1990
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0278585 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 work 107 of 112 BRN 793702

Austen, Jane, 1775-1817
 Uperefaneia kai prokatalepse / Tzeen Ostin ; metafrase, P.B. - [197-?]
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1980434 007 Jhb Lending Library
 work 108 of 112 BRN 756228

Klara, Mpampe D.
 Viva vita! / Mpampe D. Klara. - 1972
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK

prn12.tmp
 1 Copy S1811183 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 109 of 112 BRN 748685

Barker, Clive, 1952-
 [Weaveworld. Greek]
 Ufantokosmos / Clive Barker ; metafrase, Giorgos Mparouxes. - c1989
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0838909 CL Jhb Lending Library = WITHDRAWN
 Work 110 of 112 BRN 756248

Andrews, V. C. (Virginia C.)
 [Web of dreams. Greek]
 Oneira kai agkathia / V.C. Andrews ; metafrase, Maria Sakke. - c1991
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S0791622 007 Jhb Lending Library
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Jhb Art Library BRANCH - Format 2 19 JUL 11 URICA v 7
 Classified enquiry :- GREEK [works 112]
 Work 112 of 112 BRN 793896

Gardner, Erle Stanley
 [You can die laughing. Greek]
 Men enohleite ton dolofono / Erl Stanleu Gkarntner ; metafrase, Marias
 Saratsiotou. - c1971
 GR Greek Adult
 GREEK
 1 Copy S1980465 034 Rosebank

<H>oldings
 Work no. to see, eg. <W9> <ENTER> to page <?> help <Q>uit

Appendix 17 Questionnaire

A STUDY OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT IN THE GREEK COMMUNITY OF JOHANNESBURG

(All information in this questionnaire is strictly confidential, and your identity will not be divulged to anyone else. The information gathered from this questionnaire will be used solely for the purpose of research conducted by Allistair McDuling, for the completion of a Doctoral Degree at Unisa, under supervision of Prof. Barnes, Dept Linguistics.)

SECTION A: PERSONAL DETAILS / BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Name: _____
2. Gender: _____
3. Age: _____
4. Marital Status: _____
5. Address (Suburb): _____
6. Telephone Numbers: _____
7. Number of brothers & sisters: Brothers: _____
Sisters: _____
8. Of your family (in South Africa), which generation are you?

9. Religious Denomination: _____
10. Please indicate whether you are: Greek _____
Cypriot _____

11. Country of Birth:

Greece	
South Africa	
Cyprus	
Other (please specify)	

12. How do you see yourself ? Greek _____

South African _____

Cypriot _____

Greek Orthodox _____

Greek South African _____

13. (a) Have you stayed in any other country/ ies, and if so, for how long?
(Please indicate specific country):

(b) How many years have you been staying in South Africa, if not born here?

14. Where were your parents born? Father _____

Mother _____

15. If not born in South Africa, what were your reasons for immigrating to South Africa?

Financial _____

Social (e.g. to join family and friends) _____

Political (e.g. conditions in Cyprus, civil war in Greece) _____

Educational (e.g. to attend a South African school, college, University etc)

No particular reason _____

Other (please specify) _____

16. Are you considering: Staying permanently _____
Staying temporarily _____
Not sure _____

Please explain why:

17. How do you feel about returning to Greece?

Wish to return _____
Do not wish to return _____
Do not know _____

18. What is your highest educational qualification?

19. What are your parents' highest educational qualifications?

Father _____
Mother _____

20. If you are working, please state your occupation:

21. Please state your parents' occupations:

Father: _____
Mother: _____

_____ o O o _____

SECTION B:

Please ignore questions not relevant to yourself.

1. EDUCATION:

1.1 What is the language of instruction at your school, college, university?

OR

When you were at school, college, university, what was the language of instruction?

1.2 Is/was Greek offered at your school?

1.3 If so, do you (did you) take it as a subject? _____

1.4 If not, why not?

1.5 How much time do you devote to doing homework per day?

1.6 How much time do you devote to doing Greek homework (per day)?

1.7 Do you (did you) attend Greek Community/ Afternoon School? (Please specify which one)

1.8 If not, why not?

1.9 How much time do you (did you) devote to doing homework from Greek school?

1.10 What were your average marks for: Greek: _____
(If taken as a subject at school)

Greek school: _____

1.11 If you went to university, would you (did you) take Greek as a subject?

Yes _____

No _____

Please motivate: _____

1.12 In which language do you count?

English _____ Greek _____ Both _____

2 CULTURAL/ SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT:

2.1 Have you ever been involved in any Greek cultural/ social activities?
(e.g. Greek dancing, Debutantes, Greek clubs/ organisations etc.)
Please specify.

2.2 Do you go to Greek/ Cypriote clubs?

Regularly	
Occasionally	
Seldom	
Never	

3. MEDIA:

3.1 Place a tick in the appropriate block.

	REGULARLY	SELDOM	NEVER
Do you read Greek newspapers/ magazines?			
Do you listen to the Greek radio station?			
Do you watch the Greek TV Channel?			
Do you read Greek books/ Literature?			
Do you watch Greek			

	REGULARLY	SELDOM	NEVER
movies/ plays/ concerts?			
Do you watch Greek videos/ DVD's?			
Do you listen to Greek music/ CD's?			

3.2 The Internet:

- (a) Do you go onto Greek websites? _____
- (b) Do you send e-mails in English, Greek or both? If you send e-mails in Greek, do you type in Greek or Greek words spelt in English (Roman script)?

3.3 Cell phones:

- (a) Do you send sms's in English, Greek or both?

- (b) When having a conversation on a phone/ cell phone, do you normally speak Greek and/ or English? With whom will you use which language; under which circumstances?

4. RELIGION:

- 4.1 Do you prefer church services in: English: _____

Greek: _____

Both: _____

Please Motivate:

4.2 In which language do you prefer

The prayers: _____

The sermon: _____

The liturgy: _____

in the church services?

4.3 Do you think that English should replace Greek in the church services?
Please motivate.

4.4 In which language do you pray? English: _____

Greek: _____

Both: _____

4.5 How often do you attend church services?

Daily: _____ weekly _____ monthly _____

On special occasions _____ never _____

4.6 Do you think that going to church helps you to keep to the ways of the “old country”?

A lot _____ A little _____ Not at all _____

4.7 How do you feel about your children marrying out of your religious faith (inter-marriage)?

5. MIGRATION/ VISITS TO & CONTACT WITH FAMILY/ FRIENDS OVERSEAS

5.1 How often do you go to Greece?

5.2 How often do you have family/ friends from Greece visiting you?

5.3 How often do family/ friends immigrate to South Africa?

5.4 (a) Do you keep in close contact with family/ friends overseas?

(b) If so, do you communicate with them in :

English _____ Greek _____ Both _____

6. CONTACT WITH FRIENDS/ FAMILY/ NEIGHBOURS/ STRANGERS

6.1 (a) Are many of your friends Greek? Yes: _____

No: _____

(b) If so, do you speak to them in :

English _____ Greek _____ Both _____

6.2 When/ under which circumstances do you speak to your friends (at school/ college/ university/ work) in Greek? (Also please indicate when/ why you will switch from English to Greek?)

6.3 What was the first language you learned/ spoke as a child?

6.4 How well do you speak Greek?

Very fluently: _____

Fairly fluently: _____

A little: _____

Not at all: _____

6.5 How well do your parents speak Greek ?

Father: very fluently _____ fairly fluently _____ a little _____

Not at all _____

Mother: very fluently _____ fairly fluently _____ a little _____

Not at all _____

6.6 How well do your parents speak English?

Father: very fluently _____ fairly fluently _____ a little _____

Not at all _____

Mother: very fluently _____ fairly fluently _____ a little _____

Not at all _____

6.7 Language in the home situation:

Which language do you speak to your:

	Mostly Greek	Mostly English	Both	Other (please specify)
Mother				
Father				
Brothers/ sisters				
Husband				
Wife				
Grandparents				
Other (e.g. in-laws)				

6.8 Do you/would you encourage your children to speak and write the Greek language so that they will keep it alive?

Regularly _____ seldom _____ never _____

6.9 Do you/ would you correct your children's Greek at home?

Regularly _____ seldom _____ never _____

6.10 Do you think the Greek language plays an important role in the cohesion between members of your family?

Very important _____ important _____ unimportant _____

6.11 Are any of your neighbours Greek-speaking?

Yes: _____

No: _____

Do you speak to them in:

English: _____ Greek: _____ Both: _____

6.12 Do you speak to strangers (e.g. shop-owners), who are Greek, in:

English: _____ Greek: _____ Both: _____

6.13 Are any of your work colleagues Greek?

Yes: _____

No: _____

Do you speak to them in:

English: _____ Greek: _____ Both: _____

6.14 Do you have Greek friends at university/ college (or when you did attend university/ college)?

Yes: _____

No: _____

Do you speak to them in:

English: _____ Greek: _____ Both: _____

7. ATTITUDES/LANGUAGE LOYALTY

7.1 Do you consider Greek literature interesting?

Yes _____ No _____ Undecided _____

7.2 Do you think Greek authors, generally speaking, are as good as authors of other languages?

Yes _____ No _____ Undecided _____

7.3 Do you think the Greek language is beautiful?

Yes _____ No _____ Undecided _____

7.4 If you could choose between speaking another European language fluently, and speaking Greek fluently, what would you choose?

Another European language _____

Greek _____

7.5 Do you consider Greek to be:

As good as any European language: _____

Inferior to other European languages: _____

Undecided: _____

7.6 Do you feel it is important to be completely fluent (speak, read & write) in your mother tongue?

Yes: _____

No: _____

Please motivate: _____

7.7 Do you feel proud/ ashamed of being Greek? _____

Please motivate: _____

7.8 Place a tick in the appropriate block

	Strongly agree	Yes	No	Do not care
Do your parents like you to speak Greek?				
Are you ever forced to speak Greek at home?				
Do your parents mind if you speak English at home?				
Do your parents prefer you to speak Greek rather than English at home?				

7.9 Place a tick in the appropriate block

	Strongly agree	Yes	No	Do not care
Would you like your children to speak Greek at home?				
Would you force your children to speak Greek at home?				
Would you mind if your children spoke English at home?				
Would you prefer your children to speak Greek rather than English at home?				

7.10 How important do you feel it is to maintain the Greek language?

Very important _____ Important _____ Unimportant _____

7.11 Which reasons do you feel are important for maintaining the Greek language?

Cultural	
Ethnic	
Communication	
Linguistic	
Professional	
Return to Greece	
Sentimental	
Religious	

Appendix 18

Results for Questionnaire

The Control Group

School Pupils: Greek Community School, Pretoria

Section A: Background information

This part of the research group consisted of 9 pupils: (7 Grade 8 pupils; 1 Grade 9 pupil and 1 Grade 10 pupil).

Question 1: Name

Not applicable to this group

Question 2: Gender

6 of the respondents were male and 3 of the respondents were female

Question 3: Age

The average age of the pupils was 14 years of age.

Question 4: Marital Status

Not applicable to this group

Question 5: Address (Suburb)

The pupils are resident in suburbs in and around the Pretoria area.

Question 6: Telephone Numbers

Not applicable to this group

Question 7: Number of brothers and sisters

Not applicable to this group

Question 8: Generation

The generation of the respondents can be indicated as follows: 1 (11%) pupil is second generation and 8 (89%) pupils are third generation.

Question 9: Religious Denomination

The respondents are all adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church

Question 10: Nationality / Ethnicity

The nationality or ethnicity of the respondents can be indicated as follows: 6 (67%) pupils are Greek and 3 (33%) pupils are Cypriot

Question 11: Country of birth

All 9 (100%) pupils were born in South Africa

Question 12: How do you see yourself?

The participants responded as follows:

Greek: 3
 Cypriot: 2
 Greek Orthodox: 3
 Greek South African: 3

For this question, respondents almost always indicate a combination of responses e.g. Greek and South African.

Question 13

(a): *Have you stayed in another country/ies, and if so, for how long?*

N/A to this group.

(b): *How many years have you been staying in South Africa, if not born here?*

N/A to this group.

Question 14: Where were your parents born?

The country of birth of the respondents' parents is indicated in Table 1 below:

Respondent number	Father	Mother
1	South Africa	Greece
2	South Africa	Greece
3	South Africa	South Africa
4	South Africa	Greece
5	South Africa	South Africa
6	Cyprus	South Africa
7	South Africa	South Africa
8	Mauritius	South Africa
9	Mauritius	South Africa

Table 1: Country of birth of the respondents' parents

Question 15: If not born in South Africa, what were your reasons for immigrating to South Africa?

No reasons provided.

Question 16: Are you considering staying permanently, staying temporarily or not sure?

Please explain why.

Respondents' intentions with regard to staying in South Africa:

1 (11%) pupils indicate that they would want to stay permanently in South Africa. 2 (22%) pupils indicated that they would be staying in South Africa temporarily and 6 (67%) pupils indicated that they were not sure about staying in South Africa.

Reasons for staying permanently:

South Africa is a good country with potential

Reasons for staying temporarily:

- I want to live in Greece – don't like South Africa – too much crime
- Want to travel to different countries
- Not sure
- Depends on the university I attend
- Will look at progress in the country

- No response
- Would like to explore other options
- Not sure at this stage
- Would like to explore and study in a different country

Question 17: How do you feel about returning to Greece?

4 (44%) pupils wish to return to Greece and 5 (56%) pupils were not sure about returning to Greece.

Question 18: What is your highest educational qualification?

Not applicable to this group.

Question 19: What are your parents' highest educational qualifications?

The educational qualifications of the respondents' parents are given in Table 2 below:

Respondent number	Father	Mother
1	Not provided	Not provided
2	Degree	Degree
3	Chartered Accountant	Not provided
4	Degree	Teacher
5	Not provided	Not provided
6	Matric	Master's Degree
7	Not provided	Not provided
8	Not provided	Matric
9	Not provided	Not provided

Table 2: Educational qualifications of the respondents' parents

With regard to the school pupils' parents, the greater majority have tertiary education, and a minimum of Grade 12 (Standard 10).

Question 20: If you are working, please state your occupation.

Not applicable to this group.

Question 21: Please state your parents' occupations

The occupations of the respondents' parents are given in Table 3 below:

Respondent number	Father	Mother
1	Businessman	Housewife
2	Has a factory	Housewife
3	Chartered Accountant	Teacher
4	Businessman	Housewife
5	Works for Telkom	Housewife
6	Engineer	Clinical research
7	Business Owner	Administrative Staff
8	Auctioneer	Administrative Assistant
9	Auctioneer	Administrative Assistant

Table 3: Occupations of the respondents' parents

Owing to the educational qualifications of the school pupils' parents, many people have professional jobs e.g. Accountants, lawyers, doctors etc. or have their own business.

Section B

1. Education

Question 1.1: What is the language of instruction at your school, college, university?

For all of these pupils their language of instruction at school is English. Two pupils indicated that Greek was offered at primary school (Crawford College). Both pupils also took Greek as a subject.

Question 1.2: Is/was Greek offered at your school?

These pupils attend government or private schools during the day, but Greek is not offered as part of the syllabus, these pupils have to attend Greek afternoon/community school to study the language.

Question 1.3: If so, do you take it as a subject?

Question 1.4: If not, why not?

For Question 1.3 & 1.4 see 1.2 above

Question 1.5: How much time do you devote to doing homework?

The pupils spend an average of 2 hours on homework.

Question 1.6: How much time do you devote to doing Greek homework?

Not applicable to this group. See Question 1.9.

Question 1.7: Do you (did you) attend Greek afternoon/community school?

(Please specify which one).

These pupils attend the Pretoria afternoon/community school.

Question 1.8: If not, why not?

Not applicable to this group.

Question 1.9: How much time do you (did you) devote to doing homework from Greek school?

On average, the pupils spend approximately 20 – 30 minutes doing homework for Greek school.

Question 1.10: What are/were your average marks for Greek/ Greek school?

The average marks for these pupils are 80 – 85%.

The average marks for Greek vary from 64% - 85%; a large majority of pupils do, however, score very high marks for Greek i.e. achieving a B or A symbol.

Question 1.11: If you went to university, would you take Greek as a subject?

(89%) pupils indicated that they would take Greek as a subject at university and 1 (11%) pupil indicated that they would not continue with Greek at a tertiary level.

Reasons for studying Greek as at a tertiary level:

- I am Greek and want to learn the language.
- I am good at it.
- I am good at speaking and writing in Greek.
- If I have to move to Greece, I will know how to speak it.
- It is always good to learn more than you know.
- I am Greek and would like to carry on with the language.
- I would like to learn more.
- I would like to be fluent in Greek.

Reasons for not studying Greek at a tertiary level:

- I hope to be fluent by then.

Table 5: Reasons for studying/ not studying Greek at a tertiary level

Question 1.12: In which language do you count?

4 (44%) pupils indicated that they count in English and 5 (56%) pupils indicated that they count in both languages.

2. Cultural/Social Involvement

Question 2.1: Are you involved in any Greek cultural/social activities?

Pupils at the afternoon school are also involved in the same range of activities which many other pupils are also involved in, for example, Greek dancing, various organisations, scouts, Greek clubs and debutantes.

Question 2.2: Do you go to Greek/Cypriote clubs?

2 (22%) pupils indicated that they go to Greek clubs occasionally, 4 (44%) pupils go to Greek clubs seldom, 1 (11%) pupil indicated never going to Greek clubs and 2 (22%) pupils did not give a response.

3. Media

3.1: Aspects of Greek Media

The responses for the different aspects of Greek media are given in Table 6 below:

	Regularly	Seldom	Never
Do you read Greek newspapers/ magazines?	1 (11%)	6 (70%)	2 (22%)
Do you listen to the Greek radio station?	4 (44%)	5 (56%)	
Do you watch the Greek TV Channel?	6 (67%)	3 (33%)	
Do you read Greek books/literature?	2 (22%)	6 (67%)	1 (11%)
Do you watch Greek movies/ plays/concerts?	2 (22%)	7 (78%)	
Do you watch Greek videos/ DVD's?	2 (22%)	7 (78%)	
Do you listen to Greek music/ CD's	9 (100%)		

Table 6: Aspects of Greek media

It can be noted that more pupils watch the television station, in comparison to listening to the radio station. As with the other respondents (Chapter 5), it can be noted that music has the greatest influence in this domain.

Question 3.2: The Internet

a) Do you go onto Greek websites?

4 (44%) pupils indicated going onto Greek websites and 5 (56%) pupils indicated not using Greek websites.

b) Do you send e-mails in English, Greek or both languages?

If you send e-mails in Greek, do you type the Greek words using the English alphabet?

4 (44%) pupils indicated that they send e-mails in English, 4 (44%) pupils send e-mails in both languages and 1 (11%) pupil did not give a response.

Question 3.3: Cell phones

a) Do you send sms's in English, Greek or both?

3 (33%) pupils send sms's in English and 6 (67%) pupils send e-mails in both languages. There is a fair amount of English used when sending sms's, and bilingualism when sending e-mails.

b) When having a conversation on a phone / cell phone, do you normally speak Greek and/or English? With whom do you speak which language; under which circumstances do you speak which language?

- Parents – Greek.
- English with friends; Greek with mom and family
- Greek with sister, grandparents, parents
- English with English friends; Greek with Greek friends.
- Greek with family and Greek friends; English to others.
- Both languages with parents, grandparents, some friends.
- Use both languages; English with friends and occasionally Greek with family.
- Both languages.
- English with everyone except family, Greek with family only, sometimes to parents.

Once again, there is a fair amount of bilingualism when speaking on a phone, and more use of Greek with grandparents and family.

4. Religion

Question 4.1: Do you prefer church services in:

4 (44%) pupils prefer church services in Greek while 5 (56%) pupils prefer church services in both languages.

Reasons provided for preference of Greek services:

- I enjoy listening to Greek because i don't hear it that often.
- I pray in Greek.
- I like it more.

- So that I understand and learn new words and stories.

Reasons provided for preference of both languages:

- Don't really mind.
- It is good to stay loyal toward your language which may be under pressure, but it can also be good to take a break once in a while.
- Both have a different way and it's easier to understand in English.
- I understand if there is a little English.
- It would be better to understand.

Question 4.2: In which language do you prefer

	The Prayers	The sermon	The Liturgy
English	3 (33%)	3 (33%)	1 (11%)
Greek	6 (67%)	4 (44%)	6 (67%)
Both		2 (22%)	2 (22%)

Table 8: Language preference for different aspects of the church service

Question 4.3: Do you think that English should replace Greek in the Church services?

All 9 (100%) pupils indicated that Greek should not be completely replaced by English in church services.

Reasons provided:

- The Greek language is important in our culture.
- It is a Greek church.
- It is already in Greek, no point changing it.
- If you go to church and you are Greek, everything should be done in Greek.
- Greek people prefer it in their language.
- This is not right in a Greek Orthodox church which caters for people who only speak Greek.
- The people committed to the Greek church probably will not come if it is in English.
- Greek is meant to be spoken in Greek churches.
- It wouldn't be a Greek church anymore.

Question 4.4: In which language do you pray?

3 (33%) respondents indicated that they pray in English, 1 (11%) pupil prays in Greek and 5 (56%) pupils pray in both languages.

Question 4.5: How often do you attend church services?

Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Special occasions	Never
	2	7 (78%)	4	

Table 10: Attendance at church services

Question 4.6: Do you think that going to church helps you to keep the ways of the "old country"?

2 (22%) pupils felt that going to church helps to keep the ways of the "old country" a lot and 7 (78%) pupils felt that going to church helps to keep the ways of the "old country" a little.

Question 4.7: How do you feel about your children marrying out of your religious faith (inter-marriage)?

- Don't really have a problem.
- Wouldn't mind.
- No, the Greek faith will not be kept in future generations.
- They should marry Greeks and make the family bigger.
- I would tell them to marry a Greek person so that Greek stays in the family.
- Problems come to mind, so no, they should not.
- I wouldn't mind.
- As long as the person is well-mannered it is ok.
- Prefer to marry a Greek.

5. Migration/visits to and contact with family/friends overseas

Question 5.1: How often do you go to Greece?

- Annually: 4 (44%)
- Every 2 – 3 years: 3 (33%)
- Have not been yet: 2 (22%)

Question 5.2: How often do you have family/friends from Greece visiting you?

Once a year or every two years: 3 (33%)
Seldom: 6 (67%)

Question 5.3: How often do family/friends migrate to South Africa?

5 (56%) pupils indicated that they have never had family/friends who have immigrated to South Africa, while 3 (33%) pupils indicated that family/friends do not immigrate to South Africa often. 1 (11%) pupil did not give a response.

Question 5.4: Do you keep in close contact with family/friends overseas?

All 9 (100%) pupils indicated that they keep in close contact with family and friends overseas.

If so, do you communicate with them in English, Greek or both languages?

1 (11%) pupil indicated using English when communicating with family and friends overseas, 5 (56%) pupils indicated using Greek and 3 (33%) pupils use both languages.

6. Contact with friends/family/neighbours/strangers

Question 6.

(a) Are many of your friends Greek?

4 (44%) pupils have many Greek friends while 5 (56%) pupils indicated that they do not have many Greek friends.

(b) If so, do you speak to them in:

3 (75%) pupils speak to their friends in English and 1 (25%) pupil speaks to their friends in Greek.

Question 6.2: Under which circumstances will you speak to your friends (other people) in Greek, and when will you change from English to Greek?

- To tell something in private.
- If they know the language and can understand what I'm saying.
- At English school – English; at Greek school – Greek.
- I speak Greek if they are Greek, but not if they aren't.
- I only speak Greek to my Greek friends.
- Private conversation – if I don't want others to hear, but speak English if I don't mind others hearing.
- Exclusivity.
- Exclusivity or talking about someone.
- When it's personal.

Question 6.3: What was the first language you learned as a child?

3 (33%) pupils indicated Greek as the first language they learned as a child, for 5 (56%) pupils English was the first language learned as a child and 1 (11%) pupil indicated learning both Greek and English as a child.

Question 6.4: How well do you speak Greek?

3 (33%) pupils indicated that they speak Greek very fluently, 3 (33%) pupils speak Greek fairly fluently and 3 (33%) pupils indicated that they speak a little Greek.

Question 6.5: How well do your parents speak Greek?

Father	Very fluently: 3 (33%)	Fairly fluently: 5 (56%)	A little: 1 (11%)
Mother	Very fluently: 8 (89%)	Fairly fluently: 1 (11%)	

Table 11: Parents' fluency in Greek

Question 6.6: How well do your parents speak English?

Father	Very fluently: 9 (100%)	Fairly fluently:	
Mother	Very fluently: 7 (78%)	Fairly fluently: 1 (11%)	A little: 1 (11%)

Table 12: Parents fluency in English

Question 6.7: Language in the home situation

Which language do you speak to your	Mostly Greek	Mostly English	Both	Other (please specify)
Mother	3 (33%)	3 (33%)	3 (33%)	
Father	1 (11%)	4 (44%)	4 (44%)	
Brothers/sisters		4 (44%)	5 (56%)	
Husband				
Wife				
Grandparents	8 (89%)		1 (11%)	
Other (e.g. in-laws)	1 (11%)	1 (11%)	2 (22%)	

Table 13: Language use in the home and with family

Question 6.8: Do you/would you encourage your children to speak and write the Greek language so that they will keep it alive?

All 9 (100%) pupils indicated that they would regularly their children to speak and write the Greek language to keep it alive.

Question 6.9: Do you/ would you correct your children's Greek at home?

All 9 (100%) pupils indicated that they would regularly correct their children's Greek at home.

Question 6.10: Do you think the Greek language plays an important role in the cohesion between members of your family?

4 (44%) pupils felt that the Greek language plays a very important role in the cohesion between family members, and 5 (56%) pupils felt that the language plays an important role in this domain.

Question 6.11

(a): Are any of your neighbours Greek-speaking?

3 (33%) of the pupils indicated that they have Greek neighbours,

(b): Do you speak to them in English, Greek or both?

Of the three pupils who have Greek neighbours, 1 (11%) pupil speaks to their neighbours in English and 2 (22%) pupils speak to their neighbours in both languages.

Question 6.12: Do you speak to strangers (e.g. shop-owners), who are Greek, in:

2 (22%) pupils indicated that they speak to Greek strangers in English, 5 (56%) pupils speak to Greek strangers in Greek and 2 (22%) pupils speak to Greek strangers in both languages.

Question 6.13: Are any of your work colleagues Greek?

Pupils who may have part-time/ weekend jobs, indicate the use of 'both' languages when speaking to other Greek people in a work situation.

Question 6.14: Do you have Greek friends at university/college (or when you did you attend university/college)?

5 (56%) pupils indicated having Greek friends at university or college. 1 (11%) pupil speaks to these friends in English and 4 (44%) pupils speak to these friends in both languages.

7. Language loyalty

Question 7.1: Do you consider Greek literature interesting?

6 (67%) pupils consider the Greek literature interesting, 3 (33%) pupils were undecided.

Question 7.2: Do you think Greek authors, generally speaking, are as good as authors of other languages?

5 (56%) pupils indicated that Greek authors are as good as authors of other languages and 4 (44%) pupils were undecided.

Question 7.3: Do you think the Greek language is beautiful?

7 (78%) pupils consider the Greek language as beautiful and 2 (22%) pupils were undecided.

Question 7.4: If you could choose between speaking another European language fluently, and speaking Greek fluently, what would you choose?

All 9 (100%) pupils indicated that they choose to speak Greek fluently.

Question 7.5: Do you consider Greek to be: as good as any European language, inferior to other European languages or undecided?

6 (67%) pupils indicated that Greek is as good as any European language, 1 (11%) pupils thought that Greek was inferior to other European languages and 2 (22%) pupils were undecided.

Question 7.6: Do you feel it is important to be completely fluent (speak, read and write) in your mother tongue?

All 9 (100%) pupils thought that it is important to be completely fluent in one's mother tongue.

Reasons given:

- If you belong to a nation, you must be part of it.
- It is your country's language and you should speak it in order to be a real part of it.
- If one day we go to Greece, it will be crucial to be able to speak, read and write Greek.
- I think it is important because if we move to Greece, we can still live our lives with no problem.
- If mistakes take place they will be corrected.
- So that you can understand and prove to yourself that you have accomplished something in life. Also so that your holidays to the country can be easier.
- You need to keep your language alive.
- Because it's part of my family's language.
- It is a part of who you are.

Question 7.7: Do you feel proud/ashamed of being Greek?

All 9 (100%) pupils are proud of being Greek.

98% (48/49) of the respondents responded very positively to the question.

One respondent answered: "I don't mind".

Reasons given:

- Because of what Greeks have achieved.
- Because the Greeks were one of the most ancient civilizations.
- My roots are Greek and so am I.

- It feels nice to be Greek; there are lots of things to do and learn.
- Not the only Greek in South Africa and have something else to speak.
- It makes me feel superior to know another European language and it makes my friends jealous.
- I am proud of being Greek and I don't think anyone should be ashamed.
- Because Greek is a special language.
- I like to be a part of the community that we have.

7.8 Place a tick in one of the following blocks:

	Strongly agree	Yes	No	Do not care
Do your parents like you to speak Greek?	6 (67%)	3 (33%)		
Are you ever forced to speak Greek at home?	1 (11%)	3 (33%)	5 (56%)	
Do your parents mind if you speak English at home?		3 (33%)	6 (67%)	
Do your parents prefer you to speak Greek rather than English at home?		7 (78%)	2 (22%)	

Table 14: Parents' attitudes towards language use

7.9 Place a tick in one of the following blocks:

	Strongly agree	Yes	No	Do not care
Would you like your children to speak Greek at home?	4 (44%)	5 (56%)		
Would you force your children to speak Greek at home?		4 (44%)	5 (56%)	
Would you mind if your children spoke English at home?		2 (22%)	7 (78%)	
Would you prefer your children to speak Greek rather than English at home?		8 (89%)	1 (11%)	

Table 15: Respondents' attitudes towards language use

Question 7.10: How important do you feel it is to maintain the Greek language?

7 (78%) pupils felt that it is very important to maintain the Greek language and 2 (22%) pupils felt that it is important to maintain the Greek language.

Question 7.11: Which reasons do you feel are important for maintaining the Greek language?

Cultural	9 (In total = 46)
Ethnic	7 (In total = 38)
Communication	6 (In total = 43)
Linguistic	4 (In total = 30)
Professional	4 (In total = 17)
Return to Greece	7 (In total = 37)
Sentimental	3 (In total = 31)
Religious	7 (In total = 41)

Table 16: Reasons for retaining the Greek language

Appendix 19 Organisations

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 SOUTH AFRICA

FRIENDS OF CULTURAL INTERACTIONS PROJECT (F.C.I.P.)

Hellenes for Human Rights, Equity and Justice

HEGASA: HELLENIC GRADUATES ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

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 CHAIRMAN: MR COSTA NICOLAOU
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PAN CRETAN ASSOCIATION OF S.A.

CHAIRMAN: DR MICHAEL PAVLAKIS

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TEL +27 83 305 3170

GREEK SPORTING CLUB

CHAIRMAN: MR NICK KOKKORIS

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NEW PAN HELLENIC VOICE

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PANEPIROTIC SOCIETY OF S.A.

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