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Mehrsprachigkeitskonzepte in den Schulen Europas
Multilingual Concepts in the Schools of Europe
Conceptions plurilingues dans l'enseignement européen

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1. Introduction

Modern Greek, closely akin to Ancient Greek and forming a separate branch of the Indo-European group of languages, is the sole official language of Modern Greece. It has had an unbroken history since early in the second millennium B.C., primarily in the southern Balkans.

In all the stages of its development, as the Hellenistic koine (common language) or as the Byzantine koine, Greek owed its prestige throughout the centuries, not so much to its classical splendour, but rather to its spread as a lingua franca ever since the expanded empire established by the king of Macedonia, Alexander the Great, who spread Hellenism across three continents in the fourth century B.C., then during the Hellenistic period, and later during the Byzantine era, when it became the official language of the Empire and its bureaucracy. It also acquired a great significance because it was the language of the New Faith, the original language of the New Testament and the language of the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Today Greek has shrunk mainly to the mainland, the Greek islands and Cyprus, as the geographic distribution of its speakers has changed, but is also spoken by people of Greek origin in the Hellenic diaspora, mainly in Australia, Canada, America, Britain and Germany. It is also spoken in Istanbul (Constantinople), on the coast of the Black Sea, in the southern part of Albania (Northern Epirus) and in South Italy.

Linguistically, Greece today is perhaps the most homogeneous state in the Balkans. "The almost total linguistic homogenization of Greece" (Mackridge, 1985: 1) is a phenomenon of our century though, as is her territorial formation. However, it is imperative to understand the historical patterns which brought about multilingualism primarily in the northern part of Greece, in the past centuries, and its resolution, in order to understand the nature of multilingualism as well as the political climate of the time and the ensuing attitudes and policies towards it of the people in general and the state in particular.

2. Historical perspective

Occupying a commanding position in the southern Balkans the Mainland of Modern Greece and, more specifically, her northern territories, suffered successive waves of Slavonic invasions during the era of the Greek Empire of Byzantium until, in 1371, Macedonia, the northern part of Greece, came under Turkish suzerainty.

It is generally acknowledged that the population of the Balkans did not, until this cen-

ture, consist of compact and homogeneous ethnic groups and that the nationalism in the area is a recent development (King, 1973, to cite just one source only). This was true of northern Greece, i.e., Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace, which, unlike southern Greece, were under Ottoman dominion until early this century. Ethnic consciousness in the region was shaped by a number of factors, the most important of which were the regional culture based on the geographic area and the state culture of the Greek Empire of Byzantium, which was the broadest in scope. The notion of the nation state was a novelty that emerged in the previous century only, competing for the effective loyalty of its members. The transformation, therefore, of inarticulate ethnic groups into nation-states in the Balkans has been a recent and painstaking achievement.

Another decisive factor for the absence of distinct national consciousness in the region was the fact that the theocratic Ottoman state did not differentiate between its subjects according to their origin or nationality but rather grouped them according to their creed as Christians and Muslims, thus emphasizing religion while deemphasizing language and other 'objective' criteria of nationalism (MacCartney, 1934). It must be noted at this point that the sole bearer of Orthodox Christianity until the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870, was the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, whose language and orientation was Greek and which continued the Greek Byzantine traditions (Kofos, 1989). Consequently, the prevalent status of the Greek language and, hence, the dominant position of Greek culture and education led to a process of acculturation of other Christian linguistic groups and minorities in the region who eventually identified themselves with Hellenism, despite their distinct tongues (Vlachs, Orthodox-Albanians and a considerable number of Slav-speakers, who after 1870 refused to join the Bulgarian Exarchate, opting to stay under the Greek Patriarchate). Besides, multilingual communities of Christians in Macedonia, who had espoused Greek national ideology and participated in the Greek War of Independence was a common place fact (Kofos, 1988).

However, the Greeks faced a completely different situation concerning their national character at the turn of the century, as there was continuity from classical Greece right through to the Byzantine Empire. For Greece, the process had to be inverted, i.e., instead of imbuing her people with national consciousness thus inflating modest sources into a national tradition, as neighbouring states had to do, she had to abandon the legacy of her imperial tradition and settle for the creation of a modern, ordinary nation-state (Stokes, 1984).

Moreover, liberation from a four-hundred-year Ottoman dominion left Greece unable to unite all her nationals as the unredeemed Greeks could be found in Ionia, Anatolia – Asia Minor – since before the classical age – in Eastern Thrace, in Constantinople, and as far as on the Russian coasts.¹ At the turn of this century the people of the Greek State formed only 37% of the Greeks and, bearing in mind that the Greeks have always been emotionally more attached to Byzantium than to their classical past, one might under-

1 In Ionia alone the Greeks represented almost 60% of the entire population and Buxton and Leese (1919: 115) writing on 'the territorial aspect of a lasting settlement' in the region noted that "considerable portions of western Asia Minor, including the important town of Smyrna" should be given back to Greece.

stand their aspirations to incorporate the majority of the unredeemed Hellenes in a new Greek nation with its capital in 'Polis' (City), as the Greeks call, even today, Constantinople (Istanbul).² These aspirations, based on ethnological grounds and encouraged by the Allies, were epitomised in what has been called The Great Idea, which was not weakened by the fact that the Greeks in Greek Macedonia, liberated from the Turks in 1913, formed only 44.1 % of the total population at that time. On the contrary, the national ideal envisaged the creation of a revived Byzantine, Hellenic State, which would encompass various minorities speaking their particular tongues, with the Greek language as the official language of the State.

However, after the debacle of the Greek army in Asia Minor in 1922, the Lausanne Convention was signed between Turkey and Greece in 1923, which concerned the compulsory exchange of Greek and Turkish populations.³ According to this document all the Greek nationals of Moslem religion established in Greek territory (except for those in Western Thrace) were to be forcibly exchanged for all Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory (except for the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople). The majority of these refugees (ca. 1,200,000) resettled in the rural areas, particularly in Macedonia (ca. 640,000), thus tipping the population balance in the Greek favour.

However, this population exchange was not the only one that brought about the almost total linguistic and ethnic homogenization of the country and especially of Macedonia. Exchanges between Bulgarian and Greek population as well as successive stages of exodus of Slav-speaking population greatly contributed to the ethnological concentration of Hellenism within the borders of present Greece. During the second Balkan War (1913) and after the First World War (1914–1918) approximately 65,000 bilingual Greeks (Greek- and Slav-speaking) migrated from former Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and were resettled in Greek Macedonia, while 20,000 Slav-speakers with Bulgarian national consciousness left Greek Macedonia (Angelopoulos, 1979).⁴ By 1926, 53,000 Slav-speakers with Bulgarian national consciousness had left Greece, while during the same period approximately 52,000 bilingual Greeks left Bulgaria to settle in Greece under the terms of another Exchange Convention (Treaty of Neuilly, 27 November 1919), (Angelopoulos 1979, MacCartney, 1934). According to the 1928 Greek census, 88.1 % of the population in Greek Macedonia was Greek. All in all, between 1922 and 1925, 363,000 Turks and Bulgarians left Macedonia, while the refugees formed about 45 % of the total population in Greek Macedonia (Sakellariou, 1988: 512). According to MacCartney (1934) 365,000 Muslims alone left Greece under the terms of the Lausanne Convention.

Another exodus of Slav-speakers with either indeterminate or Bulgarian consciousness took place after the end of the Second World War – during which Greek Eastern Macedonia was under Bulgarian occupation – when the Axis was defeated. This further reduced the number of Slav-speakers in Macedonia, to be followed by a further decrease

2 "Istanbul" is a corrupt form of the Greek expression 'eis-ten-poli' (to the city) meaning (I am going) 'to the city'.

3 As MacCartney (p. 444) writes, "The responsibility for this barbarity rests ... wholly on Turkey".

4 Unfortunately, figures tend to fluctuate according to sources.

in 1945, when 25,000 to 30,000 (depending on sources) Slav-speaking Greeks fled Greece after the defeat of the communists in the erupted civil war. This figure was further increased at the end of the civil war, in 1949, when all the irredentist 'Slav-Macedonians' who survived the civil war fled to the neighbouring communist countries, mostly former Yugoslavia. It might be noted at this point that amongst other atrocities committed during the Bulgarian occupation of Greek Macedonia the Bulgarian administration tried to Bulgarize the region by closing down all Greek schools, forbidding the use of Greek and changing all Greek toponyms and names of streets to Bulgarian and by setting up Bulgarian schools.

3. Quantitative and qualitative data of multilingualism

The progressive ethnological homogenization of the population in Greece brought about a linguistic homogenization which was reflected in the 1951 census, when a language-question was asked: according to it, 956.12‰ spoke Greek as their mother tongue, 23.57‰ spoke Turkish, 5.37‰ spoke a Macedonian Bulgarian dialect, 5.22‰ Koutsovlach, 2.98‰ Albanian, 2.45‰ spoke Pomakian, 1.18‰ Armenian, 0.50‰ Russian and 0.18‰ spoke Spanish (Jews) (Angelopoulos, 1979).

However, the linguistic situation in Greece has changed dramatically since 1951 when a language-related question was last asked in the census. Nevertheless, linguistic minorities were, and some are even to the present day, to be found in compact settlements in certain regions of the country. The main linguistic minority are the Muslims who are concentrated in Western Thrace. Homogeneous in religion, this minority is both linguistically and in origin heterogeneous. It numbers approximately 120,000 persons today, 60,000 of whom are of Turkish descent speaking Turkish as their native language, about 37,000–40,000 are Pomaks of Thracian origin speaking their own language and approximately 16,000 Athingani, descendants of Christian heretics who were expelled from Asia Minor during the Byzantine times and were later converted to Islam, and Gypsies who migrated from India. There was a gradual migration of Muslims to Turkey during World War II and the civil war following it. Another 4,000 Muslims have also emigrated to Western Europe.

Another linguistic group are the remaining Slavophone speakers who are to be found mainly in western Macedonia on the northern borders of the area in insignificant numbers on account of the recurring mass exoduses of the Slav population in the course of fifty years but also because of large scale emigration to Australia, Canada and America, and internal migration (urbanization) (McNeill, 1978).⁵ So the figure of 5.37‰ of Slav-

⁵ Between 1950 and 1975 there was large scale emigration of Greeks to these countries. Moreover, the effects of modernization processes on the population, such as industrialization and urbanization, are summed up in Jelavich (1983: 437–438) who writes that "Greece underwent a demographic revolution. After the conclusion of the civil war a massive movement into the cities occurred. The prewar emigration continued until 1975 ... Removed from their traditional villages, the former rural population had to make adjustments to new conditions, but they, like all Greeks could enjoy the advantages offered by new technology, by the conscious efforts made to raise the economic level of the country".

speakers of the 1951 census, in which approximately 40,000 persons were designated as Slavophones, hardly corresponds to present day reality. Consequently the "more reliable estimates" of 200,000 "Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia at present" (Poulton, 1989) are totally unfounded.⁶ It should be noted that the 1928 census, i. e., before all the exoduses, recorded 81,984 Slavophones.

Another linguistic group are the Albanians or 'Arvanites', as the Albanian Greeks are called. These, like the Slavophones, are orthodox and completely assimilated into the Greek culture. The majority of muslim Albanians who lived near the borders of Albania and were nationally conscious Albanians left for Albania after the Greek-Italian war of 1940. The census of 1951 recorded 22,736 Albanian speakers, but this figure, too, is grossly unrealistic today.⁷ They inhabit mainly rural areas of central Greece, in Attica and Boeotia, although population mobility has contributed to their partial dilution.

The Vlachs, or Koutsovlachs, form another numerically insignificant linguistic minority of Greece, as these, too, like all the rest orthodox linguistic groups, are totally assimilated into the Greek nation and culture. The older generations, who are fluent speakers of the language, still live in developed areas in mountainous regions in western Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly, although, due to post-war modernization and large scale urbanization, later generations have fully assimilated into the urban life-style and, as a consequence, distanced themselves from their collectivities and, hence, their language. The census of 1951 claimed 39,855 Koutsovlach speakers, but like in all other cases, except in the case of the muslim minority, Koutsovlach today is a fast dying language.

There are also a few thousand Gipsies, scattered around the country – the 1951 census recorded 7,429 of them – who, having been neglected by the state for a number of years and having suffered discrimination, are, like everywhere else, still at the bottom of the social order, although their position has recently risen and is still rising. Today there are no reliable statistics on their numbers because some Gipsies still wander from place to place, either as migratory farm workers or hawking various commodities and because their nationality may not be firmly established. The figure of Gipsies in Greece, quoted in Puxon (1987) is 140,000, probably including the Athingani of Western Thrace, too. However, taking into consideration a number of inaccuracies in other MRG reports (for example, Poulton's report) one should take figures at least with a pinch of salt. Small scale discrimination against them still continues to the present day – for example, their origin is usually specified in the local news media as is the case with international news media (see Tajfel, p. 19) – while this is not true of any other ethnic group.⁸

6 Amongst many inaccuracies, it is noteworthy that, although Poulton acknowledges that the notion of the so-called 'Macedonians' (formerly Bulgarians) as a separate people "only really came later" (p. 30), he nevertheless readily adopts the term 'Macedonians' to designate the Slavophones of Greek Macedonia, which the Skopje propaganda insists on calling 'Aegean Macedonia' – a term adopted by Poulton, too – in their effort to lexically strip the region of its Greek character.

7 Trudgill and Tzavaras record a figure of 140,000 Albanian-Greeks, which, however, is the figure given by MacCartney in 1934. This figure, even if accurate, must not be confused with the figure of Albanian-, or rather, 'Arvanitika'-speakers though, since Albanian-Greeks, even unrealistically, feel that the language is not a necessary requirement for ethnic group membership (p. 180).

8 However, in the case of Muslims of Turkish descent their names usually testify to their origin.

4. Autochthonous/allochthonous languages

In the southern part of the Balkans occupied by Greece the Greeks are the oldest people, and from this point of view almost all other languages can be called allochthonous. However, the Pomaks are descendants of autochthonous Thracians, who were at some time in the past forcibly converted to Islam (MacCartney, 1934).⁹ They live in compact villages in mountainous regions on the northern borders of western Thrace and they are mostly peasants. Being content with comparatively limited cultural facilities, like most agricultural communities of remote mountainous regions in Greece, the Pomaks have not abandoned old-fashioned, peasant patterns of life, and their behaviour and attitudes have not adjusted in response to new urban-based national and international currents, and in this respect, they are considered by presentday standards to be a rather backward population. Their language, which is said to contain a very high percentage (over 50%) of Slavic (Bulgarian) words, mainly nouns, around 15% of Turkish words and a considerable number of Greek words (mainly verbs), has no literary form.¹⁰ The majority are bilingual. It should be stressed that, despite the aggressive campaign conducted by Turkey to Turkicize the Pomaks – De Jong, 1980, calls them a turkicized Muslim people –, it is not at all hard, as Poulton with MLIHRC (1989) claim, to separate them from the Turks, because there are both official figures as to their numbers, but also because they live mostly in separate, totally Pomak villages, speak a different language and have a different phenotype from that of the Turkish-speaking muslims.

The muslims of turkish origin in western Thrace were settled there during the long Ottoman domination. Their native tongue is Turkish, although the majority are bilingual. The muslim minority of western Thrace (86,793 persons according to the 1920 figures) were exempted from the compulsory exchange that took place under the Lausanne Treaty as were the Greek-orthodox inhabitants of Constantinople (279,788 according to Turkish statistics in 1924) and of the islands of Tenedos and Imbros, the latter having no Turkish inhabitants at all at the time.

Albanian Greeks are descendants of Albanian immigrants who claimed descent from the ancient Illyrians and who migrated out of areas of early settlement to fill in places in Greece, like the region in Attica, near Athens,¹¹ when lands fell open as early as in the 11th and 12th centuries but mainly in the 14th and 15th centuries. They have traditionally attached themselves to the life in Greece, having adopted the regional and national culture, and identified themselves with Greek national life and feeling (MacCartney, 1934, Trudgill and Tzavaras, 1977). Their language, a dialect of Tosk, or southern Albanian, is

9 As with other issues in the Balkan history, the origin of the Pomaks and their language have been controversial political issues.

10 Percentages seem to vary according to regions. Thus in western parts, i. e., closer to Bulgaria, the percentage of Bulgarian words seems to be higher, while in eastern regions, i. e., closer to Turkey, there is a higher percentage of Turkish words.

11 It is unfortunate and uninformed, therefore, when Poulton places this minority group in his report under the heading "Aegean Macedonia and Thrace (Greece)", giving prominence to the territory and placing 'Greece' in parentheses at the end, thus treating two geographical areas of Greece as if they were self-governed autonomous territories or parts of a Federal state, as he does with "The Socialist Republic of Macedonia (Yugoslavia)", but not with "Albania" or "Bulgaria".

called Arvanitika and is a fast dying language today. Older Arvanites, who still speak the language, are not literate in it and are even surprised to hear that it has a written form (Trudgill and Tzavaras, 1977).

The Vlachs, a very old people descended from the original Thracians or Illyrians according to some sources or linguistically latinized Greeks by Roman conquerors according to other, speak a Balkan Romance language called Aromanian or Arumanian (see Comrie, 1987), and are all bilingual. The issue of (non-)autochthonism is not resolved.

Romany, the language spoken by the Gipsies, who first came to the area around the 14th century, is an Indic language (Indo-Aryan). All of them are bilingual and, if they are literate, they are so in Greek. The majority, even today, drop out of school after a few years' schooling.

The majority of the older Slav-speaking Greeks – the appellation being fully justified today also by their complete peaceful¹² assimilation and their social psychology – who still live in villages in Western Macedonia, are descendants of Slavs who settled after the 6th century A. D. in Macedonia, where they found a mainly Greek-speaking population. Before then “the inhabitants of Macedonia had been under Greek influence from the ninth century B. C. until the second century B. C., then they were under Roman influence, and from the fourth century A. D. onwards under Byzantine influence” (Barker, 1950: 13–14). They speak a south Slavonic language, and more specifically, a western Bulgarian dialect, initially of restricted functions, which, however, since 1944, when the People's Republic of Macedonia was founded in Skopje, has been transformed into a ‘Macedonian’ literary language, by emphasizing and cultivating its differences from Bulgarian (MacCartney, 1934, Andriotis, 1966, Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, 1968: 5,50, Poulton, 1989, Harvard Encyclopaedia) in order to elevate it to a national, unifying symbol and thus propagate an ‘imagined’ new Macedonian nationality (Kofos, 1989).¹³ Greece, however, feeling herself to be the legitimate heir to the heritage and name of the ancient Macedonians, when the Slavic peoples were still on some Russian steppes, refute the legitimacy of the appropriation of a purely territorial term (Kofos, 1989), as has been ‘Macedonia’ ever since the beginning of the Byzantine period (MacCartney, 1934, Sakelariou, 1988: 224).

5. Multilingualism principles: territoriality versus individuality

The compulsory or ‘voluntary’ movements of population following the shifting or adjustment of territorial boundaries of modern Greece resulted, not only in ethnic, but also in linguistic homogeneity, rendering pluralistic solutions based on territorial

12 However, there have been two periods of forcible assimilation practised during the dictatorial regimes of General Metaxas (1936–1941) and the Colonels’ (1967–1974).

13 King (1973) writes in this respect: “It is probably reasonable to say that before World War II most of the Slavic inhabitants of Macedonia considered themselves to be Bulgarians” (p. 218), and further: “In the nineteenth century disinterested ethnographers generally were in agreement that the Slavic inhabitants of Macedonia were Bulgarians” (p. 187), while Buxton and Leese (1919: 27) note that “nothing was ever heard of Macedonians of Serbian nationality”.

grounds an irrelevance. Moreover, Greece is a unitary state whose centralized decision-making meant a highly centralized language regime, setting national norms in language planning and in educational matters. This linguistic uniformity has been an earnest goal of all governments in Greece since her liberation as it was, moreover, viewed as reflecting ethnological homogenization, and thus abating possible territorial claims by neighbouring countries.

6. Multilingualism in language planning/language politics: Particularities of the educational system

The muslim minority is the only minority officially recognized in Greece and accorded all the rights secured by the Convention of the Council of Europe on Human Rights (1953). No other linguistic minority has ever been officially recognized in Greece and, consequently, no provisions have ever been made regarding unilingual – other than Greek – bilingual, or multilingual education in certain territories where linguistic minorities existed compactly in the past. Moreover, this did not happen also for the following reasons: There were hardly any large territories in which all the inhabitants were speakers of the same minority language to warrant the implementation of the territorial principle, which would mean that for all the residents of the given territory the same language rules would be enforced, conferring exclusive rights on the minority language. Moreover, due to Hellenicization of these minorities over a very long period in the past, such a language policy would not have probably been desirable, as it would also have meant an indirect exclusion of the minority-language speakers from mainstream Greek culture and upward social mobility (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990). All minority languages were spoken in rural areas and rural lifestyle in Greece has always been identified as backward and contrasted with urban lifestyle, which peasants of rural regions always aspired for their children. These aspirations meant a good education in the Greek language, which was seen as a vehicle for their integration into the dominant linguistic and cultural milieu, whereas minority-language speech was identified with lower social status.

Furthermore, the Greek State, for reasons that are well understood if familiarity with the recent history of the Balkans is assumed, was reluctant to concede the existence of any minorities within its boundaries, and saw instructional unilingualism very much as a way of integrating minority language children into the mainstream mould.

More significantly however, the Greek educational system had been plagued until very recently (1976) by diglossia, which meant that children coming to school from underprivileged backgrounds, as were lower socio-economic strata to which minority-language speakers mainly belonged, were even more disadvantaged compared to majority-language speaking children, as they all had to strive at a very early age with *katharevousa*, the high variety of Greek, which, although it lacked native speakers, had a long sanctified, indigenized tradition, due to the efforts of the elite to adapt the variety for modernization purposes and thereby ‘vernacularize’ it (Fishman, 1989). Education in the minority language would have meant placing emphasis on its teaching thus deflecting from a good training in *katharevousa*, which in the constitution of 1911 was declared to be the

official language of the State. Inadequate mastery of the high variety was bound to bar the way to upward social mobility, a much desired commodity in all developing societies.

Furthermore, the focus of attention of all educationalists in Greece in this century has been the problem of diglossia and its probable resolution in the Greek linguistic situation. Due to its centrality in the Greek educational system, diglossia was of paramount importance and caused, for over a century, a protracted debate amongst educationalists and scholars, which naturally contributed towards diverting attention from any other linguistic or educational problems in the country.

Besides, the major characteristic of the educational system in Greece is its rigid uniformity, as the Ministry of Education controls all aspects of the system, allowing local authorities very little initiative indeed (see Educational Policy and Planning).

Finally, it should be stressed that Greece, being a highly centralized modern state and facing no major multilingualism problems, was no exception to the monolingual ideology, which prevailed – and still does – in most European countries and, indeed, in the USA and on other continents (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990).¹⁴

7.1. Multilingual education:

General

The educational system in Greece is essentially uniform both in structure and in content. This uniformity coincides with the cultural and demographic homogeneity of the population of modern Greece. The Government's policy that 'a basically non-differentiated educational system will meet the educational needs of most children' may be quite justifiable at present, since the school system has acted as the main agent of social and other integration in the recent past, but as there has been scant research in areas such as school performance and its correlation between socioeconomic status and ethnic origin or minority language-groups, little can be said about its justifiability in the past. It should be noted, however, that very little is anyway known in Greece about the way the educational system functions, about its efficiency or its outcome.

As has been noted, the only linguistic minority officially recognized is the muslim of Western Thrace. In actual fact, the Lausanne Treaty concerned the provisions for the rights of the respective minorities (Muslim and Greek Orthodox) as far as religion, language and human rights were concerned. Nowhere in the Treaty are the respective minorities referred to as ethnic. When the Greek Treaty was being drafted, the then Prime Minister of Greece, Venizelos, urged that its educational provisions ought not to apply to Old Greece (Southern Greece) "on the ground that the Albanians of those regions themselves preferred their children to attend Greek schools; and Greece has ever since consistently justified her failure to provide minority schools for her Christian minorities on the ground that the minorities had not asked for such schools and must be presumed not to want them. This plea is not necessarily unsound although, obviously, extremely danger-

¹⁴ "Although there are more than 40 officially bi- or multilingual states, a majority of the nearly 200 states of the world are, despite their de facto multilingualism, officially monolingual" (p. 6).

ous" (MacCartney, 1934: 397–398). The same reasoning applied *a fortiori* to the Slavs of Macedonia (ibid.: 247).

However, it should be noted that Greece made an attempt (Kalfov-Politis Protocol) in 1924, i. e., before the exodus of her Slav-speakers, to recognize the Bulgarian minority on the understanding that Bulgaria would recognize the Greek minority in her territory too. But after the Yugoslav government's intervention, the agreement was not ratified "for to admit the existence of a Bulgarian minority in Greek Macedonia", as MacCartney (1934: 368) put it, "was to imply *a fortiori*, that a Bulgarian minority existed in Yugoslav Macedonia – a fact which Yugoslavia has always denied with passion". Greece made one more attempt to recognize her Slav-speakers as a national minority by declaring them as 'Macedono-Slavs' – the first term of the compound referring to the geographical area – who could have their own schools and be taught their own language. But the project failed primarily because the Bulgarians demanded the use of the Bulgarian language while the Serbs insisted on the use of Serbo-Croatian as the language of schooling (Kofos, 1964). Ever since then Greece has classified all her Slav-speaking inhabitants who remained in Western Macedonia officially as Greeks who spoke a Slavonic dialect (Slavophones) and treated them as Slav-speaking Greeks who enjoy the same rights as all other citizens of the state.

The communities of the Vlachs of Pindus were also allowed local autonomy, under the control of the Greek state in regard to religious, charitable or scholastic matters according to article 12 of the Greek Treaty (MacCartney, 1934).

7.2. Multilingual education: For Minorities

According to article 40 of the Lausanne Convention both Greek Orthodox inhabitants of Constantinople and Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace have a right "to establish, manage and control at their own expense, any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein". Article 41 stipulates that in regard to public instruction the respective governments will grant their linguistic minorities "adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children [of these minorities] through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent [the respective governments] from making the teaching of [the majority language] obligatory in the said schools".

Today, there are 261 minority language primary schools in towns and villages in Western Thrace. Although not in the provisions, there are also two Gymnasiums and two Lyceiums, i. e., secondary schools up to University level, in the main towns of the area, with 308 students enrolled in the academic year 1988–1989. There were approximately 9,931 muslim pupils in elementary minority language schools in the same year. The decrease of the number of students in secondary education is due to the rural orientation of the muslim minority who, after the obligatory elementary education, usually engage in agriculture and also to the continuation of their schooling in Turkey. The teaching staff

in these schools numbers 723 teachers in primary education and 50 teachers in secondary education. There are also two religious institutes (Mentresedes), one in Komotini and one in Echinis (near Xanthi), as well as a Technical School. It should also be noted that some Muslims pursue studies in Theological Schools at Universities in Arab countries (Egypt, Soudi-Arabia) on Greek scholarships.

All the minority schools have muslim directors and their own trustees (Law 694/1977). Moreover, it should be noted that 419 persons on the teaching staff are Muslims. There is also a Special Teachers' Academy in which specialized training for minority language teachers is provided. No restrictions are placed on the use of the minority language but, on the contrary, the Ministry of Education assists minority language schools by employing specially trained teachers, providing insurance for them and, generally, by providing large sums for the running costs of the minority schools. For example, in 1983–1984 the state budget made available 500 million drachmas (5 million U.S. dollars at the time) for minority education. Besides, the cost of school text-books, which are provided free of charge, is not included in this sum. New minority schools can be set up on the basis of the submission of an application by parents and guardians of pupils in the area according to law 694/1977, and, indeed, two more minority schools were thus established in 1983 in the Prefecture of Rhodopi. Even though not included in the terms and conditions of the Treaty of Lausanne, all minority schools are maintained at the expense of the Greek State. It should also be noted that the administration of minority schools can choose the Arabic script instead of the Roman one, if they so wish, as they can choose to observe Friday as a holiday. Greek is taught as a language component and is the language of instruction for history. Turkish, besides being taught as a target language, is also the language of instruction for science, religious education and other subjects. There are, moreover, four Turkish language newspapers published in Western Thrace, as well as two religious periodicals, one children's magazine and one advertising periodical. Bulletins in Turkish are broadcasted daily by the local Radio and the use of the Turkish language as well as that of the Pomaks is generally encouraged outside the school environment, too, at least for reasons of facilitating transactions.

The efforts of the Greek state have been geared towards the smooth integration – not assimilation – of the muslim minority into the life of the nation.¹⁵ However, religion in the minority acts as a unifying factor amongst its members, on the one hand, and hence as a segregating one, on the other, as religious and cultural homogeneity with the rest of the population is absent. This religious and cultural segregation is stubbornly rooted and hard to overcome, and has led to structural segregation, too. Besides, as is often the case, religious minorities are often in substance ethnic minorities, too, and this double identification of the minority makes resistance to the integration process considerably stronger. The cultural policy generated by this minority, aiming at the conservation of their cultural heterogeneity and an obstinate resistance of their members' smooth integration into the broader culture of the nation, cements their structural segregation, which, conse-

15 Integration seeks: (a) To eliminate all purely ethnic lines of cleavage, and (b) To guarantee the same rights and opportunities to all citizens whatever their group membership (Thornberry, 1987).

quently, leads to impaired education and underachievement, barring the way towards equal chances of participation in the goods and values of the society for all its members. The reason for this is well understood if one bears in mind that the muslim minority has always been agrarian rather than urban in orientation and, therefore, in the Greek reality, considered a backward population. Resisting integration in a developed, pluralistic society, as modern Greek society is today, is tantamount to resisting full participation in the goods of such a society.

8. Critical evaluation of the multilingual concepts – Further perspectives

Modern Greece has always been a secular state in which western ideology has been dominant and, as is well known, such societies have had until recently poor understanding of the utility of ethnic or other collectivities, but instead promoted the cult of the individual. In modern Greek society the locus of reality has been individual independence and efficacy, membership in the dominant value system and hence adoption of the dominant ideology and the majority norm. These aspirations coupled with the fact that minority language groups inhabiting rural areas have always been economically or socially underprivileged and, therefore, insecure groups – as has been most of the rural population in Greece – have led minority language speakers to show strong outgroup identification, which was manifested primarily in consciously or subconsciously developing negative attitudes towards the minority language and eventually in dropping their distinctive speech. This has also been true of dialect speakers in Greece.

Moreover, like all developing nations in the early decades of this century, Greece was beset by a cluster of problems which revolved around efficiency and instrumentality rather than around authenticity, seeking “to meet the needs of its citizenry with respect to the facilitation of communication and the conduct of commerce, industry, education, and all other organized societal pursuits” (Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, 1968: 7); besides, it should be borne in mind that Greece, being ravaged by war and internal strife, was hardly in a position to focus on language planning of a very careful and concerted sort.

But most significantly, it cannot be overemphasized that the Greek educational system was a diglossic one already, which meant that both the target as well as the instructional language, that had to be mastered, was a differentially accessible high variety, in which higher education had to be pursued, with the well-known consequences for scholastic achievement and illiteracy in H. High levels of bilingualism or – in the case of linguistic minorities in Greece – plurilingualism are beneficial for the individual but, nevertheless, difficult to attain as they demand extraordinary work and energy. Therefore, in such cases, the primary goal is to learn the majority language properly as it is a prerequisite for upward social mobility and equal opportunity.

These factors, alongside the unitary, undifferentiating language policy practised by the state and large scale urbanization and modernization (see McNeil, 1978) have greatly contributed to the contraction and imminent death of the minority languages in Greece. More recently, attitudes have slightly changed in Greece, too, and there seems to be a greater appreciation of collectivities, which are ‘rediscovered and refurbished’ (eg. Vlachs

and Arvanites). However, it is worth wondering, in the wake of their members' conscious defection to the majority lifestyle and their dissolution into the dominant population, whether their culture has not degenerated into mere folklore – the resurgence of traditions in certain behaviours, dress, etc. – especially as distinct religion cannot act – as in the case of the muslim minority – as a powerful, unifying force, and as language contraction or death has destroyed the symbolic function of language for these collectivities and ethnic ties have thus been eroded. It should be noted, however, that very little language related research has been done in Greece from a sociolinguistic point of view and in areas such as the elaboration or transmutation of ethnicity or the development of identification with the broader nationality and nation.

However, the Balkans, as is well known, was an area in which language was not so important for nationalistic sentiment and, in the past, in the territory of Modern Greece religion was the preeminent 'self-definer'. The inception of Bulgarian nationalism, for example, coincides with the establishment of the autonomous Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870 (King, 1973: 218), as 'churchmanship' in those times was equivalent to nationality (Buxton and Leese, 1919). The mediaeval 'empires' of Bulgaria and Serbia, as Buxton and Leese (1919) note, were not in any true sense Nation-States, but rather despotisms, founded on the military successes of the various dynasties.

Besides, as there was traditionally no correspondence between language groups and strictly ethnic criteria (Pounds, 1990: 47), some linguistic groups preferred to share, even as minorities, in what they considered a superior culture and one to which they were accustomed. There was also a long tradition in Greek language teaching, as at some time in the past reinforcing Greek education was viewed as moral support to Slav speaking population to counter the procelytizing activities of the Bulgarian Exarchate, and, generally, as supporting Hellenism in the region (Sakellariou, 1988: 460). There was also a long tradition in the past for non-Greek Christians to attend Hellenic schools, because they did not have their own, except for the elementary grammar schools of a few churches and monasteries. For instance, MacCartney (1934: 136) writes with regard to the Vlach minority, that "even if he [a Vlach] was by upbringing . . . a Vlach, the prospect of liberty and a competence under the Greek flag would not only make him proclaim himself a Greek but would very soon turn him into a Greek".

It is not, therefore, unreasonable to conclude, given all these factors, that Venizelos was probably right in stating that there was no call for education of minority language speakers in the minority languages in Old Greece. However, it is also fair to note that, as there has been no relevant research, one cannot determine how far the education of these children through the majority language has been a major pedagogical cause for illiteracy, at least in initial stages, for these minorities. What is important to be stressed, though, is that nowadays, not only is there no call for multilingual educational provisions – other than in the case of the muslim minority – in Greece, but also that such a language policy would be considered a hardship, as indeed instruction in their own language alone was viewed, even in the past, when minority languages had not suffered contraction. This attitude is due to the fact that mastery of the state – i. e., majority – language and culture has always been regarded as the most valuable part of their education (MacCartney, 1934).

As for the education of the muslim minority, it should be stressed that more needs to

be done, since the majority of schoolchildren are underachievers both in Greek and Turkish. For example, there are no reception classes in Greek, and, generally, impaired education in Greek does not guarantee – in contravention of article 26 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights – equal access to higher education in Greece on the basis of merit. Indeed, the Department of Education, acknowledging the problem, is in the process of reviewing language textbooks for minority schools. In recognition of the acute educational needs of the nomadic Gypsies, too, the Department of Education has also commissioned an advisory committee to make recommendations in this respect.

9. Comparison with neighbouring countries

Articles 40 and 41 of the Lausanne Treaty concerned the Greek orthodox minority of Constantinople (Istanbul), as well as the Greek orthodox inhabitants of the islands of Imbros and Tenedos. However, determined to Turkicize these two islands – Imbros had no Turkish inhabitants at all – Turkey abolished the minority schools there in 1964 by banning the teaching of the Greek language (law 502/1964) and ordered that all school property be registered in the name of the local government (Ministry of Education Circular 701-16/0-41156/25-9-1964), i. e., it came into the hands of the Turkish Muslims. But figures are more revealing: Greek orthodox schoolchildren numbered 1,385 in 1923. Today there are only seven Greek orthodox schoolchildren on these two islands.

The Greek orthodox minority of Constantinople was a thriving urban minority in the twenties as were all the Greek communities on the Ionian coast before their mass expulsion and massacre in 1922. Today there are only 14 elementary and five high schools in Istanbul, the majority of which are run by Turkish muslim deputy directors who control teachers, pupils and curricula alike. (Decision of Ministry of Education 9/290/16-2-1937). Minority school programmes have been greatly disrupted by arbitrary dismissals of Greek teachers – 37 were dismissed in 1967 alone – and by the refusal of the Turkish authorities to appoint new staff. In 1974 the teaching of the Greek language was reduced from 14 to 6 hours per week. Moreover, the Turkish authorities refuse to appoint trustees for minority schools, without whom, according to Turkish law, schools cannot get representation in court. For example, the Theological School of Chalki was forced to closure, as it was unable to meet exorbitant fines, imposed by Turkish authorities and ratified by Turkish courts, or take its case to court. Besides, Greek language minority children whose parents come from Northern Epirus (Southern Albania) are refused entry to minority schools. The Turkish authorities employ all methods to sever minority children from their cultural background and religion – the establishment of schools for the teaching of religion is prohibited (law 3035/1984), as are prayers in minority schools (Circular of Ministry of Education 410.40/1-7-1970). Reference to modern Greek history or culture is not allowed and all notices in the Greek language in the minority schools have been removed. No funds are provided for minority education by the State and no compensation is given for the demolition of Greek schools owned by the orthodox community (case of school of Cibali, 1984). All ways and means are employed to hamper the use of

the Greek language: In contravention of article 39 of The Lausanne Treaty the use of Greek is prohibited in court, whereas the imposition of heavy fines has reduced a once flourishing Greek press (six daily papers and five weekly magazines) to a mere paper threatened with closure. The Printing Press of the Ecumenical Patriarchate – established in 1637 – was closed down in 1965. But figures, again, are more revealing of the plight of this minority: The figure of 279,788, in 1924, of Greek orthodox inhabitants of Constantinople exempted from the population exchange, had decreased to 103,000 by 1934. Today, Turkish citizens of Greek descent in Istanbul number no more than 5,000, an impressively decimated minority not only by a series of legislative and administrative measures, imposed on it by the Turkish State in contravention of the Lausanne Treaty, the International Declaration on Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations, but also by a sequence of appalling acts of violence, which, moreover, was countenanced, if not reinforced, by the Turkish authorities (see Ashworth, 1987: 51).¹⁶

There is also a Greek orthodox minority in Southern Albania or Northern Epirus, as many Greeks still call this region, numbering 40,000 persons according to Albanian estimates (limited to only those ethnic Greeks residing in compact settlements) or 200,000–350,000 according to Greek estimates (see *The Economist*, V. 318, No. 7,689, 12-1-91). King (1973: 261) quotes a percentage of 2.5 of Ethnic Greeks in Albania (Albanian census 1955). Persistent efforts of the State to dehellenize the Greek element in Albania have led to a dramatic reduction of Greek minority schools. Before 1913 there were over 200 Greek schools. In 1925–1926 there were 78, in 1933 only 10. In 1934 they were closed down only to reopen again after the intervention of the International Court of Hague. The current number of minority schools – provided they still exist – is unknown. However, the plight of this minority, too, is epitomized in their recent mass exodus from the country.*

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¹⁶ Gross inaccuracies or omissions are to be regretted in MRG Reports: Daes in Ashworth (1978) reporting on the plight of the Greek orthodox minority in Istanbul writes: "But whereas there were 11,700 domiciled in Istanbul and the islands of Imvros and Tenedos in 1934, there are now 12,200" (p. 51). The Treaty of Lausanne was signed in 1923 and figures quoted should reflect numbers of minorities – easily available from historical sources – at that time and certainly not after their decimation.

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