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Anastasios M. Tamis

University of Notre Dame Australia, a.tamis@bigpond.com

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The Greek Language in the Diaspora

Anastasios M. Tamis
School of Arts and Sciences
The University of Notre Dame Australia

Expatriation has been a consistent theme in Greek history since the years immediately after the Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans (1453)¹ until 1974, when Greece began importing economic migrants and refugees (Tamis, 2005). Greek-speaking communities and clusters of Greek presence were established throughout the world, even in the most remote places. Only recently (post-1974), Greek settlement experience from a socio-cultural and linguistic perspective became a focal point in research for national identity and immigrant studies. During the long periods of settlement in foreign lands, Greek expatriates chose to maintain their ethno-linguistic and religious identity, establishing religious communities and elementary Greek language classes. Unfortunately, since Independence (1830), and until the restoration of Democracy (1974), Greece did not possess, at government level, any language policy for the expatriated Greeks.

In 2009, it is estimated that approximately 70% of Greek pioneer settlers and their children, who exited Greece and comprise the contemporary Hellenic Diaspora (Greek and Cypriot) estimated to 4 500 000 and 600 000 people respectively, reside in the English speaking counties.² In all of those countries English had been transplanted in the 18th century and assumed the status of dominant language. Whilst most people in Anglophone nations are English monolinguals, the majority of these countries' original inhabitants, both indigenous and migrant, were largely multilinguals and many still are. Beginning from 1880, new perspectives of language contact situation have arisen through immigration as new language communities have been established in Anglophone nations. The remaining 30% of expatriate Greeks, have settled in central and Latin America, where Greek has been in contact with the Iberian languages, in Africa and South Eastern Asia where Greek has been competing with colonial languages and extremely diverse local dialects and in Europe where Greek has been in contact with the languages of the nation-states, despite the fact that "25 out of 36 of the European countries are officially unilingual".³

¹ See in particular the volume of A. Βακαλόπουλος (1973), *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού 1669-1812*, Τόμος Δ', Θεσσαλονίκη. A. Βακαλόπουλος (2000), *Νέα Ελληνική Ιστορία (1204-1985)*, Βάνιας, Θεσσαλονίκη.

² In 2008, according to erudite sources including bibliography, statistical data and archival material, the number of Greek settlers in English speaking countries is estimated to 3,150,000, as follows: USA, 2,100,000, Australia, 506,000, United Kingdom, 310,000, Canada, 240,000, South Africa, 40,000 and New Zealand, 4000. For a more detailed account on the statistics of the Greek Diaspora the reader is referred to: Hassiotis, Olga Katsiardis-Herring and Eurydice Ambatzis (eds.) (2006), *The Greeks in Diaspora (15th – 20th century)*, Greek Parliament, Athens; Th. Saloutos (1964), *The Greeks in United States*, Harvard University Press; A. M. Tamis (2005), *The Greeks in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, I. Χασιώτης (1993), *Σύντομη Επισκόπηση της Ελληνικής Διασποράς*, Βάνιας, Θεσσαλονίκη; A. M. Τάμης, *Οι Έλληνες της Λατινικής Αμερικής*, Ελληνικά Γράμματα, Αθήνα

³ See S. Romaine, *Languages in Australia*, CUP, 1991:19ff. She illustrates the marginalization of the languages and cultures of the European states which could be seen as a form of 'internal colonialism': "In most of them

Greek immigrants began settling these English-speaking nations⁴ in large waves during the last 130 years, particularly in Canada, the USA, Australia, New Zealand, Britain and South Africa. Throughout this period, certain oppressive policies towards linguistic minorities were imposed almost in all Anglophone nations for a long period of time, at least until the mid 1960s. Greek began to compete in status and in the number of speakers in these countries with robust colonial languages (Spanish, German, French, Dutch), with neo-trade languages (Japanese, Indonesian, Mandarin) and with other strong ethnic expatriated languages (i.e. Italian, Slavic, Arabic) as well as with refugee languages (i.e. Vietnamese). Greek remained a strong language in the Diaspora as a result of its homogeneity, its socio-cultural value in the definition of identity, the organised community networks and the prevailing receptive attitudes in the host countries during the last quarter of the 20th century. In the course of this period, successive Greek governments discovered the Greeks in Diaspora as “ομογενείς» [homogeneis = of the same clan] not without much semantic confusion,⁵ realizing structural reformations in their organizations and representation.⁶ Greek government policies regarding the Greek language in Diaspora were also systematically implemented gaining momentum among the members of the Greek communities and attracting the generous support of European Union and the Greek State.⁷

In the field of research into language contact⁸, increasing prominence is being given to the study of immigrant languages, particularly in North America and Australia as the relevant bibliography attests (see Dixon and Aikhenvald in this volume). The more substantial studies concluded that immigrant languages, including Greek, are in the process of decay under the constant pressure of an asymmetrical and unstable bilingual contact and because of limitations of use. Similar studies in Europe⁹ concluded that immigrant languages are doomed through contact with the host language.

there are minorities (both indigenous and non-indigenous), whose languages do not have the same rights as those granted to the official languages...”

⁴ With the exception of the metropolis UK, all other Anglophone countries were British colonial territories lacking the concept of the nation-state notion and thus the coloniser’s language became both prestigious and essential.

⁵ The term “omogenis” whilst it refers to the Greek residing outside Greece or Cyprus, is being used in Greece with a diverse semantic connotations inferring sometimes even to a non-Greek. For example, when a Greek American shot an ethnic Albanian in Corfu in 2006, one television news presenter in Greece mentioned that the culprit was not a Greek but an “omogenis” and another that he was an “allodapos” [alien].

⁶ The *World Council for Greeks Abroad* (SAE in Greek) was established and the systematic protection of the Greeks in Diaspora became an integral part of the Greek Constitution.

⁷ Reference is made here to the *Program “Paideia Omogenon”* [Program for the Education of Greeks Abroad] undertaken by the EDIAMME, University of Crete, which was one of the four broad language oriented Programs generously supported by the European Union.

⁸ Two or more languages are in contact, if they are known and used alternatively by the same persons. The term ‘language contact’ was used first by W. von Humboldt in 1836 and Edgar Sturtevant in 1917.

⁹ See in particular the works of Afendras, E. A., *Stability of a bilingual situation and Arumanian bilingualism*, *Canadian Linguistic Association*, Toronto, 1969 (Arumanian), Femiglietti, M., “Bilingualism in an Italo-Albanian community and a didactic suggestion”, *Passegna Italiana di Linguistica Applicata*, v. 7, 1975:2-3, (Italo-Albanian), Clyne, M. G., “German and English working pidgins”, *Congress on Pidgins and Creoles*, Honolulu, 1975 (German), Riffer-Macek, D., *Some marginalia of Language Contact*, Zagreb, 1976 (Slavic languages), Rubattel, C., “Studies on language contact”, *Etudes de Linguistique Applique*, v. 21:20-32, 1976 (Italian, French, German, Rumanian in Switzerland), Bakos, F., *Rumanian Elements in the Hungarian Lexicon and some*

It has been correctly argued that in a language contact situation the simplest possible form of linguistic influence is that in which a single item is plucked out of one language and used in the context of another and that this kind of linguistic 'borrowing' presupposes a bilingual situation. The dimensions and limitations of two languages in contact include a rearrangement of pattern in the structured domains of the ethnic languages as well as an interaction of linguistic patterns, whilst the code of the languages involved in the contact situation never remains stable at any point in time. The contrastive analysis such as that contained in this volume (Janse, Kanarakis, Tamis) reveals linguistic variations from the norm of either language (Greek, Turkish, Arabic and English), which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, although the deviations will basically characterize the minority language, namely Greek. These linguistic variations concerning Greek as a minority language in Turkey, Lebanon and/or the Anglophone countries could be justified, among mainly 2nd, 3rd and 4th generation speakers of Greek, by the fact that Greek is spoken in an environment where socio-cultural and psychological pressures tend to work against it. In theory, the influence of two different languages can be mutual, if each has its own area of prestige, however in practice this is rather difficult with the exception of the economic environment, where substantial financial losses as a result of monolingual attitudes may trigger or induce the usage of the minority language (Angouri).

In the papers presented in this volume, it is shown that there is some degree of mutual exchange of linguistic influence (Janse, Kanarakis, Tamis), not only because Greek has created its own areas of prestige (socio-cultural events, community functions, educational and ecclesiastic celebrations), but mainly because it is impossible for the non-Greek born or Cyprian born Greek bilingual to keep his/her languages completely apart. The prevailing conclusion from the analysis of the papers presented in this volume is that, unless there is an isobar language situation, such as Canadian diglossia, it is not possible to have two separate speakers in one person. Thus, in language contact situation significant changes occur in the linguistic systems of Greek when the condition of keeping the languages apart is not met.

Angouri views the phenomenon of Greek-English bilingualism in a financial-social environment arguing that corporate companies and employees are expected to be globally mobile and to work efficiently and effectively with colleagues from different national backgrounds. She re-affirms the importance of English for international business being the working language of many corporate companies irrespectively of their ownership. However, she concludes that workplace cannot operate on the basis of one language only and a number of other languages, including Greek, have a role to play in the daily life of employees in corporate environments. **Dixon and Aikhenvald**, using as a basis, a research project currently in progress in Australia and Argentina, discuss language contact as a mechanism of comparative cultural interaction and inter-ethnic communication. Their study critically overviews and assesses the structure and use of Greek in Diaspora in the Australian and Argentinean sociolinguistic environments, monitoring and evaluating the mechanisms of change under differential conditions and sources of influence. The authors provide the reader with a concise and erudite version of the current language contact bibliography.

Janse investigates the Greek-Turkish language contact in Asia Minor, concentrating upon Cappadocian, a Greek-Turkish mixed language formerly spoken by Greek Orthodox Christians in Central Anatolia. It was generally believed that Cappadocian died out in the 1960s, until Mark Janse and Dimitris Papazachariou discovered that a Cappadocian dialect is still spoken as a first language by several hundreds of people in Northern and Central Greece. Janse believes that "*Misti*" is the only Cappadocian dialect that is still used as a vernacular. Cappadocian is an archaic Medieval Greek dialect which became increasingly turkicized after the Seljuk and Ottoman invasions from the eleventh century onwards.

Kanarakis supports the view that cross-linguistic transfers are a natural, universal phenomenon and not accidental, whatever the motives. His paper focuses on the diachronic linguistic situation due to the cross-linguistic contact between Greek and Australian English, examining both direct and indirect transfers, as well as their impact on different levels of language, illustrated by a variety of oral and written examples. **Tamis** examines language contact in class situation with students of English language background acquiring Greek. He elaborates on language incentives that could motivate students of Greek as well as students of English, discussing various aspects of Greek, including its flexibility, its word inflexion, its prefixes and suffixes (diminutive words, the agent suffixes, the patronymic suffixes, the great number of the compound words and possibly of forming new compound words) and the way that these have been transferred to English. He investigates a number of teaching mechanisms related to language contact phenomena from a language acquisition perspective.

Tamis presents two articles in this volume. In his first contribution he presents the results of an Australia wide survey on language acquisition and language learning attitudes and perceptions of Greek and Cypriot Australians and their 2nd, 3rd and 4th generation children. The study analyses and critically discusses the socio-cultural, political and linguistic phenomena that characterize their linguistic mode of behaviour. He also considers the current learning tendencies and the linguistic behaviour of students and their parents as a result of the global technology, the global economy and the relevant socio-psychological convergences and divergences. In his second contribution he reports a sociolinguistic study of the state of Greek language in Australia as spoken by native-speaking Greek immigrants and their children. Emphasis is given to the analysis of the linguistic behaviour of these Greek Australians which is attributed to contact with English and to other environmental, social and linguistic influences. The paper discusses the non-standard phenomena in various types of inter-lingual transferences in terms of their incidence and causes and, in correlation with social, linguistic and psychological factors in order to determine the extent of language assimilation, attrition, the content, context and medium of the language-event.

An outcome emerging from the contributions of this volume is that Greek has a future in the Diaspora despite being under constant threat as a result of its contact with powerful and culturally enriched dominant languages. Ethnic ties in the Hellenic Diaspora are well preserved and in certain cases even strengthened, though perhaps in subtle ways. Even in Latin American countries where Greek language maintenance has severely weakened, Greek culture and ethnic vitality remains strong. On the other hand, Greece is a country which, following the massive immigration of at least over 1.8 million European, Asian and African economic migrants (1975-2009) can no longer aspire to be a linguistically homogeneous country. Furthermore, the determination of the two Hellenic national centers,

Greece and Cyprus, to extend their socio-economic and political boundaries to embrace the vast and robust Hellenic Diaspora offering their members voting rights and a share in home power and authority, also necessitates well-defined language policies both in the domestic front as well as abroad. The maintenance of Greek in Diaspora should be recognized as being in the public interest of Greece and Cyprus and as the important tool for bonding the Metropolis with global Hellenism and *vice versa*.

The articles presented in this volume also depict the notion that inductive investigations of Greek spoken outside Greece and Cyprus should provide a foundation for recognising diasporic varieties of Greek as *ethnolects* or even global, regional dialects in their own right —arguably alleviating persistent popular attitudes to non-standard varieties of speaking as deficient or inferior rather than just different.