



AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

AN INVESTIGATION OF FACTORS AFFECTING LANGUAGE  
MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT IN THE GREEK COMMUNITY IN  
LEBANON

by  
MYRIAM SILONIE ILIOVITS

A thesis  
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts  
to the Department of English  
of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences  
at the American University of Beirut

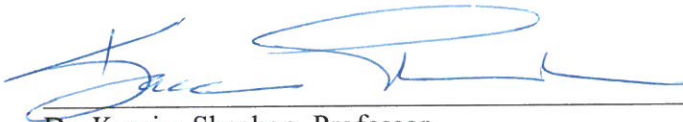
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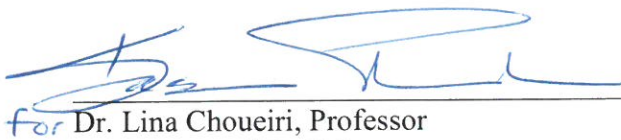
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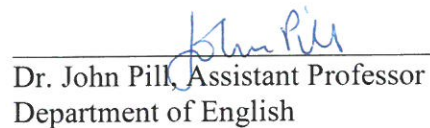
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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Kassim Shaaban. The door to his office has always been open to me. Without his wisdom and guidance, this study would not have been completed. I would also like to thank Dr. Lina Choueiri and Dr. John Pill for their valuable comments and insight on this thesis.

I am gratefully indebted to my parents, Michel and Viviane, for the continuous love and support. I would not be here without their sacrifices. I also want to thank my brother, Anthony, for all the encouragement.

## AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Myriam Silonie Iliovits for Master of Arts  
Major: English Language

Title: An Investigation of Factors Affecting Language Maintenance and Shift in the Greek Community in Lebanon

This study looks at language maintenance and language shift in the Greek community in Lebanon and identifies the factors that affect it. It uses as framework of analysis the Social Identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the Ethnolinguistic Vitality theory (Giles et al, 1977) as well as the core value theory (Smolicz & Secombe, 1985). Objective data, a questionnaire, and semi-structured interviews were used, and the results of the study indicate that though the Greek community in Lebanon has high ethnolinguistic vitality, language use is not an essential component of this and a certain degree of language shift away from the use of Greek is taking place. This shift is occurring because the community does not hold language as the most important core value, for they give a bigger importance to Greek ancestry, culture and traditions. This, in turn, questions the assumption that ethnolinguistic vitality makes regarding the existence of a strong link between identity and language maintenance. Despite the noticeable shift, the community is engaged in activities aimed at maintaining the language and does so through institutional support in the form of classes and cultural events organized by the Greek community as well as among the population of Lebanon more widely.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

There are around 6000 to 7000 languages spoken around the world today. However, some researchers estimate that up to half of these languages is under threat of being lost. This loss is mainly because speakers of minority languages are shifting to using dominant, more prestigious, and more practical languages (Potowski, 2013). Consequently, language maintenance and shift (LMLS) is being studied in an attempt to best understand why people maintain their native tongues or shift to other tongues.

The studies conducted on LMLS have looked at various multilingual situations where minority languages co-exist with other languages, mainly the language of the majority and a foreign language. This co-existence occurs when speakers of two or more languages share a geographical location. This could be a historical co-existence or one brought about by voluntary and involuntary immigration (Potowski, 2013), or some other reason. When two or more languages co-exist in the same place, their users find themselves in one of two situations; either the languages can share the space long-term and many people who live in that space become bi- or multilingual, or the speakers of the minority language acquire proficiency in the majority languages as well as in their own, a situation that, in the long run, might lead to the loss of their mother tongue altogether, which represents a case of complete language shift (Potowski, 2013).

Language Maintenance means the continued use of a language or language variety by groups and individuals in one or more domains, mainly as a home language or a community language, when said language is in competition with another more prestigious language

(Barnes & Van Aswegen, 2008; Campbell & Schnell, 1987; Fasold, 1984; Fishman, 1966).

Meanwhile, language shift could mean that a language is completely lost because its speakers choose another (Fasold, 1984) or that there has occurred a partial loss of language, as in shrinkage of its functions and domains of use, keeping it as a home language. Language maintenance and language shift are related to one another and occur along a continuum from maintenance to loss (Barnes & Van Aswegen, 2008).

LMLS studies have targeted various languages that are present in situations where they might be maintained or might undergo shift. These languages may not necessarily be endangered but are languages whose speakers constitute an ethnic minority in a host community. Though the Greek language is by no means endangered, Greece has faced many unfortunate circumstances that have led to mass emigration out of the country. Consequently, many Greeks find themselves in the diaspora, and it is very possible that the language of the minority Greek communities outside of the homeland might be undergoing shift. It is, therefore, necessary to look at the LMLS of Greek in these communities in order to understand its dynamics. Many studies have been conducted in Greek communities all over the world, mostly in the United States of America, Australia, South Africa, and Turkey (Barnes & McDuling, 2012; Hantzopoulos, 2005; Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007; Tamis, 1990). Though a study on the language of the Muslim Greek community in Tripoli was conducted 13 years ago (Toskalidou, 2004), the situation of the Greek language in Lebanon has not been looked at in its entirety. In fact, the Greek community in Lebanon consists of many Christians in other regions of the country as well as the Muslims residing in Tripoli. The community has been residing in Lebanon since the 19<sup>th</sup> century with no thorough investigation of its language.

The current study is an attempt to fill that gap, by looking at the LMLS of the Greek language in all of Lebanon. It looks at the perceptions of the Greek community members regarding whether their language is shifting or not and gives insight into the factors that lead to maintenance and shift and into the moves taken by the community to maintain its language. That, consequently, allows the community to recognize if there is a threat to its language and if the attempts to maintain it are effective. Moreover, this study utilizes the social identity theory, ethnolinguistic vitality, and the core value theory in order to study LMLS. It focuses greatly on ethnolinguistic vitality and provides insight into how effective ethnolinguistic vitality is, when LMLS is studied through its lens.

Chapter II reviews concepts related to identity and language maintenance and shift through its discussion of the social identity theory, ethnolinguistic vitality, and the core value theory. Then it moves on to discuss studies on the factors that affect LMLS. Chapter III discusses the mixed methodology of this study as well as its limitations. Chapter IV moves on to discuss the results of the study. These results are interpreted and discussed in Chapter V which will analyze them in the light of the literature and the socio-cultural context of the community.



## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, theoretical concepts related to language maintenance and shift will be discussed. Then, the various factors that affect LMLS will be portrayed through a discussion of studies that look into LMLS of various languages in different contexts.

#### **Social Identity Theory**

The Social Identity Theory defines identity as twofold. It was developed as a fruit of the work done on intergroup relations (Tajfel, & Turner, 1979). The theory states that person has a social identity and a personal identity. The social identity relies on the group(s) a person belongs to whereas personal identity relies on each person's unique characteristics (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2014). According to this theory, each person is capable of deciding for himself/herself how he/she relates to other social categories. This is called self-categorization (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). It leads members of the same group to relate more to the similarities they have, and through it, identity is formed (Stets & Burke, 2000). Self-categorization, during identity formation, however, is accompanied by social comparison which accentuates what makes the group a person belongs to different than the others (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). The highlighted differences can vary but include beliefs and values as well as language use (Stets & Burke, 2000). This theory, consequently, is built on how people view themselves as part of a group and how they, as a group, compare themselves to others.

The theory states, moreover, that when a person views himself/herself as part of the group, he/she will hold a positive view of the group (Hogg & Hardie, 1992). Furthermore,

members of a group tend to be very homogenous, unless there is a reason that motivates the distinction of the self from the group (Simon, Pantaleo, & Mummendey, 1995). In addition, when a person identifies as a member of a group, even if the group's status is low, a person will not leave the group (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997) and he/she will still, most likely, take part in the group's cultural activities (Ethier & Deaux, 1994).

Social groups can be classified according to various characteristics; however, when it comes to groups that are likely to find themselves in situations where two languages compete for dominance and one might undergo LMLS, ethnicity is most likely to play a role as ethnic identity is a "sense of group identity deriving from real or perceived common bonds such as language, race, or religion" (Edwards, 1995, 125). The size of the group does not matter neither does whether the group is socially dominant (Edwards, 1995), what matter most is that the group has common descent and culture (Edwards, 1995; Joseph, 2004). Ethnicity is subjective when it comes to the characteristics that a group believes distinguishes it from other groups. These characteristics differ from one group to the other and may include cultural values, religion, and language (Edwards, 1995; Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007). Ethnicity is also dynamic in that it is subject to change as the circumstances of the group change (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007).

When it comes to the characteristics that distinguish groups, language acts as more than a means of communication; it is the manner of expressing identity, especially when it comes to highlighting certain aspects of it (Zoumpalidis, 2014). The relationship between language and ethnic identity differs between one group and another as the importance of said relationship varies (Fishman, 1991), for some groups consider their language extremely important to their ethnic identity while others give it a lesser significance. The relationship

between language and ethnicity has not yet been fully understood as some groups maintain their ethnic identity while not maintaining their ethnic language (Edwards, 2009). However, and despite the fact that some ethnic groups do not consider language the most important part of their identity, in most cases, language remains a marker of identity (Womack, 2012), and in some groups, language can be significant enough that it is considered a symbol of the group itself (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007).

Since language plays an important role in identity, it is important to consider the relationship between both when looking at language maintenance and shift especially since the manner in which a group does or does not identify with its language plays a decisive role in whether the language get maintained or not.

### **Language Maintenance and Shift**

LMLS can occur on three levels: at the level of a group, at the level of part of a group, or at the level of an individual. When it comes to shift, for example: an ethnic group can, in its majority, stop using one language in order to use another; a part of a group can shift while the rest of the group maintains its language; or an individual can shift his/her language in order to use the dominant language while the group continues to use its mother tongue (Clyne, 2003). Moreover, language shift can be intergenerational and intra-generational. The intergenerational shift occurs when there is a reduction in structural use of a language or when a language is used in fewer domains over time, during the lifespan of the members of one generation. Intra-generational shift, on the other hand, occurs over the span of several generations where there is a structural reduction in language use and well as a decrease in domains of language use over the span of several generations i.e. when children use and/or know less of a language than their parents (Hatoss, 2013).

## **Ethnolinguistic Vitality**

The theory of ethnolinguistic vitality was first introduced by Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor in 1977. Ethnolinguistic vitality consists of what makes a group act as one entity when interacting with other groups (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977). It can be used as a framework to better understand whether a language is being maintained or if a group of language users are shifting to another language and to study the factors that impact language maintenance and shift (Giles & Johnson, 1987). This theory incorporates several other theories in it. When Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor were developing it, they utilized the theory of intergroup relations and speech accommodation theory (Giles et al., 1977). The theory of intergroup relations looks at multilingual contexts and asks why when two or more groups live together in a society, some minority groups lose their language while others don't (Tajfel, 1974). This theory focuses greatly identity (Tajfel, 1974) since language plays a significant role in the identity construction of members of the communities. This theory states that the higher the proficiency in mother tongue, the higher the possibility of a person identifying with the ethnic community to which he/she belongs (Costantakos, 1982). The theory also states that people who are not satisfied with their identity are more likely to shift languages especially when they know that, by shifting, they might be able to change their relationship with the dominant group (Tajfel, 1974). The speech accommodation theory, furthermore, affirms that speakers emphasize or minimize the differences in speech between them and the people with whom they are speaking. Here, again, identity plays an important role as people will use the language that will help them create what they believe is the best version of themselves (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1973). Ethnolinguistic vitality is, consequently, based on the assumption that identity and language behavior are related (Yagmur & Ehala, 2011).

Ethnolinguistic vitality is affected by language status, demography of the language users, and institutional support that the language receives (Giles et al., 1977). Language status is dependent on the people who use it and on the social and geographical context of its use (Appel & Muysken, 1987). Status, consequently, includes the economic situation of the speakers and their prestige, especially in the context of the history of the host country and majority population. Demography, on the other hand, depends on the number of language users. The more language users, the more likely the language will be maintained. Demography also includes intermarriage rates, which reflect how often members of the community marry people who do not belong to it (Plute, 1979), and the geographical distribution of the community (Appel & Muysken, 1987). Institutional support is about how much support the language is given from the government or from cultural, religious, and educational institutions. It also includes access of the minority language to mass media (Giles et al., 1977). The higher the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language, the higher the probability of it being maintained (Giles et al., 1977). Yet, low ethnolinguistic vitality does not necessarily mean that the group will shift languages, for it may lead many groups to unite in order to protect their language (Giles & Viladot, 1994; Yugmur, 2011).

Language status, demography, and institutional support compromise only the objective ethnolinguistic vitality, which is measured through the collection of information about the minority group/community and its language (Giles et al., 1977). It does not reflect a holistic view of what might affect LMLS, for the community members' perceptions about their language shape the community's ethnic identity and how the community expresses it (Yagmur & Ehala, 2011). These perceptions, which constitute the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, play a role in LMLS since what people think usually has a bigger impact than what is true

especially when it comes to people's decisions, including those regarding language use (Clachar, 1997); thus, the need to look at the speakers' perception arose. Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal (1981) developed a subjective vitality questionnaire which takes into consideration the subjective aspects of ethnolinguistic vitality when it comes to status, demography of language uses, and institutional support. Allard and Landry (1992) also addressed the issue of subjectivity through looking at the beliefs that the minority holds. Moreover, since ethnolinguistic vitality has not yet become an independent field of study (Yagmur and Ehala, 2011), many studies have attempted to further develop the framework. Karan (2011), for example, discusses the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift which states that people select the languages and language varieties that serve their interests and that people's motivations play a role in that selection. The ethnolinguistic vitality framework that exists today, though it differs slightly from one study to the other, remains focused on the same basic principles, which rotate around speakers' perception of their language and culture in relation to other groups' language and culture.

Despite the developments that the ethnolinguistic vitality theory has undergone over time, some of the criticisms of it are still valid. First of all, basing ethnolinguistic vitality on the assumption that identity and language behavior are related is problematic especially when ethnolinguistic vitality is being used to predict if a language is being maintained or is undergoing shift. Identity is fluid and context dependent which makes it unpredictable (Clément & Noels, 1992) and renders ethnolinguistic vitality unable to predict, in an equation-like manner, if a language is going to be maintained or to undergo shift. Ethnolinguistic vitality, on its own, moreover does not always provide sufficient insight into LMLS especially since it does not give sufficient attention to the collectivistic and individualistic aspects of

groups which might affect LMLS (Yagmur, 2011). Furthermore, Ehala (2011) mentions that the subjective vitality questionnaires are efficient when it comes to groups that are not facing any threats to their existence. However, when groups are under threat—in that there has occurred an event that makes the minority feel the need to pull together against the host—they function differently, and many affective factors come into play and affect LMLS and its measurement. So, groups under threat cannot be studied with just a subjective vitality questionnaire and require a more complex methodology (McEntee-Atalianis, 2011). Consequently, ethnolinguistic vitality can not be used in the sense of a formula where high ethnolinguistic vitality automatically means language maintenance, and it would be best utilized as a guiding frame when studying LMLS. It is therefore up to the researcher to recognize that high ethnolinguistic vitality means that the probability of maintenance is high and look more closely at each individual group, and its identity and context. Moreover, the subjective vitality questionnaires like that developed by Bourhis et al. (1981) are not very effective; Yagmur (2011) states that they do not always give reliable results and do not take into considerations the instrumental support that a language may be receiving through organizations/bodies that are run by the minority community, and not the host. Despite some of its weaknesses, ethnolinguistic vitality still provides the most broad and inclusive available framework based on which LMLS can be studied (Yagmur, 2011).

### **Core Value Theory**

The core value theory is an approach to studying ethnolinguistic vitality. It calls for the recognition of the core values that make the ethnic group a group that acts as one. It sheds light on the values that are the most important to the group's members and that define membership of said group. If a member of the group rejects these values, he/she risks being

excluded from the group (Smolicz & Secombe, 1985). However, not all values can lead to exclusion as some values, which Smolicz (1992) labels as general values, can be altered without affecting the group's identity. These values are different from the core values of a group which, if lost, affect the group's viability and integrity.

When it comes to ethnic minority groups, core values are greatly linked to language which in itself is considered to be essential to the group identity (May, 2003). Many of the ethnic minority groups' identities are so linked to languages that these groups consider the maintenance of language important to the maintenance of the groups' identities. In these groups, language is considered a core value and is maintained (Smolicz & Secombe, 1985). Moreover, language can be highly linked to other factors which themselves also affect LMLS and might actually increase the possibility of language maintenance (Gogonas, 2011). One of the factors might be religion.

Religion and language are connected as markers of belonging to a group (Edwards, 2009), and they are intertwined with people's beliefs about everything (Joseph, 2004). Religion has always played a role in the formation of national identities as many countries have been built on religion in addition to language, and "originally, it was religion that was at the root of collective identity" (Safran, 2008, p. 179). Greek nationalism, for example, is built on religion and language since Orthodoxy is considered superior to Catholicism and the Greek language is considered essential to the maintenance of the Greek civilization (Jusdanis, 2001). Moreover, language and religion are very important for the formation of national identity in the diaspora (Panossian, 2006).

Consequently, if a language is liturgical, like Greek and Arabic, then the language will most probably be linked to religion in the core values of the group. This will consequently



increase the chance of language maintenance, especially since groups tend to prioritize languages that symbolize their religious community (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010). Moreover, Fishman (1991) explains that liturgical languages play an important role in maintaining the boundary between the minority group and the host country, which is an essential part of language maintenance. If the minority group is separate from the host community, it has less temptation to shift languages in order to assimilate and fit in; therefore, it maintains language more easily.

### **Studies on Factors Affecting LMLS**

Studies conducted on LMLS in different communities have shown that it is affected by various factors that complement each other. Some of the most important factors are religion, the host community, schools, age and generation, intermarriage rates and geographical distribution, contact with the homeland, community leaders, and gender.

#### ***Religion***

A study conducted by Gogonas (2011) collected objective data about the Egyptians in Greece and used questionnaires and interviews to portray how religion, as a core value intertwined with language, plays a significant role in LMLS of Arabic in the Egyptian communities in Greece. These communities consist of Muslim and Coptic Egyptians. The study showed that the Copts preferred Greek and wanted their children to learn it as they believed that Egyptian Coptic and Greek Orthodox faiths are similar. The Muslims, however, were more proficient in Arabic and maintained it because Muslims considered Arabic important as it is the language of the Qur'an. The importance of religion in LMLS of Arabic was also highlighted by a study conducted on the LMLS of Arabic by Egyptians in the UK (Gomaa, 2011). Furthermore, religion has been identified as a major factor in the LMLS of

Greek in the diaspora. McDuling (2014) studied LMLS in the Greek community in Johannesburg, South Africa. He concluded that religion plays a role in the maintenance of Greek as his participants stated that the Greek language should be retained as it is important in church. Religion was also found to play an important role in LMLS of Greek in other regions like Australia (Tamis, 1985). The Greek language, however, is not always intertwined with religion. In a presentation given at the *Second International Symposium on Bilingualism*, Tsokalidou (2004) discussed the language situation of the Greek communities of Tripoli in Lebanon and Hamadye in Syria. During her research, she collected objective data about these communities, used participant observation, and conducted interviews. She mentioned how Greeks maintained their language for more than 100 years despite the fact that the language to them is not liturgical. Furthermore, the participants expressed how they felt that the government treats them with indifference because of their religion, yet the participants still felt Greek and wanted to speak the language. This study portrays a situation where language is considered a core value despite the fact that it is not reinforced by ties to religion.

### ***Host Community***

The role of the host community is reflected in the ethnolinguistic vitality framework as it affects the status of the language and its speakers. The opinions and attitudes that the host community holds towards the speakers of a minority language, regardless of the reasons behind them, could affect the status of the speakers and their decisions when it comes to language maintenance and shift. Moreover, the linguistic situation of the host community will affect the status of the language itself and, consequently, its LMLS. Gogonas (2011) reflected how the host community affects LMLS by citing participants' opinions that discrimination against Muslims in Greece encouraged them to maintain their language. On the other hand, the

Copts' acceptance by the Greeks due to their religion helped encourage the increased use of Greek. The positive and negative impact of the host community was observed in some other studies. An example of the positive influence is the support that the host community in New Zealand provides Spanish speakers through organizations that promote language maintenance (Walker, 2011) . When it comes to the negative influence of the host community, however, there seems to be more examples. Young Hungarian-speaking women in Austria shifted to German because the host community viewed Hungarian speakers as people of lower class (Gal, 1979) and Spanish speakers in the United States shifted to English as they were made to believe by their host community that Spanish is the language of the poor (Appel & Muysken, 1987)

Moreover, in a study about LMLS in the Armenian community in Lebanon, Jebejian (2007) collected objective data about the Armenian community in Beirut and used questionnaires, individual interviews, and focus group interviews in order to gain insight into language use and into the future of the Armenian language in Beirut. She shed light on how the multilingual situation in the host community affects LMLS. She stressed that the use of English and French in addition to Arabic in Lebanon posed a threat to Armenian.

### ***Schools***

Ethnolinguistic vitality theory justifies the role of schools in LMLS as the presence or absence of schools constitutes institutional support especially since the schools, which the community members are placed in, affect their language choices. This is reflected in Gogonas' (2011) study which showed how Muslims placed their children in the Libyan School in Greece in order to teach them Arabic, thus maintaining the language. McDuling (2014) portrayed similar results as the Greeks in Greek schools in South Africa were more likely to maintain

their language than Greeks who go to non-Greek schools. Furthermore, Tsokalidou (2004) discussed how, although the people of Hamadye were fluent speakers of Greek, they could not read nor write it due to the absence of Greek schools. Moreover, Li (2013) discussed the necessity of a Chinese heritage school in order to allow the Chinese population of the United States to speak both Chinese and English. The presence of a school, however, does not necessarily entail the maintenance of a language as the community members should want to go or enroll their children in the school. Jebejian (2007) highlighted the importance of the desire to go to a school that teaches the ethnic language by portraying how the Armenians are placing their children less and less in the existing Armenian schools, decreasing domains of language use and increasing the possibility of shift. Similarly, Zhang & Slaughter-DeFoe (2009) highlighted how, when it comes to the Chinese in Philadelphia, the younger generation did not want to learn the language, rendering any effort to teach it ineffective.

### ***Age and Generation***

The demographic constitution of a minority group, which is one of the three pivots of the ethnolinguistic vitality theory, depends on the age distribution of its members especially since group members of different ages hold different perspectives regarding their language. This affects whether they maintain it or not. In addition, the generation to which the speakers of a language belong, in relation to their arrival to the host country, is an important factor in a group's demographic constitution and affects LMLS greatly. Tsokalidou (2004) reflected how an older generation would be more likely to maintain language through recognizing that, in Tripoli, the Greeks who were older than 50 were still relatively proficient in Greek while those who were in their 20s only knew Greek passively. This can also be viewed in Jebejian's (2007) research results which showed that the 39-50 age group tended to maintain the

language, but the Armenians aged between 18 and 24 stated that they had few Armenian friends, spoke little Armenian, and mostly used English, French, and Lebanese Arabic in their everyday communication.

Generation is related to age but is rather different. It does not reflect the actual age of the participant but how long his/her family has been in the dominant group's land. In other words, generation looks at how many generations the minority group members' families have spent in the host community. Fishman (1966) discussed how generation plays a role in LMLS. He mentioned how the first generation would probably speak only the mother tongue while the second would speak both the mother tongue and the language of the host community. Then, when it comes to the third generation, language shift might occur. This is important in that it reflects the language transmitting patterns of a group. When it comes to the study of Armenian in Lebanon, age intertwines with generation as the majority of the population entered the host community at the same time, due to the Turkish-Armenian conflict of 1915. Consequently, Jebejian's (2007) results about age reflect how the first generation Armenians in Lebanon made sure to pass on their language to the second generation as the age group 39-50 still spoke Armenian while the second generation was not passing it on as robustly to the third as the age group 18 and 24 spoke less Armenian. Gogonas (2011) also shed light on how belonging to different generations affects the various age groups' linguistic choices. He portrayed how one generation affects the other as he linked the parents' attitudes towards languages with their children's proficiency because the schools and afterschool programs in which the parents placed their children affected their language skills. This was also evident in the case of the Norwegian community in America, for some parents chose not to teach their children Norwegian and thus facilitated language shift (Strømskag, 2014).

### *Intermarriage rates and geographical distribution*

Intermarriage rates and the geographical distribution of the community members also play an important role in LMLS and constitute a significant factor in the demographic constitution discussed by the ethnolinguistic vitality theory. Jebejian (2007) highlighted intermarriage as a factor that affects LMLS as many participants expressed how, since their mother/father was not Armenian and cannot speak the language, they never learned it. Other participants also expressed how their marriage to non-Armenians has led to their children's inability to speak Armenian especially since their nuclear family spent a lot of time with their spouse's extended family. Although this reflects the perceptions of Armenians regarding whether intermarriage affects LMLS but does not show if intermarriage truly does affect LMLS, it still sheds light on the significance of the issue as it portrays a possible trend. Moreover, the perceptions of the participants affect LMLS greatly, so even if intermarriage does not directly affect LMLS, the participants' perceptions regarding the issue affect LMLS and lead to more shift as intermarriage increases. Intermarriage has led to an increased chance of language shift in different minority communities; for example, exogamy increased language shift of Dutch in Australia (Pauwels, 1991) and Greek in the United States (Scourby, 1980).

Geographical distribution of a population was discussed by Tsokalidou (2004) who focused her study on the Greeks in Tripoli, explaining that these community members identify themselves as Muslim refugees who came from Crete whereas the rest of the Greeks in Lebanon are mainly Christians. She did not discuss the distribution of the Greek population in terms of how it affects LMLS; however, it is possible to recognize how geography might play a role through recognizing that the Greeks who are settled in one area share the same background. This might indicate how their LMLS might differ from that of Greeks in other

areas as they share a different background whose distinctive features, like the community's religion, affect LMLS. Jebejian (2007), on the other hand, portrayed the role of geographical distribution of a population through portraying a population that, unlike that discussed by Tsokalidou (2004), came from the same origin and generally shared the same background but was distributed over a bigger region. Her older participants expressed how they lived in areas that are mostly inhabited by Armenians and that they rarely needed to speak Arabic, so they never learned it well enough. However, the younger generation started to move out of the areas that are mostly inhabited by Armenians. They expressed that, since their neighbors and others in the surrounding environment spoke Arabic, they learned it and taught it to their children in order to help them integrate better. Consequently, the distribution of the population affected LMLS as when the community members lived close to one another, they tended to maintain their language more as they felt less of a need to assimilate. The role of geographical distribution was also discussed by other studies; for example, Li (1982) found that Chinese living outside of Chinatowns were more likely to shift their language use. Appel & Muysken (1987), moreover, found that Spanish speakers who live in the suburbs were in less contact with speakers of English and were therefore more likely to maintain the minority language.

### ***Contact with the homeland***

Contact with the homeland through contacting family and friends there and through visits affects the status of the language and minority community. If the members travel frequently to the homeland, they view their position in the host country differently and might consider their language to be more important and thus more useful. This is also affected by the socioeconomic status of the minority group, especially the individual families, for the socioeconomic background of the family affects its ability to afford trips to the homeland.

Tsokolidou (2004) discussed how the Greek community members in Tripoli and Hamadye expressed dissatisfaction at not being able to visit their relatives in Greece because the Greek government does not acknowledge them as members of Greek-speaking diaspora. She expressed how regular visits to their families and to Greece would allow them to better maintain their language as they would use it in more domains. The benefit of contact with the homeland when it comes to LMLS is further portrayed in the study of LMLS of Greek in South Africa (McDuling, 2014). The study found that most Greeks visited Greece regularly and kept in contact with their relatives and friends there. This increased the minority member's incentive to speak Greek in many domains of use, thus increasing the chances of language maintenance. Similar results were also demonstrated in the study of the Greek language in New Zealand (Holmes, Roberts, Verivaki, & Aipolo, 1993).

### ***Community leaders***

The presence of community leaders can alter the status of the community both in the eyes of the minority group itself and in the eyes of the host community. This factor, consequently, intertwines with ethnolinguistic vitality. It is portrayed in Jebejian's (2007) study through some participants who voiced their disappointment in their leaders. Although this does not reflect whether leaders do actually influence LMLS, it portrays that the community members believe it does. So, if the community believes a leader is attempting to maintain the language, the community will more likely cooperate and maintain its language, even if the leader's attempts, themselves, are not beneficial. The importance of community leadership is also portrayed in McDuling's (2014) research. He used the result of his research to make recommendations for language maintenance and stated that leaders need to be more active in promoting the Greek language, especially through media and the various clubs of the



community. Community leaders have also, in various situations, promoted the minority language in the host community and led to a bigger acceptance of the minority language, increasing chances of maintenance. For example, the Latin American community leader's efforts to promote Spanish in Canada led to an increased possibility of maintenance of Spanish (Pacini-Ketchabaw, Bernhard, & Freire, 2001)

### ***Gender***

Although gender, which is part of the demographic constitution of a community, is being given less and less weight when it comes to studying LMLS (McDuling, 2014), it might still play a role. It was, in the past, more common that females maintain their language, as they were more likely to be separated from the host community (Demos, 1988). Moreover, a case study conducted in Japan by Kamada (1997) showed that the mother play a bigger role in language maintenance than the father. Similar results were shown in more recent studies like those conducted by Okita (2002) on households in Britain where Japanese women are married to British men and by Turjoman (2013) on Arabs in the United States. Some studies, however, have shown that men were more likely to hold on to the language of their mother country. For example, Zoumpalidis (2014) studied LMLS in the Pontic Greek community in Cyprus and recognized that women were more likely to undergo language shift as women tend to avoid using stigmatized forms of language.

## CHAPTER III

### THE PRESENT STUDY

#### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to look closely and in depth at Greek language maintenance and shift in the Greek community in Lebanon. It seeks to describe the present status and use of the language in the Greek community and to analyze the factors that affect LMLS. It also aims to describe how the Greeks are approaching the issue of their heritage language and culture in the Lebanese context that is highly charged when it comes to religion, language, and identity (Shaaban, In press). More specifically, the study will seek answers to the following research questions:

1. What are perceptions of the Greek community members regarding the status of the Greek language and its maintenance and shift in their community?
2. What are the factors that affect Greek language status, maintenance, and shift?
3. What are the measures undertaken by the community to maintain their language and identity?

This study utilizes the general concepts of ethnolinguistic vitality to study LMLS, as ethnolinguistic vitality still is the most effective means of looking at LMLS in a comprehensive manner despite some of the shortcomings pointed out by scholars. To overcome some of the shortcomings, this study does not rely on the subjective vitality questionnaire which might not be an effective tool to explore the concept and practice of ethnolinguistic vitality. It uses other questionnaires and interviews, making the methodology more complex and allowing for a better understanding of all groups (McEntee-Atalianis,

2011). However, this study does not attempt to overcome the unpredictability of ethnolinguistic vitality. This unpredictability results from ethnolinguistic vitality's assumption that language and identity are strongly intertwined when it comes to LMLS, and this study attempts to delve deeper into this relationship to better understand the assumed link. Despite attempting to understand this relationship, this study looks also at other factors that affect LMLS to reduce the unpredictability and gain a wholistic view of LMLS.

Social identity theory is also utilized when looking at LMLS in order to more extensively study the influence of identity on LMLS, for although ethnolinguistic vitality focuses on identity, social identity theory sheds more light on the intergroup and intragroup relationships and their influences on self-categorization.

Core value theory is emphasized as a framework for analysis since in contexts where two religions co-exist in one minority group (e.g. Gogonas, 2011), as is the case of the Greeks in Lebanon, the different religions play different roles when it comes to core values and the construction of identity, especially when it comes to identity's relation to language. Moreover, in the study that looked at the Greeks of Tripoli in Lebanon, Tsokalidou (2004) utilized the core value theory which led to the need to look at the theory in the context of the bigger picture of Lebanon, at a more recent time.

## **Methods**

The manner in which LMLS is researched proves similar across studies as most of them gather objective data and use interviews (e.g. Gogonas, 2011; Jebejian, 2007; Tsokalidou, 2004). Some studies also choose to complement the interviews with questionnaires (e.g. Gogonas, 2011; Jebejian, 2007) while some others only utilize questionnaires (e.g. McDuling, 2014). This research study of the status, maintenance, and shift

of the Greek language in Lebanon uses questionnaires and interviews for data collection. Focus groups and participant observations are not used despite their having been used by previous studies (e.g. Jebejian, 2007; Tsokalidou, 2004), for the answers to the research questions of this study are attainable via the combination of objective data, questionnaires, and interviews. Moreover, it would be impractical to hold participant observations and risk invading the privacy of the participants while the answers to the research questions can be attained through other means.

This study uses a mixed methodology where questionnaires about perceptions of the participants provide quantitative data; interviews provide qualitative data; and facts and documents provide objective data. This triangulation of the methodology allows for the emergence of a fuller picture of LMLS especially since a combination of objective, qualitative, and quantitative data has proven to be important when it comes to looking at LMLS from an ethnolinguistic vitality perspective (McEntee-Atalianis, 2011). The questionnaire and the interview questions were piloted on 8 members of the community in order to ensure that the tools used in this study are effective. The data collected from the piloting were not used in this study.

The questionnaire and interview were available to participants in both Arabic and English as some of them do not know English or feel at ease with the using the language. Thus, the use of Arabic as well as English helped facilitate the task for participants who had the option to choose which language they would prefer to use in both the questionnaire and the interview. When it came to Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic was used in the questionnaires as it is the standard written form of Arabic; however, the community rarely speaks it in casual communication. Consequently, the interviews were conducted in Colloquial Arabic to make

the interviewees as comfortable as possible. The Greek language was not used as the researcher does not understand, speak, read, or write it.

The questionnaire took less than ten minutes to fill out and was distributed, in both languages, to the participants who after receiving the questionnaire from the researcher, took it home with them, in order to fill it at whatever time was convenient for them and to ensure that they have privacy when filling the questionnaire, if they desire. The participants then brought the questionnaire back to the researcher on a later date. The questionnaire provided an overview of some demographic data regarding the participants and their perceptions regarding their own language knowledge and use. At the end of the questionnaire, the participants were asked if they wish to be interviewed. If they wanted to be interviewed, they wrote down their telephone number and were contacted in order to arrange an interview. The interviews allowed the researcher to delve deeper into the factors that affect LMLS and how they do so, according to the participants. The data collected during the interviews also gave insight into the community members' perceptions regarding the measures undertaken by the community to maintain its language. Detailed objective data (e.g., information about the Greek classes offered in Lebanon) was gathered from the Greek Community of Beirut, the Greek Club of Beirut, and the Greek Sports Club. This data allowed the researcher to gain greater insight into the Greek community in Lebanon and all of its activities in order to learn about LMLS of Greek, to gain some insight into the factors that affect LMLS, and to recognize the measures undertaken by the Greek community to maintain its language. The objective data gave the researcher an insight into the objective ethnolinguistic vitality of Greek in Lebanon as the goal of the researcher is to collect data regarding the status of the people who use the language and the social and geographical context of its use. Moreover, the researcher aimed to gather data

regarding the demographic constitution of the Greek community especially when it comes to the number of Greeks, their intermarriage rates, for how many generations have their families been in Lebanon, and the geographical distribution of the community. She also aimed to gather data about the institutional support that the language is receiving though gathering data about the institutions that use or teach the language. Not all the required data was available at the above-mentioned institutions, so personal communication with key members of these organizations and personal observations were used to fill in the gaps.

The questionnaire consisted of three parts (See Appendix A for the English version and Appendix B for the Arabic version). The first part gathered demographic data about the participants. This part was used to complement the objective data as some of the required data is not available from any more official source (e.g., the Greek embassy in Lebanon) but is still significant to the understanding of LMLS as it gives insight into the status of the language speakers and the demographic distribution. The first section consequently gathered data regarding the education, profession, religion, area of residence, and marital status. It also looked at how many generations the participants' families have been in Lebanon. Moreover, the nationality of the spouse as well as that of both parents were inquired about in order to best understand the intermarriage rates over time. The parents' education and profession were inquired about as well in order to better understand the status of a bigger number of speakers from the Greek community. Furthermore, the number of people who speak Greek in the neighborhood of the participants was asked about and helped understand the demographic spread of the Greeks in Lebanon especially when it comes to exposure to the Greek language.

The second part of the questionnaire was about perceptions of knowledge of languages. It gathered the perceptions of the participants regarding how well they speak,

understand, read, and write Arabic, Greek, English, and French. This section was adapted from Jebejian (2007) and Gogonas (2011). Jebejian (2007), in her study in Lebanon, gave English and French, alongside Arabic, significance. She shed light on the effect of their existence in Lebanon on the LMLS of Armenian. Gogonas (2011), furthermore, asked about how well the students think they speak, understand, read, and write Arabic and Greek in order to be able to best understand the situation of Arabic in the community.

The third part looked at the participants' perceptions regarding their own language use. This part was adapted from Jebejian's (2007) and McDuling's (2014) dissertations. Jebejian (2007) used the interviews to look at language use of Armenian. She asked her participants to state what languages they use in different situations. McDuling (2014), moreover, addressed language use in his questionnaire through questions about the individual contexts of language use. This study, however, addressed the issue through a table in the questionnaire in order to allow the interviews to address other issues without becoming too long and without having the questionnaire take too long either. These two parts, thus, provided insight into the Greek community members' perceptions about the status and use of their language, which affects the language's ethnolinguistic vitality.

The semi-structured interviews (See Appendix C for the English version and Appendix D for the Arabic version) took between forty-five minutes and an hour each and were held in quiet and relatively private locations that are convenient to the participants like in the break room of the Greek Community of Beirut or in the houses of the participants. The interview consisted of 16 questions. Some of those questions had follow up questions that ensure that participant addresses the issue raised in the questions. The interview was used to gain a deeper insight into LMLS through looking at the factors that affect LMLS of Greek. It looks at the

Greek community members' perceptions on issues related to the factors that affect LMLS as the perceptions of the members play a significant role in how the factors actually affect LMLS. These factors, as established in the literature review, all fall in line with the three pivots called for as decisive factors in ethnolinguistic vitality and its use as a framework to study LMLS. The questions were adapted from the interview questions used by Jebejian (2007) in her interviews and McDuling (2014) in his questionnaire.

Questions 1, 2, and 16 solicited answers regarding participants' perceptions of the relationship between the Greek language and the participants' Greek identity. These questions also aimed to assess language maintenance as a core value to the Greek community in all of Lebanon. Moreover, question 9 was used to look at religion as a factor that affects LMLS. It also investigated if religion is intertwined with the Greek language as core values within this community. In addition, it sought to look at how, if language and religion are core values, they affect LMLS.

Questions 3, 4, and 5 were intended to gather input on the status of the Greek language in Lebanon through looking at what the Greek community members think of their language. Question 12, moreover, aimed to provide insight into the host community's treatment of the Greek community in Lebanon. Objective data regarding this issue was beyond the scope of this study. However, this interview question allowed the researcher to gain the perception of the Greek community members regarding the host community's opinion of them. The perception is also important, as it is the perceptions of the Greek community members about how they are treated, and not necessarily how they are actually treated, that affects LMLS. Information about schools was targeted through questions 6, 8, and 16. Objective data about the existence of Greek schools was also gathered. However, these interview questions allowed



the interviewer to gather data about how the speakers themselves think they are affected by the educational institutions that teach Greek and about whether having established institutions that teach the language would affect LMLS through asking if the participants would enroll their children in these institutions. Question 8 was also used to assess whether Greek is undergoing LMLS as it, together with questions 13 and 14, it provided some insight into the Greeks' perceptions about where their language is heading through whether they would teach their children the language, whether they think their language is dying, and whether and how they would like to maintain it. Furthermore, question 7 looked at intermarriage as a factor that affects LMLS by complementing the data collected by the questionnaire about the rate of intermarriage with the community members' perceptions about it. Questions 10 and 11 gathered data that relate to the contact with the homeland through both physical visits and communication with relatives and friends there. These questions also helped assess if the Greek community members believe that contact with the homeland affects language maintenance. Furthermore, question 15 looked at whether the community members believe that their leaders are contributing to language maintenance. This complemented the objective data, gathered from the Greek organizations, identifying what the leaders might be doing to maintain the Greek language in Lebanon.

Consequently, the perceptions of the Greek community members regarding whether the Greek language is undergoing language shift were accessed through parts 2 and 3 of the questionnaire as well as questions 8, 13, and 14 of the interview. Questions 3, 4, and 5 also helped gather the take of the community members on their language in order to complement their perceptions about language shift and in order to look at the status of the language. In addition, the factors that affect LMLS were recognized through part 1 of the questionnaire and

questions 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, and 16 of the interview. Some of the objective data that were gathered also complement this. Furthermore, data regarding the measures undertaken by the community to maintain the Greek language was looked at through both the objective data and questions 14, and 15 in the interview. All of the above sources of data came together to help the researcher gain insight into the LMLS of Greek. Consequently, through answering the research questions, the researcher shed light on the LMLS of the Greek language in the Greek community in Lebanon.

### **Participants**

The study was conducted with the Greek community members all over Lebanon. The participants were of the sixth, fifth, fourth, third, and second generation of Greeks who have lived in Lebanon, especially since Greeks first came to Lebanon during the 1800s. The potential participants were contacted through the Greek Community of Beirut, the Greek Club of Beirut, and the Greek Sports Club in Tripoli. Moreover, the participants contacted through the organizations, in their turn, led the researcher to more participants. So, in addition to direct contact, snowball sampling was used to reach participants as the direct contact the researcher has with certain individuals inside the clubs introduced her to other participants who also introduced her to more participants (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). The participants were divided according to gender to study the effect of gender on LMLS. They were also divided into the age groups 18 to 39 and 40 to 60 in order to recognize the effect of age. These age groups were picked as they may be reflective of a difference in LMLS. Furthermore, the participants were divided based on religion as a representative sample of Muslim Greeks was included in addition to the Christian Greeks. All 65 participants filled the questionnaire. Their distribution by gender, age, and religion is represented in Table 1 below.

Gender		Age		Religion	
Male	Female	18-39	40-60	Christians	Muslims
33	32	32	33	60	05

Table 3.1 Participants' Distribution

Distribution of participants by religion is reflective of the overall distribution between Muslims and Christmas in the Greek community in Lebanon. Two of the Muslims were females, 1 from each age group; and 3 were males, with 1 from the younger age group and 2 from the older age group. The Christians were 60 participants which is around 93% of the population, the same percentage of Christians from the overall population of Greeks in Lebanon. When it comes to geographical distribution, 9 of the participants were from the North of Lebanon, in order to represent the 14.89% of Greeks who inhabit Tripoli and the North, especially since the Greek Club in Tripoli attracts the Greeks of the North of Lebanon just like the Greek club of Beirut attracts the rest of the Greeks of Lebanon. The questionnaires were grouped according to age, gender, and religion when analyzed. The interviews, on the other hand, were conducted with 24 of the participants selected on a first come first serve basis where the interviewees were contacted after they had indicated interest in participating in the interview. After the assigned number of participants was met in each age, gender, and religion category, the researcher stopped contacting others. Twelve of the participants were of the younger age group and 12 of the older age group. Moreover, 12 were females and 12 were males. 5 of the participants were Muslims in order to gauge the difference in how the members of the different religions relate religion to language and its LMLS.

## **Data Analysis**

The objective data was analyzed through looking at the sociolinguistic situation of Greek in Lebanon and how it affects LMLS in comparison with what was reported in the literature. The objective data, thus, was used to provide facts and figures regarding the Greek community in Lebanon and the effect of that on LMLS in the Greek community.

When it comes to the questionnaire, however, descriptive statistics was used to analyze the data and provide an overview of the demography of the population and language knowledge and use. In order to look at age, gender, and religion, the questionnaires were indexed for these factors. Therefore, the results of the questionnaire were divided according to these factors; however, the sections related to the parents of the participants were not divided as these sections were included to gain some insight into the socioeconomic situation of the Greek population as a whole as well as to check whether intermarriage has been occurring over many generations. It was, consequently, not necessary to code these sections based on gender, age, or religion.

The interviews were recorded, when the participants consented, and the data collected from the semi-structured interviews was transcribed and underwent interpretive analysis in order to allow for a multilayered interpretation based on context (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The researcher counted the frequency of mention of themes, ideas, and words in order to make sense out of the data collected during the interviews. She then attempted to find patterns in the repeated themes, explain them, and reach plausible and reasonable conclusions. Afterwards, she attempted to move from looking at individual themes to more general concepts (Miles & Huberman, 1994). She used the themes and concepts to make inferences about LMLS. The researcher, thus, in her content-based analysis and search for meaning in the transcriptions,

clustered the data according to the factors being studied and mentioned themes. She did not group the data according to the order in which they appear the interview questions and/or questionnaire. Moreover, she related the conclusions to social identity, ethnolinguistic vitality, and the core value theory which were used to explain the LMLS phenomena.

### **Ethical Concerns**

This study was conducted after approval was obtained from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the American University of Beirut, and a consent script was distributed and discussed with the participants before they decided whether they want to participate in each part of the study or not. This study is of minimal risk and did not cause any harm or distress. The participants were ensured anonymity and confidentiality. Moreover, the participants in the study were told that the only benefit was their gaining insight into their language use. Furthermore, the study raised awareness among the Greek community members about the factors that lead to maintenance and shift, allowing the Greek community to recognize the threat to their language and the effectiveness of the attempts to maintain it. Copies of the study were given to the community members and to the various Greek organizations to provide them with insight about whether their language is shifting and if the measures they are taking to maintain their language are effective. The study might, consequently, encourage the community to take action and enhance the use of the Greek language.

### **Limitations**

The sample population that participated in the research constitutes a truncated sample of Greek community in Lebanon as the means through which the members of the Greek community were reached, in itself, gave the researcher access to the part of the population that is most interested in the Greek language and culture. Furthermore, this study was conducted in

Arabic and English and not in Greek, which might have proved challenging if there were some community members who are more comfortable with Greek than with any other language.

However, very few community members felt more proficient in Greek than Arabic, and since the participants live in Lebanon, they all have basic communication skills in either Arabic or English.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

In this chapter, the results of the study will be discussed. The chapter will be divided into 3 sections where the first section includes the objective data gathered about the Greek community in Lebanon, the second section includes the results of the questionnaires, and the third section includes the results of the semi-structured interviews.

#### **Objective Ethnolinguistic Vitality**

##### *Arrival in Lebanon*

The first Greeks came to Lebanon during the time of the Ottoman Empire, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They moved to Lebanon to work for the Ottomans or in order to get a university education (Greek Community of Beirut, 2017). Moreover, some moved to Lebanon between 1866 and 1897 due to the Cretan uprising against the Ottoman Empire. The Cretans, in Lebanon, are fewer in number than the rest of the Greeks, and unlike the majority of Greeks in Lebanon who are Christians, the Cretans are Muslims whom the Sultan provided with a home in El Mina in Tripoli (Zarkadakis, 1995). The Greeks who came from Crete have, over time, left Lebanon, and the Cretans—according to a member of the Cretan community in Tripoli—now count around 300 people (A. Baneglesh, personal communication, March 3, 2017) while the Greeks who are not of Cretan origin in Tripoli also—according to the President of the “Club Hellenique Sportif” [Greek Sports Club]—count around 400 (A. Achkar, personal communication, March 1, 2017).

The second wave of Greeks came to Lebanon as refugees around 1922 due to the Greco-Turkish war (1919-1922) that caused the Greeks in Smyrna (Today’s Turkish Izmir) to

flee their homes. The Greek refugees came on foot or aboard crowded boats, lived in refugee camps, and believed that their stay in Lebanon was temporary. They later moved out of the refugee camps and settled in Beirut, close to one another and near the church, in order to facilitate their move back to Greece when the time came. However, that time never came, and the temporary became permanent. These refugees counted around 30, 000 when they arrived in Lebanon (Eid, 2017). However, over time, and particularly because of the Lebanese civil war in 1975, many of the Greeks have left Lebanon and are scattered all over the world. The Greeks in Lebanon now count—according to the vice-president of the Greek Club of Beirut as well as the Administrative Assistant of the Greek Community in Beirut—around 4, 000 in Beirut and its surrounding regions (A. Kodjabachi, personal communication, February 22, 2017; I. Laios, personal communication, February 18, 2017).

The Greeks who came to Lebanon in 1922 worked in trade, especially sea trade. They also worked in construction and steel engineering (Eid, 2017). The Greek community members express, in a documentary about the Greek Community in Lebanon, how they helped build Lebanon. They mention how their impact can be seen through landmarks like “Al-Barrad Al-Youneiny” [The Greek Refrigerator] which is not an actual refrigerator but an area where people can rent a cooled space in order to store goods. They also mention how part of the port in Beirut was constructed by Archirodon, a Greek company (Eid, 2017). The community members also express how their ancestors did not face a lot of discrimination and were thought off as fun people (Eid, 2017).

### ***Greek groups in Lebanon***

The Greek community members formed various groups and institutions throughout their stay in Lebanon. The Greek Benevolent Association of Beirut was established in 1926



(Tsokalidou, 2004), and it is the first organization established by the Greeks in Lebanon.

Today, the Greek Benevolent Association of Beirut is still active. It is now called the Greek Community of Beirut. The Community, according to its administrative assistant, offers Greek classes and organizes holiday activities for the Greeks in Lebanon. Moreover, it hosts movie screenings around once a month. These screenings are attended by an average of 15 people. The Community also holds occasional conferences. The highest attendance a conference has seen is about 200 people. Furthermore, the Community organizes holiday activities like events for Christmas (A. Kotjabachi, personal communication, February 22, 2017).

The Community was followed by the Greek Club of Beirut which got established in 1961 (Eid, 2017). The Greek Club is still active today. According to its President, the Club holds various cultural activities, examples of which are Greek dance workshops. The workshops are held sporadically, and each workshop teaches a different Greek dance. The Greek Club, moreover, has a Greek dance troupe which consists of a few Greek Club members who have learned to properly dance many Greek dances and who wear authentic, traditional Greek clothing. The Club and its troupe have participated in many local events. The Club helps in events like the summer festival of a church in Bteghrin in Lebanon as well as in the Dance for a Cause event held, alongside the Cypriot Community in Lebanon, in Beirut Souks in May 2015. In the event, around 100 people danced Greek dances that they had practiced in the Greek Club. Many other local entities, such as schools and universities, also contact the Greek Club when they have events related to Greek culture. An example of that is Saint Joseph University. They contacted the Greek Club and asked it to guide the university students as they prepare a Greek stand for an event that the university is organizing (V. Lagakou, personal communication, February 18, 2017).

Moreover, according to its vice-president, the Club organizes Greek nights every other Saturday. In the Greek nights, people get together, eat authentic Greek food, and dance to Greek music. These events usually host around 65 participants and are announced on the group's Facebook page. The Club also holds events for kids every other Saturday. These events are 2 hours long and include a Greek language lesson in the first hour and activities related to the Greek culture and history in the second. These classes are attended by an average of 6 kids. The club also holds events throughout the year. An example of that is an ethnic dinner with the Cypriot Community in Lebanon. However, the most attended event is probably the Protomaya lunch where an average of 400 Greeks and Cypriots gather every year. The lunch has been organized in the beginning of May for the last 65 years in honor of a tradition held in Greece where a flower festival is organized in celebration of spring (I. Laios, personal communication, February 18, 2017). The Club also organizes other events to promote the Greek culture in Lebanon. These events are not yearly events but events that arise according to circumstance. For example, a member of the Greek Club has created a documentary about how Greeks came to Lebanon in 1922. The documentary was launched via a celebration that included Greek dancing and food (See Eid, 2017).

The events of the Club are sometimes covered by Lebanese media outlets. An example of that is a special report on the bi-weekly Greek nights that the Lebanese Media station, MTV, aired during its prime time news in April in 2015 (See Eid, 2015). The *Albalad* Lebanese newspaper also featured the yearly celebration that the Greek Club and the Cypriot Community in Lebanon held in June of 2016 (See Jaryan aala taklidih al-sanawi akam al-Nadi al-Younani, 2016); moreover, the El Fann news entertainment website wrote a piece about the documentary that was released in March 2017 (See Hatab, 2017).

In 1949, the “Club Hellenique Sportif” [Greek Sports Club] was founded in Tripoli, and according to its president, this club aims to promote sports activities and Greek culture. It also serves as a gym where many Greeks as well as Lebanese work out. The locale of this Club later started hosting the “Rassemblement des Libanais D’Origine Grecque” [Gathering of the Lebanese of Greek Origin] which was founded in 1997 and which operates alongside the Club. Both of these still exist, but due to some troubled times that Tripoli has faced, the activities they organize have diminished greatly. The Club, however, has been offering Greek classes since November 2016 (A. Achkar, personal communication, March 1, 2017).

According to a Greek community member who used to be a member of the Club’s board, the Club was very active up to five years ago when Tripoli started to face troubles. It used to organize various events especially around Greek holidays. Moreover, the Club organized a yearly ball that used to be attended by around 500 community members (M. Nicolaides, personal communication, February 19, 2017). The Club does not include any of the Muslim Greeks who came to Lebanon from Crete (M. Nicolaides, personal communication, February 19, 2017; A. Achkar, personal communication, March 1, 2017). The Cretans, though, did not let go of their roots. They established The Cretan Social and Benevolent Association of Lebanon in 1996 (Tsokalidou, 2004); however, the association—according to a member of the Cretan community in Tripoli— is not active anymore (A. Baneglesh, personal communication, March 3, 2017).

In addition to the clubs and groups that are founded by the Greeks in Lebanon, there is a league that was founded by Lebanese students who pursued higher education in Greece. The league is called the League of Lebanese Graduates from Greek Universities, and it was founded in 1994 (League of Lebanese Graduates from Greek Universities, n.d.). According to

the League's president, there are around 200 to 250 people who have graduated from Greece; however, not all of them are residing in Lebanon, and only around 35 people are, in fact, active members in the League. According to the president, the League serves to keep the culture of Greece alive. He mentions how the graduates from Greece came back to Lebanon and felt that they had gained a new culture that had become part of them, and they wanted to maintain it. He also adds that by gaining the language they had gained the culture, and it is their role to serve as unofficial ambassadors for Greece and its language. Furthermore, he mentions how he believes that the Phoenician ancestors of the Lebanese created the alphabet and the Greeks spread it, and that it is a nice cultural and linguistic exchange that should continue (G. Scheib, personal communication, March 7, 2017).

The League organizes several events including an annual dinner, a Greek day at the beginning of every May in order to celebrate Protomaya, and the Greek Film Festival. The Greek Film Festival has been organized every year for the last nine years, and the number of its attendees seems to be increasing. The opening of the festival now attracts around 500 viewers. Moreover, the League organizes the monthly Cine Club that is hosted by the Greek Community of Beirut (G. Scheib, personal communication, March 7, 2017).

### ***Greek language classes***

The Greek language has been taught by the Greeks ever since they first came to Lebanon. The language was, at first, taught in the Greek school that was established in 1958 in Tal El Zaatar. The school first opened as a primary school and expanded as the years passed by (I. Laios, personal communication, February 18, 2017). The expansion of the school was facilitated by the enrollment of the children of the employees who were working with the

Greek company Archidon on the construction of one of Beirut Port's basins (Greek Community of Beirut, 2017). The school had between 200-250 students and held holiday festivities for its students' families. The first class graduated in 1973, but only 2 classes graduated before the school closed due to the Lebanese civil war of 1975 (Eid, 2017). The school was supported by the Greek Community of Beirut, and the Community now holds Greek classes for 111 students. The classes are divided into levels. The students, however, are not all Greek (S. Karouni, personal communication, February 22, 2017). Moreover, there used to be a small elementary Greek School in El Mina in Tripoli. It opened in 1953 in a house, moved to a bigger locale in 1955, and closed in 1960 because of internal conflicts (M. Nicolaidis, personal communication, February 19, 2017). After the school closed, no Greek classes were offered in Tripoli until 1990 when the classes were restarted (M. Habib, personal communication, 2017). The classes then stopped in 2007 when Tripoli faced troubled times. They were resumed in November 2016. The Greek class is currently attended by 9 students (A. Achkar, personal communication, March 1, 2017).

In Lebanon, moreover, there are many Greek classes that are organized by various Orthodox parishes. These classes are not organized by any of the Greek leaders but do teach the language to classes that include a large number of Lebanese students who do not have any Greek origins. An example of that are the classes organized by father Justinios Dib in Ashrafiyeh. These classes are divided into 2 levels where the more advanced class has around 10 students and the less advanced class has around 30 students (J. Dib, personal communication, February 21, 2017). Some of the other classes—according to one of the teachers who gives these classes—are located in Mtayleb, Batroun, Zouk Mikhael, Kesba, and

Bkeftine. Most of these classes have Lebanese students, and the number of students in most of these classes is around 10 (H. Ibrahim, personal communication, March 1, 2017).

## Questionnaire Results

### *General population*

#### Age and generation

The participants who filled out the questionnaires are between 18 and 60 years old, and they were divided into the 18 to 39 and 40 to 60 age groups in order to study the effect of age on LMLS. The participants come from various generations of families that traveled to Lebanon and are distributed as follows. 13.85% of the participants identified as second generation Greeks, 33.85% as third generation, 27.69% as fourth, 12.31% as fifth, and 12.31% as sixth. Table 2 below represents the distribution of the participants based on age, gender, and religion.

Religious Denomination	Ages Gender	18 to 39 Age Group		40 to 60 Age Group	
		Number	Range	Number	Range
Christian	Female	15	25-39	15	41-60
	Male	15	18-39	15	42-60
Muslim	Female	1	38	1	50
	Male	1	20	2	47-60

Table 4.1 Participants' Age Distribution

#### Religion

The Greeks, as expected due to the gathered objective data, identified as both Christians and Muslims. In fact, 52.30% identified as Orthodox Christians, 21.54% identified as Maronite Christians, 7.69% identified as Catholic Christians, 7.69% identified only as Christians without mentioning the denomination, and 3.08% identified as Latin Christians. The remaining 7.69% identified as Sunni Muslims.

### Intermarriage

The Greek community in Lebanon accepts intermarriage as only 15.15% of the participants who mentioned the nationality of their spouse reported that their spouse is of Greek origins. Moreover, it is clear that the Greek community in Lebanon has been accepting of intermarriage for quite a while as intermarriage was common with the parents of the participants. 56.92% of the participants mentioned that their father is of Greek origin and another 56.92% mentioned that their mother is of Greek origins. It is, therefore, clear that most of the participants came from households where not both parents are of Greek origins. Furthermore, intermarriage has increased in frequency over time as more participants seem to have married non-Greeks than their parents.

### Geographical distribution

The Greeks also seem to be relatively spread out in Lebanon. A third of the participants mentioned that they live in Beirut, just over half in Mount Lebanon, and the rest in Tripoli. Furthermore, 60% mentioned that they do not live near any speakers of Greek who are not members of their nuclear family, 29.24% mentioned that less than 10 Greek speakers live near them, and 10.78% mentioned that there are 10 or more speakers of Greek near them. Consequently, very few Greeks believe that they live in a community where there are many Greek speakers around them.

### Socioeconomic background

Most of the Greek community members are well-educated (See Figure E.1 in Appendix E for the distribution of the highest degrees earned by the participants). In fact, 81.54% of the participants reported holding a degree of higher education. Moreover, the parents of the participants seem to be less educated than the participants themselves (See

Figure E.2 in Appendix E for the distribution of the highest degrees earned by the fathers of the participants and Figure E.3 in Appendix E for the distribution of the highest degrees earned by the mothers of the participants), for only 26.15 % of the fathers and 30.77% of the mothers held degrees of higher education. Since the participants seem to be receiving a good education and are earning higher degrees than their parents, it can be deduced that the Greek community's standing when it comes to education is improving.

Furthermore, the Greek community members seem to have, for the most part, jobs that allow their holders to provide for themselves (See Table F.1 in Appendix F for a list of the participants' occupations). The participants' fathers', moreover, seem to have also held jobs that provide for the family (See Table F.2 in Appendix F for a list of the occupations of the participants' fathers). The majority of mothers, on the other hand, ran the household and did not hold any job outside of the home as 76.92% of the mothers were identified as homemakers (See Table F.3 in Appendix F for a list of the occupations of the participants' mothers). Since the Greeks in Lebanon seem to be, at an increasing rate, getting an education, and seem to hold jobs that are capable of providing for the household, it can be deduced that the Greek community has a good socioeconomic background.

#### Language knowledge and use

There is evidence of a shift in language use away from Greek to other languages, especially Arabic (See Table G.1 in Appendix G). Furthermore, the Greeks seem to believe that they are more proficient in Arabic—followed by French and then English— then they are in Greek. The Greek community members' speaking of Arabic, French, and English is to be expected in the multilingual context of Lebanon, for all three languages are used in everyday life, and it is therefore, expected that the Greek community shifts not only to Arabic but to all



three language, if possible. When it comes to proficiency in Greek, most participants reported at least some knowledge of Greek with only 4.62% stating that they neither speak nor understand any Greek. The bigger percentage of 7.69%, however, mentioned that they do not read nor write any Greek. It is therefore possible that 3.07% learned Greek at home and not in the Greek classes as the classes also teach reading and writing. Moreover, it is evident that the bigger percentage of Greeks who mentioned that they have some knowledge of the Greek language believed that they have weak language skills.

When asked about their language use (See Table H.1 in Appendix H), 15% to 20% of the participants reported the use of the Greek language with family members, but a bigger percentage of 41.54% reported the use of Greek when in the presence of Greek friends. In fact, even if Lebanese people were around and there were other Greeks, 33.85% reported that they would use Greek. In all contexts, except when only speaking with Greek friends, the participants reported a higher percentage use of Arabic. Participants also reported some use of English and French. Greek is also used by 38.46% when e-mailing Greek friends or family, and 46.15% reported that they would use English in such a situation; 12.31% that they would use French; and only 4.62% that they would use Arabic. When in contact, in everyday situations, with Lebanese people, no Greek use was reported, except for 1.54% who reported use of Greek in Banks.

#### Greek activities and cultural expression

When asked if they attend any of the events organized by the Greek community in Lebanon, around three quarters of the participants reported attending the Greek events. The most attended event is the Greek nights followed by movie screenings, holiday activities, the festival of flowers, and then the events for kids. It is obvious that there is a mixed used of

languages in these contexts (See Table H.2 in Appendix H). Greek was reported to be the most frequently used language as the biggest percentage of Greeks reported using it in all the events. It is followed by English and Arabic. The least used language is French. Moreover, the majority of 84.62% of the Greek community enjoys listening to Greek music or songs while around half of the Greeks enjoy watching Greek shows and only around a quarter of the population reads Greek books or newspapers.

### ***Gender***

Both females and males have a similar distribution when it comes to their religious denomination, their socioeconomic situation, and the generation to which they belong in relation to their arrival to the host community.

### **Intermarriage**

Males seem more likely to marry other Greeks as 11.11% of females who indicated the nationality of their spouse reported that their spouse is of Greek origins while 20% of the males married other Greeks.

### **Geographical distribution**

Of the females who participated in the study, a bigger percent of 46.87 live in Mount Lebanon, compared to the 40.63% who live in Beirut and the 12.5% who live in the North. Moreover, a bigger percentage of 65.63 of females reported that there are no speakers of Greek in their vicinity. 54.55% of males also reported the absence of speakers near them.

### **Language knowledge and use**

Females and males believe that they have a similar degree of proficiency in most languages (See Tables G.2 and G.3 in Appendix G). When it comes to Greek, the males seem to evaluate their speaking and reading abilities better than their female counterparts.

Furthermore, both males and females reported similar language knowledge (See Tables H.3 and H.4 in Appendix H). However, females reported a higher use of the Greek language in most contexts especially when it comes to conversing with their parents, siblings, children, Greek friends, and a group of friends where there are both Greek and Lebanese people. They also use Greek more often when e-mailing Greek friends and family. When it comes to conversations with family and in social contexts in Lebanon, Arabic seems to be used in a higher frequency by males.

#### Greek events and cultural expression

Both genders seem to attend the events organized by the Greeks in a similar frequency (See Tables H.5 and H.6 in Appendix H). In fact, 21.88% of the females and 27.27% of the males mentioned that they do not attend Greek events. When it comes to language use in these events, moreover, it seems that both genders have a similar extent of use of Greek, but the females use it a little more often. It is also more common for females to use Arabic, English, and French alongside the Greek. Females, moreover, seem to read Greek books and newspapers, watch Greek shows, and listen to Greek music slightly more than their male counterparts 28.13% of the females, in comparison to 18.18% of the males, reported reading Greek books and newspapers. Moreover, 59.38% of the females, in comparison to 39.39% of the males, reported watching Greek shows. Furthermore, 87.5% of the females, in comparison to 81.82% of the males, mentioned that they listen to Greek music.

#### *Age*

The members of both the younger and older age groups have a similar distribution when it comes to their religious denomination, their socioeconomic situation, and the generation to which they belong in relation to their arrival to the host community.

### Intermarriage

Of the younger group, a bigger percentage of participants is not married. In fact, 65.63% are single, 31.25% are married, and 3.13% are divorced. Of the older group, 30.30% mentioned that they are single, 66.67% that they are married, and 3.03% that they are divorced. The younger group is more likely to marry someone who is not of Greek origins. For, of those who identified the nationality of their spouse, 10% of the younger age group mentioned marrying someone of Greek origins while 17.39% of the older population mentioned marrying a Greek.

### Geographical distribution

Both age groups seem to be similarly distributed. However, a bigger percentage of the younger age group mentioned that they do not live near any other Greek speakers who are not part of their immediate family. In fact, 68.75% of the younger age group mentioned that they do not live near any speakers of Greek while 51.52% of the older age group reported that they do not live near Greek speakers.

### Language knowledge and use

All age groups have similar interests in learning foreign languages and express similar knowledge of Arabic (See Tables G.4 and G.5 in Appendix G). Moreover, a similar number of participants in both age groups reported that they knew Greek, but the older participants believe that they are more proficient. Furthermore, the younger age group reported a bigger tendency to speak Arabic with their grandparents and fewer speak it with their children (See Tables H.7 and H.8 in Appendix H). The older age group also has an overall higher tendency to use Greek in all contexts and a lower tendency to use English and French.

### Greek activities and cultural expression

When it comes to attending the activities organized for the Greeks in Lebanon, both age groups mentioned equal level of attendance of events. 34.38% of the younger age group and 36.36% of the older group mentioned that they do not attend any of the Greek events. When it comes to language use in these events, however, those who attend the events of the older age group reported a bigger use of Arabic and Greek (See Tables H.9 and H.10 in Appendix H).

A bigger number of the older age group reported reading books and newspapers in Greek and listening to Greek Music. 27.27% of the older age group, in comparison 18.75% of the younger age group, reported that they read Greek books or newspapers. Moreover, 90.90% of the older age group, in comparison to 78.13% of the younger age group, mentioned that they listen to Greek music. However, despite the difference in trends of watching Greek shows and listening to Greek music, around half of both age groups reported watching Greek shows on TV.

### ***Religion***

Muslim and Christian Greeks have a similar distribution of the generation to which they belong in relation to their arrival to the host community.

### **Intermarriage**

The Muslim participants are less likely to marry people who are not of Greek origins, for all married participants mentioned that their spouse is of Greek origins. When it comes to the Christians, however, only 3.45% mentioned that their spouse is of Greek origins.

### **Geographical distribution**

The Muslim portion of the Greek population in Lebanon is less spread out than the rest, and they seem to live in a more close-knit community of Greek speakers, for all Muslim

Greeks mentioned that they live in the North of Lebanon, and all of them mentioned the presence of Greek speakers in their neighborhood. The Christians on the other hand, are more spread out as 36.67% live in Beirut, 58.33% live in Mount Lebanon, and 5% live in the North. Of the Christians, moreover, only 35% mentioned that there are speakers of Greek, who are not members of their nuclear family, near them.

#### Socioeconomic situation

The Muslim participants are less educated than their Christian counterparts as 40% of the population mentioned not earning any degree and none of them mentioned earning a degree of higher education. Of the Christians, however, 88.33% reported holding a degree of higher education (See Figure E.4 for the distribution of the highest degrees earned by the Muslim participants and Figure E.5 for the distribution of the highest degrees earned by the Christian participants).

When it comes to occupation, Muslims seem to hold less income-earning positions as 40% of the population identified as homemakers, 40% as café owners, and 20% as students. On the other hand, the Christian members of the Greek community seem to have, for the most part, jobs that tend to allow their holders to provide well for themselves (See Table F.4 in Appendix F for a list of the occupations of the Christian participants).

In conclusion, although there can be no accurate portrayal of how big a socioeconomic difference there exists between the Muslim and Christian portions of the Greek population in Lebanon, the Muslim Greeks seem to be in a worse socioeconomic situation than the Christians.

### Language knowledge and use

The Muslim Greeks speak fewer languages than their Christian counterparts (See Tables G.6 and G.7 in Appendix G). None of the Muslims know any French and only 20% know any English; however, when it comes to Arabic they are all proficient. Moreover, when it comes to the Greek language, a smaller percentage of the Muslim participants mentioned that they know Greek. When evaluating their skills in Greek, however, the Muslims who knew Greek reported better skills in speaking, understanding, reading, and writing. Furthermore, fewer Muslims reported that they have the ability to read and write than those who reported the ability to speak and understand which means that the Muslim Greeks might have learned Greek at home and not in a classroom setting. When it comes to the Christians, however, all those who mentioned that they could speak and understand mentioned that they could read and write.

Contrary to the Christians, the Muslim Greeks reported speaking only Arabic and Greek in all of the contexts inquired about in the questionnaire (See Tables H.11 and H.12 in Appendix H). Arabic is dominant, and it is used by a bigger percentage of the Muslim population than the Christian population. Moreover, Greek is used more by the Muslim participants when in contact with family, especially when in contact with the grandparents. The Muslims, furthermore, do not e-mail any Greek relatives and friends.

### Greek events and cultural expression

All Muslim participants mentioned that they do not attend any Greek events. Of the Christians, however, the majority of 81.67% mentioned that they attend the Greek community events. Moreover, the Muslim Greeks mentioned that they do not read any Greek books or newspapers while 25% of their Christian counterparts reported doing so. In addition, Muslims

watch less Greek shows as 40% of them mentioned that they watch them while half of the Christians reported doing so. Despite the fact that the Muslims do not read any Greek material and watch fewer Greek shows than the Christians, all Muslims, in comparison to the lower percentage of 83.33% from the Christians, reported listening to Greek music.

## **Interview Results**

### ***Identity and Language***

Questions 1, 2, and 16 aimed at gaining insight into the relationship between the Greek language and the participants' view of their identity. Most participants consider themselves as Greek and Lebanese, and they value the Greek language and traditions greatly as part of what make them Greek. Furthermore, the majority of the population believes that language and identity are interrelated important factors in being Greek.

In question 1, 95.83% (23) of participants reported that they consider themselves both Greek and Lebanese. Of those who reported that they are both, 47.83% (11) justified their answer explaining that they feel they are both because they were born in Lebanon but have Greek roots. 21.74% (5) mentioned that they do not feel completely Greek because they do not speak the language, 8.70% (2) reported that they feel more like they are Lebanese than they are Greeks. One of them mentioned that he feels he is more Lebanese than Greek because he does not know the language nor the country, and the other, who is a Muslim, mentioned that he feels more Lebanese than Greek because he has not been given the nationality.

Other than the participants who reported that they are both, 4.17% (1) reported being only Greek as her family has not been in Lebanon for a long time while 8.33% (2) of participants reported being Lebanese only. One mentioned that he is Lebanese because he has



only been to Greece once and the other because his family moved to Lebanon a very long time ago.

When asked in question 2 about the most important part of being Greek, many of the participants reported that several factors come into play. The most important factor of being Greek is the Greek traditions, culture, and values. In fact, 66.67% (16) of the participants portrayed the importance of this factor through discussing the importance of Greek food and dances as well as what they perceive to be Greek principles like loyalty.

The Greek language follows culture and values in importance, for 41.67% (10) of the population stated that they believe it is important to speak the language to be Greek, and another 29.17% (7) believe that the language is part of their identity for someone said that “speaking Greek is necessary for who we are” while another mentioned how the “Greek language extrapolates [her] Greek identity”. Moreover, a Muslim participant mentioned how the Muslims have maintained their language and think it is important. He also added that Muslims feel more Greek than the others because they speak the “original” Greek. He then mentioned that he is proud to be a Muslim. Another 16.67% (4) mentioned how they think it is important to speak Greek in order to be able to communicate with other Greeks in Lebanon and in Greece. One even mentioned that speaking the language makes it easier for the Greeks of Lebanon to learn the Greek culture when in Greece. None of the participants believed that speaking the language is not important to being Greek; however, not all of them gave speaking a big importance. In fact, 37.5% (9) mentioned that although speaking the language is important, it is not necessary to speak the language to be Greek. Of those who mentioned that speaking the language is not necessary, 88.89% (8) mentioned that it is not necessary as some people are Greek but do not speak the language.

The Greeks of Lebanon gave speaking the language to having Greek roots and a European passport similar importance. In fact, 43.75% (7) of the participants mentioned that the most important part of being Greek is the roots and ancestry, and an equal number of participants reported that the most important aspect of being Greek is holding a European passport which facilitates gaining access to other countries and Visas. Only 4.17% (1) mentioned that being Orthodox is important in being Greek.

All participants reported that they proud of being Greek with the exception of one participant who reported that he is not proud because he believes that the Greek government does not accept the Muslims as Greeks. He then added that the Muslims are maintaining their traditions despite not being accepted. He also speculated that perhaps since Muslims do not speak the language, they are less Greek than the others.

When asked in question 16 about whether speaking Greek makes one more aware of his/her Greek identity, 83.33% (20) reported that they believe that speaking the language brings one closer to his/her Greek identity. The remaining disagreed. They stated that being Greek is about a feeling and not a language and that they themselves do not speak Greek well but do not feel any less Greek. Of those who found that speaking the language brings people closer to their identity, 30% (6) reported that language is identity. Some of them mentioned how language manifests the “Greekness” in a person, how language anchors their identity in them, how language is a state of being, how one does not belong to a country without speaking the language, and how they feel guilty for not speaking the language. Another 30% linked language to emotions focusing on how speaking Greek makes one feel more Greek and how not speaking Greek makes them feel more distant from their Greek identity. Furthermore, they mentioned how when they speak some words in Greek, the words feel different to them than

when they speak in any other language. One participant, for example, mentioned how swear words feel more real in Greek while another mentioned how expressing love in Greek made the love feel more intense. Furthermore, 50% (10) mentioned that learning the language will help them understand the people and culture, especially when in Greece. Some of them added that by understanding the people and culture they can connect to their roots. Furthermore, 10% (2) reported that they can be better accepted as Greeks by the Greeks in Greece if they speak the language. In fact, one of the participants mentioned that she feels that since she has started speaking the language, she is considered Greek in the homeland. In addition, 155 (3) mentioned that they feel that it is their duty to learn the language. Some of them mentioned feeling that their duty is to their ancestors while the others mentioned that they feel that their duty is to the Greek passport.

### ***Status of the Greek Language in Lebanon***

Questions 3, 4, and 5 aimed to gather input on the status of the Greek language in Lebanon through looking at what the Greek community members think of their language. It seems clear that Greek is viewed favorably and thought of as valuable. When asked how valuable Greek is to them, only 25% (6) mentioned that they do not believe Greek is valuable to them justifying its insignificance through it not being very useful and through it being not as important as English and Arabic. Some also mentioned that they do not speak the language well and do not feel like that has harmed them. The remaining 75% (18) mentioned how they feel that the language is valuable. Of them, 27.78% (5) mentioned that the language is valuable to them as it is part of their identity. Some even stated that to be Greek one needs to speak Greek and that they are ashamed of being Greek and not being proficient in their own language. The rest provided variable reasons behind the importance of Greek. Some stated that

the language is lyrical and sounds beautiful while others mentioned how it is important because many words are rooted in it and because it has influenced the world today. They gave medical terms of Greek origins as examples of the influence. Moreover, some reported that the language helps them connect to their roots and allows them to communicate with the homeland especially when visiting.

When asked about the importance of Greek internationally, 58.33% (14) mentioned how Greek is important and 41.67% (10) reported that Greek is not very valuable. Greek was found to be valuable internationally because the roots of many words are Greek, because the Greeks have influenced math and medicine, and because it is the language of the Bible. It was found to be unimportant because it is only used by the Greeks and the Cypriots and because it is not as important as other languages. Furthermore, when it comes to the importance of the Greek language in the Greek community in Lebanon, the majority of the Greeks viewed the language as valuable. In fact, 83.33% (20) reported that is valuable stating that speaking Greek helps the Greek community in Lebanon communicate with the Greeks in the homeland, that speaking Greek helps keep the community close-knit, that the language is part of the Greeks' identity, and that speaking the language might help the Greeks reconnect with their roots. Moreover, a Muslim participant mentioned how he believes that it is important to keep the language but since the Orthodox Greeks receive more support to maintain their language, the language seems more important among them than it is among the Muslims. Only 16.67% (4) mentioned that Greek is not valuable to the community members. They stated that in the community everyone speaks Arabic as well as English and/or French.

### ***Perceptions about LMLS of Greek***

In addition to being used in order to learn about the effect of schools on LMLS of Greek, Question 8 is used to assess whether the Greek language is undergoing LMLS as it, alongside questions 13 and 14, provides some insight into the Greeks' perceptions about LMLS of Greek. It seems that the language is perceived as dying, more so in the community as a whole than in the individual homes; however, the Greeks want to maintain it as they explicitly reported the desire to maintain it in question 14. They also implicitly reported the desire to maintain Greek when they mentioned in question 8 that they would love to teach it to their children. It is however important to note that despite their desire to teach their children the Greek language, only half the population would enroll their children in a Greek school. Only 79.17% (19) of the participants reported their opinion about the status of the Greek language in the Greek community in Lebanon. Of them, 84.21% (16) reported that they believe that the language is dying and 15.79% (3) reported that they believe that the language is alive. Those who believe that the language is dying elaborated on their opinion and mentioned how the Greeks in Lebanon use other languages, how the number of Greeks in Lebanon is decreasing, and how since the closing down of the Greek school there has been a decrease in language use. Those who do not believe that the language is dying, however, mentioned that they believe that the language is not dying but needs to be used more frequently. They also mentioned how the language will not die because the Orthodox Christians in Lebanon will maintain it. When asked about the language situation in their homes, 79.16% (19) mentioned how they believe that the language is dying in their homes because its use is decreasing across the generations and because of intermarriage. On the other hand, the remaining 20.83% mentioned how they do not believe that the language is dying in

their homes because they still speak it with their family members and because they will never let go of their roots.

Furthermore, all participants reported the desire to maintain the language. They each offered several suggestions of means through which the language can be maintained. 33.33% (8) reported that they believe that an increased number of activities will help keep the language alive. On the other hand, 20.83% (5) reported that the activities are sufficient but that there is a need to increase the exposure of the activities that are already being organized by ensuring that all members of the Greek community hear about these events. 12.5% (3) mentioned that they believe that the embassy should play a greater role in promoting the language and the activities that are organized for and by the Greeks. Moreover, 20.83% (5) reported the need for groups that unite the whole Greek community in Lebanon. One of the Muslim participants also reported the need to have groups that are inclusive of the Muslim Greeks in Tripoli. Furthermore, 33.33% (8) reported the need to increase the number of Greek classes and make them more geographically distributed. In addition to the suggestions about what can be done to encourage the Greeks to maintain their language, some participants reported the need for the Greek community members themselves to step up. 25% (6) mentioned how the Greeks community members themselves should make a bigger effort to learn the language and 16.67% (4) mentioned how it is important for parents to teach their children the language.

### ***Religion***

Question 9 aimed to gain insight into the participants' view on whether religion is intertwined with the Greek language within this community. In addition, it seeks to look at if and how language and religion affect LMLS. The Greek participants do not seem to hold

religion significant when it comes to their Greek identity; moreover, they do not seem to particularly prefer having Greek in mass though the majority does not mind it. Of the interviewees, 91.66% (22) reported an opinion regarding if the church connects a person to his/her Greek roots. Of these participants, only 18.18% (4) mentioned that going to church might help people connect to their roots. They mentioned that it helps those who are Orthodox. One of the participants even mentioned how the when the prayer is in Greek, she feels closer to her roots. Another mentioned how he believes that Greek is the language of the Bible and it is, therefore, important to have the mass in Greek. The rest reported that they do not believe that church connects them to their roots. Some mentioned how they themselves do not go to church, how they do not believe their Greek roots and church are related, and how they do not think God and language are related. The Muslim Greeks also did not feel that there is any relation between religion and being Greek or speaking the language. They mentioned that they are connected to their roots and language despite not being Orthodox. One of the participants even mentioned how the Greek that the Muslims speak is more “authentic” than that of the Christians as they speak Koine Greek while the Christians speak Modern Greek. Only 54.17% (13) of the participants reported interest in the language used in mass. Of them, 53.85% (7) mentioned how they would like to have the mass in Greek. However, they all reported that they do not find it necessary mentioning how it adds to the beauty of the mass, especially when it comes to the hymns. Furthermore, 38.46% (5) of those interested in the language of mass reported that they would prefer to have Arabic in mass as everyone understands it. Moreover, 80% (4) of those who prefer Arabic in mass reported that the Greek used in mass is not comprehensible to them and using it serves no purpose.

### *Host Community*

Question 12, moreover, aimed to provide insight into the host community's treatment of the Greek community in Lebanon. From the perspective of the Greeks in Lebanon, the host community does not seem to be mistreating the Greeks. Of the participants, 75% (18) discussed what they believe Lebanese people think of the Greeks. Of those who stated an opinion regarding this issue, 66.67% (12) reported that the Lebanese love the Greeks of Lebanon and mentioned that the Lebanese think the Greeks who live in Lebanon are good people with high morals. Moreover, some believe that the Lebanese like the Greeks in Lebanon because they like Greece as a country and find that the cultures are very similar. In addition, it was mentioned that the Orthodox Lebanese are particularly fond of the Greeks. The remaining 33.33% mentioned that the Lebanese do not necessarily like the Greeks. They stated that the Lebanese think the Greeks are lazy, corrupt, and stubborn. Moreover, some mentioned that the Lebanese think Greeks are dogmatic about religion. Last, but definitely not least, none of the participants reported having been mistreated by any Lebanese. In fact, they mentioned how the Lebanese were impressed by their Greek nationality.

### *Schools*

Direct information about schools was targeted through questions 6 and 8. It is apparent that the Greeks find it important to learn the language themselves and to teach it to their children. However, there seems to be less interest in enrolling their children in Greek schools. When asked about if they are learning the language, only 25% (6) mentioned no interest in learning the language. They also mentioned how they think that the language is not very important and that they do not have the time to learn it. The remaining 75% (18) reported that they have learned or are learning Greek. They mentioned that learning the



language brings them closer to their Greek identity. In fact, one of them mentioned that learning the language increases identification with the Greek nationality. They also mentioned that they should speak Greek for just like they are Lebanese and speak Arabic as Greeks they should speak the language. Furthermore, they mentioned how speaking Greek makes them Greek in the eyes of the Greek embassy in Lebanon as well as in the eyes of the Greeks in Greece, thus increasing their belonging to the group.

In addition, 91.67% (22) reported that they would love to teach their children the Greek language. They mentioned that they want to teach their children the language because they want to preserve their nationality, identity, and culture; because it is a source of pride to them; because it is the duty of their children, as Greeks, to speak the language; because they want their children to be able to communicate when in Greece; because a new language is an added bonus; and because they regret not being more proficient in the language themselves. 4.16% (1) reported that they would not teach their children the language because it is not useful and another 4.16% reported that since they are Muslims and are not given the nationality, they do not care if their children learn the language or not. They choose to leave that decision up to their children.

When it comes to sending children to a Greek school, however, the enthusiasm towards the Greek language seems to diminish with only 50% (12) mentioning that they would like to send their children to a Greek school, 41.67% (10) mentioning that they wouldn't, and 8.33% (2) expressing ambivalent feelings towards the subject and stating that when the children are old enough, they can decide for themselves. Those who would send their children to a Greek school reported that they would do so because they want their children to learn the language, because they wish they could go themselves, and because it would bring the

children close to their roots. Of those who want to send their children to a Greek school, 25 % (3) mentioned that they would only do that if their spouse agrees to it. These participants are females. In addition, the participants who mentioned that they would not send their children to a Greek school elaborated saying that they would not send them to a school because Greek is not useful worldwide and because they find it ineffective to teach their children Greek that extensively when they live in Lebanon. In addition, of those who would not send their children to a Greek school, 20% (2) mentioned that since they are Muslims who are not given the nationality, they do not find it useful to send their children to a Greek school.

### ***Intermarriage***

Question 7 aimed to look at the perceptions of the Greeks on intermarriage. The majority of Greeks do not prefer marrying people from within the Greek community. Moreover, the majority do not prefer that their children marry a Greek. When asked if they think it is important to marry a Greek, 70.83% (17) reported that they do not think it is of any significance mentioning how they have themselves married non-Greeks, how they themselves are not 100% Greek and can relate more to Lebanese spouses, and how marriage should be about love and not nationality. However, 29.17% (7) mentioned that they do prefer that a Greek person marries another Greek as they come from a similar background. Moreover, one of the participants mentioned a Greek proverb, “Παπούτσι από τον τόπο σου κι ας είναι μπαλωμένο”[Shoe from your place, even if it is patched]. This proverb means that it is better to marry a person who originates from the same place even if said person is not so great (Bristol Greeks, 2015). Similarly, when asked if they prefer that their children marry a Greek, 58.33% (14) mentioned that they have no preference and that they want their children to marry whomever they love. 20.83% (5) mentioned that they would like it if their children

marry a Greek in order to provide them with the chance to practice the language and in order to allow the grandchildren to grow up Greek. One of those participants reported that she would prefer it if her children marry Muslim Greeks as she believes that the Muslim Greeks should stick together. Another 16.67% (4) mentioned that it would be nice if their children married a Greek but that they would not mind it if they don't. Furthermore, 4.17% (1) mentioned that they would rather their children not marry a Greek person as they have had some unpleasant experiences when one of their family members married a Greek person.

### ***Contact with the homeland***

Questions 10 and 11 gather data that relates to the contact with the homeland through both physical visits and communication with relatives and friends there. It seems that the majority of the participants are in fact in contact with the homeland in some form or the other. 62.5% (15) of the population visit Greece with reasons that vary from living there 5 months a year to going there every few years to visit relatives to rare visits in order to complete paperwork. On the other hand, 37.5% (9) mentioned that they do not visit Greece. Similarly, 62.5% of the participants contact their family and friends in Greece and 37.5% (9) do not. Those who contact their families often in Greece reported different frequencies of contact as some only contact family on rare holidays while others talk to their family every day. On the other hand, those who do not contact family in Greece reported that they do not know their family in Greece enough to be in frequent contact.

### ***Community leaders***

When it comes to the leaders, question 15 aimed to look at whether the community members believe that their leaders are contributing to language maintenance. 79.17% (19) of the participants reported that they believe that the leaders are making an effort through the

activities and classes they are organizing. On the other hand, 20.83% (5) reported that the leaders need to do a better job through communicating with the community members. Three Muslims participants, moreover, reported the need for communities and/or organizations that are inclusive of the Muslim Greeks and that unite them with the Christian Greeks.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter, the major findings of the study will be explained and analyzed in the light of the literature on LMLS and the socio-cultural context in which the Greek community in Lebanon lives.

#### **Role of Language and Religion in Maintaining Greek Identity**

The Greek community in Lebanon has maintained its ethnic identity as most participants identify as Greek Lebanese. Several factors play a defining role in the identity of the Greeks in Lebanon. The most important factor is Greek traditions, culture, and values. Following Greek culture and values, the Greeks gave equal importance to roots and ancestry, and speaking Greek. These, consequently, constitute the core values of the group. The Greek community moreover, gave the same importance to holding a European passport. The community members, therefore, are not only motivated by integrative reasons when it comes to learning the language as they also have instrumental reasons to maintain their language. Their integrative motivation lies in the Greeks' desire to communicate and connect with their culture and ancestry whereas their instrumental motivation lies in the perceived advantage they believe they will get through gaining a European passport (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). This increases their attachment to their ethnic identity. It is clear here, that the link between language and identity is not necessarily a strong one as, to the community members, language is not the most important factor of being Greek. Moreover, the advantages of holding the Greek passport as well as the Greek roots and ancestry are as equally important as language when it comes to being Greeks.

Religion, on the other hand, does not seem to constitute a core value to the Greeks as a very small percentage of them mentioned being Orthodox as an important factor of being Greek. Moreover, very few participants believe that going to church helps one connect to his/her Greek roots. This comes in line with the conclusion that Tsokalidou (2004) drew when she conducted her study on LMLS of Greek by the Muslim Greek community in Tripoli. She stated that Greek language is a core value to the Muslim Greeks despite it not being tied to religion. Findings of the current study show that religion is not a core value to the Greeks in Lebanon, both Christians and Muslims. The literature, when discussing a language that is liturgical to a people, has always shown that religion plays a big role in LMLS of said language (Gogonas, 2011; McDuling, 2014), but this does not seem to be the case when it comes to the Greeks of Lebanon. This implies that religion and language are not necessarily related, especially when it comes to the values that define a group. The relationship between them is in fact dependent on the various groups and their circumstances.

It can also be noticed, as predicted by the social identity theory, that since the majority of Greeks in Lebanon categorize themselves as both Greek and Lebanese, they hold a positive view of their group and find themselves, for the most part, capable of speaking in the name of the group as they consider themselves prototypes of the group and attend the cultural activities. They, moreover, belong to a social group that is neither only Greek nor only Lebanese, and they are aware of that, for they talk of how speaking the language will make it easier for the Greeks in Greece to consider them as Greeks while also discussing how the Lebanese view them positively because they are Greeks. The Greeks in Lebanon differ from what is expected in the social identity theory in that not all members of the group are homogenous. The Muslim Greeks and the Christian Greeks distinguish themselves from the

“others” within the same group. Yet, despite being part of a heterogeneous group, the Greeks still consider themselves part of the same group, especially since many Muslims called for institutional support that is inclusive of them and not exclusive to them. Therefore, though the language of the Greeks might shift as the group is heterogeneous, the Greeks will most likely strive to maintain their language as they will not easily give up being Greek and attending the Greek cultural activities. Moreover, they consider speaking the language as an important part of their identity, so well-planned investments in institutional support will go a long way.

### **Perceptions about LMLS of Greek**

In the questionnaire, Greek community members stated that they know and use more Arabic, English, and French than Greek. They also reported using Arabic more than Greek in most situations, including when speaking to family members. The only time when they use Greek more than Arabic is when they are speaking to Greek friends and when they are at events organized by the Greek organizations in Lebanon. Consequently, it is very obvious that Greek has already undergone a major shift.

However, despite the shift from Greek to Arabic, English, and French, as is to be expected since the three languages are used in the host community; the Greeks have managed to maintain, to a certain extent, the Greek language. The vast majority stated that they have some proficiency in the Greek language and sometimes use it with other Greeks despite the fact that very few of them stated that they are fluent Greek speakers.

Furthermore, there seems to be a great effort to maintain the Greek language. About three quarters of the population attend community festivities and Greek activities where they speak Greek. This, in addition to the fact that Greek is the most commonly used language when speaking to Greek friends, implies that the community members, at least when in contact

with one another, make the effort to maintain the language despite the shift that is occurring in other contexts. The effort to maintain the Greek language is also portrayed by the questionnaire results that show that most participants listen to Greek music and about half watch Greek shows.

The observed shift with a desire to maintain the language that the questionnaire highlighted is reinforced by the interview results. The Greek community members stated that they believe that their language is dying but that they would like to maintain it and teach it to their children. In addition, the Greek language seems to have a high status among the Greek community members. The high status might have led to the desire to maintain the language as the community members reported that the Greek language is highly valuable to them and to the Greek community in Lebanon. Some Greeks, though fewer in number, also find the language valuable internationally.

The community members, however, seem to only take their desire to maintain their language so far, for despite wanting to preserve the Greek language, only half of the Greeks reported the desire to enroll their children in a Greek school. Moreover, although many participants do attend the activities of the community, a quarter of them do not.

## **Factors Affecting LMLS**

### ***Religion***

When asked about their perceptions on whether religion, especially when it comes to going to church, brings one closer to his/her Greek roots; the majority of the participants, including the Christians, did not believe that religion is a major component of the Greek identity. Moreover, when asked what is the most important factor of being Greek, very few participants actually mentioned being Orthodox. Religion, consequently, and according to the



participants, plays a very minimal role in their perceptions of their Greek identity. This is further emphasized by the fact that although around half of the participants would enjoy having Greek in mass, none of them found it to be essential. This might be due to the fact that only around half of the population is in fact Orthodox. However, despite the fact that Greeks themselves do not believe that religion plays a role in their identity, religion still does play a minor role in LMLS of Greek in Lebanon as the Lebanese Orthodox parishes do offer Greek classes. Thus, although faith does not play a role in LMLS of Greek, the perceived importance of the language by a religious group does minimally help maintain the language.

Very few participants, when explicitly asked if religion is an important part of being Greek, found that religion plays a role in their identity. Yet, when the questionnaire was indexed based on religion, some differences were highlighted. It is clear that the Muslims are less likely to intermarry, are less spread out geographically, are more likely to live in the proximity of Greek speakers, and hold what is most likely a lower socioeconomic status. All of the above, except for the socioeconomic situation, imply that the Muslim Greeks are likely to maintain their language, yet it seems to be undergoing shift. Fewer Muslims reported knowing Greek, none of them attend any of the events organized by the Greeks in Lebanon, they read less Greek books than their Christian counterparts, and they watch less Greek shows. This however, does not necessitate that there is no chance of maintenance of Greek as when evaluating how well they knew Greek, Muslims reported being more proficient in it and using it more frequently than their Christian counterparts. They also listen to more Greek music.

Even though differences arose due to the indexing of the questionnaires based on religious affiliation, other factors could have led to these differences as the participants themselves believe that religion has little bearing on maintaining the Greek language and

Greek identity and because other factors unite the Muslims of Tripoli and differentiate them from both the rest of the Greeks and the rest of people in Tripoli. The Muslims are united, for example, by their concentration in one place and their low rate of intermarriage which differentiate them from the Christians. However, the concentration and intermarriage rates of the Muslim participants do not seem to play a crucial role when it comes to LMLS as the Greek language is still undergoing shift despite the fact that these factors tend to encourage language maintenance. Thus, it might not be one these factors that is leading to the differentiation between the Muslim and Christian Greeks. It is also apparent that the Muslim Greeks themselves are dissatisfied with what they perceive as a refusal by the government to acknowledge and support them. Therefore, the lack of institutional support might be the factor that sets the Muslims apart from their Christian counterparts, as during the interviews, the Muslims did not mention faith but focused more on the lower level of support that they have received in order to maintain the language.

The Muslims seem to feel that they are not receiving sufficient support, which has reduced the chances of Greek language maintenance. Yet, the Muslims still reported pride in being Greek and want to learn the language. They reported that they feel the need to have organizations and communities that are inclusive of the Muslim Greeks and that could provide them with support. Therefore, language maintenance is desired and possible. Moreover, there are more Muslims who speak and understand Greek than there are Muslims who read and write it. This implies that the Muslims, unlike their Christian counterparts, are more likely to learn Greek at home despite their inability to access Greek classes. This further proves the need to provide the Muslims with support that will help them maintain their language.

The importance of institutional support in language maintenance is to be expected as institutional support is one of the pillars of ethnolinguistic vitality, and its presence seems to increase the chances of maintenance (Gogonas, 2011; McDuling 2014). However, in this context, its role is particularly important, for in a group of people who have the same ethnic identity, the presence of institutional support provided by the group itself seems to have played a make-it-or-break-it role in LMLS.

### *Host community*

The presence of several active languages in the host community seems to be slightly leading to language shift, especially when it comes to writing the Greek language, for when e-mailing Greek friends and family, the Greek community members use English slightly more than Greek and a lot more than Arabic. The decrease of domains of use of a heritage language due to the presence of several languages in the host community is consistent with the findings of the study of LMLS in the Armenian community in Lebanon (Jebejian, 2007).

Despite the slight negative impact that the presence of several languages in the host community has on LMLS, the positive approach that the host community has towards the Greeks as an ethnic group proves to have a much bigger impact on the promotion of the Greek language in Lebanon. The majority of the participants reported being accepted by the Lebanese, stating that Lebanese have a nice impression about Greeks. They also explained that the Orthodox Lebanese like the Greeks because they are Orthodox. This is further proved through the Greek courses offered by various parishes. Although this is not reflective of how religion in itself affects LMLS, it reflects how the positive view that the host community has towards the Greeks because of their assumed religious affiliation promotes the Greek language. This is reflective of conclusions drawn by other studies (Gogonas, 2011; Walker,

2011). Moreover, even the participants who believe that the Lebanese do not like Greeks did not express any mistreatment of the Greeks in Lebanon.

The positive approach of the host community towards the Greeks can also be observed through the positive coverage of the Greek community by the Lebanese media as well as by the existence of the League of Lebanese Graduates from Greek Universities. This League reflects how the Lebanese who are exposed to Greek culture view it favorably and seek to remain attached to it. Furthermore, the Greeks in Lebanon believe they are welcomed in the country because they have positively contributed to the country. This positive view of the host community has encouraged the maintenance of the Greek language especially due to the language courses offered by the Lebanese Orthodox parishes and the events organized by the League of Lebanese Graduates. The Greek language courses, however, could have a bigger impact in helping language maintenance if they are properly advertised.

### ***Schools***

The Greeks in Lebanon all seem to be convinced of the importance of the language and of the need to learn it themselves and to teach it to their children. This reflects the increased chance of language maintenance especially since the Greeks reported the belief that learning the language brings them closer to their Greek identity. The vast majority is also keen on teaching Greek to their children. The Greeks do seem intent on maintaining their language and mentioned, when asked about how they think language should be maintained, the need for more Greek classes spread out all over Lebanon.

However, their commitment to language maintenance falters when it comes to registering their children in a Greek school. Half of the participants mentioned that they would not send their children to a Greek school because they do not think Greek is useful worldwide

and because it will not be useful for their children in Lebanon. This is consistent with the fact that language is important to the Greeks but is not the only factor that defines their ethnic identity; therefore, it seems acceptable to them to not want to limit their children's education and employment options in the future by sending them to exclusively Greek schools. The lack in desire to attend a school that uses the minority language as the language of instruction is not something unique to the Greek language in Lebanon, for Jebejian (2007) reported that Armenian is undergoing shift despite the presence of Armenian schools because many Armenians are not enrolling their children in these schools, opting instead to send them to elitist secular schools.

Furthermore, the Greek language receives institutional support as Greek language classes are offered by the Greek Community of Beirut, by the Greek Club in Tripoli, and by various Orthodox parishes. Not all of the classes are known of by the Greek community members especially since the classes offered by the parishes are found in various areas in Lebanon, yet many participants asked for more classes all over Lebanon. This support of the language is not limited to the classes, for the various activities that the various Greek clubs and associations in Lebanon organize serve to not only promote the culture but also provide the Greeks in Lebanon with the chance to speak the language.

In conclusion, the most effective means of promoting Greek language maintenance in regards to formal teaching of the Greek language is investing in more effective, publicized, and widespread Greek classes as the re-opening of a Greek school would not be received positively, for institutional support of a language, without the expressed desire to learn the language would not be effective.

### *Age and Generation*

Since the participants are from several generations, it is hard to pinpoint how the generation the Greek community members are from has affected language maintenance and shift. However, the questionnaires were indexed according to the two age groups, and it was observed that the younger group is more likely to marry someone who is not of Greek origins and to live in areas where there are no speakers of Greek around. This implies that the younger age group is more likely to shift, despite the fact that fewer younger age members are married and thus the intermarriage pattern is an estimated trend.

The tendency to shift that was projected due to intermarriage rates and geographical distribution is apparent. Although the same number of speakers from both age groups know Greek, the older age group reported being more proficient than their younger counterparts. The older age group also uses Greek more often in everyday situations. Moreover, despite the fact that both age groups attend Greek events equally, the older age group uses Greek and Arabic more often. Furthermore, the older generation reported reading more books and listening to more Greek music. The younger age group, consequently, is more likely to undergo language shift than the older age group. This trend is consistent with the findings of Tsokalidou (2004) which showed that younger Greek Muslim generations in Lebanon are less proficient than their older counterparts. Despite the constant decrease in proficiency over time, some Muslim Greeks in Lebanon are proficient in Greek, an indication that they are exerting efforts to maintain their language, and are successful to a certain degree. The trend also reflects how investing in institutional support is likely to be effective, for the Muslims are interested in language maintenance and would most likely engage in any effort to teach Greek.

### *Intermarriage rates and geographical distribution*

Questionnaire results portray how intermarriage rate is increasing in the Greek community in Lebanon as the participants show a higher intermarriage rate than their parents do. This, consequently, might lead to language shift. The Greeks' tendency to marry people who are not of Greek origins is also highlighted through the interviews that reflect how the majority of the Greeks do not advocate marrying people from Greece. The interviews also reflect how the majority of the Greeks are not very keen on their children marrying Greeks. However, the Greeks do not seem to mind it mentioning how if their children marry someone Greek they might be able to practice the language and consequently maintain it. Moreover, it was reported that Greek is dying in Lebanon because of intermarriage. Therefore, some Greeks do believe that intermarriage might facilitate language shift. The participants' perception that intermarriage could lead to language shift is most probably correct as several studies have shown the assumption to be true (Jebejian, 2007; Pauwels, 1991; Scourby, 1980) .

When it comes to geographical distribution, the Greeks are relatively spread out in Lebanon but there is a bigger concentration of Greeks in Beirut, Mount Lebanon, and the North. Despite the general concentration of the Greeks in these areas, few Greeks actually live in areas where there are other speakers of Greek. This increases the possibility of language shift as the Greeks have few chances to use the language. These results are in accordance with the findings of other studies related to LMLS (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Jebejian, 2007; Li, 1982).

Moreover, when giving suggestions about how to help maintain the language, many Greeks reported the need to have Greek classes that are more geographically distributed. This

is reflective of how the geographical distribution is facilitating language shift and how the Greeks themselves recognize it

### ***Contact with the Homeland***

The positive effects of contact with the homeland can be recognized through the interviews. The majority of the participants reported that they are in contact with the homeland for various reasons. They visit Greece and contact their families there. This aids in language maintenance especially that the participants mentioned that speaking the language helps them understand the culture when in Greece. Thus, the trips to Greece help motivate the Greeks in Lebanon to learn the language. Furthermore, the Greeks in Lebanon mentioned that they think it is important to learn the language to be able to communicate with Greeks in Greece and in Lebanon. They also added that when they speak the language they are more accepted by the Greek embassy in Lebanon as well as by the Greeks in the homeland. Consequently, the more contact they have with the homeland, the more likely they are to maintain the language. The importance of contact with the homeland to members of the Greek community in Lebanon was highlighted in Tsokalidou (2004). This connection to the old country remains significant today, as the present study shows that the Christians—who are of a better socioeconomic standing than the Muslims and who are the majority of the participants in the study—believe that contact with the homeland has had a positive impact. The better socioeconomic standing of the Christians as well as their acceptance by the Greek government increases their contact with the homeland leading to the desire to maintain the language of the motherland. The positive impact of contact with the homeland on language maintenance is also reported in several other studies (Holmes et al., 1993; McDuling, 2004).



### *Community leaders*

When discussing the role of the leaders, there was a general satisfaction with the efforts that the Greek leaders are exerting; despite the fact that many Muslim participants felt that there should be an increased effort to have organizations that are inclusive of the Muslim community members. The community leaders seem to be promoting language maintenance especially through the various events that they hold and through the Greek classes. However, the work of the leaders does not seem to be sufficient in the eyes of the community members who reported the need for more communication between the leaders and the members of the community. The desire for more action by leaders in efforts to maintain language is common and many studies have reported similar opinions (Jebejian, 2007; McDuling, 2014). Moreover, when discussing what could be done to help maintain the language, it was mentioned that the Greek embassy could be doing more to help promote the language and the activities organized by the various Greek clubs and organizations, whose leaders seem to be doing a better job at addressing the needs of the community members. The Christian Greeks in Lebanon seem to be satisfied with the support they receive from community leaders while the Muslims are disappointed by the absence of similar strong leadership in their midst. This might be due to the fact that the role of the leaders in the context of the Greek community in Lebanon consists greatly of providing institutional support to the language through the classes and various events which in turn promote maintenance.

### *Gender*

Females seem to be less likely to marry other Greeks and tend to live more in areas where there are fewer speakers of Greek in their vicinity. Some females, moreover, when discussing whether they would place their children in a Greek school, mentioned that they

would only enroll their children if their spouses agree. Furthermore, males perceived that they have better Greek speaking and reading skills than females did. These results seem to be generally in tune with the tendency of females to shift language as reported by Zoumpalidis (2014). The shift, however, is not due females' avoidance of stigmatized languages as was the case in Zoumpalidis (2014). In fact, Greek is viewed favorably by Greek Lebanese, so the low Greek language proficiency of females may be explained by the fact that many of them are married to non-Greeks, a situation that does not provide them with many opportunities to learn or use Greek.

Despite the above-mentioned factors that imply that females would be less likely to maintain the language and transmit it to their children, the females of the study reported higher use of Greek in all contexts, even the events organized by the Greeks in Lebanon. They also read more Greek books and newspapers, watch more Greek shows, and listen to more Greek songs than males. They, therefore, seem to exert a bigger effort than their male counterparts to practice the language and seek to maintain it.

### **Measures Undertaken to Maintain the Language**

In order to maintain the language, the Greek community as a whole seems to be cooperating. In addition to expressing the desire to maintain the language in the interview, the Greek community has been, for a long time, undertaking measures to preserve its culture and maintain its language. Greek classes are organized by the Greek Community in Beirut and in the Greek Club in Tripoli. Moreover, various social events are organized throughout the year in order to get the Greeks together and provide them with the opportunity to practice their language. Yet, the Greek language still seems to be undergoing shift and the Greeks are aware of the shift. They, therefore, have suggested various means in which they believe that the

language can be maintained. They suggested an increase in the number of activities, an increase of the exposure the activities receive, an increased participation of the embassy in the maintenance of language, an increase in groups that are inclusive of the Muslim Greeks in Tripoli, and an increase in the number of Greek classes that are more geographically distributed. The participants also held themselves responsible for the maintenance and mentioned the need for the Greek community members themselves to step up and make a bigger effort to learn the language and teach it to their children.

In addition to the above-mentioned suggestions which all seem to be effective means for language maintenance in the context of the Greek community in Lebanon, it would be helpful to provide the Greek community, especially the Muslims, with access to the homeland whether through organized trips to Greece and courses offered there or through a system of communication that links Greeks in Lebanon to those in Greece.

### **Evidence of ethnolinguistic vitality in the Greek community in Lebanon**

The Greek community in Lebanon has high ethnolinguistic vitality despite the fact that the demographic constitution of the group does not seem to favor vitality as the number of Greeks in Lebanon is low and Greeks tend to intermarry and live far from other speakers of Greek. The Greeks perceive themselves as having a high status in the host community for they believe that the Lebanese view them positively. That, paired with the fact that the Greeks as well as their parents seem to have a good socioeconomic standing, renders the Greek community in good status in Lebanon, providing their language with good status as well. The good status of the community further facilitates maintenance through the relatively better-than-average socioeconomic situation that promotes contact with the homeland and allows leaders to take action that promotes maintenance. Furthermore, the Greek language in

Lebanon, though not supported by the host government, is supported through classes offered by Greek Orthodox churches in the host community as well as by the Greek organizations themselves. This leads to a high institutional support for the language. The Greek language in Lebanon, consequently, has an optimal situation for maintenance, and if awareness regarding the above-mentioned suggestions for maintenance is raised, the language status can be improved.

However, although the Greek community in Lebanon has high ethnolinguistic vitality and optimal conditions that facilitate maintenance, the situation of the Muslim Greeks leaves much to be desired as the language has minimal institutional support which in the context of Lebanon is highly dependent on the leaders. Institutional support, in the case of the Greeks in Lebanon, is a key factor in promoting maintenance especially since the Greeks have at least some desire to maintain their language.

Despite the high ethnolinguistic vitality of the Greek community in Lebanon, the language was still not considered the most important core value to the Greeks. Therefore, when studying LMLS through the ethnolinguistic vitality framework, it is important to recognize that language is not necessarily strongly tied to the identity of the group. The identity could be tied to other factors such as the traditions and values of a group or its roots and ancestry.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

This study has shown that the Greeks in Lebanon hold Greek traditions as the most important factor of being Greek. They also hold their ancestry and the Greek language as core values. Furthermore, they are motivated to maintain their identity and language because they feel that being holders of a Greek passport gives them access to the European Union countries and allows them to travel to most countries around the world without the need for a visa, a major handicap for holders of Lebanese passports. These factors help maintain a strong presence of the Greek language in Lebanon's Greek community. Since the Greeks do not believe that speaking the language is the most important part of being Greek, there is an increased need to take into consideration that identity is not necessarily linked to language and one should be careful when relying on identity to study LMLS, especially through the ethnolinguistic vitality lens.

The Greek language remains far from being a thriving language and is, in reality, undergoing shifts in functions and domains of use in favor of Lebanese Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, English, and French. It remains primarily and largely a home language and a language of Greek cultural activities and gatherings. This shift is to be expected of a diasporic community that has spent such a long time far from home in a host society it is trying and succeeding to integrate in, especially that this community does not consider language to be the most important aspect of its ethnic identity. Moreover, although the language is undergoing shift, the community exhibits enough energy and will and takes appropriate actions to maintain its cultural and linguistic heritage. The results of the community efforts are clearly

displayed in the continued use of the language about 100 years after the Greeks came to Lebanon as refugees, the appeal of its cultural activities, and the enthusiastic and on-the-ground support offered by the Lebanese Orthodox church to the community and its language. So, despite the small number, demographic constitution, and residence patterns of the Greek community, the Greeks in Lebanon still maintains a high degree of ethnolinguistic vitality. This high ethnolinguistic vitality comes as a result of the good status of the Greeks in the host community as well as the institutional support that the language has been receiving. Institutional support has been shown in this study to be the most important motivation for language maintenance in the Greek community as its lack has led the Muslim portion of the population to shift its language. Institutional support is strengthened via the host community that provides language classes, the community leaders who organize cultural activities and Greek language classes, and the continuing contacts and ties with the homeland that provide the community members with a link to its roots and motivation to speak Greek.

This study looked at LMLS of the Greek language amongst the Greek community members in Lebanon; however, the collection of objective data has demonstrated that a portion of the Lebanese population has an interest in the Greek language and culture. Consequently, a study that looks at the situation of the Greek language in Lebanon, outside of the Greek community, might provide some insight into the situation of the Greek language on an even wider scale. This is beyond the scope of the present study but might help shed more light on the Greek language and promote its maintenance.

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Appendix A  
English Questionnaire

Questionnaire:

This questionnaire is part of a research project about language maintenance and shift of Greek in Lebanon. It will take less than 10 minutes. Please fill in the answers as accurately as you can.

Part I. Demographic Information

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Sex: \_\_\_\_\_

Education (highest degree earned):

1. Lebanese Brevet or its equivalent (degree indicating completion of middle school)
2. Lebanese Baccalaureate II or its equivalent (degree indicating completion of high school)
3. Bachelor's Degree
4. Master's Degree
5. PhD Degree
6. None of the above
7. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Profession: \_\_\_\_\_

Religious Denomination: \_\_\_\_\_

Marital Status:

1. Single
2. Married
3. Widowed
4. Divorced

If you are married, kindly provide the nationality of your spouse

---

For how many generations has your family been in Lebanon?

---

Area of residence:

1. Beirut
2. Mount Lebanon
3. North Lebanon
4. Beqaa
5. Nabatieh
6. South Lebanon

Does anyone in your neighborhood (outside your nuclear family) speak Greek? If yes, how many people?

---

Father's nationality: \_\_\_\_\_

Father's profession: \_\_\_\_\_

Father's education (highest degree earned):

1. Lebanese Brevet or its equivalent (degree indicating completion of middle school)
2. Lebanese Baccalaureate II or its equivalent (degree indicating completion of high school)
3. Bachelor's Degree
4. Master's Degree
5. PhD Degree
6. None of the above
7. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Mother's nationality: \_\_\_\_\_

Mother's profession: \_\_\_\_\_

Mother's education (highest degree earned):

1. Lebanese Brevet or its equivalent (degree indicating completion of middle school)
2. Lebanese Baccalaureate II or its equivalent (degree indicating completion of high school)
3. Bachelor's Degree
4. Master's Degree
5. PhD Degree
6. None of the above
7. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Part II: Languages You Know

Please tick the box that you feel is most reflective of how well you can speak, understand, read, and write each language.

Language	Speak			Understand			Read			Write		
	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak
Arabic												
Greek												
English												
French												
Others (Please Specify)												

Part III: Language Use

Please tick the boxes that correspond to the language(s) you use in the following contexts.

You can tick more than one box.

Kindly leave blank any row that does not apply to you.

	Arabic	Greek	English	French	Other (please specify)
With your grandparents					
With your parents					
With your siblings (if you have any)					
With your children (if you have any)					
With your Greek friends (if you have any)					
With a group of friends where there are both Greek and					

Lebanese people					
In the streets in Lebanon					
In a supermarket in Lebanon					
In a bank in Lebanon					
When e-mailing Greek friends and relatives					
Others (Please specify)					

Do you attend any of the events organized by the Greeks in Lebanon?

If yes, please fill in the following table with the languages you speak during these events. You can tick more than one box. Kindly leave the row of the activity that you do not attend blank.

	Arabic	Greek	English	French	Other (please specify)
Greek nights					
Movie screenings					
Events for kids					
Festival of the flowers/lunch on the first of May					
Holiday activities					
Others (please specify)					

Do you read Greek newspapers or books?

---

Do you watch Greek shows on TV?

---



Do you listen to Greek music or songs?

---

Thank you for your participation!

If you would like to participate in the interview, kindly write your number on the line below.

---

## Appendix B

### Arabic Questionnaire

إستبيان:  
يشكّل هذا الإستبيان جزءاً من بحثٍ حول التحولات التي تمرّ بها اللغة اليونانية في لبنان ومدى العمل على صيانتها وإبقاءها حية وفاعلة بين أبناء الجالية اليونانية.

يتطلب هذا الإستبيان أقل من عشر دقائق ويرجى الإجابة على الأسئلة بأكثر قدر ممكن من الدقة.

الجزء الأول: معلومات ديموغرافية

العمر: \_\_\_\_\_

الجنس: \_\_\_\_\_

أعلى شهادة حصلت عليها:

- ١ الشهادة المتوسطة اللبنانية أو ما يعادلها (شهادة تشير إلى إتمام الدراسة المتوسطة )
- ٢ شهادة الثانوية العامة (البكالوريا اللبنانية II) أو ما يعادلها (شهادة تشير إلى إتمام الثانوية العامة)
- ٣ شهادة البكالوريوس
- ٤ شهادة الماجستير
- ٥ شهادة الدكتوراه
- ٦ لا شيء مما سبق
- ٧ غيرها

الوظيفة: \_\_\_\_\_

المذهب: \_\_\_\_\_

الوضع العائلي:

- ١ أعزب (عزباء)
- ٢ متأهل(ة)
- ٣ أرمل(ة)
- ٤ مطلق(ة)

بحال كنت متزوجاً(متزوجة)، يرجى ذكر جنسية الزوج (الزوجة)

---

منذ كم جيل تقيم عائلتك في لبنان؟

---

مكان الإقامة:

- ١ بيروت
- ٢ جبل لبنان
- ٣ شمال لبنان
- ٤ البقاع
- ٥ النبطية
- ٦ جنوب لبنان

هل يتكلم أحد في حيك (وليس من عائلتك المصغرة) اللغة اليونانية؟ إن كان الجواب بنعم، كم شخص؟

---

جنسية الأم: \_\_\_\_\_

وظيفة الأم: \_\_\_\_\_

أعلى شهادة حصلت عليها الأم:

١ الشهادة المتوسطة اللبنانية أو ما يعادلها (شهادة تشير إلى إتمام الدراسة المتوسطة)

٢ شهادة الثانوية العامة (البكالوريا اللبنانية II) أو ما يعادلها (شهادة تشير إلى إتمام الثانوية العامة)

٣ شهادة البكالوريوس

٤ شهادة الماجستير

٥ شهادة الدكتوراه

٦ لا شيء مما سبق

٧ غيرها: \_\_\_\_\_

جنسية الأب: \_\_\_\_\_

وظيفة الأب: \_\_\_\_\_

أعلى شهادة حصل عليها الأب:

١ الشهادة المتوسطة اللبنانية أو ما يعادلها (شهادة تشير إلى إتمام الدراسة المتوسطة)

٢ شهادة الثانوية العامة (البكالوريا اللبنانية II) أو ما يعادلها (شهادة تشير إلى إتمام الثانوية العامة)

٣ شهادة البكالوريوس

٤ شهادة الماجستير

٥ شهادة الدكتوراه

٦ لا شيء مما سبق

٧ غيرها: \_\_\_\_\_

الجزء الثاني: اللغات التي تتقنها (تتقنيها)

يرجى وضع علامة [✓] في كل خانة تمثل برأيك مدى قدرتك على تكلم وفهم وقراءة وكتابة كل لغة.

اللغة	تكلم			فهم			قراءة			كتابة		
	جيدة	متوسطة	ضعيفة	جيدة	متوسطة	ضعيفة	جيدة	متوسطة	ضعيفة	جيدة	متوسطة	ضعيفة
العربية												
اليونانية												
الإنجليزية												
الفرنسية												
لغة أخرى (يرجى ذكرها)												

الجزء الثالث: استخدام اللغات

يرجى وضع علامة [✓] في خانة اللغة أو اللغات التي تستخدمها (تستخدمينها) في المواقف التالية.

يمكنك اختيار أكثر من خانة.

يرجى ترك الخانات التي لا تنطبق عليك فارغة.

لغة أخرى (يرجى تحديدها)	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	اليونانية	العربية	
					مع جدك وجدتك
					مع أهلك
					مع إخوتك وأخواتك (إن كان لديك)
					مع أولادك (إن كان لديك)
					مع أصدقائك اليونانيين (إن كان لديك)
					مع مجموعة أصدقاء يونانيين ولبنانيين
					على طرقات لبنان
					في السوبرماركت في لبنان
					في المصرف في لبنان

					لدى مراسلتك أصدقائك وعائلتك اليونانيين إلكترونيًا
					مواقف أخرى (يرجى ذكرها)

هل تشارك(ين) في النشاطات التالية التي ينظمها اليونانيون في لبنان؟

إن كان الجواب بنعم، الرجاء وضع علامة [✓] في خانة (خانات) اللغة (اللغات) التي تتكلمها (تتكلمينها) في كل نشاط. يمكنك أن تختار (ي) أكثر من خانة. يرجى ترك خانة النشاط الذي لا تشارك(ين) فيه فارغة.

	العربية	اليونانية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	لغة أخرى (يرجى ذكرها)
السهرات اليونانية					
عروضات الأفلام					
نشاطات الأطفال					
مهرجان الزهور (غداء الأول من ايار)					
نشاطات الأعياد					
نشاطات أخرى (يرجى ذكرها)					



هل تقراء (ين) كتب أو جرائد يونانية؟

---

هل تشاهد (ين) برامج تلفزيونية يونانية؟

---

هل تستمع (ين) إلى موسيقى أو أغاني يونانية؟

---

شكراً لمشاركتك!

إن كنت ترغب (بن) بالمشاركة في مقابلة، رجاءًا أكتب (ي) رقمك على السطر

---

## Appendix C

### English Interview Questions

1. Do you consider yourself Greek, Lebanese, or Greek-Lebanese? Why?
2. In your opinion, what is the most important part of being Greek?

Follow up Questions:

Is it necessary to speak Greek to be Greek? Why?

Do you feel proud of being Greek and speaking Greek?

3. How valuable is the Greek language to you?
4. In your opinion, how valuable is the Greek language internationally?
5. In your opinion, how valuable is the Greek language in the Greek community in Lebanon?
6. Have you studied or are you currently studying the Greek language?

Follow up Question:

If yes, why?

7. How important is it for a Greek person to have a Greek husband or wife? Why?

Follow up Question:

Would you prefer that your daughter/son marries someone Greek?

8. Would you like your children to learn the Greek language?

Follow up Question:

Would you send them to a Greek school if there were one? Why?

9. Do you think going to church connects you to your Greek roots?

Follow up Question:

Do you prefer the church mass to be conducted completely in Greek, to include some Greek, or should the whole mass be conducted in Arabic?

10. Do you visit Greece?

Follow up question:

If yes, how often and why?

11. Are you in contact with your family and friends in Greece?

Follow up Question:

If yes, how often do you talk to them and why?

12. In your opinion, what is the view that Lebanese people hold about the Greeks in Lebanon? Why do you think this is so?

Follow up Question:

Have you ever faced problems in Lebanon because you are Greek?

13. In your opinion, is the Greek language weakening in the Greek community in Lebanon? How about in your home?

14. Do you think that the Greeks in Lebanon should maintain their language?

Follow up Question:

If yes, in your opinion, what are the ways that could be used to maintain the Greek language and culture?

15. Do you think the leaders in the community are promoting the maintenance of the Greek language?

Follow up Question:

If yes, how?

16. Do you think learning the Greek language makes you more aware of your Greek identity?

Follow up Question:

If yes, how?

## Appendix D

### Arabic Interview Questions

١ هل تعتبر (ين) نفسك يوناني(ة) أو لبناني(ة) أو يوناني(ة)- لبناني(ة)؟ لماذا؟

٢ برأيك ما هو العنصر الأهم في كونك يوناني(ة)؟

أسئلة استلحاق

هل من الضروري أن تتكلم (ي) اللغة اليونانية لتكون (ي) يوناني(ة)؟ لماذا؟

هل أنت فخورة (ة) بكونك يوناني(ة) و بتكلمك اللغة اليونانية؟

٣ ما مدى أهمية وقيمة اللغة اليونانية بالنسبة لك؟

٤ برأيك، ما مدى أهمية وقيمة اللغة اليونانية على المستوى العالم؟

٥ برأيك، ما مدى أهمية وقيمة اللغة اليونانية في أوساط الجالية اليونانية في لبنان؟

٦ هل درست (ي) أو تدرس (ين) حالياً اللغة اليونانية؟

سؤال استلحاق

إن كان الجواب بنعم، لماذا؟

٧ ما مدى أهمية أن يتزوج اليوناني أو اليونانية من يونانية أو يوناني؟ لماذا؟

سؤال استلحاق

هل تفضل (ين) أن (ت) يتزوج ابنك (ابنتك) شخص يوناني؟

٨ هل ترغب (ين) في أن يتعلم أو لادك اللغة اليونانية؟

سؤال استلحاق

هل تسجلهم (تسجلينهم) في مدرسة يونانية إن وجدت؟ لماذا؟

٩ هل تظن (ين) أن الذهاب إلي الكنيسة يقربك من جذورك اليونانية؟

سؤال استلحاق

هل تفضل (ين) أن يكون القديس بأكماله باللغة اليونانية أو أن يكون جزء منه باللغة اليونانية أو أن يكون بأكماله باللغة

العربية؟

١٠ هل تزور (ين) اليونان؟

سؤال استلحاق

إن كان الجواب بنعم، بأي وتيرة ولماذا؟

١١ هل أنت على اتصال بعائلتك وأصدقائك في اليونان؟

سؤال استلحاق

إن كان الجواب بنعم، بأي وتيرة تتكلم (بين) معهم ولماذا؟

١٢ بحسب ظنك ما رأي اللبنانيين باليونانيين في لبنان؟ لماذا؟

سؤال استلحاق

هل مررت بأي مشاكل لأنك يوناني (ة) في لبنان؟

١٣ برأيك، هل اللغة اليونانية على صدد أن تزول في لبنان؟ في منزلك؟

١٤ هل تظن (بين) أنه على اليونانيين في لبنان أن يحافظوا على لغتهم؟

سؤال استلحاق

إن كان الجواب بنعم، ما هي برأيك الطرق للمحافظة على اللغة والثقافة اليونانية في لبنان؟

١٥ برأيك، هل يقوم وجهاء وقادة الجالية اليونانية بتشجيع الحفاظ على اللغة اليونانية؟

سؤال استلحاق

إن كان الجواب بنعم، فكيف يفعلون ذلك؟

١٦ هل تظن (بين) أن دراسة اللغة اليونانية تزيد من شعورك بالإنتماء للأمة اليونانية؟

سؤال استلحاق

إن كان الجواب بنعم، كيف؟

Appendix E

Education

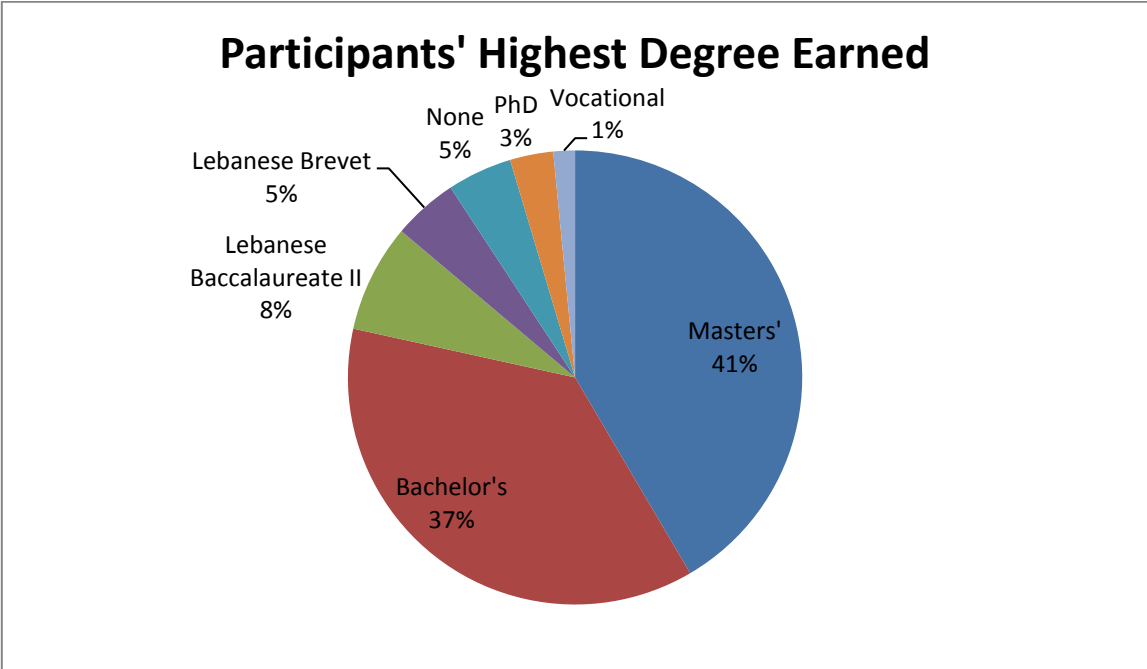


Figure E.1 Highest Degree Earned by the Participants

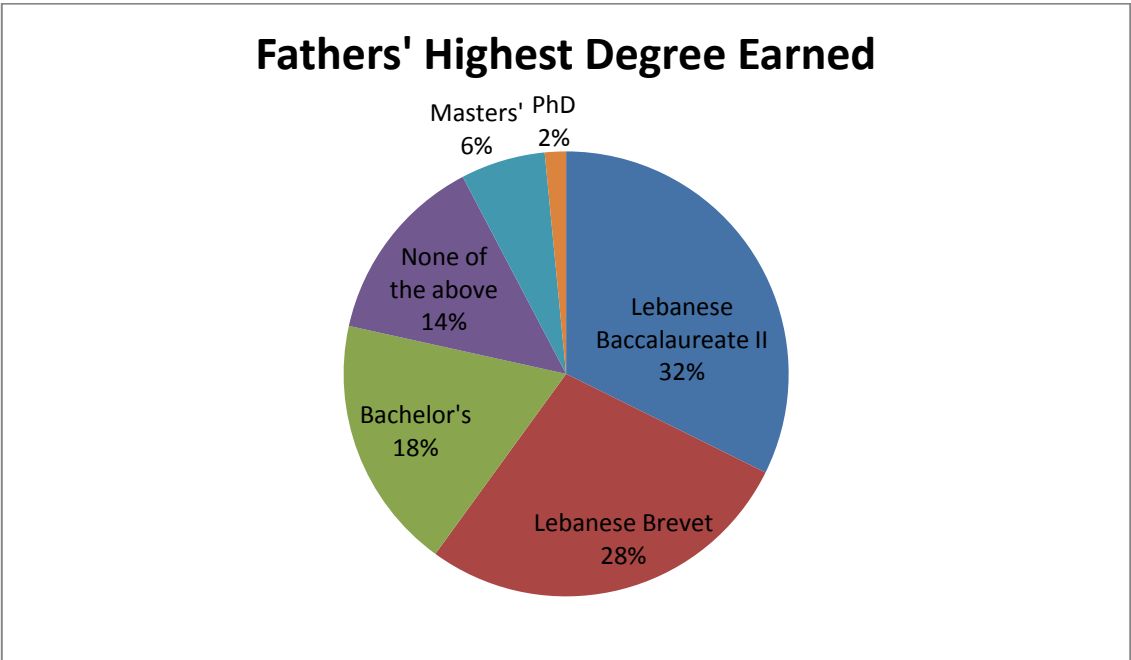


Figure E.2 Highest Degree Earned by the Fathers of the Participants



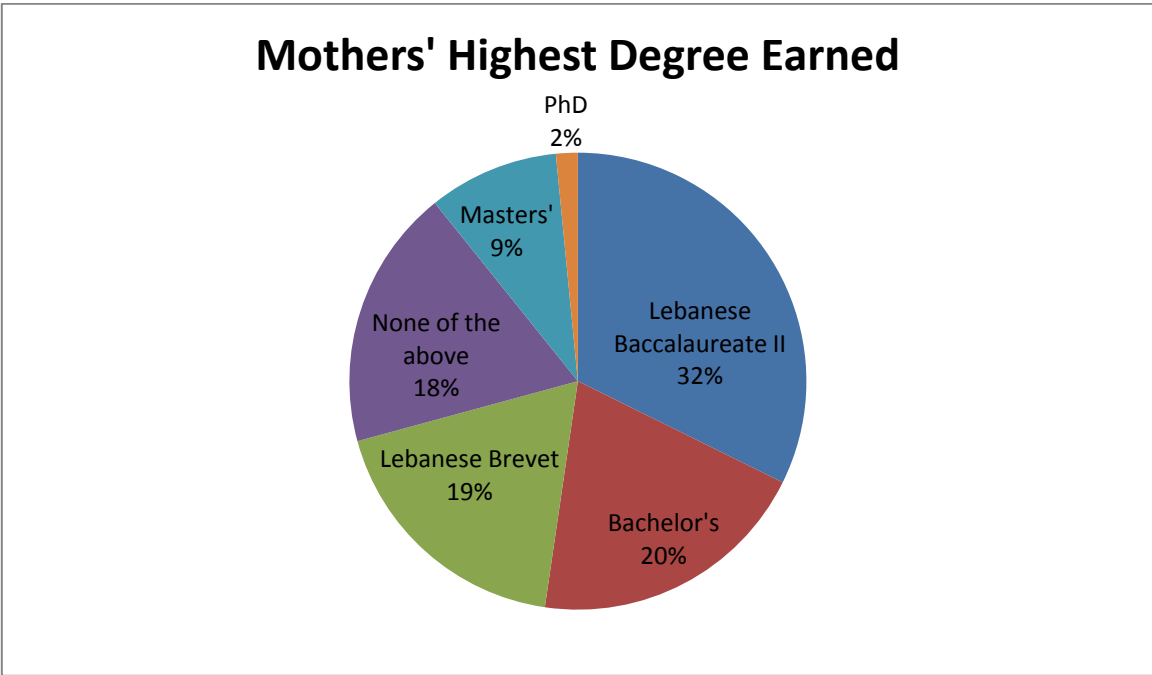


Figure E.3 Highest Degree Earned by the Mothers of the Participants

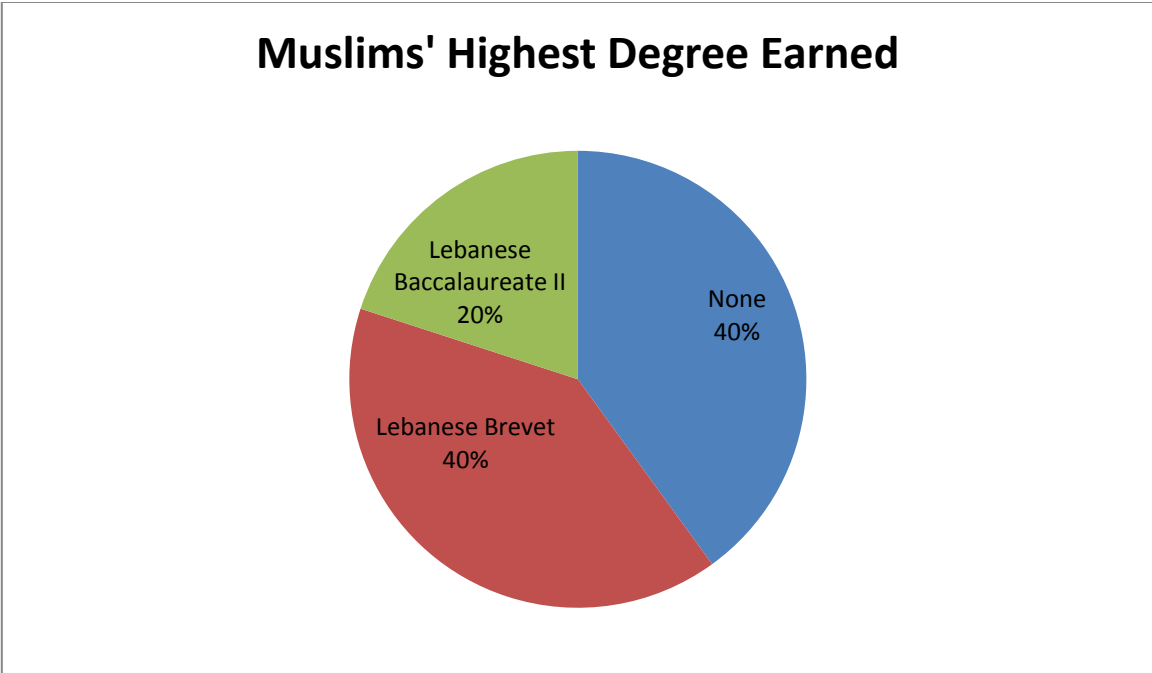


Figure E.4 Highest Degree Earned by the Muslim Participants

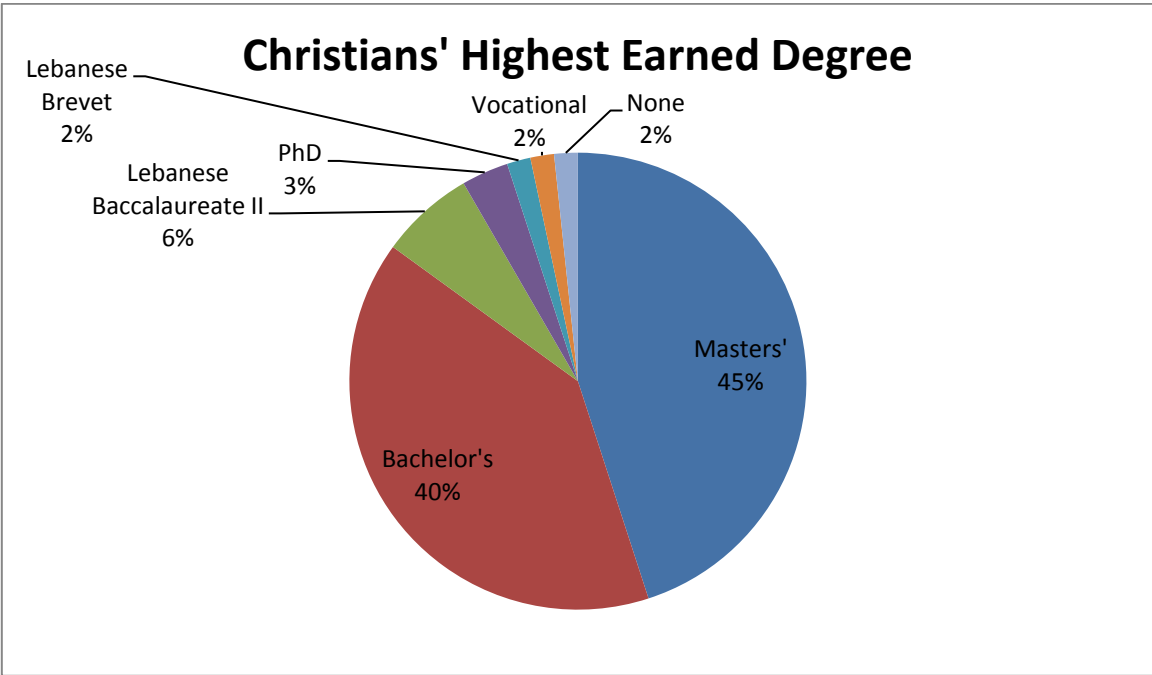


Figure E.5 Highest Degree Earned by the Christian Participants

## Appendix F

### Occupation

Occupation	Participants (%)
Teacher	10.77
Banker	7.69
Student	6.15
Engineer	6.15
Homemaker	4.62
Freelancer	4.62
Business people	3.08
Researchers	3.08
Café owner	3.08
IT consultant	3.08
Dentist	3.08
Architect	3.08
School principal	1.54
Manager	1.54
Headhunter	1.54
Pharmacist	1.54
Social worker	1.54
Civil servant	1.54
Nurse	1.54
Inspector	1.54
Dietician	1.54
Factory owner	1.54
TV content producer	1.54
Assistant TV director	1.54
Promoter	1.54
Carpenter	1.54
Interior designer	1.54
Shipping consultant	1.54
Sales person	1.54
CFO	1.54
Electrician	1.54
Auditor	1.54
Insurance broker	1.54
Accountant	1.54

Table F.1 Occupation of the Participants, Part 1

Medical representative	1.54
Sale director	1.54
Worker in agriculture	1.54
Physician	1.54
Employee	1.54

Table F.1 Occupation of the Participants, Part 2

Occupation	Participant (%)
No answer	15.38
Business person	7.69
Engineer	7.69
Employee	7.69
Shop owner	4.62
Carpenter	4.62
Architect	3.08
Sales manager	3.08
Sales person	3.08
Business owner	3.08
Banker	3.08
Welder	1.54
Driver	1.54
Captain	1.54
Bank treasurer	1.54
Painter	1.54
IT manager	1.54
Sound engineer	1.54
Telecommunication specialist	1.54
Dentist	1.54
Insurance broker	1.54
Military member	1.54
Singer	1.54
Teller	1.54
Tile seller	1.54
Worker at a plant	1.54
Restaurateur	1.54
Farmer	1.54
Shipping agent	1.54
Shipping consultant	1.54
Copilot	1.54
Accountant	1.54
School principal	1.54
Café owner	1.54
Retired	1.54

Table F.2 Occupation of the Participants' Fathers

Occupation	Participants (%)
Homemaker	76.92
Teacher	10.77
Nurse	3.08
Employee	3.08
Chair at a university	1.54
Head of medical lab	1.54
Accountant	1.54
Tailor	1.54

Table F.3 Occupation of the Participants' Mothers

Occupation	Participants (%)
Teacher	11.67
Banker	8.33
Engineer	6.67
Student	5
Freelancer	5
Business people	3.33
Researcher	3.33
IT consultant	3.33
Dentist	3.33
Architect	3.33
School principal	1.67
Manager	1.67
Headhunter	1.67
Pharmacist	1.67
Social worker	1.67
Civil servant	1.67
Nurse	1.67
Inspector	1.67
Dietician	1.67
Factory owner	1.67
TV content producer	1.67
Assistant	1.67
Promoter	1.67
Carpenter	1.67
Interior designer	1.67
Shipping consultant	1.67
Sales person	1.67
CFO	1.67
Electrician	1.67
Auditor	1.67
Insurance broker	1.67
Accountant	1.67
Medical representative	1.67
Sales director	1.67
A worker in agriculture	1.67
Physician	1.67
Homemaker	1.67
Employee	1.67

Table F.4 Occupation of the Christian Participants

## Appendix G

### Language Knowledge

Language	Speak (%)			Understand (%)			Read (%)			Write (%)		
	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak
Arabic	92.31	4.62	3.08	95.38	3.08	1.54	90.77	3.08	6.15	86.15	7.69	6.15
Greek	16.92	27.69	50.77	20.00	29.23	46.15	24.62	26.15	41.54	13.85	35.38	43.08
English	73.85	16.92	1.54	76.92	15.38	0.00	76.92	15.38	0.00	73.85	16.92	1.54
French	80.00	12.31	0.00	81.54	10.77	0.00	81.54	10.77	0.00	80.00	12.31	0.00
German	4.62	0.00	1.54	4.62	0.00	1.54	6.15	0.00	0.00	6.15	0.00	0.00
Spanish	9.23	7.69	4.62	9.23	9.23	3.08	12.31	7.69	1.54	12.31	4.62	4.62

Table G.1 Language Knowledge of the Greek Community

Language	Speak (%)			Understand (%)			Read (%)			Write (%)		
	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak
Arabic	90.63	3.13	6.25	93.75	3.13	3.13	93.75	0.00	6.25	90.63	3.13	6.25
Greek	12.50	31.25	53.13	18.75	34.38	43.75	18.75	31.25	43.75	12.50	37.50	43.75
English	75.00	15.63	3.13	78.13	15.63	0.00	75.00	18.75	0.00	75.00	15.63	3.13
French	84.38	9.38	0.00	81.25	12.50	0.00	81.25	12.50	0.00	84.38	9.38	0.00
German	6.25	0.00	3.13	6.25	0.00	3.13	9.38	0.00	0.00	9.38	0.00	0.00
Spanish	9.38	6.25	6.25	9.38	6.25	6.25	9.38	9.38	3.13	9.38	6.25	6.25

Table G.2 Language Knowledge of Female Participants



	Speak (%)			Understand (%)			Read (%)			Write (%)		
Language	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak
Arabic	93.94	6.06	0.00	96.97	3.03	0.00	87.88	6.06	6.06	81.82	12.12	6.06
Greek	21.21	24.24	48.48	21.21	24.24	48.48	30.30	21.21	39.39	15.15	33.33	42.42
English	72.73	18.18	0.00	75.76	15.15	0.00	78.79	12.12	0.00	72.73	18.18	0.00
French	75.76	15.15	0.00	81.82	9.09	0.00	81.82	9.09	0.00	75.76	15.15	0.00
Spanish	9.09	9.09	3.03	9.09	12.12	0.00	15.15	6.06	0.00	15.15	3.03	3.03
German	3.03	0.00	0.00	3.03	0.00	0.00	3.03	0.00	0.00	3.03	0.00	0.00

Table G.3 Language Knowledge of Male Participants

	Speak (%)			Understand (%)			Read (%)			Write (%)		
Language	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak
Arabic	93.75	3.13	3.13	96.88	0.00	3.13	93.75	0.00	6.25	87.50	9.38	3.13
Greek	6.25	37.50	53.13	6.25	34.38	56.25	21.88	31.25	40.63	6.25	40.63	46.88
English	87.50	9.38	0.00	87.50	9.38	0.00	90.63	6.25	0.00	90.63	6.25	0.00
French	81.25	12.50	0.00	81.25	12.50	0.00	81.25	12.50	0.00	81.25	12.50	0.00
Spanish	9.38	9.38	0.00	9.38	9.38	0.00	12.50	6.25	0.00	12.50	6.25	0.00
German	3.13	0.00	3.13	3.13	0.00	3.13	6.25	0.00	0.00	6.25	0.00	0.00

Table G.4 Language Knowledge of the Younger Age Group

	Speak			Understand			Read			Write		
Language	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak
Arabic	90.91	6.06	3.03	93.94	6.06	0.00	87.88	6.06	6.06	84.85	6.06	9.09
Greek	27.27	18.18	48.48	33.33	24.24	36.36	27.27	21.21	42.42	21.21	30.30	39.39
English	60.61	24.24	3.03	66.67	21.21	0.00	63.64	24.24	0.00	57.58	27.27	3.03
French	78.79	12.12	0.00	81.82	9.09	0.00	81.82	9.09	0.00	78.79	12.12	0.00
German	6.06	0.00	0.00	6.06	0.00	0.00	6.06	0.00	0.00	6.06	0.00	0.00
Spanish	9.09	6.06	9.09	9.09	9.09	6.06	12.12	9.09	3.03	12.12	3.03	9.09

Table G.5 Language Knowledge of the Older Age Group

	Speak (%)			Understand (%)			Read (%)			Write (%)		
Language	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak
Arabic	100	0	0	100	0	0	80	20	0	80	20	0
Greek	40	40	0	60	20	0	0	20	20	0	20	20
English	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	20	0
French	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table G.6 Language Knowledge of the Muslim Participants

Language	Speak (%)			Understand (%)			Read (%)			Write (%)		
	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak	Good	Fair	Weak
Arabic	91.67	5.00	3.33	95.00	3.33	1.67	91.67	1.67	6.67	86.67	6.67	6.67
Greek	15.00	26.67	55.00	16.67	30.00	50.00	26.67	26.67	43.33	15.00	36.67	45.00
English	80.00	16.67	1.67	83.33	15.00	0.00	83.33	15.00	0.00	80.00	16.67	1.67
French	86.67	13.33	0.00	88.33	11.67	0.00	88.33	11.67	0.00	86.67	13.33	0.00
German	5.00	0.00	1.67	5.00	0.00	1.67	6.67	0.00	0.00	6.67	0.00	0.00
Spanish	10.00	8.33	5.00	10.00	10.00	3.33	13.33	8.33	1.67	13.33	5.00	5.00

Table G.7 Language Knowledge of the Christian Participants

## Appendix H

### Language Use

	Arabic (%)	Greek (%)	English (%)	French (%)
With your grandparents	78.46	18.46	4.62	18.46
With your parents	84.62	15.38	16.92	33.85
With your siblings (if you have any)	73.85	16.92	26.15	35.38
With your children (if you have any)	30.77	10.77	15.38	21.54
With your Greek friends (if you have any)	35.38	41.54	35.38	16.92
With a group of friends where there are both Greek and Lebanese people	63.08	33.85	44.62	26.15
In the streets in Lebanon	100.00	0.00	13.85	12.31
In a supermarket in Lebanon	98.46	0.00	13.85	7.69
In a bank in Lebanon	93.85	1.54	29.23	21.54
When e-mailing Greek friends and relatives	4.62	38.46	46.15	12.31
Others (Please specify)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Table H.1 Language Use of the Greek Community

	Arabic (%)	Greek (%)	English (%)	French (%)
Greek nights	23.08	33.85	27.69	4.62
Movie screenings	4.62	26.15	23.08	6.15
Events for kids	4.62	6.15	4.62	3.08
Festival of the flowers/lunch on the first of May	12.31	13.85	7.69	4.62
Holiday activities	10.77	15.38	16.92	3.08

Table H.2 Language Use of the Greek Community in Greek Events

	Arabic (%)	Greek (%)	English (%)	French (%)
With your grandparents	75.00	18.75	6.25	25.00
With your parents	84.38	18.75	15.63	40.63
With your siblings (if you have any)	65.63	18.75	28.13	40.63
With your children (if you have any)	34.38	12.50	18.75	28.13
With your Greek friends (if you have any)	43.75	53.13	37.50	21.88
With a group of friends where there are both Greek and Lebanese people	62.50	37.50	46.88	28.13
In the streets in Lebanon	100.00	0.00	12.50	9.38
In a supermarket in Lebanon	96.88	0.00	12.50	3.13
In a bank in Lebanon	87.50	3.13	31.25	21.88
When e-mailing Greek friends and relatives	0.00	40.63	56.25	9.38

Table H.3 Language Use of Females

	Arabic (%)	Greek (%)	English (%)	French (%)
With your grandparents	81.82	18.18	3.03	12.12
With your parents	84.85	12.12	18.18	27.27
With your siblings (if you have any)	81.82	15.15	24.24	30.30
With your children (if you have any)	27.27	9.09	12.12	15.15
With your Greek friends (if you have any)	27.27	30.30	33.33	12.12
With a group of friends where there are both Greek and Lebanese people	63.64	30.30	42.42	24.24
In the streets in Lebanon	100.00	0.00	15.15	15.15
In a supermarket in Lebanon	100.00	0.00	15.15	12.12
In a bank in Lebanon	100.00	0.00	27.27	21.21
When e-mailing Greek friends and relatives	9.09	36.36	36.36	15.15

Table H.4 Language Use of Males

	Arabic (%)	Greek (%)	English (%)	French (%)
Greek nights	34.38	34.38	40.63	3.13
Movie screenings	6.25	31.25	31.25	9.38
Events for kids	9.38	3.13	6.25	6.25
Festival of the flowers/lunch on the first of May	15.63	12.50	12.50	6.25
Holiday activities	12.50	15.63	28.13	6.25

Table H.5 Language Use of Females in Greek Events

	Arabic (%)	Greek (%)	English (%)	French (%)
Greek nights	12.12	33.33	15.15	6.06
Movie screenings	3.03	21.21	15.15	3.03
Events for kids	0.00	9.09	3.03	0.00
Festival of the flowers/lunch on the first of May	9.09	15.15	3.03	3.03
Holiday activities	9.09	15.15	6.06	0.00

Table H.6 Language Use of Males in Greek Events

	Arabic (%)	Greek (%)	English (%)	French (%)
With your grandparents	87.50	9.38	9.38	25.00
With your parents	87.50	15.63	31.25	43.75
With your siblings (if you have any)	75.00	18.75	40.63	37.50
With your children (if you have any)	12.50	9.38	9.38	15.63
With your Greek friends (if you have any)	34.38	37.50	37.50	12.50
With a group of friends where there are both Greek and Lebanese people	56.25	31.25	53.13	18.75
In the streets in Lebanon	100.00	0.00	21.88	15.63
In a supermarket in Lebanon	100.00	0.00	18.75	12.50
In a bank in Lebanon	96.88	0.00	31.25	21.88
When e-mailing Greek friends and relatives	3.13	34.38	50.00	6.25

Table H.7 Language Use of the Younger Age Group



	Arabic (%)	Greek (%)	English (%)	French (%)
With your grandparents	69.70	27.27	0.00	12.12
With your parents	81.82	15.15	3.03	24.24
With your siblings (if you have any)	72.73	15.15	12.12	33.33
With your children (if you have any)	48.48	12.12	21.21	27.27
With your Greek friends (if you have any)	36.36	45.45	33.33	21.21
With a group of friends where there are both Greek and Lebanese people	69.70	36.36	36.36	33.33
In the streets in Lebanon	100.00	0.00	6.06	9.09
In a supermarket in Lebanon	96.97	0.00	9.09	3.03
In a bank in Lebanon	90.91	3.03	27.27	21.21
When e-mailing Greek friends and relatives	6.06	42.42	42.42	18.18

Table H.8 Language Use of the Older Age Group

	Arabic (%)	Greek (%)	English (%)	French (%)
Greek nights	18.75	31.25	28.13	0.00
Movie screenings	3.13	18.75	25.00	3.13
Events for kids	3.13	6.25	6.25	3.13
Festival of the flowers/lunch on the first of May	6.25	6.25	6.25	0.00
Holiday activities	3.13	6.25	15.63	0.00

Table H.9 Language Use of the Younger Age Group in Greek Events

	Arabic (%)	Greek (%)	English (%)	French (%)
Greek nights	27.27	36.36	27.27	9.09
Movie screenings	6.06	33.33	21.21	9.09
Events for kids	6.06	6.06	3.03	3.03
Festival of the flowers/lunch on the first of May	18.18	21.21	9.09	9.09
Holiday activities	18.18	24.24	18.18	6.06

Table H.10 Language Use of the Older Age Group in Greek Events

	Arabic (%)	Greek (%)	English (%)	French (%)
With your grandparents	100	60	0	0
With your parents	100	20	0	0
With your siblings (if you have any)	100	20	0	0
With your children (if you have any)	80	20	0	0
With your Greek friends (if you have any)	100	20	0	0
With a group of friends where there are both Greek and Lebanese people	100	20	0	0
In the streets in Lebanon	100	0	0	0
In a supermarket in Lebanon	100	0	0	0
In a bank in Lebanon	100	0	0	0
When e-mailing Greek friends and relatives	0	0	0	0

Table H.11 Language Use of the Muslim Participants

	Arabic (%)	Greek (%)	English (%)	French (%)
With your grandparents	76.67	15.00	5.00	20.00
With your parents	83.33	15.00	18.33	36.67
With your siblings (if you have any)	71.67	16.67	28.33	38.33
With your children (if you have any)	26.67	10.00	16.67	23.33
With your Greek friends (if you have any)	30.00	43.33	38.33	18.33
With a group of friends where there are both Greek and Lebanese people	60.00	35.00	48.33	28.33
In the streets in Lebanon	100.00	0.00	15.00	13.33
In a supermarket in Lebanon	98.33	0.00	15.00	8.33
In a bank in Lebanon	93.33	1.67	31.67	23.33
When e-mailing Greek friends and relatives	5.00	41.67	50.00	13.33

Table H.12 Language Use of the Christian Participants

