Spoken varieties of Greek in the bilingual Muslim Community of Rhodes

Marianthi Georgalidou, Vassilios Spyropoulos & Hasan Kaili
University of the Aegean

This paper examines aspects of the linguistic repertoire of the bilingual in Greek and Turkish Muslim community of Rhodes. More specifically, we examine the structure of a Greek-based pidgin variety used by members of this community and the sociolinguistic parameters of its use. It is based on a research conducted in an ethnographic framework and aims at: a) describing the structure of this Greek-based pidgin variety with emphasis on the structural interference from Turkish (section 4.1), and b) exploring the impact of social networks on the variation and change observed in the codes used by the community (Gumperz 1982, Milroy & Li Wei 1995, Zentella 1997, Milroy 2002) (section 4.2).

1. Introduction – The case study – Issues examined

This paper examines aspects of the linguistic repertoire of the bilingual in Greek and Turkish Muslim community of Rhodes. More specifically, we examine the structure of a Greek-based pidgin variety used by members of this community and the sociolinguistic parameters of its use. It is based on a research conducted in an ethnographic framework and aims at: a) describing the structure of this Greek-based pidgin variety with emphasis on the structural interference from Turkish (section 4.1), and b) exploring the impact of social networks on the variation and change observed in the codes used by the community (Gumperz 1982, Milroy & Li Wei 1995, Zentella 1997, Milroy 2002) (section 4.2).

2. About the community

Muslims of Rhodes are Greek citizens of Turkish origin who have been living in Rhodes since 1522. They mainly resided in the castle -today’s Old Town- but smaller groups also settled in the country and engaged in farming. From 1522 till 1912 Dodecanese was part of the Ottoman Empire and the people of Turkish origin, or the Ottomans as some people even today call themselves, were the dominant group. In 1912 the Italians occupied Dodecanese islands and the Turks were recognized as a religious community (1912-1943). They became Greek citizens after the annexation of the Dodecanese islands in 1947. They were not deemed as covered by the Treaty of Lausanne, but special status was acknowledged as far as the Vakf and the schools were concerned. The teaching of the Turkish language in Muslim schools was de facto

1 See also Georgalidou, Spyropoulos & Kaili (2004), Georgalidou, Kaili & Celtec (2005), and Georgalidou, Spyropoulos, Kaili & Revithiadou (2005).
abolished in 1972 as a counter measure for the shutdown of the Greek schools of Tenedos and Imvros (Tsitselikis & Mavrommatis 2003).

Today, the estimated population is 2500 to 3000 people on the island of Rhodes. Muslim students of Turkish origin attend state schools and the Turkish language is mainly used within the community, as it is not formally taught or used in transactions with the Greek-speaking majority neither in formal nor in informal contexts. Though never forbidden or persecuted, the use of Turkish is therefore restricted in household and in-group activities. As a consequence, in the last 50 years almost the entire Muslim community has shifted from near monolingualism in Turkish to bilingualism in Turkish and Greek. As it will be discussed subsequently, older speakers, who are fluent in the local variety of Turkish, also use a pidgin variety of Greek (i.e a contact vernacular, Winford 2003: 236), based on the local Greek dialect of Rhodes with substantial interference from Turkish. Later generations use a variety of Greek with less interference (the intermediate variety). This interference is gradually fading away to the near or completely native varieties of younger generations. The shift towards native Greek varieties in urban settings precedes the shift in suburban and rural settings by one generation.

Concerning other aspects of the community linguistic repertoire, systematic code alternation is observed in the grandparent and parent generation groups in the urban networks, as well as in the parent generation group of the suburban network. Also, bilingual speakers switch to either Greek or Turkish to accommodate addressee’s preferred language or in relation to the context and the social domain of the interaction (Georgalidou, Kaili & Celtec 2005). At the conversational level Turkish is used by the elderly to all members of the community whereas people of the parent generation switch codes, using Turkish to speak to their parents and alternating between Greek and Turkish to address each other and their children. Parents use Greek to help their children with schoolwork.

Also, there are different proficiency levels in Turkish among members of the community. Near monolingualism in Greek has traditionally been the case for all members of the subgroup of Muslims of Cretan origin, as well as for Muslims that originate from specific rural areas where the number of Turkish population was minimum. What is more, all children in our data exhibit preference for Greek as well as at least passive knowledge of Turkish, but linguistic competence in Turkish among members of this generation group is a matter that requires further research. As a consequence, there is variable mastery of both languages within the community depending on historical, social and individual factors.

3. Concerning the research procedure

We examine two subgroups of the Muslim minority community of Rhodes, one residing in the city of Rhodes and the other in a suburban settlement a few kilometres away from the city. We have followed ethnographic data collection procedures that allow us to obtain a realistic picture of patterns of language use, patterns of the informal social organization, i.e. networks operating in the community (see also Gumperz 1982, Milroy & Li Wei 1995), as well as patterns of contrast between the urban and the suburban environment, and their impact on the linguistic repertoire of the community as a whole.

Linguistic and social information were derived from participant observation carried out by two of the researchers, both Rhodian natives, one of them member of the
minority community and a bilingual himself. The research, which is part of an ongoing project, has systematically been going on for more than two years. Linguistic data were collected/recorded during “coffee time”, either at midday or in the afternoon, when members of the household, kin, and people living in the neighbourhood (in rural settings only) get together to have coffee and chat. This is a well-established social practice that aims mainly at preserving contact between the members of close-knit networks of family and friends. Within the ongoing social event, conversations with members of the group had the structure of informal interviews as the researchers introduced the topic of “life story” and requested the narration of incidents in the life of the participants with reference to the people they contact more frequently as well as the nature of their relationships within and outside the community (kinship- friendship- job partners and colleagues- acquaintances). The aim was mainly the collection of linguistic data that would allow the analysis of the grammatical properties of Greek varieties spoken by bilinguals who belong to different age groups, so that they could be juxtaposed with the structure of their personal networks, as the latter became apparent through participant observation, direct interview questions and personal narratives. Conversations were conducted in Greek, since one of the researchers did not speak Turkish, but code switching among the participants was a common occurrence. Also, part of the data consists of extensive lunchtime conversations between members of two nuclear families (parents-children) in the urban setting. The analysis is based on 20 hours of conversations with and among 17 speakers at the urban setting, members of 4 partially overlapping exchange networks (Milroy & Wei 1995), and 19 speakers at the suburban setting, all of them members of an overlapping kinship network that resides within definable territory. The age span of the participants is as follows:

- 13 speakers born between 1930 and 1954 who are now grandparents (6 in the suburban setting, 7 in the city) (the grandparents generation)
- 15 speakers born between 1955 and 1972 who are now parents (9 in the suburban setting, 6 in the city) (parents generation)
- 8 speakers born between 1980 and 1990 who are the children and the grandchildren of the other two groups (4 in the suburban setting, 4 in the city) (children generation)

4. The analysis

In this section, we analyze the grammatical properties of the Greek varieties used by the members of the community. More specifically, we identify the linguistic features that distinguish successive generations of speakers and can serve as indices of linguistic change (section 4.1). We then propose that the shift from a pidgin variety of Greek, which is used by the older speakers in the sample, to the more standard varieties of the younger generations is associated with the change in the structure of community networks and thus related to macro political and socioeconomic changes (section 4.2).

4.1. Varieties of Greek used by members of the community

4.1.1. The pidgin variety

The substratum of this pidgin variety is the Greek dialectic variety of Rhodes, which belongs to the South-Eastern dialectic group of Greek (Kontosopoulos 1994, Trudgill...
This substratum has received a substantial interference from the phonological and morphosyntactic structure of Turkish.

Structures that exhibit interference from Turkish

**Structure 1:** Confusion and/or avoidance of gender marking by using the default gender value of neuter. The interference comes from the absence of morphological gender marking in Turkish.

1. a. evyale to peθameno, troi took.out-3SG the-NT.ACC dead-ACC eats ‘S/he dug out the dead and ate him’
   b. to iðia ora the-NT.SG same-FEM.SG time-FEM.SG
c. a proskalesume a (e)rti o xotzas mia vradi SUBJ invite-1PL SUBJ comes the xotza-NOM a-FEM.SG night-NT.SG ‘Let us invite the xotza come some night…’
d. mia mera o liko endamose me to alepu one day the-MASC wolf met-3SG with the-NT fox-FEM ‘One day the wolf met the fox’

2. a. iyi adam good man
   b. iyi kadın good woman
c. iyi çocuk good child

**Structure 2:** Omission or inconsistent use of the article. This is due to the different ways of encoding definiteness in the two languages. In Greek, definiteness is marked by means of the relevant article (see Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton 1997), whereas Turkish does not have articles (see Kornfilt 1997, Lewis 2000, Göksel & Kerslake 2005)

(3) γeneka pjo arγa ekatse, nomizo, andras pjo γrιγora woman-NOM more late sat-3SG think-1SG man-NOM more quickly ‘The wife sat down later, I think, and the husband earlier’

**Structure 3:** There is no agreement between the adjective and the noun it modifies and the adjective appears in the default value of nominative neuter. This is because in Turkish adjectives do not inflect, so that there is no morphological manifestation of the agreement between adjective and noun.

(4) a. meγalo θia big-NT.NOM aunt-FEM.NOM ‘the elder aunt’
b. irte skilos … pinasmeno ita
   came-3SG dog-NOM hungry-NT.NOM was
   ‘The dog came … it was hungry’

Structure 4: In the NPs with a numeral the noun appears in the singular, instead of the expected plural. There is interference from the corresponding Turkish structure (6), where the noun always appears in singular.

(5) a. i že δίο τρία περετρία
came-3SG two three-NT servant-SG
   ‘S/he had a couple of servants’ instead of
b. i xe δίο τρίσ i peretries
   came-3SG two three-FEM servant-PL
   ‘S/he had a couple of servants’

(6) iki üç kitap aldım
   two three book bought-1SG
   ‘I bought a couple of books’

Structure 5: There is a preference for verb final constructions. While Greek is typologically a head initial language, Turkish is a head final language. Thus, In Turkish the verb appears sentence final. The preference for verb final constructions in this variety, which are ungrammatical or intonationally marked in most cases in standard Greek, constitutes a direct interference from the syntactic structure of Turkish:

(7) a. afto nomizi xotza ine…
    it-NOM.SG thinks xotza-NOM is
    ‘she thought that it was the xotza…’

b. sineteros tu erkete
    partner-NOM his comes
    ‘his partner came’

Structure 6: The prepositional marker se ‘to/in’ is omitted in the syntactic functions of indirect object and locative. In Turkish, the syntactic functions of indirect object and locative are marked by special case markers, so that no prepositional marker is used.

(8) a. en imba mayazi tu eyo
    NEG entered-1SG shop     his I
    ‘I didn’t enter his shop’

b. spiti tu itan dipla minare
    house his was next minaret
    ‘His house was next to the minaret’

Structure 7: Adpositions are realized as postpositions rather than prepositions. This is a direct interference from the structural typology of Turkish as a head final language, similar to the preference to verb final structures.
Spoken Varieties of Rhodian Muslims

(9) ulo ruxa evale nero mesa
    all-NT.PL.ACC clothes-NT.ACC put-3SG water inside
    ‘She put all the clothes in the water’

Structure 8: Words consisting of a stem from Turkish and a (derivational) ending from Greek. In the following example the Greek derivational ending -evo is added to the stem xazm- from the Turkish verb hazmetmek ‘to digest’, forming the verb xazmevo ‘to digest’.

(10) xazmevo ‘digest’ < xazm (< hazmetmek ‘to digest’) + evo

Structure 9: The subjunctive marker na is omitted in subordinate subjunctives. Instead, a bare verb form is used. This constitutes interference from Turkish, where subordinate clauses involve non finite verb forms such as the infinitive, the verbal noun or the gerund; these forms are not modified by any marker or particle.

(11) a. sikoθike xeretisi mazi mbamba
    stood.up-3SG greet-3SG with father
    ‘He stood up in order to greet (somebody) with his father’

   b. arkinikse munta
    started-3SG attack-3SG
    ‘It started attacking (her)’

Structure 10: Similarly, all complementizers and conjunctions are omitted in subordinate clauses.

(12) afto nomizi xotza ine…
    it-NOM.SG thinks xotza is
    ‘she thought that it was the xotza…’

Structure 11: There is systematic confusion in the syntax of the possessive exo ‘have’ and the existential iparxi ‘there is’, by using the verb exo in existential constructions as well.

(13) a. ife enan antropo, pedia en ife, ife paraγio,
    had-3SG a man children NEG had-3SG had-3SG apprentice,
    ife oreo maγazi
    had-3SG nice shop
    ‘There used to be a man, who had no children, (but) he had an apprentice
     (and) he had a nice shop’

   b. lamba ife palia
    lamb had-3SG past
    ‘In the past, there used to be lambs’

Greek employs two different verbs for each construction, namely the possessive verb exo ‘I have’ and the existential iparxi ‘there is’:
(14) exo /exis/exi/exume/exete/exun ena kipo
    have-1SG/2SG/3SG/1PL /2PL /3PL a-ACC garden-ACC

(15) a. iparxi enas kipos
    there.is a-NOM.SG garden-NOM.SG
b. iparxun poli kipi
    there.are many-NOM.PL garden-NOM.PL

On the contrary, in Turkish the verb form var is used for both the existential and possessive constructions

(16) possessive
    bir bahçe-m /-n /-si /-miz/niz/-leri var
    a garden-1SG/2SG/3SG/1PL /2PL/3PL VAR

(17) existential
    a. bir bahçe var
        a garden VAR
    b. çok bahçe var
        many garden VAR

Structure 12: Absence of weak pronouns (clitics):

(18) a. evyale to peθameno, troi
    took.out-3SG the-NT.ACC dead-ACC eats
    ‘S/he dug out the dead and ate him’
b. ala ixe mbrosta sto rofudzo mia γramiθia, tesera atoma
    but had-3SG in.front of.the shelter one oak.tree four men
    agaliazane etsi
    embraced-3PL so
    ‘But there used to be an oak tree in front of the shelter, which could only
    be embraced by four men’

In Greek, weak pronouns (clitics) are used to refer back to something present in the discourse, while, in Turkish, pronominal reference is achieved by means of either a strong pronominal form or empty anaphora (use of no pronoun):

(19) Standard Greek
    efera ta vivlia ke ta evala sto trapezi
    brought-1SG the books and them put-1SG on.the table
    ‘I brought the books and put them on the table’

(20) Turkish
    kitapları getirdim ve masaya koydum
    books-ACC brought-1SG and table-DAT put-1SG
    ‘I brought the books and put (them) on the table’
4.1.2. The intermediate variety

The following table summarizes the status of the structures described above in the intermediate variety of our sample:

(22)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure 1: Confusion and/or avoidance of gender marking</th>
<th>limited to a partial gender confusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structure 2: Omission or inconsistent use of the article</td>
<td>disappears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure 3: No agreement between the adjective and the noun it modifies</td>
<td>disappears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure 4: Numeral + O[singular]</td>
<td>disappears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure 5: Verb final constructions</td>
<td>limited to copula, existential and possessive constructions (the last two correspond to var constructions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure 6: Omission of the prepositional marker se in indirect object and locative functions</td>
<td>disappears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure 7: Postpositions instead of prepositions</td>
<td>attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure 8: Words consisting of a stem from Turkish and a (derivational) ending from Greek</td>
<td>attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure 9: Omission of the subjunctive marker na</td>
<td>limited appearance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure 10: Omission of complementizers and conjunctions</td>
<td>limited appearance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure 11: confusion in the syntax of the possessive exo ‘have’ and the existential iparxi ‘there is’</td>
<td>limited to partial confusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure 12: Absence of weak pronouns (clitics)</td>
<td>attested</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We observe that the most resistant interferences are those related to: (a) the gender confusion, (b) the head final constituent order typology (SOV orders and postpositions), (c) special lexical items (var constructions and words with a Turkish stem and Greek endings) and (d) the absence of weak pronouns. The common characteristic of these interferences is that they are associated with the main typological differences between Greek and Turkish. Their resistance is therefore expected.

4.2. Social networks in the study of minority ethnic communities

An analysis of the distribution of the varieties of Greek used by members of different generation groups of the community under study is conducted within a social network approach framework (Gumperz 1982, Milroy & Li Wei 1995, Zentella 1997, Milroy

---

2 Minority ethnic groups are defined as “those individuals who perceive themselves to belong to the same ethnic category” (Giles 1979: 253) and are not politically dominant in a particular country or region (Fought 2002: 445)
Spoken Varieties of Rhodian Muslims

An individual’s social network is defined as ‘the aggregate of relationships contracted with others’ (Milroy 2002: 549), and the analysis of personal networks of different members of a speech community, both qualitative and quantitative, seems to have the potential to cast light on the everyday linguistic practices of individual speakers, therefore providing a link between micro and macro level social structures. As a consequence, the analysis of personal social networks formed by members of a community can illuminate the interdependence of informal social structures, such as the type of ties contracted between individuals, and macro political and socioeconomic changes, and explain their impact on the linguistic practices of minority groups which form relatively well defined linguistic communities. What is more, examination of network structures can account for both the language choice of typical and non-typical (“anomalous”) speakers, that is, individuals whose language choice is either similar to or different from that of their age or generation group.

As a point of departure we take the general principle that, ‘analysis of change in the operation of the same social network mechanisms which support localized linguistic codes can illuminate the phenomenon of linguistic change’ (Milroy 2002: 549). Bilingual communities are seen as a variant of the same general principle, i.e. networks constituted chiefly of strong ties function as a mechanism to support minority languages. When networks weaken, language shift is likely to take place. The dimensions of network structures that are relevant to our study concern the types of interpersonal ties that are contracted between members and can be observed in well-established minority ethnic groups. These are strong ties, as in close-knit networks, which correspond to network closure and overlap (Gumperz 1982), and weak ties as in loose-knit networks which correspond to network openness (Gumperz 1982). Both structures operate in neighbourhood type networks, i.e networks whose members live within a definable territory, as the ones studied by Gumperz in the bilingual community of Gail Valley and Milroy in the monolingual community of Belfast, and in urban networks, whose members are dispersed over a larger geographical area, the case of exchange and interactive networks of immigrant communities studied by Milroy & Li Wei (1995). We will deal with both neighbourhood and urban networks as our informants are divided into one urban and one suburban group.

In this study, we mainly refer to two characteristics of the linguistic repertoire and shift patterns of bilingual minority communities that seem to appear in the community under study. Firstly, the use of contact vernaculars created during a stage of continuing interaction and competition among individual interlanguage grammars, as it is the case with the pidgin and the intermediate variety used by members of the community (see sections 4.1.1, 4.1.2). Secondly, the observed shift towards the mainstream variety or language by the third generation of speakers, i.e. the three-generation shift pattern. As it is the often case, in both minority and immigrant communities, their members usually become bilingual in the host language or shift entirely to it, often by the third generation of speakers, which means that the younger members of the minority group acquire native proficiency in the mainstream language (Winford 2003). We will not discuss language choice and code-switching patterns, as these are examined elsewhere (see Georgalidou, Kaili & Celtec 2005). The analysis adopts a broad variationist perspective in describing the structure of networks formed by the informants in a non-quantitative way (Gumperz 1982, Zentella 1997).
4.2.1. The suburban networks

The group of informants residing in a suburban area a few kilometres away from the city forms a close-knit overlapping kinship network with strong ties among its members. Within it, the members of the grandparent generation consistently use the pidgin variety. It is also worth mentioning that apart from the speakers in our sample, we had the opportunity to observe more people of this age group; all of them kin or friends of our informants. Among them, there are still people who are monolingual in Turkish, mainly elderly women who, during their lifetime, had minimal contact with people who did not have the same ethnic origin. This also serves as an indication of the distribution of languages on the island before the annexation to Greece. Concerning the interaction networks of this age group, these mainly consist of members of the same ethnic group, that is, most people with whom its members interact are speakers of Turkish. Still, there is contact with Greek monolinguals related to the professional background or individual preferences, which results in two cases of “anomalous” speakers who are users of the intermediate variety. One of them is the oldest male, who had been a wage earner and therefore had prolonged participation in Greek interaction networks in the professional domain, and the other the youngest female in the group (57) who systematically contracts loose-knit network ties with individuals of Greek origin.

The parent generation in this same network consistently uses the intermediate Greek variety. Apart from their participation in the same close-knit extended family network, this generation’s interaction networks maximize contact with native speakers of Greek and enhance shift to standard forms. This is due to the rapid growth of tourism and the service industries that resulted in less dependence on in-group networks as family income is nowadays derived from non-farming sources as well. In this group, there are two “anomalous” speakers among our informants who exhibit native speaker ability in Greek. One is married to a Greek, a rare occurrence, and the other is the daughter of the “anomalous” female in the grandparent generation who has been participating in mixed ethnic interaction networks from a very young age.

The children generation exhibits native speaker ability in Greek since their interaction networks consist of members of both ethnic groups with whom they attend the same monolingual state schools. Also, all of our informants in this age group have contracted strong personal ties with native speakers of Greek, who are members of their peer group. There are no “anomalous” speakers in this group.

4.2.2. The urban networks

Concerning the varieties used by members of the city networks, we see that the same shift towards standard Greek which has been observed in the suburban network, has already taken place in the city. Yet, the transition to the use of more standard Greek varieties took place one generation earlier. Therefore, the grandparent generation consistently uses the intermediate variety. Despite the fact that urban dwellers participate in the same overlapping exchange networks of people of the same ethnic origin, their interaction networks consist of members of both ethnic groups. Two of our informants were considered “anomalous” speakers as they use the pidgin variety. This is explained by the fact that their ties with non-minority networks are rare. The first is the
oldest male of the grandparent generation in the sample (74 years old) and the other one is the youngest female of the grandparent generation in the sample (51 years old).

The parent generation exhibits native speaker ability in Greek. Despite their participation in the same overlapping exchange networks of people of the same ethnic origin, their interaction networks consist of members of both ethnic groups, as they are either wage earners or small time entrepreneurs whose success depends on their urban ties with people that do not necessarily share their family and ethnic history. Also, they all contract strong personal ties with native speakers of Greek who are members of their peer group. There are no “anomalous” speakers in this group.

As it is expected, the children generation exhibits native speaker ability in Greek. Except for participation in the same network types as their parents do, they contract strong personal ties with native speakers of Greek who are members of their peer group, mainly at the monolingual state schools they attend. There are no “anomalous” speakers in this group either.

4.2.3. School as a parameter of language shift

Apart from the political and socioeconomic factors, it seems that education has played a major role in the shift towards standard Greek varieties. After 1972, the attendance of monolingual state schools introduces the children of the community not only to literacy in the Greek language, but to the mainstream Greek-speaking society from a very early age. This promotes the acquisition of Greek, as the formation of extensive interaction networks with Greek speakers and the development of friendship networks with strong ties among their members (all of the 8 teenager speakers of our sample had ‘best friends’ of Greek origin) reinforce the opening of personal social networks towards the inclusion of native speakers of Greek that do not belong to the minority community. This is the case for both the suburban and the city dwellers.

5. Results

In this paper we examined aspects of the linguistic repertoire of the bilingual in Greek and Turkish Muslim community of Rhodes. More specifically, we examine the structure of a Greek-based pidgin variety used by members of this community and the sociolinguistic parameters of its use, namely the impact of social networks on the shift towards intermediate and standard varieties of Greek. The research has been conducted in an ethnographic framework, adopting a broad variationist perspective in describing the structure of networks formed by the informants in a non-quantitative way (Gumperz 1982, Milroy & Li Wei 1995, Zentella 1997, Milroy 2002).

As far as the pidgin and intermediate varieties are concerned, we observe that the shift towards standard varieties of Greek is marked by the gradual disappearance of basic structures of the interlanguage grammars used mainly by elderly speakers. The most resistant interferences in the speech of younger generations are those related to: (a) the gender confusion, (b) the head final constituent order typology (SOV orders and postpositions), (c) special lexical items (var constructions and words with a Turkish stem and Greek endings) and (d) the absence of weak pronouns. The common characteristic of these interferences is that they are associated with the main typological differences between Greek and Turkish. Their resistance is therefore expected.
Concerning the distribution of the varieties described above in the different generation groups of the networks studied, we observe that dominant Greek varieties quickly replace the pidgin and intermediate varieties used by older speakers both inside and outside of the city (see table 1). As far as rural settlements are concerned, suburbanization has led to a greater dependence on interethnic interaction networks that are crucial to the economic success of the community. Therefore, the shift towards the dominant Greek varieties has taken place, despite the fact that in the close-knit suburban networks families live very close together, practically sharing a common yard, and contact with members of the different generation groups, especially Turkish speaking grandparents, takes place on a daily basis. As far as the city networks are concerned, grandparent and parent generations have already abandoned the pidgin variety and progressed to the intermediate and native Greek varieties respectively, preceding the shift in rural settlements by one generation, probably due to more extensive contact with as well as economic dependence on the Greek speaking majority. The younger generation in both groups (speakers below 30) exhibit native proficiency in Greek. This has resulted in the three-generation shift pattern that is observed in other bilingual minority or immigrant communities (Winford 2003, Milroy & Li Wei 1995, Zentella 1997).

Table 1: The linguistic repertoire of the community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pidgin</th>
<th>intermediate</th>
<th>native</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suburban</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandparents</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandparents</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The shift towards standard Greek varieties therefore, is closely connected to the change in the structure of the community networks as this is reflected on the personal social networks of speakers of different generation groups, both inside and outside the city of Rhodes. Changes are a direct result of major political and socio-economic factors that have affected the status of the community on the one hand, and the professional choices and social mobility of its members on the other. On the whole, the results of the present study are in accordance with findings in other studies examining the interrelation of macro and micro social structures with the linguistic repertoires and the observed shift patterns in bilingual minority communities.

References

Spoken Varieties of Rhodian Muslims


Tsitselikis K. & G. Mavrommatis. 2003. Turkish: The Turkish Language in Education in Greece. Mercator-Education: European network for Regional or Minority Languages and Education.


Widespread bilingualism has the potential to affect future generations of Latinos, a population that is among the fastest growing in the nation. Our 2011 survey showed that Latino adults valued both the ability to speak English and to speak Spanish. Fully 87% said Latino immigrants need to learn English to succeed. At the same time, nearly all (95%) said it is important for future generations of U.S. Hispanics to speak Spanish. Bilingualism is measured in our National Surveys of Latinos by asking Hispanic adults to self-assess their language abilities. Respondents rated their ability to carry