

Exploring Heritage Language (HL) teachers' identities and their perceptions about HL
pedagogy: a narrative study of Greek HL teachers in Montreal and Toronto

Emmanouela Tisizi

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University, Montreal

March, 2020

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

© Emmanouela Tisizi, 2020

Acknowledgments

This dissertation would not have been possible without the assistance and support of many people. First and foremost, I wish to express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to my co-supervisors, Dr. Mela Sarkar and Dr. Caroline Riches, for their encouragement, guidance, and support from the very beginning until the last day of this journey. Thank you for being so supportive and always having new ideas and ways to help me improve my work. You are both excellent supervisors and role models, and I have been very fortunate to be your supervisee.

I would also like to thank Dr. Themistoklis Aravossitas, committee member, whose rigorous feedback helped me improve the quality of my dissertation. I benefited greatly from his feedback and guidance, and his rich knowledge of Greek heritage language education in Canada was an inspiration for me. I look forward to working with you in the future!

I also wish to acknowledge the guidance I received from other faculty members in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education. Dr. Lynn Butler-Kisber's course on Interpretive Inquiry opened up my understanding of narrative inquiry. Her teaching and subsequently her comments on my work helped me tremendously. Thank you!

I would also like to thank Dr. Paul Zanazanian for his support and guidance throughout my doctoral studies. Working as Dr. Zanazanian's research assistant has been invaluable as it enriched my understanding of qualitative research and familiarized me with Montreal's unique linguistic landscape. I consider myself very fortunate to have worked with him!

My sincere gratitude to the eight participants who agreed to share their knowledge and experiences. It is thanks to your assistance that I managed to complete this dissertation. I was truly inspired by your openness, and by your passion for the preservation of the Greek language and culture. I learned so much from you, and I can only hope that this dissertation will contribute to the enhancement of Greek heritage language education.

I would like to acknowledge and express my gratitude for the financial support I have received during my doctoral studies from McGill University and the Hellenic Scholarships Foundation, which allowed me to work on my dissertation full-time.

I also wish to thank all the supportive and caring friends and family members, whose encouragement played a significant role in the realization of this dissertation.

I especially want to thank Jake for being by my side and supporting me throughout this entire journey. He helped me find the balance I needed to always keep going and complete this dissertation, and I am truly thankful for all his encouragement and support.

Last but certainly not least, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my parents. Thank you for being who you are, for always believing in me, and taking me out of my comfort zone. Thank you for your support and for making my dreams yours too. My accomplishments are yours too. This dissertation is dedicated to our family.

Abstract

While Canada is officially a multicultural country, and recognizes the cultural contributions of its various ethnic minorities, public funds are not allocated to minority languages, or *heritage languages*, in the same way that they are to Canada's two official languages, English and French (Haque, 2012). Efforts to preserve heritage languages are thus mainly organized by the respective minority communities, which are particularly concerned about the potential of language shift and language loss, especially after the third generation. In the context of Greek Heritage Language Education in Canada, strengthening the learners' connection to their heritage language is crucial, as there are now many third-and-fourth-generation Greek heritage language learners who have minimal knowledge of Greek, and whose only opportunity to learn and practice their heritage language is in the Greek schools (Aravossitas, 2016). It is therefore essential to find ways to enhance Greek heritage language education to ensure that the current and subsequent generations of Greeks in Canada can maintain a connection to their heritage language. It is undeniable that the most important stakeholders in the context of Greek heritage language education are the heritage language learners, as they represent the future of the Greek communities outside Greece. Nevertheless, this study focuses on Greek heritage language teachers instead, because their attitudes and practices largely shape the learners' experiences in the Greek schools, and can either engage or alienate them.

The aim of this study was to investigate how Greek heritage language teachers teaching in primary and secondary Greek programs in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas self-identify, and how their identification and ideologies affect their attitudes towards their students and their instructional practices. My understanding of languaging and identities is informed by critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics, according to which people's language practices and identities are seen as interrelated, socially constructed, and constantly (re)negotiated in people's interactions. A basic assumption when designing this study was that the teachers' identification and ideologies largely shape their attitudes towards students and ultimately their instructional practices, and thus these factors must all be examined together. I engaged in a qualitative narrative inquiry, aiming to provide nuanced descriptions of the participants' individual experiences and perceptions, and to shed light on issues related to power and language ideologies. The study's findings suggest that Greek heritage language teachers assume the responsibility to help their students maintain a

connection to the Greek language and culture, but sometimes are unequipped to accommodate all their students' needs. The findings also suggest that Greek heritage language teachers' language ideologies do play a role in how they view their students and what instructional practices they use. The Greek heritage language teachers prefer conventional teaching methods and strategies, but when met with student disengagement, they intuitively opt for unconventional methods and translanguaging strategies, as these are more effective in winning over their students. Indeed, this study showed that there is merit in using translanguaging in the heritage language classroom. The thesis closes with a discussion of the study's implications, with recommendations for the enhancement of Greek heritage language education in Canada, and with suggestions for future research.

Keywords: heritage language, heritage language education, minority language education, Greek language and culture, language maintenance, translanguaging, identities, educational practices, Montreal, Toronto.

Résumé

Bien que le Canada soit officiellement un pays multiculturel et reconnaisse les contributions culturelles de ses diverses minorités ethniques, les fonds publics ne sont pas alloués aux langues minoritaires ou aux *langues d'origine* (LO), comme ils le sont pour les deux langues officielles du Canada, l'anglais et le français (Haque, 2012). Les efforts de préservation des LO sont donc principalement organisés par les communautés minoritaires respectives, qui sont particulièrement préoccupées par le potentiel de changement et de perte de la langue, en particulier après la troisième génération. Dans le contexte de l'enseignement de LO grecque au Canada, il est essentiel de renforcer le lien des apprenants avec leur LO, car il existe à présent de nombreux apprenants de la LO grecque de la troisième et quatrième générations qui possèdent une connaissance minimale du grec et dont la seule possibilité d'apprendre et pratiquer leur LO est dans les écoles grecques (Aravossitas, 2016). Il est donc essentiel de trouver des moyens d'améliorer l'enseignement de la LO grecque afin de s'assurer que les générations actuelles et futures de Grecs au Canada puissent conserver ce lien avec leur LO. Il est indéniable que les acteurs les plus importants dans le contexte de l'enseignement d'une LO grecque sont les apprenants, car ils représentent l'avenir des communautés grecques hors de la Grèce. Néanmoins, cette étude s'attache plutôt aux enseignants de langue grecque, car leurs attitudes et leurs pratiques façonnent en grande partie les expériences des apprenants dans les écoles grecques et peuvent les engager ou les aliéner.

Le but de cette étude était de déterminer comment les professeurs de LO grecque inscrits aux programmes de grec à la fois primaires et secondaires de la grande région métropolitaine de Montréal et de Toronto s'identifiaient et comment leur identification et leurs idéologies affectaient leurs attitudes envers leurs élèves et leurs pratiques pédagogiques. Ma compréhension du processus de « langager » et des identités linguistiques est éclairée par une sociolinguistique poststructuraliste critique, selon laquelle les pratiques et les identités linguistiques sont conçues comme étant interdépendantes, socialement construites et constamment (re)négociées dans de l'interaction. Lors de la conception de cette étude, l'hypothèse de base était que l'identification et les idéologies des enseignants façonnaient en grande partie leurs attitudes à l'égard des élèves et, finalement, leurs pratiques pédagogiques ; ces facteurs devaient donc tous être examinés ensemble. Je me suis engagé dans une enquête narrative qualitative visant à fournir des descriptions nuancées

des expériences et des perceptions individuelles des participants et à éclairer des questions liées aux idéologies du pouvoir et de la langue. Les résultats de l'étude suggèrent que les enseignants de LO grecque assument la responsabilité d'aider leurs étudiants à conserver un lien avec la langue et la culture grecques, mais ne sont parfois pas équipés pour répondre à tous les besoins de leurs élèves. Les résultats suggèrent également que les idéologies linguistiques des enseignants de LO grecque jouent de rôle à la manière dont ils voient leurs élèves et les pratiques pédagogiques qu'ils utilisent. Les professeurs de LO grecque préfèrent les méthodes et stratégies d'enseignement conventionnelles, mais lorsqu'ils rencontrent le désengagement des étudiants, ils optent intuitivement pour des méthodes non conventionnelles et des stratégies de *translanguaging*, car elles sont plus efficaces pour convaincre leurs élèves. En effet, cette étude a montré qu'il y a du mérite à utiliser le *translanguaging* dans la classe de LO. La thèse se termine par une discussion sur les implications de l'étude, avec des recommandations pour l'amélioration de l'enseignement de la LO grecque au Canada, et avec des suggestions pour des recherches futures.

Mots clés: langues d'origine, enseignement des langues d'origine, enseignement des langues minoritaires, langue et culture grecques, maintien de la langue, translanguaging, identités, pratiques éducatives, Montréal, Toronto.

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction	1
Chapter Overview	1
The historical context: Canada’s Multiculturalism and Multilingualism	1
Situating the study	3
The guiding questions	5
Significance of the study	5
Locating the researcher in the study	6
Terminology	8
Overview of the chapters.....	9
Chapter Two: Review of Literature	11
Chapter Overview	11
Heritage Languages and Heritage Language Education.....	11
Historical context and definitions.....	11
Heritage Language Speakers and Heritage Language Learners.....	13
Distinguishing Heritage Language Learners from Second and Foreign Language Learners	14
Language Shift, Language Loss, and Language Maintenance	15
Heritage Language Education in Canada	16
Greek Heritage Language Education in Canada.....	18
Theoretical positioning on identity.....	19
The shift from structuralist to post-structuralist theories of identity	20
Gender and Feminist theories of identity as tied to language use.....	21
Intersubjectivity and Identity.....	22
Identity and politics: racial and diasporic identities	22
Postcolonial theories of identity as tied to language use	23
Sociolinguistic theories of identity.....	25
Identity in SLA and HLE	26
Affirming and Expanding HL learners’ identities	29
Defining language and languaging	30
Multilingualism and Translanguaging	33
Language Socialization.....	35
Language Ideologies.....	36

Chapter Summary	38
Chapter Three: Methodology and Methods	39
Chapter Overview	39
Historical developments in Qualitative Inquiry	39
Recent trends in Qualitative Research.....	40
Issues in Qualitative Research	42
Validity	42
Generalizability	43
Reflexivity.....	44
Voice	45
Transparency.....	45
Research on HL Teacher Identities and Narrative Inquiry	46
Previous research on HL Teacher Identity(-ies)	46
Phenomenological and Ethnographical approaches	48
Tracing back Narrative Inquiry.....	50
The Narrative Turn	52
Narrative Inquiry.....	52
Narrative analysis.....	54
Evaluating Narrative Inquiry	55
Ethical Considerations.....	56
The present study	57
Positioning myself in the study.....	57
The guiding questions	60
Generating field texts	60
Language Portraits	62
Photo and Video elicitation	63
Identity charts.....	65
Fieldnotes.....	65
Making contact with the participants.....	67
Obtaining consent.....	68
Participant profiles.....	68
Timeline.....	73
Transcription and Translation	74

Chapter Summary	76
Chapter Four: Narrative presentation of field texts	77
Chapter Overview	77
Field texts on identities.....	78
Greek HL teachers' self-portraits	78
Greek HL teachers' perceptions of the average Greek HL learner's language portrait.....	101
Participants' identity charts, before and after becoming HL teachers.....	128
Field texts on teachers' attitudes	145
Photo elicitation.....	145
Video elicitation	157
Field texts on teachers' practices	163
First written task (hypothetical scenario)	163
Second written task	173
Chapter Summary	182
Chapter Five: Identification of major themes	183
Chapter Overview	183
Addressing the guiding questions.....	183
First sub-question	183
Second sub-question.....	187
Third sub-question	195
Fourth sub-question.....	207
Fifth sub-question	216
Overarching question.....	222
Chapter Summary	230
Chapter Six: Discussion	231
Chapter Overview	231
Reflecting on the findings	231
Implications.....	247
Theoretical implications.....	247
Methodological implications	248
Pedagogical implications.....	250
Chapter Summary	252
Chapter Seven: Concluding Reflections	253

Chapter Overview	253
Thesis synopsis.....	253
Limitations of the study	255
Further directions	256
Practical recommendations	256
Dissemination of research findings.....	261
Future research.....	261
Closing Remarks	263
References.....	265
Appendices	301

List of Tables

Table 3.1: Information on the participants' backgrounds.....	70
--	----

List of Figures

Figure 4.1: Maria's language portrait.....	78
Figure 4.2: George's language portrait.....	81
Figure 4.3: Anna's language portrait	84
Figure 4.4: Lena's language portrait	87
Figure 4.5: Stella's language portrait	89
Figure 4.6: Kostas's language portrait.....	93
Figure 4.7: Sofia's language portrait.....	96
Figure 4.8: Niki's language portrait.....	100
Figure 4.9: The student portrait created by Maria.....	102
Figure 4.10: The student portrait created by George.....	106
Figure 4.11: The student portrait created by Anna.....	109
Figure 4.12: The student portrait created by Lena.....	112
Figure 4.13: The student portrait created by Stella.....	116
Figure 4.14: The student portrait created by Kostas.....	119
Figure 4.15: The student portrait created by Sofia.....	123
Figure 4.16: The student portrait created by Niki.....	126
Figure 4.17: Maria's identity chart	129
Figure 4.18: George's identity charts (before and after).....	131
Figure 4.19: Anna's identity charts (before and after).....	133
Figure 4.20: Lena's identity charts (before and after).....	135
Figure 4.21: Stella's identity charts (before and after).....	137
Figure 4.22: Kostas's identity charts (before and after).....	139
Figure 4.23: Sofia's identity charts (before and after).....	142
Figure 4.24: Niki's identity charts (before and after).....	144

List of Appendices

Appendix A - Letter to gatekeepers.....	301
Appendix A1 - Letter to gatekeepers (Greek translation).....	302
Appendix B - Recruitment Flyer.....	303
Appendix B1 - Recruitment Flyer (Greek translation).....	305
Appendix C - Information Sheet.....	307
Appendix C1 - Information Sheet (Greek translation).....	309
Appendix D - Data Research Sheet, Session 1.....	311
Appendix D1 - Data Research Sheet, Session 1 (Greek translation).....	313
Appendix E - Data Research Sheet, Session 2.....	315
Appendix E1 - Data Research Sheet, Session 2 (Greek translation).....	317
Appendix F - Data Research Sheet, Session 3.....	319
Appendix F1 - Data Research Sheet, Session 3 (Greek translation).....	321
Appendix G - Consent Form.....	323
Appendix G1 - Consent Form (Greek translation).....	326

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I present the historical context of the study and I situate it within the fields of Heritage Language Education (HLE) in Canada and identity negotiation. I focus specifically on Greek HLE in Canada, and I explain the need to enhance it in order to ensure the intergenerational transmission of Greek, and to guard it against language loss. I present the rationale of the study and the questions that guided it, and I discuss its significance. I also provide some information on my background as well as the reasons that motivated me to conduct this study. I close this chapter by offering an overview of the thesis chapters.

The historical context: Canada's Multiculturalism and Multilingualism

Canada is often referred to as a multicultural mosaic, that is, as a place where people from different ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds coexist harmoniously (Day, 2000; Haque, 2012; Kalman, 2010; Porter, 1965; Statistics Canada, 2001). This metaphor has often been contrasted to the American 'melting pot' (Radzinski, 1959), where supposedly the societal tolerance towards cultural and linguistic diversity is far less evident. However, the reality is that the Canadian society has not always been as open and tolerant towards ethnic minorities. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the dominant attitude towards ethnic minorities commanded that they had to give up their languages and cultures, and conform to British norms. In fact, Harney and Troper quote a speaker at the 1913 Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church in Toronto, who argued for a "uniform race wherein the Anglo-Saxon peculiarities shall prevail" (1975, p. 110). Education was considered as the key for the Canadianization of immigrants, and educators blatantly strove for the 'foreign' students' quick assimilation, which dictated the eradication of their first languages (Anderson, 1918; Black, 1913; Cummins & Danesi, 1990; Harney & Troper, 1975).

After World War II, the British Empire gradually lost its influence and the need to differentiate the American and the Canadian identity emerged. Multiculturalism served in filling this 'identity vacuum' by mythologizing Canadians' historical attitude towards immigrants and making "yesterday's vices into today's virtues" (Cummins & Troper, 1985, p. 20; Haque, 2012). The adoption of multicultural policies at federal level (with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 and the Multiculturalism Act in 1988) was admittedly a positive change for the rights of

ethnic minorities (Haque, 2012). The shift from Anglo-dominance to a bicultural (English and French) hegemony necessitated the official recognition of the two languages as equal (Haque, 2012). This was achieved with the Official Languages Act (1969), which was followed by the Multiculturalism Act (declared as a policy in 1971, passed as a law in 1988) and the Immigration Act (1976), whose aim was to promote cultural diversity while determining the role of ethnic minorities in relation to the two dominant cultures and languages. In 1982, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms acted as an official provision to support the preservation of the multicultural heritage of Canadians, while at the same time highlighting that English and French remained the dominant and official languages (Haque, 2012).

While such policies have led to an understanding of multiculturalism as an inextricable part of the Canadian identity, distinguishing it from the American identity, multilingualism in both contexts has been more traditionally perceived in a negative way and has often been understood as a hindrance to immigrants' integration into a host society (Grosjean, 2010; Pavlenko, 2014). Indeed, multilingualism has been examined against monolingual standards and understood through a monolingual lens for over a century (Gal, 2011). A structuralist perception of language prevailed, according to which language was viewed as a fixed set of norms used by homogeneous communities (Canagarajah, 2018). However, the current reality that includes increasing immigration, globalization, the advance of technology, and the overall contact of languages and communities, has led to a shift in the way multilingualism is perceived.

Recent research has highlighted the benefits of bilingualism and multilingualism and has criticized the previous emphasis on separating languages and viewing them as fixed and bounded (Baker, 2011; Bialystok, 2001; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Grosjean, 1982, 2010; Grosjean & Li, 2013; Lamarre, 2001; Lamarre & Dagenais, 2003; Pavlenko, 2014). In Canada, the influx of immigrants, which in recent years is estimated to hover around 250,000 people per year (Statistics Canada, 2016a), has resulted in the creation of multicultural and multilingual communities across the country. This, in turn, has prompted many researchers to focus on bilingualism/multilingualism, plurilingualism, translingualism, translanguaging, language contact, and Heritage Languages (HLs) and language maintenance (Brinton et al., 2008; Canagarajah, 2013; Cummins, 1992; Cummins & Danesi, 1990; Garcia, 2003; Norton 2010, 2013; Piccardo, 2018). It is now argued that cultural and linguistic diversity needs to be respected, and that immigrants' mother tongues need to be preserved, as this can affirm their identities, enhance their

learning in the host language(s) and facilitate their integration (as opposed to their forced assimilation) into the Canadian society (Cummins, 1992; Cummins et al., 2005; Lamarre & Dagenais, 2003).

Situating the study

The present study fits into the fields of Heritage Language Education (HLE) in Canada and identity negotiation as tied to language use. In particular, the aim of this study is to investigate how Greek HL teachers teaching in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas self-identify, and how their identification and ideologies affect their attitudes towards their students and their instructional practices. Having read extensively about the efforts of the various Greek communities in Canada to preserve the Greek language and culture, and being a Greek citizen with an academic background in Language Education myself, I am particularly interested in investigating Greek HLE in Canada, and exploring ways in which it can be enhanced.

In Canada, efforts to preserve HLs are mainly organized by the respective minority communities, which are particularly concerned about the potential of language shift and language loss. These two phenomena, which I discuss in more detail in Chapter Two, refer to the process whereby a speech community gradually moves away from a language and adopts another language, which is associated with higher social prestige and greater dominance. Language loss occurs when there are no speakers using the minority language, in which case the language is considered dead (Fishman, 1991; Wurm, 2002). Minority communities are rightly worried, as research suggests that within three generations, HL speakers tend to identify with and speak solely the host society's dominant language(s) (Campbell & Christian, 2003; Valdés, 2001). At the same time, public funds are not allocated to HLs in the same way that they are to the two official languages of Canada, English and French (Haque, 2012). That means that the minority communities themselves are primarily responsible for funding their various needs and finding ways to preserve their languages.

In the context of Greek HLE in Canada, strengthening the learners' connection to the HL is crucial as there are now many Greek HL learners who have minimal knowledge of Greek (Aravossitas, 2016; Constantinides, 2004; Damanakis, 2010). One important factor that has contributed to this is the rise of marriages between Greeks and non-Greeks (so-called mixed marriages or mixed unions). Mixed unions have resulted in a population of Greek HL learners who

often have a minimal knowledge of the Greek language and whose only chance to practice it is either in day, afternoon, or Saturday Greek schools (Aravossitas, 2016; Constantinides, 2004). As I explain in more detail in Chapter 3, the reason why I decided to focus specifically on the greater areas of Montreal and Toronto was twofold; on the one hand, 80% of people with Greek origin reside in or close to these two metropolises (Library and Archives Canada, 2016). Consequently, this is where most Greek schools and programs are located. On the other hand, the rationale for focusing on Greek HL teachers in the greater areas of Montreal and Toronto also stems from my interest in examining how, if at all, the tension between French and English affects Greek HLE in Montreal, as opposed to Toronto, where the dominance of English renders this tension less evident. (Statistics Canada, 2016b).

Another decision that I wish to justify is the fact that I chose Greek HL teachers and not Greek HL learners as the main focus of this study. It is undeniable that HL learners are the most important stakeholders in the context of Greek HLE, as they represent the future of the Greek communities in Canada, and any attempt to enhance Greek HLE should be based on their needs and realities. Finding ways to motivate Greek HL learners and help them maintain a connection to the Greek language and culture is pivotal. However, I believe that to this end, HL teachers and their perceptions are actually the first ones that need to be examined, because it is their ideologies, attitudes, and positionality towards the learners that affect the learning practice and that can either inspire or prevent students from investing (Norton, 2010) in the Greek language and culture. Indeed, research has shown that language teachers' practices are closely related to their identities (Norton & Toohey, 2011). It is therefore essential to examine the language teachers' identity negotiation and ideologies to better understand their positionality towards the students and their instructional practices, which can either engage or alienate learners (Blommaert, 2010; Pavlenko, 2003; Tsui, 2007; Varghese et al., 2005). It must be noted that despite the fact that many researchers by now have stressed the importance of examining HL teachers' identities to understand their attitudes towards HL learners and how these affect their language instruction, teachers' identities have received far less research attention than language learners' identities (Kim & Kim, 2016; Menard-Warwick, 2008).

The guiding questions

The overarching question that guided my study is the following:

- How do Greek HL teachers in Montreal and Toronto understand and/or reflect upon their teacher identity, their perceptions about teaching, and their instructional practices?

To help me answer this question, I also posed the following sub-questions:

- What are the Greek HL teachers' perspectives about teaching Greek language and culture?
- What are the Greek HL teachers' preferred instructional practices when teaching Greek language and culture?
- How do interactions with Greek HL students affect Greek HL teachers' perspectives and practices?
- How does the local educational context affect Greek HL teachers' perspectives and practices?
- What similarities and differences can be identified between the responses to these various questions of teachers teaching in Montreal and teachers teaching in Toronto?

Significance of the study

In this study, emphasis is placed on issues related to Greek HL teachers' identities and ideologies, their attitudes towards students, and their preferred instructional practices. Previous research suggests that the language teachers' ideologies, attitudes, and practices largely shape their students' experiences, and can either engage or alienate them (Blommaert, 2010; Pavlenko, 2003; Tsui, 2007; Varghese et al., 2005). Enhancing Greek HLE in Canada and improving the Greek HL learners' experiences is vital, as for many of them the Greek schools are now their only opportunity to learn and use their HL (Aravossitas, 2016; Constantinides, 2004; Damanakis, 2010).

Ultimately, it is hoped that after participating in this study and reflecting on their own ideologies, Greek HL teachers will be able to adjust their practices to further assist Greek HL learners learn Greek, maintain a strong connection to the Greek culture, and negotiate their own identities more successfully as members of a minority community in Canada. When I designed this study, my hope was that by inviting teachers to reflect on their ideologies and practices, they would be able to share effective strategies that can inform the work of other HL teachers. Indeed,

the participants shared strategies for Greek HLE that they deem to be successful. They also referred to strategies they had used in the past with little or no success, and they provided strong rationales for choosing the former strategies and avoiding the latter. This is particularly important, as such a reflection on instructional practices and strategies can inform the work of other Greek HL teachers and can ultimately help improve the learners' experience in the Greek schools.

Aside from the fact that the present study can assist Greek HL teachers across Canada by presenting successful strategies for HLE, it can also help in attracting institutions and organizations willing to invest in the enhancement of Greek HLE. Since 2002, the funding that was previously allocated to HL programs has been significantly reduced, and the minority communities themselves are now the ones mainly responsible for funding the programs that can help preserve their languages (Haque, 2012). The present study helps in identifying specific challenges in Greek HLE that could be combated with targeted actions and funding. Indeed, I believe that the chances of attracting institutions and organizations willing to invest in a rightful purpose, such as HL maintenance, increase when the minority communities do not just ask for more funding in general, but rather are able to identify specific challenges, and present targeted action plans to address them.

Finally, Charles Taylor (1992) has also argued that the non-recognition or misrecognition of one's identity "can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being" (p. 25). Indeed, people from minority groups often are not in control of how their multiple identities are being represented in the public sphere, and eventually other, dominant groups assign them identities. As Taylor argues, the public recognition of individuals' identities is a fundamental right, tied to a politics that allows these individuals to be in charge of what aspects of their identities will be shared with others. Therefore, providing an opportunity for Greek HL teachers to reflect on their identities and practices serves to empower them, as it gives them the opportunity to challenge identities that have been assigned to them and to be in control of how their realities and perspectives are represented.

Locating the researcher in the study

The vast majority of qualitative inquiries nowadays include a self-reflexive section, where the researcher provides information on their background. This common practice is based on the understanding that every kind of research is shaped to some extent by the person who conducts it

and their perceptions and understandings. Therefore, being open and transparent about one's own biases and the presuppositions they bring to the research is indispensable (Butler-Kisber, 2010).

Personally, I find that I am both an insider and an outsider to the present study. I am Greek-born and a Greek citizen, and I consider the Greek language to be my mother tongue. All these proved very significant for the present study. All participants chose to be interviewed in Greek, so I assume that this is the language they are most comfortable using. Had I not been fluent in Greek, perhaps some of the nuances of the participants' views would have been missed. Also, I believe that the participants found it easier to communicate their perceptions about both Canadian-born and Greek-born Greeks, assuming that I would understand their perceptions because of my familiarity with the two groups. In addition, for the past three years I have been working as a Greek HL teacher myself, in a Greek Saturday school in the greater Montreal area. I therefore found it easy to relate to the teachers and their experiences, and I was able to disambiguate some of their responses when I felt it was needed. At times, I even had to remind myself not to get carried away by my own beliefs about Greek HLE, and rather to focus on designating the participants' own views and voices. I discuss these factors in more detail in Chapter Three, where I analyze my positioning as a researcher and how I view research in general.

Being a Greek HL teacher myself was a serendipitous opportunity for my research study, but by no means my only motivation for wanting to work with Greek HL learners in Canada. In fact, I was always passionate about teaching and languages, and combined these passions with my undergraduate and graduate studies on Greek Philology (BA), Modern Languages (MA) and Language Education (MSc). Prior to my arrival in Canada, I had worked as a Greek instructor and as an English as a Second Language instructor. When I arrived in Montreal, applying for a teaching position in one of the Greek schools seemed like a reasonable decision, based on my interests and background. It was not long after I started working as a Greek instructor in one of the Greek schools in the greater Montreal area that I realized that my students had very different backgrounds and needs from Second Language (SL) learners. Irrespective of their productive skills in Greek, all students appeared to have a strong aural competence and were familiar with aspects of the Greek culture and history. I realized that these were significant tools that I had to leverage to facilitate the students' learning. It was at that time that I started researching HLE, trying to find strategies and activities to engage my students. Indeed, viewing the students' prior knowledge as a resource and building on it proved to be very effective for their learning.

I still consider myself as a teacher who is constantly learning *from* and *alongside* the Greek HL learners, and my experience in Greek HL schools made me particularly interested in finding out how other Greek HL teachers view their role, and how we can further enhance Greek HLE in Canada. As I explained in the previous sections, I chose to conduct this study in the greater areas of Montreal and Toronto because this is where the vast majority of Greeks reside in Canada, and this is where most Greek HL programs can be found (Aravossitas, 2016). Nevertheless, I believe that the present study can assist Greek HL teachers across Canada, by helping them reflect on their teaching, and by equipping them with effective strategies for improving Greek HL learning and engaging Greek HL learners.

Terminology

In this section, I provide definitions for some key terms that are central to the study and that I use repeatedly in this thesis. The first term is *Heritage Language (HL)*, which, in the case of Canada, refers to languages other than the two official languages (English and French) and Indigenous languages (Cummins, 1992). It must be noted, however, that there is no general consensus as to the exact definition of HLs, because in their attempt to define HLs, researchers have placed emphasis on different aspects of them, such as their status as minority languages, or the familial ties of HL speakers and learners with the languages. A second term that I employ repeatedly in the thesis is *Heritage Language Education (HLE)*, a term linked to a positive view of multilingualism, used to describe the teaching of HLs and the respective cultures, in public schools, private schools, and in community out-of-school programs (Cummins, 1992; Cummins, 2005).

I also use the term *multiculturalism* to refer to the coexistence of different cultures in the Canadian societies, which, as was previously discussed, is seen as an intrinsic part of the Canadian identity (Day, 2000; Haque, 2012; Kalman, 2010). In addition, I often use the terms *multilingualism* and *translanguaging*. The former term is used to describe the coexistence of various languages in a society, whereas the latter is used to refer to an individual's ability to draw upon multiple linguistic resources at the same time in order to make sense and communicate with others (García, 2009a; García & Leiva, 2014; García & Wei, 2014). Many researchers have argued that multilingualism can be used to refer to societies as well as individuals (Canagarajah 2009, 2018; Cenoz, 2013; Piccardo 2013). Personally, I use the term 'multilingualism' to refer to

societies and designate Canada's growing linguistic diversity, and the term 'translanguaging' to refer to individuals and highlighting their agency and ability to navigate all their linguistic resources.

All the aforementioned terms are presented in more detail in other sections throughout the thesis. In the next section, I present an overview of the seven chapters that make up this thesis.

Overview of the chapters

In Chapter One, I open the thesis by situating the study within HLE and identity negotiation, and I provide its rationale. I stress the need to enhance Greek HLE in Canada, to ensure the intergenerational transmission of the language and to guard it against language loss. I explain why I chose to focus on Greek HL teachers teaching in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas, and I justify my choice to focus on HL teachers rather than HL learners. I introduce the guiding questions, I discuss the significance of the study, and I situate myself in it.

Chapter Two is divided into two sections. In the first section, I turn to HLs and HLE. More specifically, I present the historical context in which they emerged and I focus on debates around HL terminology. I also present the differences between HL speakers and HL learners, as well as the differences between HL, Second Language (SL), and Foreign Language (FL) learners. I focus on the phenomena of language shift, language maintenance, and language loss, and then I turn to a brief presentation of Greek HLE in Canada. In the second section of this chapter, I present my theoretical positioning, and I discuss issues related to identity negotiation, languages and languaging, language ideologies, and language socialization from a critical sociolinguistics perspective. Finally, I focus on HL teachers' roles in affirming their students' identities.

In Chapter Three, I present an account of historical developments in qualitative inquiry to justify my choice of using narrative inquiry for the purposes of this study. I explain why I did not opt for one of the other methodological approaches that have been used in similar studies in the past, such as ethnography or phenomenology. I reintroduce the study's guiding questions, and I explain how I recruited participants. I then provide a brief profile for each participant. I also describe in detail the methods that I used throughout the sessions with the participants, and I discuss issues related to ethics, transcription, and translation.

In Chapter Four, I present significant findings from the field texts. The findings are presented narratively, as my aim is to stay as close to the words of the participants as possible, in order to designate the uniqueness of each participant's voice and views. The chapter is separated into three sections according to the type of field texts that were generated: *field texts on identities*, *field texts on attitudes*, and *field texts on practices*.

In Chapter Five, I analyze the field texts by identifying major recurring themes. I use these themes to address the five sub-questions and the overarching question that guided this inquiry. The findings pertain to Greek HL teachers' perceptions about teaching the Greek language and culture, their preferred instructional practices, their attitudes towards learners, and the extent to which their local educational context affects their perspectives and practices. I identify similarities and differences in the responses of the participants from the greater Montreal area and greater Toronto areas, and I analyze the Greek HL teachers' understanding of their identities and their role in affirming Greek HL learners' identities.

In Chapter Six, I discuss and interpret the findings, and I focus on what these findings reveal about existing problems in Greek HLE in Canada, as well as the possibilities they open up for its future. I also discuss methodological, theoretical, and pedagogical implications of the study.

In Chapter Seven, I present a summary of the thesis, and I address limitations of the inquiry. I close the thesis by offering practical recommendations for further directions and by explaining how I plan to disseminate the findings of the inquiry.

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

Chapter Overview

This chapter is separated into two sections. In the first section, I present the literature on Heritage Languages (HLs) and Heritage Language Education (HLE). I present the historical context in which the field of HLs emerged and I focus on debates around HL terminology. I also describe HL speakers and HL learners, and I present the differences between HL learners and Second Language (SL) learners. I focus on the phenomena of language shift, language maintenance, and language loss. I then turn to a brief presentation of Greek HLE in Canada. In the second section of this chapter, I present my theoretical positioning, and I discuss issues related to identity negotiation, language ideologies, and language socialization from a critical sociolinguistics perspective. Finally, I focus on HL teachers' role in affirming their students' identities.

Heritage Languages and Heritage Language Education

Historical context and definitions

The term Heritage Language (henceforth HL) emerged from bi/multilingual and second language (henceforth SL) research in Canada, when the country renegotiated its identity after the gradual weakening of the British Empire, and multiculturalism became an intrinsic part of the Canadian identity (Cummins & Troper, 1985). In the Canadian context, HL refers to minority languages, that is, languages other than French, English and Indigenous languages, spoken by members of minority ethnolinguistic groups (Valdés 2001, 2005). There is no general consensus as to the exact definition of HLs because the criteria employed by researchers to define them range widely. Some researchers focus on the status of the HL as a minority language (Bilash, 2011; Kelleher, 2010), while others emphasize the family ties that a HL learner or speaker has with the respective HL (Pollinsky and Kagan, 2007; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003; Wiley, 2005). There is also ambiguity in the terms used to refer to the languages of minority communities. In Canada and elsewhere, terms such as 'ancestral languages', 'international languages', 'minority languages', 'non-official languages', 'immigrant minority languages', 'community languages', 'home languages' and 'languages of origin' have also been used (Baker & Jones, 1998; Cummins, 2014a; Extra & Yagmur, 2002; Makarova, 2014; Valdés, 2001; Wiley, 2001; Yeung, Marsh & Suliman, 2000).

In the Canadian context, the term HL has prevailed. The term was introduced in the 1960s and came into widespread use in 1977, when the Heritage Languages Program was established in Ontario (Cummins, 2014a). The term HL was intended to highlight the importance of the ethnic minorities' linguistic and cultural heritage for their identification and empowerment, and convince the wider society that HLs and HL education (henceforth HLE) need to be supported financially and recognized politically (ibid, 2014a). In the case of the Greek language, the term Greek HL is only used in Canada. In other settings, the learning of Modern Greek that takes place outside Greece is referred to with the terms 'Greek as second language' or 'Greek as foreign language', and the equivalent term of HLE is 'Education for the Greek Diaspora' (Damanakis, 2010).

The term HLE is linked to a positive view of bi/multilingualism, and has been defined as "developing heritage language learners' biliteracy in both the dominant societal language and the heritage language, whether these be indigenous, immigrant, ethnic, second or foreign languages in any particular context" (Hornberger 2005). In Canada, HL learning can occur both at home (informally) and formally, in one of the HL programs offered in public schools, in private schools and in community-supported out-of-school programs across the Canadian provinces (Cummins 1992, 2005). Efforts to preserve HLs are mainly organized by the respective minority communities in Canada, as they are particularly concerned about the potential of language loss, which is discussed in one of the subsequent sections of this chapter. The efforts of the minority ethnolinguistic groups are of paramount importance for the preservation of their HLs.

This is particularly true if one considers the fact that public funds are not allocated to HLs in the same way that they are to English and French in Canada, based on the argument that "immigrants 'chose', fully informed, to come to Canada and in so doing forfeited all rights to language and cultural preservation" (Haque, 2012, p. 137). It has been suggested that HL communities should reconsider their role and instead of just delivering HL programs, also work on building networks that will allow them to locate and make use of the already existing community assets and resources (Aravossitas, 2014). In short, ethnic minorities are encouraged to map all the people, organizations and institutions involved in HLE, ensure that they communicate with one another and that they all have access to resources which are already available. While this is an excellent suggestion, the fact that HL programs remain largely underfunded both at federal and provincial level needs to be emphasized, and minority communities need to keep pressuring and demanding financial support and recognition.

Heritage Language Speakers and Heritage Language Learners

HL speakers are individuals who grew up exposed to both the dominant language and the HL and are able to use and understand their HL to a greater or lesser extent (Montrul, 2010). On the other hand, HL learners are individuals who receive formal instruction in their HL, as they “wish to regain, maintain or improve their home language through classroom instruction” (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007, p. 29). As the focus of the present research study is on Greek HLE, the term HL learner is employed. Definitions of who is a HL learner vary widely across researchers and one can identify different criteria for determining a HL learner. Valdés (2005) proposes two definitions, stating that a HL learner is either an individual who has a personal connection to a language other than the one that is normally taught at school, or a person who is exposed to a language other than the dominant language(s) at home and can be considered, to one extent or another, bilingual.

Similarly, Van Deusen-Scholl (2003), defines HL learners as individuals who have a personal and cultural connection with a non-dominant language that has been developed by the way they were brought up by their family. Carreira (2004) distinguishes three criteria for categorizing HL learners, namely their involvement with the respective minority community, their personal connection to the language and their proficiency in it. In addition, Polinsky and Kagan (2007) provide two definitions of HL learners depending on their proficiency. The first, broad, definition refers to individuals who have a personal connection to the language but are not able to use it, and the second, narrow definition, refers to individuals who are in a position to use the language to some extent, but have not mastered it entirely, because of their immersion in the dominant language(s).

Hornberger and Wang (2008) define HL learners as individuals with familial ties to a non-dominant language who consciously consider themselves as members of the HL community. In contrast to the previous definitions that focus on the learners’ proficiency in the HL, this one places emphasis on the learners’ agency and ties their membership in the HL community with their identity negotiation (Aravossitas, 2016). Personally, I adopt the last definition, as I consider that identifying as a HL learner must be determined according to a person’s own personal connection or rapport to the respective HL and culture.

Distinguishing Heritage Language Learners from Second and Foreign Language Learners

HL learners, SL learners and Foreign Language (FL) learners are all terms that refer to the learning of an additional language other than the person's first language (L1) and can thus be easily confused with one another. Therefore, it is important to clarify the differences among these terms, as they are not synonymous. A SL learner takes up an additional language to which they are likely to be exposed in several settings outside of the classroom. For example, a person who chooses to learn French while in Quebec is a SL learner, as they will most likely be exposed to French in a variety of settings other than the French classroom. In contrast, a FL learner is a person who chooses to learn an additional language in a setting where they will most probably not have the opportunity to be exposed to it outside of the classroom. For instance, a person taking up French in China is a FL learner (Lightbown & Spada, 2013).

The term HL learner is used to refer to people who maintain their home language through formal instruction, and have a personal connection or familial ties to it (Carreira, 2004; Cummins, 2005). Research suggests that HL learners have stronger aural competence and more enriched vocabulary than SL and FL learners, and that they find it easier to understand issues related to pragmatics in the HL (Kagan & Dillon, 2008; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007; Valdés, 2000). On the other hand, SL and FL learners appear to face fewer difficulties with spelling in the HL as well as understanding the language teachers' metalanguage used to explain grammatical phenomena (Carreira & Kagan, 2011). Research suggests that for the majority of HL learners, the aural competence is their strongest modality (Valdés 2000). In terms of their oral production, research indicates that HL learners "fall within a continuum, from rather fluent speakers, who can sound almost like competent native speakers, to those who can barely speak the home language" (Carreira & Kagan, 2011, p. 371).

Although differences have been identified among the three types of learner, the fact that the term HL learner is more recent than the terms SL learner and FL learner can lead to confusion in terms of their use. For example, the terms HL and HL learner are completely absent when referring to Greek Language Learning (Aravossitas, 2016). The other two terms, SL learner and FL learner, are still understood as adequate to cover all Greek learners in the diaspora; both learners of Greek origin and non-Greek origin people.

Language Shift, Language Loss, and Language Maintenance

As was mentioned above, one of the biggest fears of ethnolinguistic minorities is *language loss*. However, in order to understand language loss, one must first examine the phenomenon of *language shift*. American linguist Joshua Fishman (1972, 1991, 2001) coined the term ‘language shift’ to refer to the process whereby a speech community gradually replaces one language by another, which often is more dominant and is associated with higher social prestige. Indeed, most minority languages are not considered as prestigious because of their subordinate position within the hierarchy of languages in the social context in which they are used (Gérin-Lajoie, 2011). The reasons leading to language shift range from social to economic and political ones, while speakers’ attitudes towards languages (their language ideologies) also play a crucial role in language shift. Eventually, if there are no speakers of a language left, the language is considered dead. The stages of language shift and loss were first described in Fishman’s seminal Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (1991). Evaluating and placing an endangered language in one of this scale’s stages is considered very useful as it best informs action that must be taken to reverse language loss.

More recently, Wurm (2002) also examined the process of language shift in language contact situations, and distinguished five levels of language endangerment – that is, five levels that gradually lead to the loss of a language and its replacement by another, more dominant one. He notes that a language is *potentially endangered* when children of a minority community start showing a preference for the dominant language over the non-dominant one. A language is *endangered* if it has no child speakers and is *seriously endangered* if its youngest speakers are middle aged. If the only speakers of a language are elders, then this language is considered *terminally endangered*, and if there are no speakers using the language, this language is considered *extinct*. It must be noted that language loss applies mainly to groups that are taken over or colonized. Language shift and loss also apply in the case of immigrants, who shift from their home language to the host society’s dominant language(s), but in their case, if language loss occurs in the host country, the home language generally continues to be spoken in the home country.

While language shift is a worrisome and common phenomenon in language contact settings, at the same time it is this very fear that cultivates an eagerness to preserve the non-dominant language, which has been described as *language maintenance*. Language maintenance

refers to a situation in which speakers or speech communities continue to use a non-dominant language in one or several social spheres despite competition with the dominant language (Baker, 2011). The frequency with which one is able to use the HL in social contexts, both at home and in the society, contributes to language maintenance. Similarly, the parents' knowledge of the HL, the development of a community of HL speakers, and the existence of institutions, organizations, and programs that can help preserve the HL can also stall the phenomenon of language shift (Baker, 2011; Fishman, 2006; Garcia, 2003; Holmes et al., 1993). Unfortunately, language shift is the norm in language contact contexts. Research suggests that within three generations, HL speakers tend to entirely replace the HL with the dominant language(s) of the host society (Campbell & Christian, 2003; Valdés, 2001).

Heritage Language Education in Canada

Jim Cummins (2014a) categorizes educational policies about HLs in Canada into four main phases. The first is the 'Pre-1971' phase, where social policy in all Canadian provinces except for Quebec was characterized by 'Anglo-conformity', and where all languages other than Canada's two official languages were suppressed in school settings. The second is the '1971-mid-1980s' phase, during which ethnic communities' 'cultural contributions' were incorporated into Canada's official identity rhetoric at the federal level. The 1971 federal policy, of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, meant that English and French were given preferred status over all other languages, but at the same time, a positive view of multiculturalism was now emerging. Next, the 'mid-1980s-mid-2000s' is the phase where HLs were largely neglected by policies, as HL maintenance was considered to be the responsibility of the parents and not schools. During this period, schools in most of Canada operated as 'English-only zones' or 'French-only zones' and students were not encouraged to use their HLs. Finally, the ongoing 'mid-2000s-current' phase is the period during which there has been a small-scale shift in terms of educational policies about HLs in Canada. Some positive steps have been taken to help students maintain their HLs and take pride in their heritage (Cummins, 2014a, p. 4).

It must be noted that education in Canada is under provincial jurisdiction, and thus the various Canadian provinces have different policies about HLs and HL maintenance. Alberta was the first province to allow instruction in languages other than English or French in the public school system. Currently, various bilingual programs in non-official languages are offered by school

boards in Calgary, Edmonton and all across Alberta. In Ontario, the government introduced the Heritage Languages Program in 1977, in an attempt to accommodate the ‘ethnic demands’ of HL speakers, while at the same time minimizing the reaction of people who were openly against HL teaching in public schools (Cummins & Danesi, 1990). The Heritage Languages Program was designed to help students in elementary schools maintain their HLs. In 1993 the program was renamed the International Languages Program, as its focus was now not only to allow HL students to learn and maintain their HLs, but also to allow any student to learn an international language (that is, a non-official language) even if they did not have heritage or familial ties to this language. The program operates on weekends or in after-school contexts, but research suggests that the bilingual (English-HL) programs in Alberta, that are significantly more intensive – the hours of instruction in the HL are the same as the hours of instruction in English– are more effective for students (Cummins, 2014a; Cummins & Danesi, 1990). In Quebec, the government introduced the PELO (Programme d’enseignement des langues d’origine) program in 1977. The aim of the program was to encourage students to use their home languages in order to learn French. It must be highlighted that the fact that French speakers are a ‘fragile majority’ (McAndrew, 2012) in Quebec, (that is, they are the majority in their province, but a minority in an otherwise English Canada), has impacted the province’s policies and practices regarding HLE and HL maintenance. Even though there were disputes over the use of HLs in public schools across most Canadian provinces, in Quebec, this was particularly evident, as such initiatives were considered a threat to the preservation of the French language. Some school boards in Quebec continue to prohibit the use of any language other than French to date. Ontario and Quebec both allow ethnolinguistic minority communities to found private schools or initiate after-school programs that offer HLs to students (Cummins & Danesi, 1990; Duff, 2008).

In short, it is evident that there is a lack of consistency in Canada’s multicultural rhetoric and its policies and practices regarding the maintenance of languages other than English and French, with the exception of the prairie provinces of Alberta, and to a lesser extent Saskatchewan, and Manitoba (Cummins, 2014a). Research suggests that the lack of focus, the limited number of hours of instruction, administrative problems, and the lack of emphasis on cultural aspects related to the HLs are some of the reasons why some HL speakers question the effectiveness of such programs. Thus, HL speakers appear to consider programs offered by the various ethnolinguistic

communities as more appropriate and effective for HL maintenance (Aravossitas, 2016; Cummins, 2014a; Duff, 2008).

Greek Heritage Language Education in Canada

An example of an ethnic minority in Canada that is determined to preserve its language and culture is the well-organized Greek community (Aravossitas, 2016; Constantinides 2001, 2004; Damanakis, 2005; Georgiou, 2008). Greek immigration to Canada was slow in the nineteenth century but increased dramatically in the twentieth century due to war, poverty, and economic hurdles in Greece and Europe. Although in 1911 only 3,650 Greeks were recorded in Canada, this number rocketed to over 100,000 between the years 1945 and 1971. Today it is estimated that there are about 250,000 people of Greek origin in Canada, 80% of whom reside in Quebec and Ontario (Library and Archives Canada, 2016). In 1906, the first Hellenic Community in Canada was founded in Montreal (which in 2010 merged with the Greek Orthodox Community of Laval and was named Hellenic Community of Greater Montreal). This was followed by one in Toronto (1909), one in Vancouver (1927) and one in Ottawa (1929) (Aravossitas, 2016, p. 170; Georgiou, 2008, p. 260; Vlassis, 1953, p. 52, 66). As early as 1906, Greek Orthodox Churches were built, and since then, Greek churches, schools and associations have been founded, the role of which is pivotal in accommodating Greek immigrants' needs and preserving the Greek language, culture, customs, and traditions (Damanakis, 2005).

The first Greek day elementary schools were founded in the province of Quebec. Specifically, an English/Greek day elementary school was founded in 1909 by the Hellenic community of Montreal, followed by another English/Greek elementary school in 1925. In 1931, the two schools merged, and in 1970 the school became officially trilingual (Greek-English-French) and changed its name. The next year (1971), as a result of the political context and language laws in Quebec, the curriculum of the school changed, and since then instruction has been mainly carried out in French (62%), and to a lesser extent in Greek (28%) and English (10%) (Aravossitas, 2016, p. 169). The Hellenic Community of Montreal also invested in the creation of a Greek secondary school as early as 1981. In 1986, the *Hellenic Community of Montreal* merged with the *Communauté hellénique de la Rive-Sud de Montréal* into the *Hellenic Community of Greater Montreal* (HCGM). Since then, the trilingual PreK-6 day school has expanded and it now consists of five campuses. There are also several Saturday and afternoon programs organized by

HCGM for the preservation of Greek language and culture. Aside from HCGM, there are also parishes, private institutions, and organizations that offer Greek courses in the Greater Montreal area.

In the greater Toronto area, the first Greek school was founded in 1921 (Aravossitas, 2016). Toronto's Greek Orthodox day school was founded in 1996 by the Greek Orthodox Metropolis of Toronto (Georgiou, 2008). Today, afternoon and Saturday schools also offer supplementary education in Greek at primary and secondary level, operated by the Greek Community of Toronto (GCT), Boards of Education, parishes, and community organizations (Aravossitas, 2016; Constantinides, 2001). The third largest Greek Community in Canada, after Quebec and Ontario, can be found in British Columbia, with the majority of Greeks living in the city of Vancouver. Greek HLE in British Columbia is also developed, as students have the opportunity to learn Greek in both physical and online spaces (Aravossitas, 2016).

The names of the schools have been anonymized in this section and throughout the dissertation, to protect the anonymity of the participants. A more thorough and detailed presentation of Greek HLE across Canada can be found in Themistoklis Aravossitas' (2016) doctoral research, which focuses on mapping the assets and resources that can help preserve the Greek language and culture.

Theoretical positioning on identity

The literature on the notion of identity is voluminous; scholars in psychology, sociology, history, sociolinguistics, education, and anthropology, to name a few, have written extensively about it, each time focusing on different aspects of identity formation and adopting different approaches in their inquiries. Personally, I approach the examination of identity negotiation and construction from a poststructuralist perspective, since I am convinced that a person's identity(-ies) is not merely an internal process that reaches an end product, but is rather an ongoing and discursive process, constantly changing as a result of a person's lived experiences and interactions with others. In the following sections, I examine identity through a sociolinguistic lens. I aim in particular to provide a selective presentation of post-structural theories that address issues related to identity, language, and the interplay between the two. I focus on the close relationship between language and identity, by drawing on the works of poststructuralist, feminist, postcolonial, and sociolinguistic theorists, all of whom highlight and build on the conceptualization of both

languages and identities as discursive, and who refrain from treating these constructs as fixed or bounded end products. Finally, I examine identity in HLE, the conceptualization of which has been largely influenced by poststructuralism and the fields of sociolinguistics and second language learning.

The shift from structuralist to post-structuralist theories of identity

Structuralists, building on the work of Ferdinand de Saussure (1966), argued that the nature of language is arbitrary in the sense that words hold no meaning on their own, but are conceptualized consensually by homogeneous linguistic groups that attach specific values to them. In contrast, poststructuralists, building on the work of Mikhail Bakhtin (1981), view language as a dialogic process and linguistic communities as heterogeneous groups, where some people have more power than others, where some are marginalized while others are foregrounded, and where there is not always a consensus with regard to the social meanings attributed to words. This section focuses on the latter theorists, and stresses the importance of the discursive, hybrid and performative nature of language and identity (-ies).

The work of notable French philosopher and social theorist Michel Foucault on *discourse* became a central element of poststructuralist thought (1970, 1980). Discourse refers to regulated language use according to which statements in a given context are either perceived as sayable (meaningful) or unsayable (meaningless). Discourse is a social system that can be (and often is) resisted by individuals and groups of people who create ‘counter-discourses’, and reflects the *relational nature* of language as well as the *power relations* embedded in it. Therefore, “language is not conceived of as a neutral medium of communication, but is understood with reference to its social meaning, in a frequently inequitable world” (Norton, 2010, p. 350). Likewise, identities are perceived as *discursive constructs* in the sense that they are neither static nor fixed, but rather the outcome of human interaction, and thus fluid, fragmentary, contingent and constantly evolving.

Structuralists considered language as neutral, meanings as universal, and identity as a fixed and bounded end product. On the other hand, poststructuralists, building on the work of Foucault, focus on the discursive nature of both language and identity(-ies) and aim to designate the multiplicity and interdependence of the factors that affect them (ibid, 2010). In Norton’s words, “every time we speak, we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganizing that relationship across time and space. Our gender, race,

class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, among other characteristics, are all implicated in this negotiation of identity” (Norton, 2010, p.350). Norton (2010, 2013) successfully argues that the different discourses in which individuals participate shape the identities that they adopt and perform on a daily basis. Indeed, performing such identities repeatedly leads individuals to either internalize them, or to reject them and create counter-identities, resisting hegemonic identity norms (Ciepiela, 2011).

Gender and Feminist theories of identity as tied to language use

Aside from the discursive nature of identity, gender theorist Judith Butler also highlighted its *performativity*. In *Gender Trouble* (Butler, 1990) she contended that gender is not inherent but rather performed by people to meet specific expectations set by the society. She maintained that gender is being constructed while people act it out, and that without the element of performativity it would not exist. Again, gender identities are understood as in-process constructs, and emphasis is placed on the individual’s agency. Most importantly, it is argued that since gender is not biological, but rather a social construct and imposition, individuals can resist gender norms and can challenge constructed and normative perceptions of femininity and masculinity. In terms of the relationship between language and identity, Butler stated that gender identities are constituted by language in the sense that language precedes and shapes gender identity. It is language, therefore, that shapes how gender is performed and not gender that determines how language operates.

Feminist scholar Christine Weedon also highlighted the central role of language in the relationship between the individual and the social. She convincingly maintained that through language, individuals can construct a sense of who they are, their *subjectivity*: ‘Language is the place where actual and possible forms of organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed’ (Weedon, 1997, p. 21). Both language and subjectivity are presented as discursive and in fact as mutually constitutive. People negotiate their sense of self through language, and it is also through language that they find themselves as either powerful or marginalized. In Norton’s words, “The use of the term *subject* is compelling because it serves as a constant reminder that a person’s identity must always be understood in relational terms: one is either subject of a set of relationships (i.e. in a position of power) or subject to a set of relationships

(i.e. in a position of reduced power).” (Norton, 2013, p. 4). In short, Weedon rightly highlights that people’s subjectivity needs to be understood as a social and discursive construct itself, and language needs to be understood as the means through which people either gain or lose access to social networks in a given social and historical context.

Intersubjectivity and Identity

Philosopher Charles Taylor expanded the notion of subjectivity and focused on *intersubjectivity* (1992). Building on the Hegelian belief that the self is formed intersubjectively, Taylor put forth the argument that identity is not constructed from within, but is rather the outcome of a dialogic process in which we negotiate our sense of self with others. Like Bakhtin, Taylor was also among the scholars who initiated a shift in the understanding of the self from monologic and static to dialogic and relational. Taylor challenged views of identity formation that focused on introspection, and argued that the “other” is indispensable for the definition of the “self”. At the same time, he understood individuals as active agents in this process, able to reflect on the interactions between self and other to reach an understanding of their identity. His view of identity has been criticized for being essentialist (McNay, 2008), because it presented identity as something that can ultimately be reached and defined. It needs to be clarified, however, that Taylor did not perceive identity as an end product. He believed that the process of understanding one’s self through a dialogue with the other continues throughout one’s life, and that self can only exist within ‘webs of interlocation’ (Taylor, 1989, p.36).

Identity and politics: racial and diasporic identities

Returning to the issue of how power is manifested through language, one must make reference to the noteworthy work of cultural theorist Stuart Hall on Black diasporic identities. Hall (1995, 1997) argued that factors such as power, institutions, and politics shape the operation of language. Language thus becomes a site where power relations are either maintained or unsettled. Hall understood identity to be an in-process product of history and culture, and stressed the importance of representation (Hall, 1997). He maintained that representation is linked with power, and that people who are in powerful positions influence who/what gets represented and who/what is silenced. Therefore, people must constantly be critical of what is presented to them and challenge dominant representations which have long been accepted as natural and commonsensical. An extension of this argument is reflected in his view of diasporic identities, which are described as

‘unsettling the assumptions of one culture from the perspective of the other (...) forcing us to rethink notions of identity, culture and place’ (Hall 1995, p. 206).

Hall (1995) also coined the term ‘new ethnicities’ with which he proposed a theorizing of race that does not treat different peoples’ experiences and identities as homogenized. Instead of using one-sided terms to refer to different ethnic groups, he argued for the need to examine their unique experiences and representations. He thus concluded that the term ‘black’ is a political and cultural construct which does not represent accurately the lived experiences of actual people. In his words: “The ‘black experience’, as a singular and unifying framework based on the building up of identity across ethnic and cultural difference between the different communities, became ‘hegemonic’ over other ethnic/racial identities- though the latter did not, of course, disappear” (cited in Morley and Chen, 1996, p. 442). He was right in highlighting that the use of homogenized and homogenizing words to refer to whole groups of people can lead to the creation and perpetuation of stereotypes. He also rightly highlighted the fact that language is powerful and can be used to misrepresent or silence groups of people. Therefore, adopting a critical stance when examining language is essential.

On a similar note, Ben Rampton coined the term ‘language crossing’ (1995) which points to Hall’s notion of new ethnicities. Both Hall and Rampton designate the centrality of language in the enactment of people’s identity and in the power relations which are manifested through language and which reflect social inequalities. Language crossing is defined as the adoption of linguistic styles, conventionally thought to be indicative of a group of people, by outgroups. It is argued that membership in ethnic or social groups is performed through language, and thus when an outgroup adopts linguistic styles that are generally associated with a specific group, they blur and challenge alleged fixed ethnic or social boundaries. In Rampton’s words, language crossing can be defined as “the use of a language which isn’t generally thought to ‘belong’ to the speaker” and it often raises issues of legitimacy and interethnic relations, as it ‘involves a sense of movement across quite sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries and it raises issues of legitimacy that participants need to reckon with in the course of their encounter” (Rampton, 1998, p. 291).

Postcolonial theories of identity as tied to language use

Homi Bhabha is another scholar who addressed the interplay of identities, culture and language, particularly from a postcolonial perspective. Bhabha took up Said’s work on Orientalism

(1978) and focused on criticizing cultural imperialism and essentialist views of identity, language and culture. In his pivotal work *The Location of Culture* (Bhabha, 1994), he presented the notion of *hybridity* to refer to the emergence of new cultural forms as the result of the interaction between colonizing powers and colonized peoples. He maintained that colonialism should not be viewed as something that belongs to the past, because its influence is still present in the ways people understand identity and culture. He also argued that in the interaction between colonized and colonizers there are moments of contestation which allow for the creation of a *Third Space*.

According to Bhabha, it is in this Third Space that colonized peoples can negotiate their identities through language, or enunciation, and these identities need to be understood as hybrid, since they are a mixture of the two worlds that come in contact. The Third Space, he advocated, “challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by the originary past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 37). He noted that studying different peoples separately does not allow researchers to fully understand postcolonial culture, which is inherently mixed (hybrid). Several scholars have criticized Bhabha’s work, arguing that his view of identity is, at its core, essentialist, because identity is presented as the sum of two cultures (Chandra, 2012; Parry, 1994; Young, 1990, 1995). This, however, appears to be a misreading of Bhabha’s views, who actually believed that all identities need to be understood as hybrid, since ambivalence is inherent in human nature. In addition, he also criticized scholars who view identity as the sum of fixed notions, such as race, gender, or class, and stressed that identities are influenced by a plethora of factors that need to be examined in their interaction and not separately.

Sociolinguist Eric Anchimbe (2007) has also focused on language use and identity negotiation in postcolonial settings. His work examines attitudinal tendencies in postcolonial settings and investigates the identity conflicts between the ex-colonized and ex-colonizers and how these are reflected in their language use. He notes that certain linguistic varieties are stigmatized and others, which are thought of as more prestigious, continue to be imposed on ex-colonized speakers. Anchimbe shares the opinion that language is central in identity formation and finds a direct link between linguistic conflicts and identity negotiation. In fact, he argues that not only are language and identity interdependent, but language can also be used (and is being used) as an essential element for othering outgroups: “Language thus is a marker of identity. Inasmuch as it

shuts non-group members out, it could be interpreted within heterogeneous violent and competing communities as stigma for excluding its speakers.” (Anchimbe, 2007, p.3).

Sociolinguistic theories of identity

Sociolinguists Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall (2005) view the analysis of identity as a centrally linguistic phenomenon and propose a set of principles for approaching it. They contend that identity needs to be understood as a sociocultural rather than a primarily psychological phenomenon, and therefore a variety of social, cultural, psychological and other demographic aspects needs to be examined in interaction and not in isolation when analyzing identities. They argue that language creates identity through *indexicality*, that is, through linguistic forms which are semiotically linked to social meanings. In short, they maintain that both language and identity are informed by and reflect individuals’ ideologies. Language use is thus linked with identity positions, and it is stressed that the ways individuals choose to speak lead to their categorization by others. This categorization is based on what is expected by and associated with particular social groups. Most importantly, Bucholtz and Hall argue that because of its relational nature, identity will always be *partial*, in the sense that it is “produced through contextually situated and ideologically informed configurations of self and other” (2005, p. 605).

More recently, sociolinguist Bonny Norton has argued that in their communication individuals do not just exchange information with others, but are also constantly redefining themselves in relation to the social world. Therefore, she claims, language needs to be theorized as a social practice and identity as a site of struggle that changes across time and space (Norton, 2013, p. 4). She convincingly argues that power relations impact individuals’ access to social networks and affect whether or not they are heard by others. She also borrows Benedict Anderson’s term ‘imagined communities’ (1983) to maintain that identities are shaped both by lived experiences and by the speakers’ imagined futures, and that when individuals choose to use a particular language they *invest* in it, in the sense that they hope to become affiliated with specific (imagined) communities. In fact, she notes, these future communities can be even more powerful than the real ones, in that they shape the speakers’ investment and become a driving force for them to reach out to wider worlds (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007, p. 670). Norton describes imagined identities by stating that: “in imagining ourselves bonded with our fellow citizens across time and

space, we can feel a sense of community with people we have not yet met, but perhaps hope to meet one day” (Norton, 2013, p. 8).

From a SL education perspective, Norton maintains that the imagined identities of SL learners enhance their investment in learning. For instance, she argues, a learner may be highly motivated in language learning but at the same time have no investment in the practices that take place in a classroom where they may feel excluded (Norton, 2013, p.6). Norton claims that when learners invest in the target language they also invest in their identities and reorganize the ways in which they wish to relate to the social world. And though imagining one’s identity and striving to reach it is indeed of paramount importance, the reality is that for some people gaining access to communities and institutions –and thus to imagined identities too- is easier than it is for others. It is for this reason that many scholars choose to focus their research on the ways in which power operates within society and on how some people gain access to social networks, while others are constantly denied access and are marginalized (Cummins, 2000; Fairclough, 2001; Pennycook, 2007).

Identity in SLA and HLE

Until fairly recently, research on Second Language Acquisition (SLA) focused exclusively on issues related to cognitive and linguistic aspects of language learning (Atkinson, 2011; Leeman et al., 2011; Ortega, 2009). In the past twenty years, sociolinguistic studies have gained ground and attention is now drawn to social, cultural, and political aspects of language learning - what has been often referred to as the ‘social turn’ (Block, 2003; Ortega, 2011). Until then, SL and FL learning was oriented towards an idealized native-speaker model, and non-native speakers were evaluated against native-like competence. This model, although still potent, has now been questioned by numerous researchers who assert that native-like competence is neither attainable nor relevant to SL learners (Canagarajah, 1999; Cook 1992, 1999; Corbett, 2003; Cummins et al., 2005; Holliday, 2008; Kramsch, 2011; Pennycook, 1994; Rampton, 1990, Trudgill & Hannah, 2008).

Sociolinguists have researched and written extensively about SL learners’ language use, that is, about how they actually use the languages they learn and act as mediators to facilitate communication. Instead of setting native competence as the ideal target, emphasis is now placed on SL learners’ ability to communicate effectively with their interlocutors, whether native or non-

native speakers. Cook (1991, 1992) coined the term *multicompetence* to refer to SL learners' knowledge of two or more languages, and argued that these languages form a unified system rather than separate systems. Similarly, Cenoz and Genessee (1998) referred to SL learners' *multilingual competence*, that is, their ability to employ all the languages that make up their linguistic repertoire, and negotiate their position when interacting with different interlocutors. These two terms have led to an understanding of the relation between language and identity as intricate. In Vandergriff's words: "Because language does more than communicate transactional meaning, any language use simultaneously communicates a metamessage about who we are; that is, it indexes identity" (Vandergriff, 2016, p. 90).

As issues related to identity have become central in language research, critical approaches have also gained popularity (Pennycook, 2001). Critical pedagogy and research focus on the power relations embedded in languages and seek to raise people's awareness about the structures of languages which position individuals in particular social roles, either allowing or denying them access to social networks (Norton, 2010, 2013; Norton & Toohey, 2011). Critical pedagogy aims to challenge dominant social hierarchies perpetuated through language, and to question practices that reinforce these hierarchies and social inequalities (Blommaert, 2010; Heller, 2011). Indeed, the perennial emphasis on the idealized native-speaker model has often meant that educators treated L2 learners' first languages as irrelevant and an impediment to SLA. Critical research and pedagogy stress that not recognizing the value of L2 learners' first languages impacts the learners' sense of self and their learning, and can lead to language loss (Canagarajah, 2004; Cho & Krashen, 1998; Cummins et al., 2005; Wright & Taylor, 1995).

Many of the theoretical underpinnings and methodological designs of SLA research have been extended to the fairly new field of HLE. In HLE, issues related to identity have been central, and critical approaches have been implemented to value learners' HL, allow HL learners an expanded sense of self, and raise their awareness about coercive relations perpetuated through language (Martinez, 2003). Trifonas and Aravossitas (2014, p. xiii) assert that "Education in heritage language (HL) is not just a new dimension in the areas of linguistic and/or pedagogic sciences; it is linked to the processes of identity negotiation and cultural inheritance, through language that passes from generation to generation as a tangible legacy of the past that looks forward to a future." Indeed, issues related to HLE are inextricably linked to the HL learners' identity negotiation, since by definition they are people with a personal connection to a non-

dominant language and constantly have to negotiate their position both in relation to the HL and to the dominant social networks. Issues related to HL learners' identity negotiation are therefore essential and must be accounted for when examining HLE.

Research (Norton & Toohey, 2011; Varghese et. al, 2005) has also suggested a conceptualization of language teachers' identities as both *in-practice* and *in-discourse*. When approaching identities through the former lens (identity-in-practice), emphasis is on the actual practices of the teachers in relation to students, whereas when approaching identities through the latter lens (identity-in-discourse), emphasis is on language, power and the teachers' critical reflexivity, as it is highlighted that identities are discursively constituted. Therefore, the proposed conceptualization places emphasis on both the instructional practices of the teachers and on their critical reflexivity and meta-awareness. Varghese and colleagues clarify this distinction: "In 'identity-in-practice', teacher agency is seen as action-oriented and focusing on concrete practices and tasks in relation to a group and mentor(s). In 'identity-in-discourse', agency is discursively constituted, mainly through language, focusing primarily on critical reflexivity" (Varghese et. al, 2005, p. 39). Identities are often divided between assigned and claimed, with the difference being that the former are identities that are constructed by others and forced on individuals, whereas the latter are identities that individuals have claimed or chosen for themselves and are the outcomes of negotiations in a plethora of social settings and interactions with people (Allen, 2006, 2007).

Kanno (2003a) maintains that it is essential that language teachers reflect on their own presuppositions and ideologies, as these inevitably shape their instructional practices. She raises the issue that language teachers oftentimes create imagined identities for their students (that is, they create visions as to where their students should belong) and stresses that they must refrain from imposing such identities on them, as this can limit their agency. In the case of HL teachers, this becomes all the more important, as HL learners' identities and linguistic repertoires are informed by both the dominant language and the HL, and thus they are more likely to clash with what are more traditionally and statically considered as legitimate language and social practices. This can be detrimental, as it can stall the renegotiation, legitimization and expansion of HL learners' identities (Blommaert, 2010).

Affirming and Expanding HL learners' identities

When examining HLE, identity negotiation is central, as by definition both HL teachers and HL learners are asked to balance between multiple identities and constantly position themselves both in relation to the dominant language and culture and to the HL. What becomes essential, therefore, is to create inclusive and safe learning environments, where all students feel they belong, have equal opportunities to succeed, irrespective of their proficiency in the HL, and are equally important. Cummins argues that in multilingual classes, it is the educators' responsibility to 'teach the whole child' (Cummins et. al, 2005). That is, educators must treat all students' linguistic and cultural competencies as resources for furthering knowledge and by no means as impediments. Indeed, he notes, validating the students' linguistic repertoires is essential not only for enhancing their learning, but also for affirming their identities. If the teacher fails to value the students' competencies, then the teacher becomes complicit with the societal power relations that perpetuate the recognition of some languages as dominant and prestigious and the marginalization and social devaluation of others (Cummins, 2014a).

Similarly, HL teachers must acknowledge and build on the students' competencies and connect their instructional practices to the HL learners' realities, to help motivate them. Cummins mentions several activities and projects that can be used to this end and that actively validate and make use of the full linguistic repertoire of learners, while also recognizing that competencies developed in one of the two languages can be transferred and used creatively for the learning of the other. One such example are dual-language books, which are books which are written by the learners both in the dominant language and the HL, and which thus legitimize them both and build on the learners' metalinguistic awareness (ibid, 2014). Indeed, encouraging HL learners to use all their linguistic and cultural competencies can affirm the learners' identities and open up new identity options for them, as this raises HL learners' awareness about the fact that linguistic and cultural identities are neither bounded nor mutually exclusive. In fact, this process of valuing and renegotiating identities is understood as reciprocal, as the identities of the HL teachers are also affected and redefined.

Moreover, despite the fact that much attention has been given to the exposure to the target language that is needed to learn an HL, Tse (2001) argues that it is even more important to create safe environments where all HL learners feel they belong and are part of a group. For individuals

who are often marginalized along linguistic and cultural lines, providing them with a sense of group membership is essential and can positively affect their relation to the HL and to the people who share it. Other researchers (Carreira, 2016; Kagan & Dillon, 2008; Wu & Chang, 2010) note that macrobased or top-down approaches are more appropriate than microbased approaches in the HL classroom, given the fact that most HL learners have an already developed aural competence in the HL. Macrobased approaches start from the learners' experiences and background knowledge of the HL and then move on to teaching grammar and vocabulary. The reverse is true for SL or FL classrooms, especially at the earliest levels of instruction where learners' aural competence is limited and often microbased approaches are used, introducing learners to decontextualized information first and then moving on to more complex knowledge (Carreira, 2016). By using macrobased approaches in the HL classroom, the learning is dictated by function or context as opposed to being decontextualized, and it becomes easier to use authentic material in the HL classroom. Contextualization and authenticity are seen as appropriate and more likely to motivate HL learners (ibid, 2016).

In short, research has shown that what is essential in HLE is to create safe environments that help generate a sense of belonging. This motivates learners and helps them develop positive attitudes towards the HL and other HL speakers. It is also pivotal to recognize that HL learners have competencies both in the dominant language and the HL. HL teachers therefore need to be willing to validate both, so as to empower the learners, help them build on their existing knowledge and full linguistic repertoire, and develop their metalinguistic awareness. Finally, macrobased approaches, which start from the HL learners' experiences and background knowledge of the HL, are considered as ideal for the HL classroom, as they allow for contextualized learning and the use of authentic material, both of which motivate learners.

Defining language and languaging

Weber and Horner (2017) offer two competing models to describe language. The first is the *popular model*, which “differentiates between ‘languages’ and ‘dialects’, and postulates a hierarchical relation between them” (Weber & Horner, 2017, p. 35). According to this model, languages are considered superior to dialects, and in most cases, the term ‘language’ is seen as synonymous to ‘standard language’. The second model to describe languages is the *expert model*, which argues that there is no linguistic difference between languages and varieties, and proposes

the use of the terms ‘linguistic resources’ or ‘linguistic varieties’ to describe them. Sociolinguists today challenge the first and adhere to the second model, and stress the fact that language varieties are categorized as either languages or dialects, based on social, political, and economic -but not linguistic- criteria.

In the last fifty years, sociolinguists have also highlighted that the practice of naming and categorizing languages can be traced back to colonial practices of Europeans, trying to create nation-states associated with distinct languages, and in that way to establish hierarchies tied to language use (Errington, 2001; García, Flores & Spotti, 2017; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Pennycook & Makoni, 2019). The term *nation-state* refers to an imagined construct of a state whose citizens all share the same nation, language, and culture (Anderson, 1983; García, Flores & Spotti, 2017). Indeed, when sociolinguistics was established as an academic field in the 1960s, it adopted these positivist, modernist approaches to the study of language and society. Sociolinguistics at that time viewed languages as bounded entities linked to specific communities, which in turn were also understood as bounded and homogeneous. It soon became evident that the vast majority of communities were not monolingual, as people used different language varieties in their everyday lives. According to positivist modernist sociolinguistics, multilingualism was understood as ‘double monolingualism’, in that language speakers were understood as members of homogeneous communities, code-switching between bounded languages. The intended outcome was *diglossia*, a phenomenon where a speech community uses two languages; one ‘high variety’, appropriate for use in formal contexts, and one ‘low variety’, appropriate only for informal contexts (Coulmas, 2005; Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967). Positivist modernist sociolinguistics aimed to describe languages in ways that would advocate for linguistic minorities. It tried to designate the legitimacy of all language varieties and advocated for top-down policies to address social inequalities. Unfortunately, by not addressing the causes of these inequalities directly, positivist modernist sociolinguistics failed to bring about positive change, and rather, “often naturalized language ideologies that were complicit in the continued marginalization of these very communities” (García, Flores, & Spotti, 2017, p.551).

Critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics emerged after the realization that positivist modernist sociolinguistics had failed to disrupt social inequalities and the marginalization of certain language varieties. Largely influenced by the conceptualization of power by Michel Foucault (1978,1980), critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics moved away from simply

advocating for language policies, as had been the case until then, and rather focused on the ideological processes behind such policies and the categorization of languages that leads to the validation of some and the devaluation of others (Pennycook, 2001). Also, it placed emphasis on the practices used to perpetuate hierarchies and the ways in which both individuals and communities negotiate the alleged boundaries between languages, as well as their own identities. Indeed, unlike positivist modernist sociolinguistics that did not theorize the relation between language and identity, critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics considered the two as interrelated, and aimed to understand how individuals construct their identities through their use of language in their social interactions.

Apart from focusing on how power is exercised through language to create and perpetuate inequalities and hierarchies, and how individuals negotiate such hierarchies and construct their identities (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005; García, Flores & Spotti, 2017; Heller 2007, 2008; Pennycook, 2010; Weber & Horner, 2017), critical poststructuralist sociolinguists also focused on the notion of language itself. It challenged structuralist notions of languages as bounded entities linked to nation-states, and moved towards an understanding of languages as social and political constructs (Weber & Horner, 2017). Besides, increasing globalization, mobility, and technological advances have challenged traditional understandings of languages and identities more than ever (Byrd Clark, 2010; Byrd Clark et al., 2012; García, Flores & Spotti, 2017; Lamarre 2013, 2014). As Byrd Clark and her colleagues note, “we can no longer look at language, identity, or community as separate categories, nor as stable, fixed representations. The conception of a nation-state ideology (one language, one culture) does not hold in today’s globalised world nor does it reflect the social realities of today’s youth” (Byrd Clark et al., 2014, p.149). Instead of viewing languages as fixed entities that can be clearly defined, described, and counted, sociolinguists now consider languages as fluid and flexible, and bring attention to the social and political factors that have contributed to the separation and hierarchization of language varieties. Instead of focusing on languages, critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics proposes a focus on *linguaging* or *language practices*, that is, a focus on the ways in which individuals use their linguistic resources (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García, 2009a; Pennycook, 2010; Shohamy, 2006; Weber & Horner, 2017).

The idea that languages are not bounded entities, but rather historical, social, and political constructs, or even *inventions* (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007), can seem very destabilizing, since

language plays a fundamental role in people's identification. However, this alternative understanding of language does not aim to diminish its importance, but rather to raise awareness about the sociopolitical processes associated with language minorization and to open up spaces for political and social change. In Pennycook & Makoni's words, "We do not argue that languages do not exist but rather that they are not natural kinds, they are not things that exist beyond human activity." (2019, p. 59).

Multilingualism and Translanguaging

In this thesis, I use both the term *multilingualism* and the term *translanguaging*. I use the former to refer to societies where different languages coexist, but when I want to refer to individuals' language practices, I refrain from using the term *multilingualism*, and I opt for the term *translanguaging* instead. Sociolinguistics assumes a positive stance towards multilingualism and views it as a resource – and not as an impediment – for multilinguals. However, it has been suggested that multilingualism has been largely shaped by monolingual ideologies (Gogolin 1994, 2002). Critical poststructuralist sociolinguists highlights that until recently, multilingualism was understood as individuals' ability to use separate languages (Heller, 2007). As was discussed in the previous section, this understanding of languages as fixed and countable is linked to structuralism and nation-state building, and fails to account for the power dynamics embedded in the hierarchization of language varieties, as well as the specific identity options that become available to different language users as a result of this hierarchization.

An understanding of languages as fluid and socially and politically constructed is now suggested, and many sociolinguists are moving away from the use of terms that treat languages as enumerable entities, such as multilingualism (Unger et al., 2009), plurilingualism (Council of Europe, 2005), polylingualism (Jørgensen, 2008; Møller, 2008), and multiplurilingualism (Ehrhart, 2010). Emphasis is now placed on finding new terms to refer to language practices in ways that do not promote the idea that languages are fixed and countable. My understanding is that among the terms used to describe individuals' language practices without treating languages as enumerable, the concept of *translanguaging* is the most developed one in terms of theory, methodology, and pedagogy. I employ the term to refer to individuals' language practices, and more specifically, to refer to instances where the boundaries between language varieties are negotiated and challenged. The term translanguaging, was originally coined in Welsh as

trawsieithu by Cen Williams (1994). Initially, the term was used to describe the pedagogical practice of students being exposed to input in one language and then producing output in another (García, 2007). The term has since then been expanded by García (2009a, 2009b), Blackledge and Creese (2010), Canagarajah (2011b, 2013), Hornberger and Link (2012) and many other scholars.

García extended translanguaging beyond pedagogy to individuals' everyday realities both inside and outside school. She associated translanguaging with individuals' ability to make meaning by drawing on all their linguistic and communicative resources, and defined it as "the multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (García, 2009a, p. 45). Translanguaging, therefore, challenges the idea that so-called languages are fixed and bounded, and rather views individuals' language practices as fluid and flexible. Scholarship on translanguaging has highlighted the difference in meaning between translanguaging and code-switching. The two terms are epistemologically different, as code-switching assumes an external viewpoint to languages (it considers them as separate and bounded), while translanguaging assumes an internal viewpoint (it views an individual's linguistic resources as parts of an integrated system) (Canagarajah, 2011b; García & Kleyn, 2016). Instead of focusing on languages, translanguaging focuses on *language*s (people) and *language*ing (their language practices), and recognizes that the boundaries between so-called languages are constantly negotiated in people's interactions.

Scholars stress that translanguaging occurs spontaneously when individuals draw from all their linguistic resources (their full linguistic repertoires) to maximize their communicative potential (García, 2009a). Williams (2012) describes this as *natural translanguaging*, in order to differentiate it from *official translanguaging*, which is connected to translanguaging pedagogy and teachers' explicit strategies to leverage the use of all students' linguistic resources. In short, while it is believed that individuals translanguage *spontaneously* on a daily basis both in formal and informal contexts, in the context of classrooms, teachers use translanguaging *strategically* in order to encourage students to use their full linguistic repertoires in order to make meaning and communicate (García et al., 2016). Translanguaging therefore places emphasis on individuals' agency, while research suggests that it also empowers learners by affirming their identities (García & Wei 2014, Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Finally, it has also been suggested that translanguaging can lead to more equitable education as it actively challenges social and linguistic inequalities (García & Kleyn, 2016; Otheguy et al., 2015).

Language Socialization

Language socialization emerged from the fields of human development and linguistic anthropology, but also borrows from psychology and sociology, and focuses on both ‘socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language’ (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986, p. 163). It is a term used to describe “the process by which individuals acquire, reproduce, and transform the knowledge and competence that enable them to participate appropriately within specific communities of language users” (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015, p. 319). In short, it refers to the process by which individuals gain communicative competence and membership in a given group through linguistic and social interaction with other more proficient members of this community (Duff, 2007). Through this process, individuals not only gain linguistic competence, but also get to know the community’s values and traditions. Language socialization researchers consider language as a ‘dynamic social practice’ that is constantly contested by the people who use it (Duff & Talmy, 2011, p.96), and place emphasis on how individuals develop their linguistic and cultural competence through their daily interactions with others. Scholarship on language socialization views linguistic and cultural learning as being *contextualized* and *interactional* processes (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015). That is, language socialization places particular emphasis on the context of interaction and on individuals’ agency.

Initially, research on language socialization focused exclusively on how very young children acquired their first language, and more specifically on the relation between their language acquisition and socialization (Ochs, 1988; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1995; Schieffelin, 1990). More recently, language socialization researchers have broadened their focus and now examine how older children, teenagers, and adults are socialized by and through language into their culture’s interpretive frameworks (Bayley & Schechter, 2003; Schechter & Bayley, 2004). Studies now focus on language socialization in bi/multilingual contexts and especially contexts where individuals have a choice of either using a minority or dominant language (Lamarre & Dagenais, 2004; Schechter & Bayley, 2004). Language socialization is not understood as a process where experts simply pass on ways of acting to novices (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). It is a bi-directional process, where both novices and experts learn from one another (Duff, 2007). It is stressed that individuals of all ages gain different understandings from socialization activities and make their own choices as they are being socialized by and through language. Individuals socialize by and through language in learning spaces like school, home, communities, but research suggests that blurring

the boundaries between these spaces and allowing individuals to use all their linguistic and cultural resources can both enhance their linguistic and cultural development and bring about social change on a larger scale (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015).

In the context of SLE and HLE, the concept of language socialization is essential, as it facilitates the learners' language learning, it familiarizes learners to the values of the target community and it allows them to gain relevant cultural knowledge (Duff, 2007). It is also stressed that socialization in an additional language does not always lead to the reproduction of a community's exact practices. It may lead to hybrid practices, identities and values, as individuals may partially adopt, contest, or reject altogether some of the target community's cultural and discursive practices (ibid, 2007).

Language Ideologies

Linguistic anthropologist Michael Silverstein defined the term 'language ideologies' as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193). Another linguistic anthropologist, Judith Irvine, went on to provide another definition of the term that places greater emphasis on the sociocultural aspects that inform language ideologies. In her words, language ideologies refer to "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine, 1989, p. 255).

More recently, Blackledge has stressed that research on language ideology initially aimed to analyze collective linguistic behaviour, whereas later studies on language ideology focus on "recognising the social positioning, partiality, contestability, instability and mutability of the ways in which language uses and beliefs are linked to relations of power and political arrangements in societies" (2000, p 26). In short, language ideology is a term used to designate people's overt and covert beliefs about language, which inevitably influence their linguistic choices as well as their interpretations of others' linguistic choices and communicative practices. Language ideology is thus now seen as closely linked to the societal power relations which lead to the validation of some languages (and their speakers), and the devaluation of others (Blommaert, 1999; Heller, 2007; McGroarty, 2010; O'Rourke et al. 2015; Woolard, 1998).

Evidently, in contexts where different languages and varieties come into contact, conflict, discrimination, and exclusion are frequent phenomena. The study of language ideologies shows

that language practices are primarily social practices informed by people's cultural, social, as well as political beliefs (Blommaert, 1999; Heller, 2007; Shannon, 1999; Woolard, 1998). It is argued that "ideologies related to language and language use do not exist in a vacuum, conceptually or temporally; they overlap and continually share social and conceptual territory with other core beliefs and related agendas that influence decisions regarding appropriate alternatives in education, work, government policies and so on in an ever-dynamic policy stream" (McGroarty, 2010, p. 3).

Indeed, language ideologies are very powerful, in that they both reflect and produce power relations. Dixon et al.'s study (2016) on pre-service English language teachers in a public university in the United States showed that teachers who held traditional views of language learning tended to demonstrate less supportive attitudes towards English language learners, which also translated into less inclusive instructional practices. Ajayi's study (2011) on English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers in high schools in Los Angeles demonstrates that despite working in schools that viewed students' first languages as irrelevant to English learning, teachers who identified with marginalized groups aimed to connect their practices to the students' realities so as to affirm their identities. Lynn (2002) focuses on black male teachers in Los Angeles schools and argues that they have a sense of "racial obligation and responsibility to the Black community at large" (p. 126). According to Lynn, the teachers' experiences as members of marginalized groups largely shape their sociocultural as well as their teacher identities. Teachers thus view themselves as positive role models for students, and aim to correct social wrongs by connecting their teaching to social change.

Kanno's study (2003a) on ESL teachers in Japan, and Gao's study (2012) on Chinese language teachers in Hong Kong, both focus on the identities that language teachers tend to imagine for and assign to their students. They both highlight that teachers associate least-privileged students with impoverished imagined communities, thus reproducing societal power relations. Woolard (1998) examines language ideologies which can affect FLE and HLE, such as the nationalist ideology that people who share the same national background all speak the exact same language. This ideology views language as a bounded entity which remains stable and unaltered by time, place and human interaction. It also views people who share the same national background as a homogeneous group. Any linguistic variety which does not adhere to the idealized 'authentic' HL norm is devalued and its speakers are judged accordingly.

Therefore, when examining people's (and especially language teachers') beliefs about language, one should be critical of the assumptions underlying their practices as these are often subtle or even subconscious, and yet very powerful. One needs to be aware of the fact that these assumptions can be used to maintain and perpetuate social power and domination (Thomson, 1984) in the name of 'common-sense notions about the nature of language in the world' (Rumsey, 1990). Evidently, such ideologies inform practices that can either enhance language learners' connection to the target language and culture, or discourage and alienate them.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I focused on the literature on Heritage Languages and Heritage Language Education, and I presented the historical context in which they emerged. I focused on HL terminology, and the profiles of HL speakers and HL learners. I presented the phenomena of language shift, language maintenance, and language loss. I then turned to a brief presentation of HLE and Greek HLE in Canada. In the second section of this chapter, I presented my theoretical positioning, and I discussed issues related to identity negotiation, languages and languaging, language ideologies, and language socialization from a critical sociolinguistics perspective. Finally, I presented the literature on the HL teachers' role in affirming their students' identities.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Methods

Chapter Overview

Based on the nature and the specific goals of this research, I concluded that the ideal methodological approach for this study was narrative inquiry. However, narrative inquiry is often treated with contempt as it does not adhere to positivistic norms, which for a long time were considered to be superior in terms of guaranteeing rigor in research. Therefore, in this chapter, I start by focusing on historical developments and recent trends in qualitative inquiry. My aim is to demonstrate that qualitative research in general, and narrative inquiry in particular, can indeed be rigorous. I address six main issues with which every qualitative researcher is faced: validity, generalizability, access and consent, reflexivity, voice and transparency (Butler-Kisber, 2010). I identify and address each of these issues, and I explore ways to overcome them and ensure rigor in qualitative inquiry.

Next, I narrow down my scope and examine previous literature on teacher identities. I explore phenomenological and ethnographical approaches, which have often been used in similar studies in the past. I then compare and contrast these approaches to narrative inquiry, and I explain why I deemed the latter as the most appropriate approach for my study. Next, I turn to the present study, and I discuss how I positioned myself in the research. I present the questions that guided the inquiry, and I describe the specific methods I employed to generate field texts (data). I then explain how I made contact with the participants and how I obtained consent, while I also provide a short profile for each participant. Finally, I present the timeline of the study and I discuss issues related to transcription and translation.

Historical developments in Qualitative Inquiry

When considering the history of qualitative research in North America, reference is often made to Denzin and Lincoln's (2018, p. 9-10) 'moments of qualitative research'. They start with the *traditional* phase (1900-1950), the period between the beginning of the twentieth century and World War II, when researchers supposedly aimed at an objective description of other cultures, but actually provided colonizing perceptions of them and failed to understand the particularities of the peoples and the cultures that they investigated. Denzin and Lincoln then distinguish the *modernist or golden* phase (1950s-1970s), during which the main aim of qualitative researchers was theory development in ways that could match the rigor of quantitative research. Next, the

blurred genres phase marks the period until the mid-1980s, when qualitative researchers compared and contrasted different theories and methods and moved away from categorizing and towards interpretation of phenomena (narratives and ethnographic descriptions).

The fourth phase is the *crisis of representation*, expanding from the mid-1980s to 1990, when it became evident that all parts of research are constructed versions of reality shaped by the interpretation of each researcher. It became apparent that if two researchers conduct similar research, their findings will be different, as their interpretations will be different. This, in turn, raised the issue of researchers situating themselves in their studies and sparked a debate as to whether traditional means of evaluating research studies are appropriate for qualitative research and which alternative criteria could be employed for this purpose. The fifth phase is the *postmodern* phase (1990-1995), during which qualitative researchers moved away from the so-called grand narrative and towards local narratives. To this end, participatory inquiry and experimental writing were foregrounded.

Next, the *postexperimental* phase (1995-2000), is described as the period when arts-informed ways were introduced as ways to present lived experience, and issues related to qualitative research were linked to democratic policies. During the *methodologically contested* phase (2000-2004) and the *paradigm proliferation* phase (2005-2010) qualitative researchers questioned research methods and what constitutes ‘valid’ research. The *fractured posthumanist phase* (2010-2015) involved the need for qualitative researchers to confront the ‘methodological backlash’ of evidence-based research that questions novel qualitative methods, and an emphasis on making research accountable to those it serves. The last phase is the *utopian future* (2016-), where “critical inquiry finds its voice in the public arena” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p.9).

Recent trends in Qualitative Research

In more recent years, new trends have emerged and have brought about new possibilities as well as new challenges for qualitative inquirers. Multiple and new types of field texts are now used in qualitative studies, which in turn has led to new ways of analyzing such field texts. Although interviews and focus groups continue to be widely used, there is a growing interest in visual and multimodal field texts, including but not limited to photos (Pink, 2012; Prosser, 2011; Rose, 2012), videos (Heath, 2012; Hindmarsh & Tutt, 2012), films (Buckland, 2009; Etherington-Wright & Doughty, 2011), cellphilms (Entee, Burkholder & Schwab-Cartas, 2016), music

(Kelman, 2010; Knoblauch & Schnettler, 2009), poems (Butler-Kisber, 2011; Sullivan, 2009), and collage (Butler-Kisber, 2007; Gerstenblatt, 2013).

This widening of what can be used as field texts has resulted in a widening of analytical approaches, with visual and arts-informed material being used as ways to elicit information, as field texts and as modes of inquiry. In fact, it is argued (Butler-Kisber & Poldma, 2010; Kerwin-Boudreau & Butler-Kisber, 2016) that the combination of new forms of analysis, such as arts-informed inquiry, can provide new dimensions to qualitative inquiry, by offering nuanced insights and understandings that traditional research cannot provide, as well as both breadth and depth to qualitative work. It is also asserted that a result of this shift towards alternative field texts and approaches is that “more and more of the participants and contexts become visible in the data, in what is processed in the analysis and what is represented in the reports and publications” (Flick, 2014, p. 14). This raises some ethical considerations concerning the protection of people’s anonymity and privacy (both the participants’ and other people’s who may be in the scene while the researcher and/or the participants are collecting visual field texts), and designates the need for an ongoing negotiation between researcher and researched to ensure ethical practices while conducting research (Butler-Kisber, 2010).

The advent of technology and its presence in qualitative inquiry is not a new phenomenon; technology has been widely used in all stages of research since the 1980s. In more recent years, however, qualitative inquiry has been further affected by technological developments. On the one hand, social networking sites like Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube are now widely used as sampling methods and for data collection (Blachnio, Przepiórka & Rudnicka, 2013; Cru, 2015). On the other hand, software programs are now increasingly being used in qualitative analysis, which has ignited a heated debate among researchers who feel that this enhances the scrutiny of their work and others who maintain that software distorts qualitative analysis, as it “implicitly forces its logical and display structure upon the data and the researcher’s analysis” (Flick, 2014, p. 14). Other arguments put forth by the two sides include the point that computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) merely supports the process of analysis and does not actually do the analysis (like software for statistical analysis) (Friese, 2011; Silver & Lewins, 2014) and the counterargument that several of the software programs were developed according to grounded theory, and are thus inappropriate for other qualitative approaches (Flick, 2014).

Issues in Qualitative Research

Validity

When conducting quantitative research, two fundamental issues to consider are the reliability and validity of the research instruments. Reliability is the degree to which a research instrument gives similar results if repeated multiple times (Thomas, 2013). Potential causes of unreliability are considered the participants' and the researcher's error or bias (Robson, 2011). The second issue that quantitative researchers must take account of, is the validity of their research instruments, what Golafshani defines as the instrument's capacity to measure exactly what is intended to be measured (2003, p.599). There are two main types of validity, both of which are relevant when undertaking quantitative research: internal and external validity. Internal validity refers to the extent to which the researcher is able to state that no variables, other than the ones that they have examined, affect the research problem under study. External validity refers to the generalizability of the findings to broader contexts (Robson, 2011, pp 87-91).

From these definitions, it becomes evident that both validity and reliability are rooted in positivist understandings about research. The notion of reliability is argued to be irrelevant to qualitative research, as it solely concerns measurements (Stenbacka, 2001). And though the need to evaluate the rigor of qualitative research is essential, qualitative researchers tend to avoid the term validity itself, as it is rooted in the positivist paradigm. Instead, several other terms have been suggested to provide an equivalent to the notion of validity, informed by qualitative understandings about research, such as trustworthiness, truthfulness, quality of the research, authenticity, genuineness, or soundness of the research (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Mishler, 2000; Salkind, 1997; Seale, 1999). Mishler (1986) proposes a shift of focus from methods which aim to dehumanize research, to personal narratives of individuals. He suggests that the assessment of qualitative research's trustworthiness should focus on the extent to which people value it and take action based on its findings. According to him, this not only validates the research, but it also empowers people themselves. Lather (1986) advocates for catalytic validity, which she defines as "the degree to which the research process reorients, focuses, and energizes participants toward knowing reality in order to transform it. [...] Efforts to produce social knowledge that will advance the struggle for a more equitable world must pursue rigor as well as relevance." (p. 272). In short, proponents of catalytic validity argue that critical research should have transformative goals and be judged based

on the extent to which it leads to social change and advances the interests of less powerful groups (Lather, 1991; Levin & Greenwood, 2001; Pennycook, 1994).

Reissman (1993) also notes that the trustworthiness of a research study must be determined by the degree of its persuasiveness, authenticity and plausibility. In order to increase the persuasiveness of a qualitative research study, researchers must be transparent about the research process and their role in it. They need to demonstrate that they were able to account for their own biases and the contextual influences throughout the process, by being reflexive. The length of time spent in the field, building a close relationship with the participants and the multiplicity of sources for gathering field texts are also pivotal in presenting a persuasive study. Finally, involving the participants in the verification of the findings can also increase the trustworthiness of the study. To ensure that the study is also authentic and plausible, the researcher must stay close to the field texts when discussing them and providing their interpretations. It is also of paramount importance to include the voices of all participants and be transparent and detailed in analyzing cases that may diverge from the rest. Evidently, it is crucial that the research is guided by ethical practices at all times (Butler-Kisber, 2010).

Generalizability

Generalizability is defined as “the extent to which what we have found in a particular situation at a particular time applies more generally” (Robson, 2011, p.270). In order to be in a position to claim generalizability of a study’s findings, a researcher must be certain that the sampling of the research is representative of the wider population, a term used to indicate all the possible cases to which these findings could be applied. This has also been termed as statistical generalization (Yin, 2003). Evidently, this is also a term that applies mainly to quantitative research and is rooted in the positivistic paradigm. Indeed, it has been argued that generalizability is irrelevant to qualitative research and other terms have been suggested as equivalents. One such term is transferability, which refers not to the possibility of generalizing the findings to broader contexts, but rather to the relevance of these findings to broader populations (Stake, 1994; Denscombe, 1998).

Another term that has been suggested, perhaps more relevant to qualitative research, is the term particularizability. Particularizability refers to how a study can resonate (Conle, 1996) with people in other contexts and provide them with understandings about their own personal

experiences, which could either confirm their own already established understandings, or offer them new possibilities. Indeed, qualitative research often involves a small number of participants and places emphasis on gaining deep insights into these few participants' experiences and ideas, as opposed to aiming to quantify these experiences. Generalizability, therefore, is neither relevant nor desirable to qualitative studies which favor the particular over the general (Donmoyer, 2008).

Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to the ability of the researcher to acknowledge the ways in which they influence the research (Sandelowski & Barroso, 2002). Reflexive practice presupposes that the researcher is willing to consider and evaluate their own assumptions, as well as their actions and decision making while conducting the study, and acknowledge factors which may affect the process. In Coghlan's and Bannick's words, "systematic reflexivity is the constant analysis of one's own theoretical and methodological presuppositions" (2005, p. 6). The researcher is expected to reflect on and adopt a critical stance towards their own presuppositions and actions and evaluate the extent to which these affect the research. This process affects not just the research, but also the researcher, as it presupposes that they critically reflect on and reconsider what they bring to the study (Holmes et al., 2005).

As Butler-Kisber (2010, p. 19) notes, "What needs to be accounted for and interrogated (...) is what perspectives are brought to the work and why we see things the way we do. In qualitative inquiry, no apologies are needed for identity, assumptions, and biases, just a rigorous accounting of them". Indeed, reflexivity is not evaluated in the same way in studies informed by the quantitative and qualitative paradigms. For example, in phenomenology, a qualitative approach that is however rooted in positivist paradigms as it emerged in the 1950s when the dominance of quantitative research was undeniable, researchers understand reflexivity as being able to '*bracket*' or isolate and set aside their biases and assumptions about the focus of their study. Other researchers, usually those conducting constant comparison inquiry, understand reflexivity as a constant checking of their methodological and epistemological decisions which may affect the study. More recently, and with the emergence of feminist and participatory inquiry, reflexivity is understood as reciprocal, as both the assumptions of the participants and the researcher are accounted for, as well as sociopolitical influences which may also affect the experiences of the participants (Dowling, 2008).

Identity memos, that is, short statements where researchers present themselves, their beliefs and the ways in which they will account for their presuppositions (Butler-Kisber, 2010; Maxwell, 1996) have been suggested as a way to openly identify and address the researcher's implicit assumptions. In addition, reflective memos, that is short statements written throughout the process of conducting a research study, where researchers monitor their positionality, decision making, and other external factors that may influence the study, are also useful tools that allow for reflexive practice, or the researcher's 'dialogue with herself' regarding factors that may impact the study (Butler-Kisber, 2010).

Voice

With the emergence of relational research in the 1980s, that is, research that views both the researcher and the participants as co-constructors of knowledge, and the study as an opportunity to reflect both on the Self and the Other (Finlay & Evans, 2009), new ethical issues arose. It became essential to provide detailed accounts of all the participants' voices, especially in cases when a participant's views significantly differed from those of other participants. By focusing on a small number of participants and investigating in depth their unique experiences, issues related to power arise, and it is the qualitative researcher's ethical responsibility to provide voice to all those who are silenced by sociopolitical networks, demonstrate how they are marginalized and help empower them and bring about positive change. As discussed in the previous section, reflecting on and providing detailed accounts of the researcher's presuppositions and positionality are equally essential, as this allows for a transparent and trustworthy process. It is argued (Butler-Kisber, 2010) that narrative and arts-informed forms of representation provide researchers with the means to reach nuanced understandings of the participants' voices and experiences which cannot be gained by more traditional approaches.

Transparency

Throughout the previous sections, extended reference was made to the notion of transparency, which is described as "the benchmark for writing up research and the presentation and dissemination of findings; that is, the need to be explicit, clear, and open about the methods and procedures used. As such, transparency is recognized as a basic requirement of all qualitative research. However, in a broader sense, it is of critical importance for every stage of the research process" (Given, 2008, p. 891). Indeed, as has been shown, transparency is preeminent, not just in

terms of clearly explaining the methods that one uses, but also in terms of providing a clear account of all the stages of conducting a research study. And though transparency may seem straightforward, in practice it is often taken for granted and researchers often fail to provide a clear documentation of the whole research process. Being transparent, that is, being open and as detailed as possible, is essential for establishing trustworthiness and persuasiveness in qualitative inquiry. It also enhances the researcher's reflexivity, as clearly describing showing each step of the process makes it easier for them to identify and address issues related to their positionality and assumptions which may influence the study. Transparency also allows the researcher to disseminate the findings both with the research participants and with other colleagues, which in turn enables them to evaluate and verify them. Finally, being transparent is essential as it helps the researcher to act ethically at all times and give voice to all the participants (Butler-Kisber, 2010).

Research on HL Teacher Identities and Narrative Inquiry

In this section, I am narrowing down my scope and I turn to the HL focus of my research. I present previous research that has been conducted on teacher identities, and I examine two approaches, namely ethnography and phenomenology, that have often been used in such studies. After examining these two approaches, I explain why I deemed narrative inquiry as the ideal fit for this study. Then, I present some final notes on evaluating narrative inquiry and some ethical considerations specific to this approach.

Previous research on HL Teacher Identity(-ies)

Research has shown that language teachers' practices are closely related to their identities (Norton & Toohey, 2011) and therefore it is essential to examine their identity negotiation to better understand their educational practices and their positionality in relation to the students, both of which can either engage or alienate learners (Blommaert, 2010; Pavlenko, 2003; Tsui, 2007; Varghese et al., 2005). In HL research, although many studies have focused on the HL learners' identities (Cho, 2000; Dressler, 2010; Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Kanno 2000, 2003b; Lee 2002; Shin 2009, 2010; Shinbo, 2004; Valdés, 2001; Wiley, 2008) the HL teachers' identities have not received the same attention until fairly recently.

An example of an early study which has served as the basis for more recent studies on HL teacher identity is Ayers and Schubert's (1994) study, which focused on helping preservice teachers make connections between theory and practice by examining stories told by teachers

which portray them in action and provide insights into their reflections and decision making. The researchers introduced the notion of “teacher lore” and asserted that teachers’ identities should be central in language learning research, while they also highlighted the need for professional development opportunities both for mainstream and HL teachers. Feuerverger (1997) also focused on HLE teachers and used a narrative inquiry to gain insights into their identities. Her study demonstrated that, at the time, HL teachers struggled to establish a sense of professional identity and even had difficulty in claiming a physical space in the schools where they taught, as they felt that they, just like the HL and the HL learners, were marginalized and silenced.

More recently, a qualitative multiple case study conducted by Wu, Palmer and Field (2011), focused on Chinese HL teachers in a Sunday school in South Texas. The findings of this research suggest that HL teachers viewed their job as ‘voluntary’ and considered parents as the most critical agents in strengthening HL learners’ connection to the HL. In the studies of Lee (2002) and Lee & Bang (2011), both of which focused on Korean HLE in the USA, the need for professional development programs appears to be central, as the researchers maintain that only by investing in the training of HL teachers can one hope to strengthen their professional identities, which will affect positively both HLE and language maintenance. Similarly, Russell & Kuriscak (2015) used survey data to examine the attitudes and practices of preservice and in-service high school Spanish HL teachers in East Central Indiana. The researchers asserted that although HL teachers deeply understood the challenges of HL learners, they were largely unable to help them overcome their difficulties and stressed the need for more teacher training through teaching methods and professional development programs.

Cho (2014) investigated preservice HL teachers in a teacher preparation program in Hawaii and presented narratives which demonstrated a gradual shift in their views of their own identities from a priori given and static to negotiated and dynamic. Cho thus urges for a reconceptualization of HL teacher identity and argues that HL teachers and their experiences should be central in the effort to enhance HLE. In contrast to the study conducted by Wu et al. (2011) on Chinese HL teachers, Kim and Kim’s (2016) qualitative study on three Korean HL teachers in two cities in the United States showed that Korean HL teachers had a strong sense of professional identity. The three HL teachers had widely different beliefs and attitudes which inevitably affected their educational practices and the HL learners’ experiences. Kim and Kim stress the importance of

encouraging HL teachers to reflect on their identities and presuppositions related to their students as these become evident in their teaching.

In the next sections I focus on phenomenological and ethnographical approaches which have often been used to examine teacher identities. After comparing and contrasting the two approaches, I present the reasons why I conclude that narrative inquiry is actually the ideal fit for my research study, and I explore it in greater depth.

Phenomenological and Ethnographical approaches

Research studies on identity written from a poststructuralist perspective often adopt phenomenological, ethnographical or narrative designs. As its name would suggest, phenomenology is the study of phenomena, that is, the study of structures of consciousness, from the standpoint of those who have experienced these phenomena (Heidegger, 1962, 1972; Husserl, 1931, 1970; Moustakas, 1994; Van Maanen, 1990). In phenomenology, researchers are expected to bracket their own experiences and presuppositions about the phenomenon that is being studied and focus on the participants' views, which will ultimately lead them to the essence or the 'exhaustive description' of the phenomenon (Cohen et al., 2000; Creswell 1998, 2018). However, qualitative researchers have rightly argued that the researcher always affects the research study that they are conducting, and can never claim to be objective or neutral.

More recent paradigms, such as narrative and ethnographic inquiries, have highlighted this and have in fact stressed the importance of the researcher reflecting on their biases and being open about them as opposed to trying to 'bracket' them. In narrative and ethnographic inquiries, for instance, the researcher is given an active role and is viewed as a co-constructor of knowledge, as it is understood that their interpretation of the field texts inevitably affects the research study. Thus, each research study is understood to provide a plausible explanation as opposed to the one and only truth or the essence of the phenomenon that is being studied. Indeed, phenomenology has been criticized for being heavily influenced by positivism in its conception of and adherence to the notion of validity (Beck et al., 1994; Le Roux, 2006, Yang et al., 2008).

Ethnography, from the Greek words ἔθνος [ethnos] (nation, people) and γράφω [grapho] (write), refers to the systematic study of the culture of a distinct group within a society. In Creswell's words, it is a "qualitative strategy of inquiry in which the researcher studies an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time by collecting, primarily,

observational and interview data” (Creswell, 2009, p. 13). Ethnographic methods are naturalistic, in that researchers work with the research participants in the field for an extended period of time, which allows them both the role of the ‘insider’ (intimate relation with the research participants) and the ‘outsider’ (as a researcher) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018).

There are many variations of ethnography, ranging from realist ethnography (Van Maanen, 1988) linguistic ethnography (Blackledge & Creese, 2010), critical sociolinguistic ethnography (Byrd Clark, 2010) to feminist ethnography (which is, by definition, critical ethnography) (Stacey, 1988). In all its forms, it is an approach that can indeed provide invaluable insights about a group of people, as it involves the participation of the researcher in their everyday lives and allows for a sound understanding of their values, beliefs, customs, ideas and overall worldviews (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Fetterman, 1998; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Ethnography’s ultimate goal is to provide a ‘thick description’ of a culture in a way that will make it comprehensible to people who do not share this culture. Another important characteristic of ethnographic research is that it involves the researcher’s long-term immersion in the everyday lives of the research participants. In fact, one of the limitations of ethnographic research is that the prolonged fieldwork and contact between the researcher and the participants can blur their roles (‘going native’) and raise ethical issues.

Comparing and contrasting the different approaches can be enlightening for deciding on the most appropriate one for conducting a research study. There are many forms of phenomenological research, but there are some main common characteristics shared by all of them, such as the understanding that reality can be perceived by studying individual experiences (Creswell, 1998). One of the most important characteristics of phenomenology is the aim of the researcher to suspend their presuppositions and biases while conducting the research study. In fact, phenomenology influenced both ethnography and narrative inquiry in this respect, as it raised the issue that irrespective of the nature of a research study, the researcher cannot be assumed to be neutral while conducting it (Butler-Kisber, 2010). However, both ethnography and narrative inquiry agree that ‘bracketing’ the researcher’s presuppositions is impossible, and instead suggest that the researcher must be as transparent as possible about the process and the decision-making involved in a research study (emphasis is placed on reflexivity).

And while phenomenology focuses on individual experiences, ethnographic research, in all its forms, focuses on the collective experiences of particular cultural groups. On the other hand, narrative inquiry, like phenomenology, focuses on personal experiences (focus on the particular), and like ethnography, involves the development of an intimate relation between the researcher and the participants and views the researcher as an active co-constructor of knowledge. Narrative inquiry aims to give voice to people who have been marginalized, provides nuanced descriptions of the participants' individual experiences and sheds light on issues related to power, representation, and voice (Chase, 2005).

Tracing back Narrative Inquiry

Narratives are by no means a new way of thinking, constructing and communicating one's experiences. It is rightly claimed that "Human beings have lived out and told stories about that living for as long as we could talk. And then we have talked about the stories we tell for almost as long. These lived and told stories and the talk about the stories are one of the ways that we fill our world with meaning and enlist one another's assistance in building lives and communities" (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, p. 35). Indeed, narrative thinking is universal in that it has always allowed people to construct stories that allow them to make sense of their lived experiences, to the extent that "the emplotment of events into narrative form is so much a part of our ordinary experience that we are usually not aware of its operation, but only of the experience of reality that it produces" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 160). What is more recent, is the validation of narratives both as a method and a phenomenon worth studying (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007).

The roots of narrative inquiry can be traced to the 1920s, when sociologists and anthropologists from the Chicago School gathered life histories to understand people's experiences in other cultures. Two decades later, anthropologists and sociologists moved away from the collection of these stories, as quantitative methods were favored and ethical issues concerning the study of human beings arose (Chase, 2005). In the 1960s and 1970s, liberation movements (emancipation efforts of people of color, women, members of the –now known as- LGBTQ+ community and other marginalized groups) which brought civil rights to the forefront (Chase, 2005; Riessman, 2008) sparked a new interest for narratives, as ways to provide voice to marginalized groups.

Critical Race Theory (CRT), which emerged in the 1970s in the United States, was also pivotal in this new interest for narratives. CRT challenges the alleged colour blindness of legal discourse, designates the fact that “racial and racialized categories have been socially constructed and have become deeply embedded in institutional and social practices” (Crump, 2014, p. 212), and argues for the creation of counter-narratives or counter stories (Delgado, 1989; Delgado & Stefancic, 1993) to empower marginalized people, break dominant narratives, and expose the fact that racism is embedded in society to such an extent that it often seems natural and goes unchallenged (Bell, 1979; Matsuda, 1996). On that note, Langellier maintains that “Embedded in the lives of the ordinary, the marginalized and the muted, personal narrative responds to the disintegration of master narratives as people make sense of experience, claim identities and ‘get a life’ by telling and writing their stories” (2001, p. 700). At the same time, the sociolinguistic approach to the study of language marked a shift “from focus on structure to focus on function - from focus on linguistic form in isolation to linguistic form in human context” (Hymes 1974: 77). That meant that emphasis was now on how language was actually used in everyday interactions. Oral narratives became once again the focus of study, and research showed that they have a structure of their own (Labov & Waletzky, 1997), and are characterized by a set of traits.

Narratives are texts (written, oral, visual or multimodal) characterized by sequence and consequence. That is, when telling a story, the narrators inevitably select events which are important to them (and exclude others which they consider less important), as well as organize and evaluate them. And though they are characterized by sequence, they are not linear or in any chronological order (Riessman, 2008). They are “regarded as ways of ordering scattered and temporally dispersed events of our lives” (Taylor, 2006, p. 80). Narratives are also characterized by intentionality, as the narrator always has to make choices when telling a story and therefore, narratives are always partial and perspectival (they provide the point of view of the narrator) (Chase, 2005). Thus, the researcher gains nuanced insights into the participants’ worldviews, identification and meaning-making structures not merely through the narrative itself, but also from the participants’ silences, their linguistic choices, and through their sequencing and evaluation of events (Riessman, 2008).

The Narrative Turn

Pinnegar and Daynes assert that “we become narrative inquirers only when we recognize and embrace the interactive quality of the researcher-researched relationship, primarily use stories as data and analysis, and understand the way in which what we know is embedded in a particular context, and finally that narrative knowing is essential to our inquiry” (2007, p. 7). They argue that there are four themes which led to the turn towards narrative inquiry, by which they mean a shift in the way of thinking when conducting research. The first theme they identify is a change in the researcher-researched relationship. The research was no longer understood as objective, atemporal, static and decontextualized, but on the contrary, it was now seen as relational, contextual and subjective and emphasis was placed on designating the human element. Both the researcher and the participants were seen as co-constructors of knowledge, and as parties that develop a close relationship and learn and change throughout their encounter. The second theme they identify is a turn from the use of numbers to guide research to the use of words, as more appropriate to portray human experience. The third theme is a shift of focus from the general to the particular, and the acknowledgement of particularization (as opposed to generalizability) as more appropriate for providing nuanced insights into lived experiences and human behavior, and bringing about change. The last theme is the realization that there are numerous ways to know the world, and thus there can be no “singular truth” which exists in the abstract, outside the constraints of any one research paradigm. This, in turn meant that the insistence on a single way of knowing was also mistaken, and new, alternative ways of knowing ought to be investigated.

Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry is described as “a way of understanding experience. It is a collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interactions with milieus. An inquirer enters this matrix in the midst of living and telling, reliving and retelling, the stories of the experiences that make up people’s lives, both individual and social” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 2). Emphasis is thus on people’s life experiences, but most importantly on the ways individuals perceive them and choose to speak about them (Chase, 2011). In Riessman’s words, narrative inquiry is a case-centered inquiry that “examines the informant’s story and analyzes how it is put together, the linguistic and cultural resources it draws on, and how it persuades a listener of its authenticity” (Riessman, 1993, p. 2).

This is perhaps one of the most challenging aspects for positivist researchers to accept, that narrative inquiry is not in search of the (singular) truth, but rather brings attention to the multiple ways in which people understand the world, order and connect events to make sense of them, and to situate themselves in relation to cultural discourses (Butler-Kisber, 2010). Indeed, as would be expected, narrative inquiry has been criticized for being subjective and producing ungeneralizable findings (Brockmeier & Harré, 2001; Polkinghorne, 2007). However, narrative inquiry does not make claims about objectivity, but on the contrary, investigates how people make sense of their experiences, which is in itself subjective. The aim is to give voice to individuals who have been marginalized, examine how they position themselves in relation to others and how they construct personal accounts of their own experiences. Narrative inquiry is seen as ideal for providing a thorough understanding of the narrator's identity(ies), as, "narrative research projects are grounded in the idea that identity is organized narratively. How facts, ideas, events, or experiences are selected, assembled, and formulated into a story may teach us something about the narrator's sense of self and the culture in which that self is situated." (Josselson, 2013, pp. 3-4). It is hoped that by reflecting on these experiences, individuals will learn many things about themselves and that this process will lead to changed identities and practices.

Narrative inquiry is characterized by temporality, sociality and place, all of which need to be examined simultaneously by the inquirer. It is characterized by temporality, as the events narrated are "in temporal transition" (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 479) in that they refer to the past, present and future of the people who have experienced them. These events, in short, are ordered by the narrator in a way that is not chronological. Although they may have taken place in the past, they continue to affect the people's lives in the present and can potentially affect their future too. Sociality is also central in narrative inquiry, as it focuses on the personal (individuals' feelings, desires and thoughts) as well as the social conditions under which the individuals' experiences unfold. Accounting for all the social factors that shape the individuals' experiences means that narrative inquirers are asked to adopt a critical stance and account for social power relations that perpetuate inequalities. Finally, place is also essential in narrative inquiry, as it is argued that people's identities are closely linked to the events that they experience in a specific physical place or places, as well as the stories they construct about these experiences (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006).

Narrative analysis

Narrative inquirers usually either ‘live the story with the participants’ or ‘start with the story’ (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). In the former case, inquirers use multiple field texts, such as documents, interviews, their own field notes and artifacts, and keep journals where they note events that occur as they work with the participants, and where they constantly reflect on their assumptions and actions. Evidently, the analysis is ongoing and iterative and there is a constant moving back and forth between the field and the field texts. In the latter case, interviews are used as the main way to elicit narratives of past events (these could be short stories of specific events, longer stories, stories of identity, or personal accounts of a person’s whole life). It is crucial that the researcher and the participant develop a trusting relationship and here too, the inquirer works closely and for a prolonged time with the participant.

Narrative analysis focuses on the participant’s story and aims to understand how they impose order on their experiences and how they make sense of these experiences and their own actions (Huberman & Miles, 2002). It is important to note that narratives do not ‘speak for themselves’; they are not unanalyzed but rather require interpretation when they are used as field texts in social research. It is argued however, that “there is no single method of narrative analysis but a spectrum of approaches to texts that take narrative form” (Riessman, 1993, p. 25). Generally, the analyst creates a metastory by retelling the participant’s narrative and reshaping it, and seeks to illuminate both aspects about the informant’s identity and about his or her sociocultural context (Gudmundsdottir, 2001). Therefore, as already discussed, the researcher is viewed as an active agent and a co-constructor of knowledge, as opposed to a neutral observer. Evidently, researcher reflexivity is central, as the researcher must constantly reflect on how they affect the process and what they contribute to it.

Labov and Waletzky’s (1997) narrative structural analysis has been widely cited as a framework to understand the structure of narratives, most of which are believed to include six common parts: abstract (a summary of the story), orientation (information on time, place, situation and participants), complicating action (sequence of events), evaluation (significance and meaning of the action/ attitude of the narrator), resolution (what finally happened) and coda (return to the present). However, it is also argued that structural analysis on its own is not always sufficient and that interactional and performative aspects, that is, issues related to the researcher-researched

relationship and issues related to how the teller implicates the audience in the narrative and tries to convince them, also need to be considered in narrative analysis (Riessman, 2008).

Chase (2005) argues that there are five analytic lenses to approach narratives. These five lenses are not necessarily distinct and in most of the cases researchers shift back and forth among them when analyzing narratives. First, there is the possibility of approaching them as a distinct form of discourse, that is, as a retrospective ordering of one's past experiences, which serves more as an indication of the person's point of view than as a chronology. Second, narratives can be approached analytically as verbal action, in that by telling a story narrators are accomplishing something; they are creating a version of themselves and a version of reality. Third, narratives are seen as both enabled and constrained by social resources and circumstances, such as the narrator's community, the location, and social memberships, among others. Next, narratives are understood as socially situated interactive performances, since they are produced in a specific setting, they are intended for a specific audience and they serve specific purposes. Such approaches to narrative analysis stress the need to acknowledge that the researcher participates in the construction of the narrative, and thus accounting for their own voice as well as the participant's is indispensable. For the purposes of this study, my main aim was to stay as close to the participants' words as possible, and to be transparent about issues related to my positioning in the research process and my relationship with the participants.

Evaluating Narrative Inquiry

As might be expected, narrative inquiry is often questioned with regards to the 'accuracy' of the narratives. Once again, it must be remembered that finding the 'truth' is not the aim of narrative inquiry. On the contrary, narrative inquiry examines how people make sense of their experiences, how they position themselves in relation to others, and how they construct personal accounts of their own experiences. Since the whole process of conducting a narrative study involves a close collaboration between the researcher and the participant, what becomes essential is to show that ethical practices are adopted at all times, that issues of power and voice are constantly being considered and that the researcher reflects on and accounts for their positioning in the process (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). As with all qualitative inquiry, it is essential that the researcher is transparent in presenting the research process and reflects on their own assumptions and interpretations.

Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998, p. 173) provide four criteria for evaluating narrative inquiry. The first is 'width', by which they mean how well the researcher shows the research process so that the field texts and their interpretations can be examined, and how well they demonstrate that they have considered other possibilities, which they have then successfully ruled out. The second criterion is 'coherence', which refers to how well the parts that make up the research study fit together, but also how the study relates to other works, either confirming or disputing them. Third is the criterion of 'originality', which refers to the extent to which the story resonates with other people and their own experiences. The last criterion is 'parsimony', which refers to the aesthetic appeal of the work. Other criteria can be the use of 'contextualized and vernacular language' so that the work is easily accessible by the intended audiences, and the extent to which the researcher manages to show that they have also contributed to the construction of the narrative (Barone & Eisner, 1997, pp. 76-77). It is equally important that the researcher designates the tensions that emerge in the inquiry and does not attempt to minimize them (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Similarly, Riessman (1993, pp. 65-70) suggests another set of four criteria for evaluating the quality of narrative inquiry. The first one is 'persuasiveness', by which she means the extent to which the interpretations of the researcher are reasonable and convincing. The second is 'correspondence', which refers to the need to take the findings back to the participants and ask them to verify them. Next, she distinguishes 'coherence', which is broken down to global coherence (the overall goals of the narrator), local coherence (the linguistic devices the narrator uses in the narrative) and thematic coherence (the development of narratives around a theme). Finally, she distinguishes 'pragmatic use' as the fourth criterion for evaluating narrative inquiry, that is the extent to which a study becomes the basis for other works.

Ethical Considerations

Since narratives are accounts of the participants' personal experiences and since narrative inquiry is highly relational, there are important ethical issues to consider (Clandinin 2006, 2007). Even after receiving clearance from a research ethics board (REB), inquirers should address ethical issues which may arise at various stages of the research process. Evidently, the researcher must be transparent, must pose questions for clarification when needed and must member-check the information provided by the participants (Riessman, 2008). The researcher must also acknowledge

that they are co-constructors of the narratives, in that the specific questions they pose, their very presence and interpretations all affect the process (Polkinghorne, 2005). Although narratives are not understood as objective accounts, it is essential that the researcher carefully conveys the participant's intentions when narrating the stories and respects the uniqueness of the participant's voice (Chase, 2011). It is also critical that researchers distinguish between their views and those of the participants, as they may disagree with their analysis and interpretations (Riessman, 2008).

Moreover, it must be taken into account that the participants are vulnerable when they share their stories, and therefore creating a relationship based on trust and respect is fundamental in narrative inquiry (Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995). Taking work back to the research participants is also advisable, not just to check the accuracy of the findings, but also as a way to ensure the participants' privacy and anonymity (Riessman, 2008). This can be further complicated when the anonymity and privacy of other people who become part of the narratives is at stake. Finally, it is of utmost importance that the inquirer demonstrates wakefulness (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) throughout the research. In their words, "it is wakefulness that in our view most needs to characterize the living out of our narrative inquiries, whether we are in the field, writing field texts, or writing research texts and wondering about what criteria to use in a particular narrative inquiry" (ibid, p. 185).

The present study

In this section, I specifically focus on the present study. I start from positioning myself in the study, and then I present the questions that guided the inquiry. Next, I present the specific methods that were used to generate field texts, namely language portraits, photo elicitation, video elicitation, identity charts, and fieldnotes. I then explain how I made contact with the participants and how I obtained consent. I present the participants' profiles and I end the chapter by providing the timeline of the study, and discussing issues related to transcription and translation.

Positioning myself in the study

The literature on the notion of identity is voluminous; scholars in psychology, sociology, history, sociolinguistics, education and anthropology, to name a few, have written extensively about it, each time focusing on different aspects of identity formation and adopting different methodological approaches in their inquiries (Fishman & Garcia, 2010). Research studies on identity tend to be mainly qualitative, as their main aim is to gain insights into people's experiences

as opposed to quantifying them (Robson, 2011). Apart from the research focus itself, what is essential to consider is the researcher's ontology and epistemology, that is, the researcher's personal views about the nature of being and the ways in which knowledge is acquired, both of which necessarily inform their research interests, frameworks, and methodological choices (Creswell, 2014; Hammond & Wellington, 2013; Henn, Weinstein & Foard, 2009).

Personally, even before reading and reflecting on the literatures on HLE and identity construction as tied to language use, in which qualitative studies are prevalent, I was well aware that my research interests and goals are compatible with qualitative inquiry. Qualitative inquiry challenges the idea of objective and value free inquiry, which has been a hallmark of quantitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Snape & Spencer, 2003; Watts, 2008). Moreover, qualitative inquiry views reality as socially constructed and context dependent, and places emphasis not on finding the alleged single truth about what is examined, but on providing a well-supported, plausible explanation of it (Butler-Kisber, 2010). Therefore, since reality is context dependent, instead of focusing on what we know about the focus of a research study, qualitative inquiry focuses on how we have come to know what we know about it, that is, how social experience is created and how meaning is assigned to it (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). The focus of qualitative inquiry on context renders its approach naturalistic, in that phenomena are examined in-context (in their natural settings) and attention is paid to how human actors view and make sense of (interpret) them (Golafshani, 2003; Patton, 2002).

Finally, I also find myself influenced by both pragmatist and (mainly) constructivist perspectives. Butler-Kisber (2010, p. 7) traces pragmatism in the works of John Dewey, William James and George Herbert Mead and distinguishes the intimate relation between knowing and doing as its main characteristic. Indeed, the pragmatist perspective views reality as created when human agents act and not as something independent, that exists somewhere 'out there' (Gutek, 2014). Therefore, knowledge comes while one experiences something and, in this way, it is tentative, temporal and subject to constant change, as people constantly experience new things. Constructivism, on the other hand, was born out of the works of intellectuals such as Gregory Bateson, Jean Piaget and Lev Vygotsky and views reality as socially constructed (Butler-Kisber, 2010, p. 7). That is, people create knowledge and meanings based on an interaction between their experiences and perceptions, and thus these meanings represent their own unique point of view.

Each phenomenon can thus be approached by different points of view and there is no single reality (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Pragmatism influences me in that I envision inquiry as a way of knowing through doing, and constructivism in that I consider individual experiences, and the ways and forms people employ to express themselves about these experiences, as valuable constructs for getting to know an individual's truth (as opposed to *the* truth) and bringing about positive change, both on an individual and a social level.

Being influenced by these two schools of thought, I felt the need to work with members of the Greek communities in the greater areas of Montreal and Toronto, in the hope of understanding their views and providing them with an opportunity to reflect on their perceptions, educational practices and attitudes towards students. I did not view the interviews as a process through which I would eventually find a so-called truth, but rather as an opportunity to invite teachers to co-construct with me accounts of their experiences and to reflect on their identification and their decision-making and attitudes while teaching.

The fact that I am Greek played an important role in the inquiry. Seven out of the eight participants chose to be interviewed in Greek. The sole participant who initially asked to be interviewed in English only used English for the first few minutes. He then quickly adopted a mix of Greek and English, which he maintained in all sessions. I noticed that when the discussion revolved around an aspect of the Greek culture, the participant would use more Greek, whereas when he described the working conditions in the greater area of Toronto, he would use more English. Therefore, being fluent in Greek and familiar with Greek traditions was an asset. Had I not been familiar with the Greek language and culture, I feel that important information would have been missed. I return to this observation in the next chapter where I present the research findings.

Another factor that played an important role in the research was the fact that for the past three years I have been working as a Greek HL teacher myself, in one of HCGM's Saturday schools. This was a serendipitous opportunity for my research study, but by no means my only motivation for wanting to work with Greek HL learners. Having some experience of the Greek HLE context allowed me to understand some nuances in the participants' perceptions and pose questions that would help disambiguate some of their responses. For instance, because of my

experience, I asked teachers who work in day schools to comment on the day school's language policies or their perception of the supplementary programs' quality. Both questions yielded interesting responses, which are presented in the next chapters. In sum, being Greek, and having some experience as a HL teacher, rendered me both an insider and an outsider to this inquiry and further allowed me to gain insights into the participants' views.

The guiding questions

The overarching question that guided my study is the following:

- How do Greek HL teachers in Montreal and Toronto understand and/or reflect upon their teacher identity, their perceptions about teaching, and their instructional practices?

To help me answer this question, I also posed the following sub-questions:

- What are the Greek HL teachers' perspectives about teaching Greek language and culture?
- What are the Greek HL teachers' preferred instructional practices when teaching Greek language and culture?
- How do interactions with Greek HL students affect Greek HL teachers' perspectives and practices?
- How does the local educational context affect Greek HL teachers' perspectives and practices?
- What similarities and differences can be identified between the responses to these various questions of teachers teaching in Montreal and teachers teaching in Toronto?

Generating field texts

Once I purposefully selected the participants, I started setting appointments with the Greek HL teachers working in Greek HL schools in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas. I met three times with each participant and during these three sessions, the participants were asked to complete written tasks, engage in oral discussions, respond to visual field texts, such as photos and videos, as well as create language portraits and identity charts [Appendices D-F]. The different methods that I employed are presented in detail in the following sections. It must be stressed that in each session with the participants, I made sure to combine visual modes of representation (such as the language portraits, the photo, and the identity charts) with oral discussion. My aim was to provide opportunities for reflection and then use this reflexive process as the basis for my discussion with

each participant. This also meant that each discussion was unique, and largely based on the participants' experiences and perceptions. Field notes were also used to reflect on the process and monitor my positionality and decision making. The three sessions for each participant were audio-recorded. I transcribed the interviews myself, making every attempt to do so within the first 48 hours after each session, when the words of the participants were still fresh in my memory. As mentioned already, the participants had the choice of using either English or Greek, which is why all recruitment documents were written in both languages [Appendices A1, B1, C1, D1, E1, F1, G1].

In the first session, participants had to complete four tasks. They were asked to create a language portrait for themselves and a language portrait for the average Greek Heritage Language Learner, and then reflect on the two portraits and what they reveal about their identities and the way they perceive their students' identities. Then they had to complete a written task, where they were asked to respond to a hypothetical scenario taking place in the classroom. Finally, an oral discussion followed, based on the participants' response to the written task [all tasks are described in Appendix D].

In the second session, the participants were asked to respond to a photo of the "sculpture of the Greek immigrant". The sculpture can be found in Montreal, at the intersection of Park Avenue and Jean-Talon Street as a tribute of Greek Canadians to the City for its 375th anniversary. Next, the participants were asked to watch and respond to a video of Greek Independence Day Parade in Toronto. Both the photo and the video were used as prompts to elicit information and open up a discussion about the different generations of Greeks in Canada, their stories, and their connection to Greek language, customs and traditions [all tasks are described in Appendix E].

Finally, in the third session, the participants were asked to complete another written task, where they had to reflect on a real incident that took place in the classroom, during which they had to deal with the students' different levels of familiarity with Greek. Participants were asked to describe the incident, without using the students' real names, and refer to the strategies they employed. Then, an oral discussion about pedagogical strategies and practices followed, based on the participants' written responses. Finally, the participants were asked to create two identity charts; one for themselves in the present and one for themselves in the past, prior to becoming an

HL teacher. After they finished creating these charts, an oral discussion about identities followed [all tasks are described in Appendix F].

Language Portraits

In the early 1990s, the German journal *Grundschulzeitschrift* published an article that prompted students to color their languages onto two body silhouettes that were provided –one of a girl and one of a boy. The aim was to allow students to see their languages and reflect on the emotions that they evoked (Busch, 2018). Later, Krumm and Jenkins (2001) and Krumm (2008), when working with plurilingual children, used similar silhouettes, or *language portraits*, to demonstrate the links between languages, emotions and belonging. Busch (2006) used language portraits when she was conducting research with teachers in South Africa. She asked the teachers to map their linguistic experiences onto a body silhouette and instructed them to use a different color for each language they spoke. Participants were also asked to link each language to a specific body part and justify their choices. This proved to be an excellent choice, as this creative tool helped teachers express themselves about their experiences and emotions. As Busch (2010) notes, “processes that influence language use tend to operate unconsciously and cannot easily be verbalized. The switch in mode of representation from word to image helps to deconstruct internalized categories, to reflect upon embodied practices and to generate narratives that are less bound to genre expectations.” (p. 286).

Prasad (2014) used language portraits when she was working with students in a French International school in Toronto, in an effort to access their representations of their plurilingual and diverse identities. Again, this activity yielded rich results and allowed students to reflect on their multiple identities and language use. Prasad and her team took digital photos of the students, edited the photos with a photo editing software, and generated a black and white print, onto which students then mapped their language use and experiences. Prasad wished to engage participants in creating *identity texts* that would express their emotions and perceptions about their languages. Identity texts are students’ creative works or performances that have been created within the pedagogical space, and when they are held up they mirror the students’ identities in a positive light (Cummins 2006; Cummins & Early, 2011).

Language portraits have been used extensively for more than twenty-five years in classrooms and as part of research studies to prompt individuals to reflect on their perceptions of

languages and emotions. Gogolin (2015) describes the development of language portraits and their uses in the field of education. The language portrait is an arts-informed tool that allows individuals to express their individuality in creative ways and reflect on their perceptions of languages. According to Knowles and Cole (2008), arts-informed methodology is influenced by the arts while not being based in the arts. In short, arts-informed methodologies use artistic forms while aiming to provide deep insights and advance knowledge. When using language portraits in a research study, the researcher attempts to engage participants in data generation (Prasad, 2014). That is, instead of trying to extract the so-called truth from the participants, the researcher views them as co-constructors of the field texts. This is perfectly aligned with my understanding of research, which, as mentioned above, is influenced by constructivist and pragmatist perspectives.

Language portraits were the very first task that the participants of this study were asked to complete, and functioned as the basis of the entire process. Even when we met for the second and third sessions with the participants, we often referred back to the portraits and discussed what they revealed about their identification and their perceptions about languages and language use. I made sure to always have the portraits with me as a point of reference. Rather than using a pre-made body silhouette, I provided participants with blank sheets and instructed them to draw their own silhouette. The reason for doing so was that I wanted to give more freedom to the participants and allow them to represent themselves and their students in any way they deemed fit. After creating their self-portrait and the portrait of the average student of the Greek school, I asked the participants to explain their choices of colors and body parts and refrained from offering possible explanations myself. Indeed, it has been stressed that it is crucial to prompt individuals to freely express themselves and justify their choices; only then can the language portrait be a true representation of the individual's linguistic repertoire (Busch, 2012; Prasad, 2014).

Photo and Video elicitation

Ethnographer John Collier was the first to use photo elicitation in 1957 (Harper, 2002; Lapenta, 2011). Photo elicitation is a research method, where photos are used to generate a discussion in a research interview (Thomas, 2009). The photos or other visual images used can be produced either by the researcher or by the participants. The photos are shown to the participants who are then asked to reflect and comment on them (Bigante, 2010). It has been shown that photos generate rich field texts, as they evoke the participants' feelings and memories (Harper, 2002).

Indeed, Harper has argued that photos use more of the brain's capacity than words alone, and therefore photo elicitation can generate more "deep and interesting talk" than conventional interviews (2002, p. 23).

Photo elicitation is believed to minimize misunderstandings, as they offer common understandings for participants and researchers. In Harper's words, "photo elicitation may overcome the difficulties posed by in-depth interviewing because it is anchored in an image that is understood, at least in part, by both parties. If the interview has been successful, the understanding has increased through the interview process." (2002, p. 20). Once again, the outcome of photo elicitation is seen as the result of a collaboration between the participant and the researcher in an attempt to make meaning. For the purposes of this study, I used a photo of the "sculpture of the Greek immigrant", which can be found in Montreal, at the intersection of Park Avenue and Jean-Talon Street. The aim was to elicit information and open up a discussion about the teachers' views and attitudes towards the different generations of Greeks in Canada.

Similarly to photo elicitation, video elicitation refers to the use of videos in research interviews to provide information on individuals' sense making processes and emotions, stimulate recall, or initiate a discussion on a given topic and provide a basis for reflection (Paskins et al., 2017; Roth, 2009). There are many ways to use video for research purposes, including participatory video, videography, the use of existing video data, video interviews and elicitation and video based fieldwork (Jewitt, 2012). Video recordings have also been used to analyze professional interactions (Arborelius & Timpka, 1990; Asan & Montague, 2014, Heath, Hindmarsh & Luff, 2010) and counseling sessions (Henry & Feters, 2012). Also, video has been used to examine cultural aspects of everyday life (Pink, 2003), to explore children and young people's identities (Marsh, 2004), and to investigate digital cultural production (Gilje, 2009).

For the purposes of this study, I used an already existing video, namely a YouTube video containing several shots from the Greek parade that was held in March 2018, in Toronto. As with all videos used in research, it was essential to understand the context of the video's production, its story, as well as its original audience and purpose (Jewitt, 2012). I explained to participants that the video they would watch contained fragmentary shots from the 2018 parade in Toronto, and that the reason of showing it was to help them recall similar events, rather than to discuss the video itself. My aim was to use a visual means that would help participants recall details from such

events (for instance information on clothing, music, number of attendees, among others) and then discuss issues related to Greek customs and traditions, and their role in Greek HLE.

Identity charts

Identity charts are an educational graphic tool often used to help students reflect on the multiple factors that shape their identities (Gordon, 2013). The students are instructed to draw a circle in the middle of a blank page and write a person's or a group's name inside it. Then, they are asked to draw lines around this circle to include personality traits, interests, relationships and roles that characterize this person. Identity charts are used in classroom settings as icebreakers to deepen the students' understandings of themselves, their peers, and other groups, while sometimes they are also used to help familiarize students with fictional literary characters (San José State University, 2016).

In this inquiry, identity charts helped teachers visualize the factors that make up their current identities as opposed to their past identities, as perceived by themselves. This allowed them to reflect on aspects of their personalities that have remained unaltered through the years, as well as aspects that have changed either partially or fully after they gained teaching experience. Once again, this activity was used as an elicitation tool to help teachers visualize and reflect on their identification and on the changes brought about by their role as teachers. Rather than using this task as an icebreaker, I decided to use it as a closure activity at the end of the third session, to discuss issues related to identity formation and the role of the teacher in affirming students' identities. With this activity, we came full circle and returned to the first activity of the first session, which also focused on their identities, the language portraits.

Fieldnotes

Based on the way I designed the study, I met three times with each participant interspersed with intervals of approximately thirty days. Thus, I found it essential to keep reflexive notes both during the interviews and after them. Keeping notes allowed me to have a journal I could use to freshen my memory in terms of what had taken place in the previous sessions. Indeed, I often revisited my notes both before and after a meeting to remember what had been discussed with a participant and add new information. The notes I kept during the interviews were short, as I did not want to be distracted from the discussion.

An exception to this were my notes from the interviews with the first participant from the greater Toronto area. At the beginning of the first session, the participant asked for information on the research sample, and when I told her that I would work with eight teachers, she seemed skeptical about the trustworthiness of the study. When the participant was creating her language portrait, I wrote: “the participant commented on the sample size and asked me whether eight teachers make a representative sample. I think she has experience with quantitative research. I briefly explained why I chose depth over breadth.” (Fieldnotes, translated, January 15, 2019). Regardless, the participant still wanted to participate in the study, and I was curious to see what her impression of the process would be at the end of the last session. This is what I wrote after the last meeting with her: “When we finished, she said she found the process enjoyable and that the tasks –especially the identity charts- reminded her of the psychology classes she had taken. She said they were a great chance to think about her identity. I am not sure whether I convinced her about the merits of qualitative research, but I think the intended aim –to provide an opportunity for reflection- was fulfilled” (Fieldnotes - translated, March 7, 2019).

I kept detailed notes about the emails I exchanged with the participants and the time and location of our meetings. I also kept notes about the participants’ non-verbal behavior that could potentially be used in the analysis of the field texts. For example, if I sensed by the tone of voice or gestures of a participant that they were particularly interested in a subject, or if I felt that they were disengaged, I would adapt the questions I asked and keep a short note of it.

Most importantly, the night after each interview, I took notes in which I tried to identify my own biases and assumptions. I do not believe that it is feasible for a researcher to fully bracket their presuppositions and biases, but I do believe that there are ways to account for them and try to minimize them. Here is such an example of my notes after the last session with the first participant from the greater Montreal area: “She did not create the second identity chart. She argued that when comparing herself before and after becoming a teacher, she sees no major differences. She claimed that what made a difference in her identification was starting to work, but that being a teacher was not her first job. When she said that, I accepted her choice and moved on with the discussion. Going back to it, I think I was surprised to see her treat teaching and administrative positions in the same manner. I think my understanding of teaching is different. I should not let that influence my interpretation of her identity chart. I must focus on her belief that

people develop sets of skills and traits when they first start working, which then become their arsenal in any professional situation and job position” (Fieldnotes - translated, October 9, 2018).

Making contact with the participants

To solicit participants from the greater Montreal area, I contacted the General Director, the Administrative Assistant to the General Director, and the General Director of Supplementary Education of the Hellenic Community of Greater Montreal (HCGM). To recruit participants from the greater Toronto area, I contacted the Manager of Education, the Chair of Education, the Secretary General and the Office Manager of the Greek Community in Toronto. The reason why I chose to contact these *gatekeepers* (people who can serve as entry points to a particular community) instead of contacting participants directly, was because I happen to be a teacher at one of the HCGM’s Saturday schools in the greater Montreal area, and it was possible that some potential participants could also be my colleagues. To ensure that they would not feel pressure to participate in the research, I went through the organizational hierarchy of the Greek schools in the Greater Montreal and Toronto areas, and sent a letter [Appendix A] to several gatekeepers, explaining that I needed to solicit research participants, and providing information on the nature of the research study. I also forwarded the recruitment flyer [Appendix B] and Information Sheet [Appendix C] to them, which they then had to forward to Greek HL teachers. If the teachers wished to participate in the study, they had to fill out the Information Sheet and send it to me via email, along with their contact information. Only then was I in position to contact the participants and schedule three meetings with each of them.

Once the participants contacted me and expressed an interest in participating in the research study, I suggested potential dates and places to meet. For participants from the greater Montreal area, the first choice was my locked office located in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education, followed by one of the conference rooms in McGill’s McLennan Library or any other quiet place of the participant’s choosing. For participants from the Greater Toronto area, the sessions were held at one of the branches of Toronto Public Library, or a quiet café close to the participants’ neighbourhood, for their convenience. It was highlighted, however, that the research could not and would not take place on a school’s premises.

Obtaining consent

The participants of this research study were required to read and sign a written consent form [Appendix G] at the very beginning of the first session. I read the consent document with the participants and ensured that they understood perfectly what was required of them. In the written consent form, there was information about the procedures that would be followed, as well as the risks and benefits from participating in the study, and their right to withdraw from the study at any point without any negative consequences for them. The consent form was written in language that the participants would be able to understand, and at no point was deception used. It should be noted that all documents were written both in English and in Greek, and teachers could choose to read the documents, as well as to be interviewed, in their dominant language. The participants were provided a signed copy of the consent form, which, if they wished, they would be able to keep for future reference. The consent form also informed participants that the interviews would be audio-recorded. It was of course communicated to the participants that every effort would be made to ensure their anonymity and the confidentiality of the field texts they would provide. I also made sure to remind participants at various times that they could ask for a break if they felt tired, or could even withdraw from the study, if they felt like doing so. All eight participants willingly participated in the three sessions.

Participant profiles

In narrative studies, the participant population tends to be small, as emphasis is placed on meeting several times with each participant to create a strong bond with them and gain nuanced insights into their perspectives. Building a trusting relationship with the participants is essential, as the ultimate aim is to understand their stories and designate each participant's unique voice (Butler-Kisber, 2010). Although narratives are not understood as objective accounts, it is essential that the researcher carefully conveys the participant's intentions when narrating the stories and respects the uniqueness of each participant (Chase, 2011).

Indeed, in this research, the participant population was relatively small. I worked closely with four Greek HL teachers who work in the greater Montreal area and four Greek HL teachers who work in the greater Toronto area (a total of eight participants). While the number of participants was relatively small, I considered several factors when purposefully selecting them. First and foremost, I made sure I had participants who taught in different contexts. That is, I

selected participants who worked at day schools, Saturday schools, and afternoon programs in different sites in the greater areas of Montreal and Toronto. Some participants worked at more than one or even more than two Greek schools simultaneously. I also tried to have both part-time and full-time teachers, as well as both certified and non-certified teachers. Finally, I also wanted to interview both Greek-born and Canadian-born teachers, and keep myself open to the possibility that there may be differences in their teaching practices, identification and attitudes towards Greek HL learners.

Indeed, it was important to have participants from different contexts, to ensure that the research findings would be as representative as possible of the teaching and learning conditions in Greek HLE. If I had narrowed myself to the experiences of teachers working in Greek day schools only, I would have omitted an important part of the Greek HL learning experience in the greater areas of Montreal and Toronto. Indeed, research has shown that many Greek HL students do not attend Greek day schools, but rather rely solely on supplementary programs to enhance their connection to the Greek language and culture (Aravossitas & Oikonomakou, 2017). When I started thinking about recruiting participants, I had in mind that participants from the greater Montreal area should be working in of the day, Saturday or afternoon Greek school. Likewise, participants from the greater Toronto area ideally had to be teachers working either in one of the various afternoon or Saturday Greek schools, or in the Greek Orthodox day School that operates in the greater Toronto area. The two Greek communities, HCGM and GCT, have founded many of these Greek schools but other institutions have also founded Greek schools/programs.

I also wanted to work closely with both full-time and part-time, as well as certified and non-certified teachers. Many of the people working in supplementary programs are only employed on a part-time basis and are non-certified teachers. These individuals have been shown to often feel marginalized (Aravossitas, 2016; Aravossitas & Oikonomakou, 2017). I had to consider the possibility that this could also affect their instructional practices and attitudes towards students. Therefore, my aim was to analyze, compare and contrast a number of different types of teachers who serve in Greek HL programs in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas.

I did indeed manage to recruit teachers from different backgrounds and meeting all the aforementioned criteria, as I purposefully selected the participants once they had contacted me. In the recruitment flyer [Appendix B], I made sure to inform potential participants that in order to

ensure that teachers working in various settings (daily classes, Saturday classes, afternoon programs, other supplementary programs etc.) were all represented in the study, I would select only those whose profile was different from other participants. The information sheet and contact information obtained from teachers who were not selected for the study were destroyed and not used at all.

The eight participants that I recruited for the study have worked or are currently working in seventeen different Greek schools or programs; eight schools in the greater Montreal area, and nine in the greater Toronto area. Thirteen of these schools are founded by the respective Greek Community, whereas the remaining four are founded by major Greek parishes, institutions, and organizations. From the greater Montreal area, I recruited two full-time, certified teachers, and two part-time, non-certified teachers. Three of the participants from the greater Montreal area were Greek-born and one of them was Canadian-born. Similarly, two of the participants from the greater Toronto area were full-time teachers, and two were part-time teachers. Of these four participants, three were certified teachers and one was not. Finally, there were two Greek-born and two Canadian-born teachers in the Toronto sample (see Table 1).

	Full-time	Part-time	Certified	Non-certified	Greek-born	Canadian-born
Greater Montreal Area	2	2	2	2	3	1
Greater Toronto Area	2	2	3	1	2	2

Table 3.1: Information on the participants' backgrounds

To ensure that participants' identities would not be revealed, I decided not to enclose the names of the schools they work at or have worked at in the past. When presenting the data in the next chapter, I will be describing the schools (i.e.: the participant works at a day school/Saturday school) but I will not be naming them. It should be highlighted that six of the eight participants

currently teach in more than one school or program. The teachers who were interviewed teach or have taught in the following contexts:

Greater Montreal area: day school (PreK-6, site 1), day school (PreK-6, site 2), day school (PreK-6, site 3), day school (PreK-6, site 4), Saturday school (grades 7-12, site 1), Saturday school (K-6, site 2), Saturday school (K-6, site 4), afternoon program for adults (site 1).

Greater Toronto area: private Greek Orthodox day school (PreK-8, site 5), afternoon credit school¹ (grades 9-12, site 5), Saturday school (PreK-8, site 6), Saturday school (K-8, site 6), afternoon/Saturday school (K-12, site 6), Saturday school (K-8, site 7), afternoon school (K-8, site 8), afternoon school (K-8, site 8), afternoon school (K-8, intensive three-days-a-week program, site 8).

In what follows, I present a short profile for each participant, which I was able to create based on their responses to the Information Sheet and our discussions. To ensure the anonymity of the participants, I assigned pseudonyms to them.

Participants from the greater Montreal area

Maria

Maria is a 30-year-old female, with four years of experience in Greek HL schools in the greater Montreal area. Currently, she teaches both at a PreK-6 day school in site 3 and at a Saturday middle school in site 1. In the past, she has also taught at a K-6 Saturday school in site 2, and a program for adults in site 1. She was born and raised in Greece, and moved to Canada four years ago. Before immigrating to Canada, she offered in-home private Greek lessons while she also held administrative positions unrelated to education. She identifies Greek as her first language and is more fluent in English than in French. She holds a BA in Psychology. She works part-time for the HCGM and has not acquired a certificate to teach in Quebec.

George

George is a 36-year-old male, with four years of experience in Greek HL schools in the greater Montreal area. He was born and raised in Greece and holds a MA in Social Sciences. He has worked at a K-6 Saturday school in site 2. Currently, he works at a Saturday middle school in site

¹ Offering credits towards the Ontario Secondary School diploma.

1. He immigrated to Canada six years ago. Before immigrating to Canada, he was not involved in education. He identifies Greek as his first language and is more fluent in French than in English. He works part-time for the HCGM and has not acquired a certificate to teach in Quebec.

Anna

Anna is a 30-year-old female, with six years of experience in Greek HL schools in the greater Montreal area. Currently, she teaches both at a PreK-6 day school in site 4 and at a K-6 Saturday school in site 4. She has also taught at a day school in site 2. She was born in Montreal and lived there until the age of seven. She then migrated to Greece, where she stayed until 2013, when she returned to Canada. She holds a MA in Religious Studies. She works full-time for the HCGM, and is certified to teach in Quebec. She identifies French and Greek as her first languages and she is also fluent in English.

Lena

Lena is a 58-year-old female, with twenty-two years of experience in Greek HL schools in the greater Montreal area. She teaches at a PreK-6 day school and a K-6 Saturday school, both of which are located in site 2. She has also worked at a PreK-6 day school in site 1. She was born and raised in Greece and immigrated to Canada in 1993. She identifies Greek as her first language and is more fluent in English than in French. She holds a B.Ed. She works full-time for the HCGM, and is certified to teach in Quebec.

Participants from the greater Toronto area

Stella

Stella is a 50-year-old female, with two years of experience in Greek HL schools in the greater Toronto area. She works both at a private PreK-8 day school in site 5, and at a PreK-8 Saturday school in site 6. She has also worked at an afternoon middle school in site 5. She was born in Toronto and lived there until the age of 17. She then immigrated to Greece and Italy. She returned to Toronto in 2017. She identifies English and Greek as her first languages. She holds a MA in Special Education. Before returning to Canada, she worked as a Special Education expert. She now works full-time at the private day school, and is certified to teach in Ontario.

Kostas

Kostas is a 26-year-old male, with eight years of experience in Greek HL schools in the greater Toronto area. He works at a K-8 Saturday school in site 7. He was born and raised in Toronto, and identifies Greek as his first language. He is fluent in English and has some knowledge of French. He holds a BSc in Kinesiology and a B.Ed. He works part-time for the GCT and is certified to teach in Ontario.

Sofia

Sofia is a 47-year-old female, with six years of experience in Greek HL schools in the greater Toronto area. She currently works at two K-8 afternoon schools in site 8, and a K-8 Saturday school located in site 7. She has also worked at a K-12 afternoon/Saturday program in site 6 and another afternoon school in site 6. She was born and raised in Greece and immigrated to Canada in 2013. She identifies Greek as her first language and has some knowledge of English, but not French. Before migrating to Canada she was a midwife, and was not involved in education. She works part-time for the GCT, and has not acquired a certificate to teach in Ontario.

Niki

Niki is a 25-year-old female, with two years of experience in Greek HL schools in the greater Toronto area. She works both at private PreK-8 day school in site 5, and at a K-8 Saturday school in site 8. She was born and raised in Greece and immigrated to Canada in 2016. She identifies Greek as her first language and is more comfortable using English than French. She holds a BA in Primary Education. She works full-time for the private day school, and is certified to teach in Ontario.

Timeline

In June 2018, I got ethics approval from the REB, and I was ready to begin my research. I made first contact with the participants in the beginning of the Fall 2018 term, and conducted three rounds of interviews with each of them. The interviews were conducted over the span of the Fall 2018 and Winter 2019 terms. The three sessions were scheduled at a time of the participants' convenience throughout these six months. Each session lasted approximately forty-five minutes and the interval between the sessions was approximately one month. Ensuring that the intervals between the sessions were not too long was important, as this would allow the participants and me

to build on our previous discussions, and establish a trusting relationship. This would allow me to understand their unique views, which it was then up to me to present as truthfully as possible.

One participant (Stella) asked to do the second and third sessions on the same day, as she was about to leave town. I accepted her request, and made sure to note down this change. As I was conducting the interviews, I was also working on the analysis of field texts that emerged, as I do not consider the analysis a linear process separated from data collection, but rather as an ongoing process that involves going back and forth with the participants and constantly checking the findings and my assumptions. Data collection ended in April 2019.

Transcription and Translation

Even though transcription is a vital part of most qualitative studies, researchers often overlook the necessity of providing details about the decision-making involved in the transcribing process. When referring to transcribing, Riessman, argues that “transforming spoken language into a written text is now taken quite seriously because thoughtful investigators no longer assume the transparency of language” (1993, p. 12). Indeed, transcription is not a neutral process; on the contrary, researchers make decisions about *what* to transcribe and *how* to transcribe it. That is, they make decisions about how to represent the interactions that have been recorded and therefore have an active role in an interpretive process. A transcript is thus merely a representation of an interaction and it should not be expected that researchers can objectively reproduce an exchange between interlocutors (Poland, 1995, 2001). And since there are always aspects that are left out, transcription needs to be understood as a selective process, and transcripts as partial representations (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011).

Although transcription cannot be seen as a neutral process and transcripts cannot be understood as objective records, they are still essential tools for research. Researchers are faced with a dilemma of how to transcribe without jeopardizing the trustworthiness of their inquiries (Davidson, 2009). Lapadat comments on this dilemma: “If we do not accept the notion of one true reality that can be uniquely recorded and fully represented in written text, how do we do and evaluate transcription? The challenge is to move from formulaic application of a transcription process with origins in positivistic assumptions about language, reality, and the researcher’s role, to a process that is sensitive to context, reflexive, and constructivist” (2000, pp. 209–210). Indeed, acknowledging the complexity of transcription, providing details about the decision-making

involved in it, and accounting for the way the transcription unfolds throughout the research process are suggested as factors that can contribute to the trustworthiness of a study (Chad & Witcher, 2010).

In addition, it needs to be recognized that the particularities of a study also have an impact on the process of transcription. As Kvale notes, “the question ‘What is the correct transcription?’ cannot be answered - there is no true, objective transformation from the oral to the written mode. A more constructive question is: ‘What is a useful transcription for my research purposes?’ ” (1996, pp. 165-66). As mentioned above, for the purposes of this study, I tried to transcribe each interview within the first forty-eight hours after each session. That was essential, as I wanted to include in the transcriptions non-verbal actions while they were still fresh in my memory. Indeed, I used brackets to include non-verbal actions and contextual cues. The information that I included in the brackets were instances of laughing, pausing to think, hesitating, leaning forward (which to me indicated the participant was engaged in the discussion) and gestures, among others. I also included information on actions that took place during the interviews, like the participants keeping notes, designing their portraits and charts, and choosing which colors to use.

One particularity of this research was that there was a lot of language mixing during the interviews. Even though this was particularly evident in the case of Kostas, who used only English for a few minutes and then quickly adopted a mix of English and Greek, which he maintained throughout the three sessions, there were different degrees of language mixing in most interviews. I felt that this flexible languaging could potentially have analytical significance, as in this case, of Maria who said “Κι ακόμα κι αν έχουν γονείς Québécois πάλι αγγλικά μιλάνε μεταξύ τους.” (Even if they have Québécois parents, they still speak English to one another). Therefore, I consciously decided to depict such instances of language mixing in the transcripts, and to keep myself open to the possibility that they could play a role in the analysis of the field texts.

Finally, another decision that I had to make was whether I would translate the transcripts from Greek to English. Translation, like transcription, is an interpretive process, highly dependent on the person who is conducting it and their aims and expectations (Lyons & Coyle, 2007). There is no perfect translation, just as there is no perfect transcription, but it is essential to acknowledge that translation is an act of negotiation (Ross, 2010). Although I acknowledge that both the transcriptions and the translations are shaped by my views, my aim has been to stay as close to the

voices of the participants as possible. My aim has also been to make sure that readers who are not familiar with Greek can understand the interactions that took place during this study. To reconcile these two sides when presenting the field texts, I decided to use excerpts in the original language of choice of the participants, followed by an English translation of the Greek segments. Lyons and Coyle (2007) have argued that placing transcripts in the original source language against their translated interpretations and constantly checking and re-checking them during the analysis and synthesis of the field texts can ultimately add more credibility to the findings.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I explored historical developments and recent trends and issues in qualitative inquiry, to demonstrate that qualitative research in general and narrative inquiry in particular can be rigorous. Then, I presented methodological approaches that have been used in previous research studies on HL identities, and I explained why I concluded that narrative inquiry best fits my research study and why I did not opt for other alternatives, such as phenomenology and ethnography. I provided a thorough examination of narrative inquiry and its effectiveness in offering nuanced insights about people's identities, ideologies and practices. Also, I situated myself in the present study as a (mainly) constructivist researcher. I provided the study's guiding questions, as well as information on how I generated field texts. Next, I explained how I made contact with the participants and how obtained consent. I then presented the participants' profiles and provided the study's timeline. Finally, I referred to issues related to transcription and translation.

Chapter Four: Narrative presentation of field texts

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I present significant findings from the sessions with the eight participants. The findings are presented narratively; that is, I include excerpts from each participant's narratives, and I attempt to designate the uniqueness of each participant's voice, views, and practices. The narratives are presented in the original language chosen by the participants (Greek, English, or a mix of the two). When necessary, an English translation is also provided to ensure that readers who are not familiar with Greek can understand the field texts.

To present the findings, I have chosen not to follow the sequence of tasks that was used in the interviews. Rather, I have divided the field texts into three categories, according to the type of information that was generated. I concluded that this mode of presentation makes it easier to group together the various field texts on the participants' identities, attitudes, and practices, as these were generated through the use of multiple methods, as described in the Methodology and Methods chapter. The three categories are the following: field texts on identities, field texts on attitudes, and field texts on practices. In the first category, *field texts on identities*, I include findings on the participants' own identities as well as the way they perceive the students' identities. The field texts in this category arose from the participants' language portraits (self-portrait and student portrait) and their identity charts before and after becoming HL teachers. In the second category, *field texts on attitudes*, I include field texts on the participants' attitudes towards the different generations of Greeks in Canada, as well as HL learners. These field texts emerged from the photo and video elicitation tasks. Finally, in the third section, *field texts on practices*, as the name suggests, I include findings on the participants' educational practices. The information was generated from the two written tasks participants had to complete.

In the next chapter, I analyze the field texts by identifying the common themes that emerged, and I use these themes to respond to the guiding questions of the inquiry. In sum, in this chapter I focus on designating the uniqueness of each participant's views, while in the next chapter I attempt to bring the field texts together by identifying common themes in the participants' perceptions and practices.

Field texts on identities

Greek HL teachers' self-portraits

When I first met with a participant, one of the first things we did was go over the answers they had provided in the information sheet [Appendix C] and briefly discuss their experience working as a Greek HL teacher in the greater Montreal area or the greater Toronto area. Once I had a general idea about the participant's profile and background, that is, once I had some information on their preferred languages, their education level, their teaching experience, their immigration story or that of their parents, I asked them to create their language portrait. For this task, participants were asked to draw a body silhouette and map their languages onto it by using colored markers. They had to use one color to symbolize each language they knew or wished they knew, and choose a specific body part of the silhouette that they associated with this particular language. Once they considered that their language portrait was complete, we engaged in a conversation about the various associations they drew with languages, their emotions about them, and their overall language use.

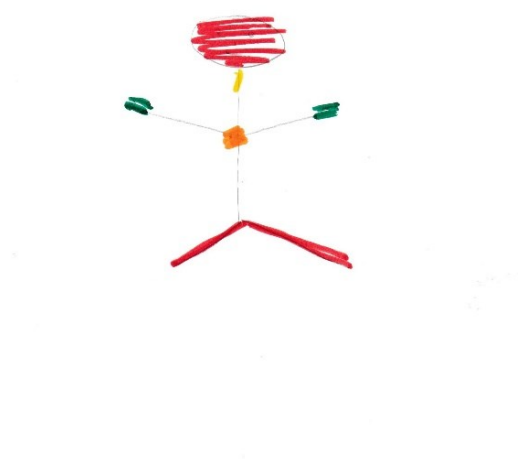


Figure 4.1: Maria's language portrait

She is passionate about Greek

Maria decided to use four colors for her language portrait. She associated the languages she knew to colors, based on her feelings about the languages and her experiences while learning and using them. She represented Greek with red to demonstrate her passion for the language, and placed it on the head and feet of the silhouette, to show that she thinks in Greek and still relies on it.

Maria: Το κόκκινο είναι τα ελληνικά γιατί είμαι παθιασμένη με την ελληνική γλώσσα και το κόκκινο είναι το χρώμα του πάθους. Έτσι σκέφτομαι, στα ελληνικά, και η σκέψη είναι στο κεφάλι, άρα το κόκκινο είναι τα ελληνικά. Και στα πόδια θα βάλω κόκκινο γιατί έτσι, μεταφορικά, ουσιαστικά σε αυτό στηρίζομαι - ακόμα.

Translation:

Maria: I will use red for Greek because I am passionate about the language and red is the color of passion. I will place Greek on my head, because this is where one's thinking occurs, and I think in Greek. I will also use red on my feet because – metaphorically- I still rely on Greek.

English helps her connect with the students

Maria appeared to have associated English with practicality. She explained that she uses English in class to connect with her students when there is a failure in communication, and she chose a natural color, green, to represent it. She placed English on the silhouette's hands, to demonstrate that English is a language she uses frequently.

Maria: Και, όπως βλέπεις δεν έχω εσωτερικά όργανα, μόνο κορμό έχω (γέλιο) - αλλά θα βάλω στις άκρες, στα χέρια, στις παλάμες, θα βάλω πράσινο κι αυτό θα είναι τα αγγλικά, γιατί αυτό με βοηθά να συνδεθώ με τους μαθητές όταν υπάρχει πρόβλημα άμεσα. Είναι η πιο εύκολη γλώσσα που τη μιλούμε και οι δύο και αυτό μας βοηθάει να συνδεθούμε και βάζω πράσινο, γιατί το πράσινο είναι η φύση, είναι κάτι, δεν ξέρω. Το χρησιμοποιώ τώρα σαν συνδετικό χρώμα, σαν κάτι που μας συνδέει.

Translation:

Maria: And, as you see, apparently, I have no organs, I only have a torso (laughs) - but I will use green to symbolize English and I will place it at the end of my hands, on my palms, because English helps me connect with my students when there is a problem. It is the easiest among the languages we speak and it helps us connect. I use green because it is the color of nature. It is a color that helps us connect.

She has mixed feelings about French

Maria noted that she was driven by her emotions when she associated French with her favorite color, orange, and placed it on the silhouette's heart. She explained that although she used to like French in the past, now that she lived in Quebec, the language made her nervous.

Maria: Και θα βάλω και στην καρδιά, που δεν την έχω στο σχήμα αλλά πες ότι είναι εδώ (γέλιο), θα βάλω το πορτοκαλί γιατί είναι αγαπημένο μου χρώμα. Βάζω τα γαλλικά ως πορτοκαλί στην καρδιά γιατί η καρδιά μου είναι αγχωμένη και πρέπει να μάθω καλύτερα γαλλικά τώρα που είμαι στο Κεμπέκ και μου άρεσαν παλιά πολύ τα γαλλικά, ως μαθήτρια, είναι σχέση μίσους-πάθους αυτή τώρα. Είναι κάτι πολύ συναισθηματικό για μένα τα γαλλικά τώρα, γιατί προσπαθώ να τα βελτιώσω. Μερικές φορές τα ακούω κι εκνευρίζομαι, μερικές φορές τα ακούω και χαίρομαι, κάπως έτσι.

Translation:

Maria: And I will use orange to color my heart - which doesn't exist in my drawing, but let's say it's here (laughs). Orange is my favorite color and I use it for French, because my heart is anxious and I feel I need to improve my French, because I now live in Quebec. I used to really like French as a student, now it is a love-hate relationship. Well, right now French is something very emotional for me, because I feel I must improve my French. Sometimes I get irritated when I hear it, sometimes I feel happy when I hear it, it depends.

Italian makes her happy

Finally, Maria referred to a language that made her happy, Italian. Once again, she based her association on her own feelings about the language.

Maria: Και τα ιταλικά που να τα βάλω; Τα ιταλικά τα βάζω στο λαιμό, γιατί θα ήθελα να μάθω να τα μιλάω καλύτερα. Και θα χρησιμοποιήσω το κίτρινο χρώμα, γιατί είναι χαρούμενο χρώμα και τα Ιταλικά με κάνουν χαρούμενη - μου αρέσουν. Παλιά τα μίλαγα πολύ καλύτερα και μ' αρέσει πάρα πολύ έτσι όπως ακούγονται και μου αρέσει η φωνή όταν τα μιλάω.

Translation:

Maria: And where should I put Italian? I will put it on my throat because I would like to improve the way I speak it. I will use yellow to symbolize Italian, because yellow is a happy color and Italian makes me happy; I like it. I used to speak it much better in the past. I love the way it sounds and the way my voice sounds when I speak it.



Figure 4.2: George's language portrait

Greek is a big part of him

Even though no instructions were given to George in terms of the order in which he should refer to the languages that made up his linguistic repertoire, George chose to hierarchize them, and started with Greek. He used blue, a color that has typically been used to symbolize Greece, and identified Greek as an important part of his identity.

George: Λοιπόν ξεκινάω από την ελληνική γλώσσα και βάζω το γαλάζιο. Το γαλάζιο, γιατί έχει σημειολογική σημασία για την Ελλάδα. Όταν σκέφτομαι Ελλάδα σκέφτομαι τα χρώματα της θάλασσας, του ουρανού, της σημαίας μας. Και προτιμώ το γαλάζιο από το μπλε -εγώ όταν σκέφτομαι Ελλάδα το έχω ταυτίσει με το γαλάζιο. Θα το έβαζα σε όλον τον κορμό και ζωγραφίζω και την καρδιά με αυτό - είναι ένα μεγάλο κομμάτι μου η ελληνική γλώσσα και την αγαπώ.

Translation:

George: I will start with Greek, and I will use light blue to symbolize it because this color has semantic significance for Greeks. When I think of Greece, I think of the blue sea, the blue sky, our blue flag. And I prefer this light blue over a darker shade of blue; when I think of Greece I think of light blue, bright blue. I will color my whole torso as well as my heart with this color. I feel that Greek is a big part of me and I love my language.

He is passionate about French

The second language in the George's hierarchy was French. He explained that he was passionate about the language, and referred to the 'bleu-blanc-rouge' colors of the French flag. George, who had also obtained his master's degree in Paris, clearly had a strong rapport with French, perhaps even prior to his immigration to Canada.

George: Δεύτερη σίγουρα πάει η γαλλική, την οποία θα τη συμβολίσω με το κόκκινο, γιατί θέλω να δείξω το πάθος μου και την αγάπη για αυτή τη γλώσσα. Και πάλι μπορώ να το ταυτίσω με το bleu blanc rouge της γαλλικής σημαίας. Το κόκκινο θα το έβαζα στο κεφάλι. Είναι η σκέψη μου γαλλική. (αμέσως διορθώνει τον εαυτό του) Μάλλον όχι, θα τολμούσα να βάλω και μπλε και κόκκινο στο κεφάλι. Θεωρώ ότι έχω και γαλλική και ελληνική σκέψη.

Translation:

George: My second language has to be French, and I will use red to symbolize it because I want to show my passion and love for this language. Another reason for using this color would be the 'bleu blanc rouge' of the French flag of course. I will use red to color my head, because my thinking is French. (Immediately corrects himself) No, I would use both blue and red for my head. I believe that my way of thinking is both Greek and French.

He finds English a practical language

George explained that he saw English as a practical language, to which we are all largely exposed on a daily basis through music, television shows, and movies. George argued that because of this exposure, people use English extensively.

George: Τρίτη γλώσσα, τα αγγλικά, θα τα έβαζα με καφέ, γιατί θεωρώ ότι είναι το χρώμα της γης. Είναι γήινο χρώμα, είναι το χρώμα της φύσης και θεωρώ τα αγγλικά καθαρά μια γλώσσα πρακτική... θα το έβαζα στα χέρια, γιατί είναι πρακτική γλώσσα, ναι. Θα τολμούσα να πω ότι έχουμε και πολλά ακούσματα, επειδή η κυρίαρχη γλώσσα σήμερα είναι τα αγγλικά, και η κυρίαρχη κουλτούρα, νομίζω ότι τα περισσότερα ερεθίσματα που έχουμε σήμερα είναι από τα αγγλικά -είτε είναι κινηματογράφος, μουσική, θέατρο...όλα. Θα το έβαζα λοιπόν και στα αυτιά. Χρησιμοποιούμε κιόλας και πολλές εκφράσεις στα αγγλικά, οπότε θα το έβαζα και στο στόμα το καφέ.

Translation:

George: The third language I speak is English and I would symbolize it with brown, because it is the color of the earth. It is a natural color and I consider English to be a practical language. And, since English is a practical language, a language I use, I would color my hands brown. Now, I also want to add here that everywhere we go we listen to English. It is the dominant language, the dominant culture and most stimuli we receive are in English, the movies, the music, the theater...everything. Therefore, I

would use brown to color my ears too, because I hear English, and since I also use English phrases, I would color my mouth brown too.

People in Quebec need to be trilingual

George also stated that most people in his immediate circle are trilingual, that is, they are fluent in Greek, French and English. According to him, this is not merely a coincidence, but rather a necessity for people from minority communities living in Quebec.

George: Τώρα τι να βάλω στα πόδια; Εξαρτάται πού βρίσκομαι. Προσαρμόζονται δηλαδή τα πόδια ανάλογα με το περιβάλλον που είσαι. Εδώ είναι πολύχρωμα, έχουν και τα τρία χρώματα, γιατί και εγώ και οι περισσότεροι στον κύκλο μου εδώ στο Μόντρεαλ είμαστε τρίγλωσσοι. Και πρέπει να είμαστε τρίγλωσσοι εδώ.

Translation:

George: Now, what should I use for the feet? It depends on where I am. That is, the feet adapt to the place you are in and the environment. I think that here, in Montreal, my feet have all three colors, because I speak all three languages and so do most people I know here. And we have to be trilingual here.

He wants to learn two eastern languages because of his studies and origin

Finally, George noted that he would like to learn two more languages; Hebrew and Turkish. He explained that his studies in Social Sciences and Religion made him want to learn the former language, whereas sentimental reasons drove him towards the latter.

George: Υπάρχουν και κάποιες γλώσσες που θέλω να μάθω, κυρίως ανατολικές. Λόγω των σπουδών μου, θα ήθελα πολύ να μάθω εβραϊκά. Θα ήθελα να διαβάσω την Παλαιά Διαθήκη από το πρωτότυπο. Θα τα βάλω, κυρίως στην περιοχή του εγκεφάλου και θα τα συμβολίσω με πορτοκαλί. Είναι ανοιχτό, είναι χαρούμενο χρώμα και θα χαιρόμουν να μάθω τη γλώσσα. Ένα άλλο κομμάτι για λόγους καταγωγής, και συναισθηματικούς, θα έλεγα ότι είναι τα τούρκικα, που είναι κοντά μας. Και αυτό θα το έβαζα... επειδή το συναίσθημα νομίζω είναι στον εγκέφαλο...

Emmanouela: Στον εγκέφαλο;

George: Ναι, ναι. Είναι εγκεφαλική λειτουργία. Θα το έβαζα με κίτρινο. Το κίτρινο που είναι του ήλιου.

Emmanouela: Τον ήλιο γιατί τον συνδέεις με την Τουρκία;

George: Τον ήλιο το συνδέω με το συναίσθημα. Και θα το έβαζα στον εγκέφαλο, γιατί νομίζω είναι μία εγκεφαλική λειτουργία το συναίσθημα. Αυτή τη γλώσσα θα ήθελα να τη μάθω για λόγους συναισθηματικούς –γιατί έχω προσφυγική καταγωγή, ο παππούς και η γιαγιά ήρθαν το 22... αυτοί ξέρανε κάποιες λέξεις μόνο, ήταν πολύ μικροί. Μιλούσε η γιαγιά της μητέρας μου τα τούρκικα και έχω κάποια τέτοια ακούσματα.

Translation:

George: There are some languages that I would like to learn. These are mainly eastern languages. I would really like to learn Hebrew, for example, because of my studies. I would love to read the original text of the Old Testament. I will put this language on the silhouette's brain and I will use orange to symbolize it. It is a bright and happy color, and I would be happy if I could learn the language. Another language I would like to learn because of my origins, because of sentimental reasons, and because of our proximity is Turkish. I would place it on my head, because the sentiment lies in the brain –

Emmanouela: In the brain?

George: Yes, it is one of the brain's functions. I would use yellow to symbolize it, the color of the sun.

Emmanouela: Why do you associate Turkey with the sun?

George: I associate the sun with sentiments. And I would place it on my brain, because this is where our sentiment lies. And there is something sentimental that makes me want to learn Turkish, because my grandparents were refugees there -they came to Greece in 1922. They only knew some words in Turkish. They were very young. But, I have heard my great-grandmother talk in Turkish.

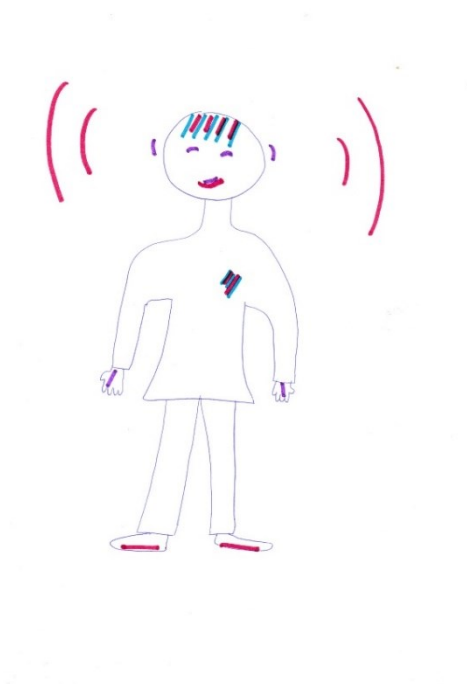


Figure 4.3: Anna's language portrait

Greek is no longer her dominant language

Participant Anna admitted that after returning to Canada in 2013, she felt that Greek was no longer her dominant language, as she had started to have dreams in French and English. She

chose to represent this change by using two colors on the silhouette's brain and heart, signifying that more than one languages affect her thinking.

Anna: Θα ξεκινήσω με τα ελληνικά και θα χρησιμοποιήσω το μπλε χρώμα, που συνδέεται με τα χρώματα της Ελλάδας, της ελληνικής σημαίας. Θα το συνδέσω με το μυαλό αλλά πιο πολύ γιατί σχετίζεται με το κομμάτι των αναμνήσεών μου. Και ο λόγος που δεν το χρωματίζω όλο είναι ότι δεν κυριαρχεί πλέον η ελληνική γλώσσα όπως κυριαρχούσε παλιότερα και αυτό το έχω αναγνωρίσει κυρίως από τα όνειρά μου. Δεν βλέπω πια μόνο ελληνικά όνειρα- βλέπω και αγγλικά και γαλλικά. Και το έχω προσέξει πιο έντονα τα δύο τελευταία χρόνια - γι' αυτό και δεν το χρωματίζω ολόκληρο. Τώρα, θα κάνω το ίδιο και στην καρδιά.

Translation:

Anna: I will start with Greek, and I will use the blue color, because it is connected to the colors of Greece and the Greek flag. I associate it with my brain, mainly because my memories are in Greek. And the reason why I do not color my entire brain blue is that Greek is no longer my dominant language, as it used to be, and this is something I realize from my dreams. My dreams are no longer only in Greek, I also have dreams in English and French now. And this has been evident in the last two years; and so I won't color my entire brain blue. And, I will do the same for my heart.

Her childhood memories are in French

Anna explained that her childhood memories were in French, as she was born and raised in Montreal. She identified French as part of her identity, but admitted that when she returned to Montreal, after having lived in Greece for twenty years, she had to familiarize herself again with the way people spoke. Interestingly, Anna represented French with red, and justified her choice by noting that this is the color of the Canadian flag. While red is indeed the color of Canada's flag, it is remarkable that Anna chose to associate the French language with the flag of Canada and not that of Quebec. If she had associated French with Quebec, then she would have most likely associated it with blue, the color of Quebec's flag, the *Fleurdelisé* (the Lily-flowered). Anna appeared to identify as a Canadian –not necessarily as a Quebecer- and as a Greek, and, based on her use of both red and blue on the silhouette's head and heart, she seemed to view these two languages and cultures as compatible.

Anna: Τώρα, ας πάρουμε τα γαλλικά, σε κόκκινο χρώμα.

Emmanouela: Γιατί κόκκινο;

Anna: Λόγω του ότι το συνδέω με τη σημαία και αυτό. Την Καναδική βέβαια. Τα γαλλικά λοιπόν τα βάζω στο στόμα και στον περίγυρο. Βασικά γιατί όταν ήρθα έπρεπε να μιλήσω γαλλικά εδώ αλλά και έπρεπε να συντονιστώ με αυτό που άκουγα γύρω μου. Και θα το βάλω και αυτό στη σκέψη, γιατί και αυτό ανήκει στο κομμάτι των

αναμνήσεών μου - δηλαδή νιώθω ότι είναι οι ρίζες μου. Οπότε, το συνδέω με αναμνήσεις κι εμπειρίες, ίσως παιδικές πιο πολύ.

Translation:

Anna: Now I'll turn to French, which I will represent with the red color.

Emmanouela: Why red?

Anna: I use red because of the flag, the Canadian flag. I associate French with my mouth, because I speak it, and with my surroundings. When I returned here, I had to speak French, and at the same time, I had to tune in to what everyone else was speaking. I also associate French with my way of thinking because it is also part of my memories - I feel it is part of my roots. So, I associate French with my memories, mainly those from my childhood.

In her everyday interactions, she uses English

Finally, participant Anna stated that most of her everyday interactions take place in English. She explained that English is the language that most Greeks in Quebec prefer, and therefore it is a valuable tool to her. However, she also highlighted that she did not feel English as close to her as Greek and French, and speculated that the reason for that could be that she learned English at an older age.

Anna: Για τ' αγγλικά θα πάρω το μωβ που είναι από τα αγαπημένα μου χρώματα. Είναι ένα χρώμα που χρησιμοποιώ συχνά, όπως χρησιμοποιώ συχνά και τα αγγλικά. Τα αγγλικά είναι αυτά που ακούω πιο συχνά - είναι πιο κοντά μου στον περίγυρό μου, οπότε τα έχω βάλει πιο κοντά. Κι επίσης αυτά είναι που πρέπει να μιλάω, θα μπορούσα να πω ότι είναι κι αυτά που βλέπω πιο συχνά, με την έννοια των ανθρώπων που συνομιλώ, επειδή πρόκειται για αγγλόφωνους Έλληνες. Όλη αυτή η διάδραση συνήθως γίνεται στα αγγλικά. Οπότε έχω το κομμάτι το πρώτο -ότι αφού είμαι στο Κεμπέκ πρέπει να μιλάω γαλλικά, αλλά τα νιώθω και κοντά- αλλά η καθημερινή διάδραση γίνεται στα αγγλικά. Και στην καρδιά έχω τα ελληνικά και τα γαλλικά. Στην καρδιά ανήκει το συναίσθημα, γι' αυτό. Με τα αγγλικά δεν έχω τέτοια επαφή, αν και τα χρησιμοποιώ καθημερινά, ίσως γιατί δεν τα ξεκίνησα από μικρή όπως τις άλλες δύο γλώσσες. Τα ελληνικά και τα γαλλικά είναι μαζί για μένα. Και τα πόδια... τι συμβολίζουν τα πόδια για μένα; Εξαρτάται πού πάνε τα πόδια -πάνε μπροστά ή πίσω; Εντάξει, είναι βέβαια και η βάση σου τα πόδια. Δεν ξέρω γιατί, μια εσωτερική φωνή πηγαίνει πιο πολύ στα γαλλικά, ίσως γιατί οι παιδικές αναμνήσεις μου, η βάση μου, είναι συνδεδεμένα με τα γαλλικά. Ναι, οπότε θα ζωγραφίσω και τα πόδια με το κόκκινο. Και βασικά τώρα σκέφτομαι τα χέρια. (παύση)

Emmanouela: Τι θα συμβόλιζαν;

Anna: Το πρακτικό κομμάτι. Αυτό που χρειάζομαι πιο συχνά. και εκεί είναι τα αγγλικά - που βγάζει νόημα.

Translation:

Anna: For English, I will use purple, which is one of my favorite colors, I use it a lot - and I also use English a lot. English is the language that I use the most; it is what people around me speak, so it is close to me. It is also the language that I must speak, and I could even say that it is the language that I see most often. I see people who use English with me, because most Greeks here are Anglophones. All this interaction takes place in English. So, since I live in Quebec I must speak French - and I also feel it close to me- but my everyday interactions are in English. In my heart I will add both Greek and French, because this is where one's sentiment lies. I do not have this connection with English, even though I use it on a daily basis, perhaps because I did not learn it at a young age as I did with the other two languages. French and Greek go together for me. Now, I am thinking about my legs... what do legs symbolize for me? It depends on where they are heading to; do they go forwards or backwards? Well, the legs are also your basis. I do not know why, but something tells me that French should go there. Perhaps my childhood memories, my basis is French. Yes, so I will color my legs red. And now I am thinking about my hands. (pause)

Emmanouela: What would your hands symbolize?

Anna: Something practical, something I use often, and this is English. That is what makes sense.



Figure 4.4: Lena's language portrait

She loves and still uses Greek

Participant Lena began her language portrait by using a typical color, blue, to represent Greek, her first and preferred language. She used it on the drawing's heart, mouth and ears, to show that she loves and still uses the language, despite living in Quebec since 1993.

Lena: Ας τα πάρω από την αρχή. Θα κάνω μία όμορφη κοπέλα. (σχεδιάζει) Λοιπόν θα βάλω την ελληνική γλώσσα με γαλάζιο γιατί τη συνδέω με τη σημαία μας. Και θα κάνω το στόμα της κοπέλας γαλάζιο γιατί τη μιλάω πολύ. Και θα το βάλω και στα αυτιά γιατί τα ακούω τα ελληνικά, και στην καρδιά, γιατί την αγαπώ. Έτσι, πολύ μπλε, είναι το πρώτο, το πιο σημαντικό, και θέλω να είναι πιο πολύ από τα άλλα χρώματα.

Translation:

Lena: So, I will start by drawing a beautiful lady (draws). I will symbolize Greek with light blue, because I associate it with our flag. I will color the mouth blue, because I speak Greek a lot. And, I will color the ears blue, because I listen to Greek and the heart, because I love Greek. I want there to be a lot of blue, it is the first one, the most important, and I want to have more blue than any other color.

She considers French an elite language

When referring to French, Lena described the language as that of an elite. She associated it with the aristocracy and the knowledge of playing the piano. These images point to previous times, namely the 18th and 19th century, when the piano was seen as a symbol of social status, since only the aristocracy could afford it. The piano even stood as a testament to women's ability to find a husband (Vorachek, 2000). Clearly, Lena views the knowledge of French as a social status symbol that she would like to possess.

Lena: Το κόκκινο θα το χρησιμοποιήσω για τα γαλλικά, γιατί είναι η γλώσσα του ρομαντισμού και της αριστοκρατίας.

Emmanouela: Της αριστοκρατίας;

Lena: Ναι έτσι το βλέπω. Θα βάλω τα κουμπιά κόκκινα, και το περίγραμμα του φουστανιού. Είναι της ελίτ, του πιάνου, έτσι της αριστοκρατίας. Είχα πάει σχολείο αλλά δεν τα πολυέμαθα - θα ήθελα να τα μιλώ, θα μου άρεσε να τη μάθω τη γαλλική.

Translation:

Lena: I will use red for French, because it is the language of romance and aristocracy.

Emmanouela: Aristocracy?

Lena: Yes, this is how I see it. I will color the buttons of the dress red, as well as the outline of the dress. It is the language of the elite, of people who play the piano, of the aristocracy. I did take some courses but I did not really manage to learn it. I would like to learn it.

She finds English easy

Finally, Lena referred to English, which she described as an easy language, that she uses for her everyday interactions. Lena once again referred to French and stated that even though she would like to be fluent in it, she found it more difficult than the other two languages she spoke.

Lena: Τώρα τα αγγλικά θα τα συμβολίσω με το ροζ, γιατί τα βρίσκω πολύ εύκολα. Και το ροζ είναι έτσι ανάλαφρο. Και θα τα βάλω στα μάτια και στα αυτιά, γιατί είναι στον περίγυρό μου. Γενικά τα καταλαβαίνω και τα μιλώ καλά - εντάξει, άσχετα από την προφορά. Και θα βάλω κι εδώ - (χρωματίζει το κεφάλι του σκίτσου). So, η ελληνική γλώσσα είναι η αγαπημένη μου, η μητρική γλώσσα. Αλλά η αγγλική μου αρέσει, την ξέρω, μπορώ να επικοινωνώ με τον κόσμο. Θα βάλω λίγο παραπάνω τώρα που το σκέφτομαι. Θα βάλω ροζ και στα χέρια, γιατί την χρησιμοποιώ, τη δουλεύω την αγγλική. Είναι πρακτικό το ζήτημα... Η γαλλική όμως, μου αρέσει αλλά έχω πρόβλημα. Δεν μου ήταν εύκολο.

Translation:

Lena: Now, I will use pink to symbolize English, because I find that it is very easy. And pink is like that, it is carefree. And I will color the eyes and ears in pink, because this is the language that everyone around me uses. I understand English, and I speak it well; aside from the accent. And I will also use pink here (colors the silhouette's head). So, Greek is my favorite, my native language. But I also like English, I know it, I can use it to communicate with others. Now that I am thinking about it, I will add some more pink. I will color my hands pink, because I use English. It is practical. When it comes to French, I like it, but I had difficulty learning it. I did not find it easy.

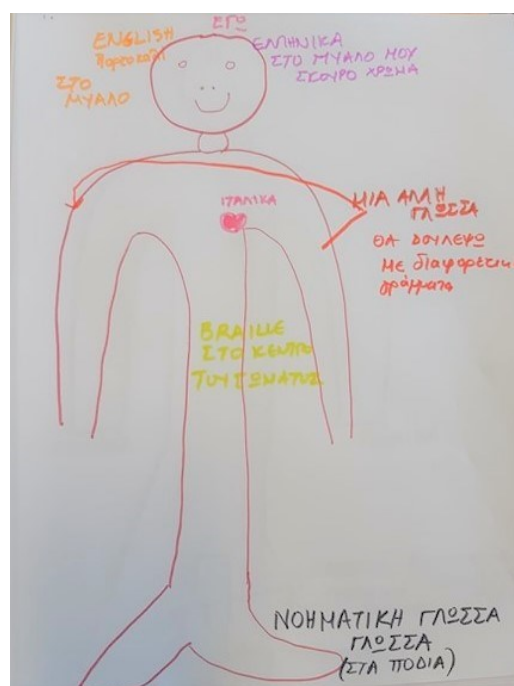


Figure 4.5: Stella's language portrait

She considers Italian a happy language

The first language that participant Stella wanted to add in her portrait was Italian. She explained that she found the language to be melodious, and so she used a happy color to represent it, and she placed it on the silhouette's heart. Knowing that she had only learned Italian for the needs of her graduate studies in Italy, I was impressed by her enthusiasm for the language, and assumed she must have had positive experiences using it.

Stella: Ωραία. Λοιπόν ξεκίνησα με ροζ χρώμα και στην καρδιά έβαλα τα ιταλικά. Βάζω ροζ γιατί είναι μία γλώσσα τραγουδιστή και χαρούμενη και το ροζ είναι χαρούμενο χρώμα.

Translation:

Stella: I started with the pink color, and I used it in my heart to symbolize Italian. I use pink because it is a melodious and happy language, and pink is a happy color.

She finds Greek difficult to learn

Next, Stella used purple to represent Greek. She placed it on the silhouette's brain and explained that she had chosen a dark color, because she wanted to demonstrate the level of difficulty of the language.

Stella: Στον εγκέφαλο βάζω τα ελληνικά με μωβ χρώμα. Είναι κι αυτό ένα χαρούμενο χρώμα, αλλά είναι πιο σκούρο από το ροζ. Που για μένα δείχνει ότι έχει ένα βαθμό δυσκολίας μεγαλύτερο από τα ιταλικά.

Translation:

Stella: I will put Greek in my brain and I will use the purple color. Purple is a happy color too, but darker than pink and to me that indicates a greater level of difficulty compared to Italian.

Her way of thinking is both Greek and English

Aside from Greek, Stella also associated English with her brain, and explained that she identified both as her first languages. She elucidated that she had learned the two languages almost simultaneously at a very young age.

Stella: Λοιπόν. Πάμε τώρα στα αγγλέζικα, που επίσης είναι στο μυαλό, με πορτοκαλί χρώμα. Δεν ξέρω γιατί, έχω συνδυάσει το πορτοκαλί με τον Καναδά μάλλον. Δεν έχω άλλη εξήγηση.

Emmanouela: Μάλιστα. Άρα μπαίνουν και τα ελληνικά και τα αγγλικά στο μυαλό.

Stella: Ναι. Τις αισθάνομαι άλλωστε και τις δύο ως μητρικές μου γλώσσες. Τα αγγλικά τα έμαθα πρώτα, απ' όταν γεννήθηκα, μετά τα ελληνικά - σχεδόν ταυτόχρονα. Τα ιταλικά τα έμαθα σε μεγάλη ηλικία για τις ανάγκες του master's.

Translation:

Stella: I will also put English in my brain and I will use orange to symbolize it. I do not know why exactly, I must have associated orange with Canada.

Emmanouela: I see. So both Greek and English go there.

Stella: Yes. I consider them both as my native languages; I learned them both at a very young age. I first learned English and then, almost simultaneously, I learned Greek. Then, I learned Italian when I was older and I was doing my master's in this language.

She considers knowing the braille language essential for her profession

Stella informed me that she had a certificate for knowing how to use the braille language. She chose a bright color to represent this language, because it allows visually impaired people to see, and she placed it at the core of the silhouette, because she considered this knowledge as essential for her job as a special education therapist.

Stella: Εμ, να σκεφτώ λίγο (παύση). Δεν ξέρω αν παίζει ρόλο, εγώ ξέρω και την braille, τη γραφή των τυφλών. Έχω πάρει πιστοποίηση - το master's μου είναι στην ειδική αγωγή και συνδέονται κάπως αυτά τα δύο. Και νομίζω ότι, ειδικά όταν έχει χρειαστεί να δουλέψω με άτομα με τύφλωση, είναι εργαλείο απαραίτητο. Οπότε θα το βάλω κι αυτό. Θα το έβαζα με κίτρινο, φωτεινό, γιατί βοηθάει τους ανθρώπους μέσα από αυτή τη γλώσσα να «δουν» και το βάζω στο κέντρο του σώματος, κάτω από την καρδιά στο στομάχι, δεν μπορώ να προσδιορίσω ακριβώς, γιατί θεωρώ ότι είναι μία γνώση που κάπου με ισορροπεί.

Translation:

Stella: Let me think (pauses). I don't know if that is relevant, I also know the braille language, the language of visually impaired people. I have a certification for it. My Masters is on special education and the two are somehow connected. And, if I have to work with someone who is visually impaired, this is a necessary tool. So, I will add that too. I would use yellow, a bright color, to symbolize this language, because through this language these people are able to «see». I will place it in the center of the body, I can't pinpoint where exactly; somewhere under the heart and in the stomach area. It is something I know that keeps me balanced.

A negative experience prevented her from learning the sign language of the Deaf

Stella described her unsuccessful attempt to learn sign language. According to her, her tutor failed to inspire her, and she only managed to complete one of the six ears required to master this language. Because of this negative experience, Stella associated the sign language with the black color, and placed it on the silhouette's feet, at the very end of her body.

Stella: Και επειδή μιλάμε για γλώσσες, να αναφέρω ότι είχα ξεκινήσει και τη νοηματική, την οποία δεν την τελείωσα, γιατί δεν με ενέπνεε ο δάσκαλος που είχα. Είναι πολύ δύσκολη γλώσσα, θέλει 6 χρόνια, και εγώ έκανα μόνο 1. Βέβαια είναι

λάθος μου που δεν έβαξα να βρω έναν άλλο δάσκαλο για να το συνεχίσω και να το ολοκληρώσω.

Emmanouela: Σας αποθάρρυνε αυτή η εμπειρία.

Stella: Ναι. Δεν θα έπρεπε. Ναι θα το έβαζα στα πόδια με μαύρο χρώμα, γιατί έχω άσχημη εμπειρία. Είναι στην άκρη. Δεν είχε την ευκαιρία κάπως να μπει στη ζωή μου πιο ομαλά, πιο στοχευμένα.

Translation:

Stella: And, since we are talking about languages, I should also mention that I tried to learn sign language, but I did not succeed, because I was not inspired by the teacher. It is a very difficult language, it requires six years of studying and I only did one. Of course, I am to blame for not searching for another teacher, who would help me finish what I started.

Emmanouela: You were discouraged by this experience.

Stella: Yes, but I shouldn't have been discouraged. I would add this language in my portrait, but I would use the black color to symbolize it, because my experience was not pleasant. I would place it on my legs, at the very end. It did not have the chance to enter my life more smoothly, in a more targeted way.

She would like to learn a challenging language

Stella stated that at some point she would like to learn a new language. She had not decided which language it should be, but she wanted it to pose a challenge to her. Therefore, she wanted this new language to have a different alphabet than the ones she was already familiar with, and gave the examples of Russian and African languages. Interestingly, despite being born in Canada, and having a clear interest in languages, Stella chose not to include French in her portrait. Based on the fact that she later seemed reluctant to add French in the students' portrait too, I assumed that she generally was not comfortable using the language and did not consider it indispensable.

Stella: Και τώρα σκέφτομαι ότι δεν έβαλα μία γλώσσα που θέλω να μάθω. Δεν ξέρω να δώσω όνομα, αλλά θα ήθελα να μάθω μία γλώσσα δύσκολη που να ξεφεύγει από τα τυπικά γράμματα των τριών γλωσσών που ξέρω ήδη. Κάτι εντελώς διαφορετικό. Ίσως ρωσικά, ή κάποια γλώσσα που μιλάνε στην Αφρική. Και θα την έβαζα με κόκκινο, γιατί είναι κάτι που θα το κάνω με πολλή αγάπη, αν καταφέρω να το κάνω. Και θα το έβαζα στα δυο μου χέρια. Γιατί νομίζω ότι θα πρέπει να δουλέψω πολύ, κυριολεκτικά και μεταφορικά, για να μάθω αυτή τη γλώσσα.

Emmanouela: Σίγουρα. Και γιατί θα θέλατε να είναι κάτι εντελώς διαφορετικό;

Stella: Είναι μια πρόκληση για μένα, δεν έχω ασχοληθεί με κάτι τέτοιο, και θα ήθελα αν μάθω μια καινούργια γλώσσα, να είναι κάτι τελείως διαφορετικό.

Translation:

Stella: Now, I am thinking that I would like to add another language, a language that I want to learn. I do not know which one exactly, but I would like to learn a difficult language, one that has a different alphabet compared to the three languages I know. Something entirely different. It could be Russian, or an African language. I would use red to symbolize this language, because if I manage to learn a new language, I will do so with great love. And I will place it on my hands, because I think that I will have to work a lot –both literally and metaphorically- to learn it.

Emmanouela: Absolutely. Why do you want it to be entirely different?

Stella: It is a challenge for me, something I haven't done. So if I end up learning another language, I would like it to be different.

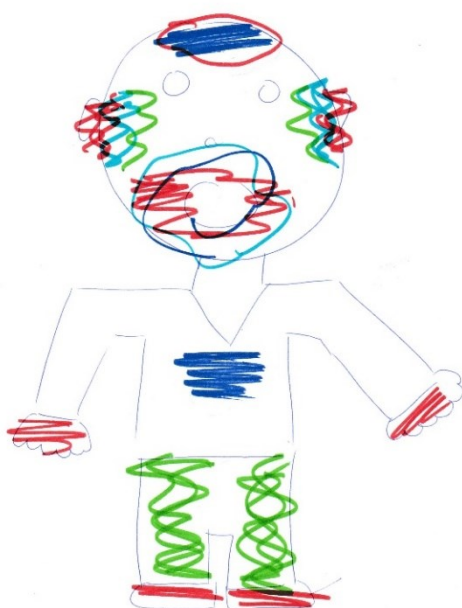


Figure 4.6: Kostas's language portrait

He likes the sound of Spanish

Participant Kostas chose an interesting way to start his language portrait; he started from a language he did not know but would like to learn eventually. This language was Spanish, and Kostas associated it with green, a happy color.

Kostas: Εντάξει. (σχεδιάζει) Λοιπόν. Αρχίζω με ένα χαρούμενο χρώμα, το πράσινο, που συμβολίζει τα ισπανικά γιατί μου αρέσει να τα ακούω, γιατί ακούγονται ωραία, αλλά δεν τα έχω μάθει προς το παρόν στα ισπανικά. Έχω πάει δυο φορές Ισπανία. Μου αρέσει η γλώσσα βασικά, αλλά δεν την έχω μάθει. Το έβαλα στ' αυτιά, γιατί μου αρέσει να τ' ακούω, και στα πόδια γιατί μ' αρέσει η μπάλα. Θα ήθελα να μάθω Ισπανικά.

Translation:

Kostas: Ok (he draws). I will start with a happy color, green, to symbolize Spanish. I like to listen to this language, it sounds good, but for now, I do not speak it. I have been to Spain twice, I like the language, but I do not speak it. I would like to learn how to speak it. I colored the ears green –because I like the way it sounds- and my legs, because I like their football.

He believes that English is top and Greek is the key to all languages

Next, Kostas moved to languages he knew, and went on to make value judgments about them. He highlighted the importance and dominance of English, by stating that ‘English is top’. He also stressed that Greek is ‘the key to all languages’, which I understood to be a reference to the numerous Greek root words that have been borrowed by other languages. This assumption was reinforced by the fact that Kostas also added that he would have liked to know Latin, which is another language from which other languages have borrowed numerous root words.

Kostas: Τώρα, τα άλλα χρώματα είναι αυτά που ξέρω. Το γαλάζιο συμβολίζει τα γαλλικά, το σκούρο μπλε τα ελληνικά –εξαιτίας της θάλασσας- και το κόκκινο καναδικά, εγγλέζικα. Έβαλα κόκκινο για τα αγγλικά γιατί τα αγγλικά είναι top και το κόκκινο είναι έντονο χρώμα. Ξέρω ότι οι γλώσσες που μιλάω είναι πολύ σημαντικές - αγγλικά είναι top, ελληνικά είναι κλειδί για όλες τις γλώσσες, ίσως ήταν καλό να ήξερα λατινικά, αλλά ξέρω ότι για να τα μάθω θα έπρεπε να πάω πάλι σχολείο, να διαβάζω βιβλία και τέτοια και δεν το βλέπω.

Translation:

Kostas: Now, let's focus on the three languages I do speak. I am using light blue for French, dark blue for Greek – because of the Greek sea – and red for Canadian, English. I use red for English because it is a strong color and to me English is top. I know the languages I speak are very important; English is top, Greek is key to all other languages. It would help if I also knew Latin, but I don't, and I do not see myself going back to school to study for a new language now.

French is a useful tool he has but does not really use

Since Kostas chose to make value judgements about the languages he knew and had included in his portrait, I asked him to comment on the usefulness of French. He appeared to be more reserved, and commented that French is useful for people who live in Canada. He explained that he did not use French outside of the classroom, because the majority of people in his circle preferred English to French.

Emmanouela: Και τα γαλλικά;

Kostas: Είναι χρήσιμα αν μένεις στον Καναδά. Έβαλα γαλάζιο για τα γαλλικά λόγω της γαλλικής σημαίας. Είναι επόμενο να ξέρεις τη γλώσσα αν μένεις εδώ. Εγώ ξέρω

γαλλικά, αλλά δεν τα χρησιμοποιώ έξω από την τάξη, γιατί μπορώ να τα χρησιμοποιήσω μόνο με δυο τρεις ανθρώπους. Με όλους τους άλλους μιλάω αγγλικά.

Translation:

Emmanouela: What about French?

Kostas: French is useful if you live in Canada. I use light blue for French because of the French flag. It is natural to know this language if you live here. I know French, but I don't speak it outside the classroom, because I can only use it with two or three people. With everyone else, I use English.

He thinks like a Greek, but his thoughts are filtered through Canada's political correctness

Kostas argued that his way of thinking was Greek and that unlike other Greeks who live in Canada, when he visits Greece, he is interested in truly immersing himself in the everyday life of his family there. He noted, however, that even though he thinks like a Greek and holds Greece in his heart, he also filters his thoughts through Canada's political correctness. According to Kostas, one cannot live in Canada if they do not share this understanding of Canadian mentality.

Kostas: Στα χέρια και στα πόδια I put red for English επειδή ζω στον Καναδά και τον αισθάνομαι τον Καναδά, και στο περπάτημα, ας πούμε στη γη ή στο γράνιμο, στο touch και τα μιλάω, τα μιλάω πιο πολύ από τις άλλες γλώσσες –γιατί μιλάω και τις τρεις γλώσσες. Εδώ έβαλα μία γραμμή κόκκινο (δείχνει στο κεφάλι του σκίτσου) για να συμβολίσει το political correctness του Καναδά. Αλλά η σκέψη είναι ελληνική. Η γλώσσα είναι ελληνική και η σκέψη είναι ελληνική αλλά ό,τι λες δεν είναι πάντα αυτό που σκέφτεσαι. Και νομίζω ότι κάποιες φορές σκέφτομαι πιο πολύ σαν Έλληνας παρά σαν Καναδός γι' αυτό είναι μπλε η σκέψη μου, αλλά έχω αυτό το κόκκινο που κάνει perimeter και αυτή είναι η Καναδέζικη σκέψη. Γιατί όπως σκέφτονται οι Έλληνες, δεν υπάρχει περίπτωση να ζήσεις στον Καναδά. Και τα ελληνικά τα έχω στην καρδιά γιατί όταν πάω Ελλάδα δεν πάω για τη Σαντορίνη και τη Μύκονο, πάω γιατί υπάρχει ένα μέρος στην Ελλάδα που το έχω σαν σπίτι. Όπως έχω και τον Καναδά, αλλά υπάρχει πιο πολύ στην Ελλάδα. Όταν μπω στο αεροπλάνο δηλαδή δεν σκέφτομαι παραλία-καφέ-τσιγάρο. Σκέφτομαι τη θεία μου, σκέφτομαι τους φίλους μου, σκέφτομαι τον παππού μου, σκέφτομαι τη γιαγιά μου, σκέφτομαι την καλύβα, σκέφτομαι τα πρόβατα, σκέφτομαι όλα αυτά. Και για αυτό το έχω στην καρδιά μου. Πολλοί Έλληνες το λένε αλλά δεν το έχουν. Έχουν πάει μια φορά στην Ελλάδα και το κάνουν θέμα. Τον Καναδά δεν τον έχω στην καρδιά. Δεν τον έχω. Είναι η καλύτερη χώρα του κόσμου, αλλά έχω την Ελλάδα. Νιώθω Έλληνας. Αλλά αυτό είναι το πιο σημαντικό πράγμα για μένα (δείχνει πάλι το κεφάλι στο σκίτσο). Αυτό που σκέφτεσαι δεν μπορείς να το κάνεις πάντα γιατί είναι η κοινωνία έτσι όπως είναι.

Emmanouela: Άρα έχει και κάποια αρνητικά στοιχεία η ελληνική σκέψη;

Kostas: Σίγουρα. Κι αν έκανες ακριβώς το αντίθετο, αν έβαζες την ελληνική σκέψη γύρω από την καναδική, και ζούσες στην Ελλάδα δεν θα γινόταν τίποτα. Πρέπει να έχεις το νευρικό για να ζήσεις στην Ελλάδα αλλιώς θα σε φάνε λάχανο.

Translation

Kostas: I colored my hands and legs red because I live in Canada and I feel the Canadian influence when I walk, when I write, when I touch something. And I speak it more than the other languages - because I speak all three languages. Here, on my forehead, (he points to the top of his drawing) I drew a red line to symbolize Canada's political correctness. My thinking is Greek, and my language is Greek, but what you say is not always what you think. And sometimes I think more as a Greek and less as a Canadian; that is why my thinking is blue. But I have this red line, Canada's political correctness, that perimeters my thinking. Because there is no way to live in Canada if you only think as a Greek. I place Greek in my heart because when I go to Greece I don't just go there for Santorini and Mykonos [popular vacation destinations in Greece]; I go there because there is a place in Greece that feels like home. Canada feels like home, but not as much as Greece. When I am in the plane, I do not think about the beach, the coffee and the smoking. I think about my aunt, my friends, I my grandfather, my grandmother, the cabin, the sheep, all that. That is why it is in my heart. Many Greeks say so, but they don't really have Greece in their hearts. They have been to Greece once and they make a big deal out of it. Canada is not in my heart. It is not. It is the best country in the world, but I have Greece in my heart. I feel Greek. But for me, this right here (points to the forehead on his drawing) is the most important thing; You cannot always act on your thoughts because of the way society operates here.

Emmanouela: Are you telling me that the Greek way of thinking has some negative aspects too?

Kostas: Definitely, yes. If you did the exact opposite, so, if the Greek way of thinking surrounded the Canadian and you lived in Greece, nothing would happen. You need to be sharp to live in Greece, otherwise people will take advantage of you.



Figure 4.7: Sofia's language portrait

She loves Greek and associates it with her mother

Participant Sofia chose to start from Greek when drawing her portrait, and stressed that she loved the language, as she had associated it with her mother who was Greek. She clearly identified Greek as her first language.

Sofia: Εντάξει. Ξεκινάω με το σχεδιάγραμμα. (σχεδιάζει) Λοιπόν, τα ελληνικά θα τα έβαζα στην καρδιά μου, γιατί είναι η μητρική μου γλώσσα και την αγαπώ. Και τα ελληνικά τα συμβολίζω με γαλάζιο βέβαια. Η μαμά μου ήταν Ελληνίδα και την αγαπούσα πάρα πολύ. Μου αρέσουν τα ελληνικά, τα έχω σπουδάσει, είναι η γλώσσα μου.

Translation:

Sofia: OK. I will start with the outline. (draws) I would place Greek in my heart because it is my mother tongue and I love it. And Greek is blue of course. My mother was Greek and I loved her very much. I like Greek, I did my studies in Greek, and it is my language.

Armenian is now her center of gravity

Next, Sofia reflected on her emotions about Armenian. She explained that she had Armenian origins, from her father's side, and that despite not learning the language at a young age, she had realized early on that this was an important part of herself. Sofia explained that her father was a second-generation Armenian living in Greece, and that his knowledge of the language was limited. Even though her parents had offered to send her to an Armenian school, she had refused, and only learned the language at age twenty-three, when she met her husband. She now considered Armenian as an essential part of her identity, and chose to place it at the silhouette's core, to demonstrate its significance.

Sofia: Έβαλα τα αρμένικα στην κοιλιά μου, με πορτοκαλί, γιατί η αρμένικη σημαία έχει μέσα πορτοκαλί, αλλά κυρίως γιατί το πορτοκαλί μου έκανε πάντα εντύπωση, όπως και τα αρμένικα. Εγώ αρμένικα δεν έμαθα μικρή. Ο μπαμπάς μου ήταν Αρμένιος γεννημένος όμως στην Ελλάδα, πού να μάθω; Δεν ήξερε ούτε κι αυτός καλά. Ήξερα όμως μέσα μου ότι θα έπρεπε να μάθω. Βέβαια με έγραψε στο σχολείο το αρμένικο και έκλαιγα, δεν ήθελα να πάω τότε. Όταν μεγάλωσα, γνώρισα τον άντρα μου που ήταν Αρμένιος και δεν ήξερε ελληνικά, οπότε αναγκάστηκα να μάθω. Μαζί του έμαθα, μου μίλαγε αρμένικα αυτός, ελληνικά εγώ. Και τώρα τα έβαλα τα αρμένικα στο κέντρο, στην κοιλιά μου (δείχνει το σκίτσο). Ξέρεις, η κοιλιά είναι το κέντρο του ανθρώπου, μας χαρακτηρίζει. Εκεί μου ήρθε να το βάλω δεν ξέρω γιατί. Ίσως γιατί είναι το κέντρο ισορροπίας του ανθρώπου η κοιλιά. Παρόλο που δεν την έχω μάθει από μικρή και δε τη μιλάω τόσο καλά. Τώρα μου είναι πολύ σημαντικά τα αρμένικα. Και ευχαριστώ το Θεό που μπόρεσα όταν ήμουν 23 χρονών και τα έμαθα. Γιατί τώρα

θα ήταν πάρα πολύ δύσκολο. Και κάπως μοιάζουν με τα ελληνικά, έτσι λίγο η γραμματική.

Translation:

Sofia: I placed Armenian on my stomach and I used the orange color, because orange is one of the colors of the Armenian flag, but mainly because orange always made an impression on me, just like Armenian. I didn't learn Armenian when I was young. My father was Armenian, but he was born in Greece, so he didn't really know the language either. But deep inside, I knew I had to learn it. My parents sent me to the Armenian school, but I remember I did not want to go then, I was crying. When I grew up, I met my husband, who is also Armenian. At the time, he did not speak Greek, so I was forced to learn Armenian. So I learned; I was speaking to him in Greek, and he was speaking to me in Armenian. I placed Armenian in the center, on my stomach (points to the silhouette). You know, the stomach is the center of the person. It characterizes us. I don't know why I placed Armenian there. Perhaps because this is where a person's center of gravity is. And all that, despite not learning it at a young age and not being perfectly fluent in it. Now, Armenian is very important to me. And I thank God I was able to learn it when I was around twenty-three years old. Because it would be very difficult now. And I could say that there are some similarities between Armenian and Greek, maybe in terms of grammar.

She can relate with students because she struggled to learn English

Sofia then turned to English, a language she had struggled to learn as a child. As she explained, she felt discouraged when she was trying to learn English, because she compared herself to her peers, and realized she struggled more than them. She associated the language with a dark color, as her experience learning it was negative. However, she also argued that because of this experience, she could now relate to students who faced difficulties in learning languages, which, in turn, made her a good teacher.

Sofia: Και την αγγλική την έβαλα στο κεφάλι με χρώμα μωβ, γιατί είναι δυσάρεστο το χρώμα αυτό για μένα, έτσι το σκούρο μωβ, γιατί αγγλικά προσπάθησα να μάθω από πολύ μικρή στα 10. Και ήμουν πάρα πολύ καλή, αλλά δεν ήθελα πάλι να πηγαίνω γιατί αισθανόμουν ότι κάνω λάθη- εγώ είμαι γενικά άνθρωπος που δεν θέλω να κάνω λάθη, τελειομανής. Και επειδή υπήρχαν άλλα παιδάκια που τα έπαιρναν τα αγγλικά, αλλά εγώ δεν ήμουν έτσι, ζορίστηκα. Και γι' αυτό είμαι καλή δασκάλα, επειδή καταλαβαίνω τον άλλο όταν δυσκολεύεται. Έδωσα για lower, δεν το πήρα, και μετά αργότερα, στα 38, ξαναέδωσα και το πήρα. Το πήρα και νόμιζα ότι έχω μία καλή άποψη για τα αγγλικά, μπορούσα να συνεννοηθώ.

Translation:

Sofia: I placed English in my head and I used purple to symbolize it, dark purple, because to me purple is not a pleasant color. I tried to learn English when I was ten. I was good at it, but again I felt that I was making mistakes and I did not like that. I am a perfectionist; I do not like it when I make mistakes. And I struggled, because I could

tell that some other children found it easier than me to learn English. I think this is why I am a good teacher now. It's because I can relate to people who struggle to learn. I sat for the lower exam, I was unsuccessful, and at age thirty-eight, I sat for it again and passed. I think I have a good grasp of English, as I can communicate in it.

Despite her initial negative attitude towards English, now she has locked it in her head

Participant Sofia referred to her first impressions of hearing people use English, when she first immigrated to Toronto. She described her difficulty in understanding people, and her initial resentment of the language. However, Sofia explained that she eventually managed to overcome this negativity by studying and using the language and felt that she had now *locked English in her head*. This strong statement indicated that Sofia viewed her progress in English as a personal achievement, testament to her determination.

Sofia: Αλλά ήρθα εδώ και έπαθα ένα σοκ γιατί έβγαινα έξω και δεν καταλάβαινα τι έλεγαν οι άνθρωποι. Μιλούσαν γρήγορα, εγώ δεν είχα κάνει εξάσκηση, και μάλιστα όταν έβλεπα ταινίες ή άκουγα τραγούδια, τα έκλεινα τα αυτιά μου στα αγγλικά. Πολλές φορές νόμιζα ότι βλέπω την ταινία στα ελληνικά. Χαμήλωνα την φωνή για να μην ακούω, γιατί δε μου αρέσει να βλέπω ταινίες σε ξένες γλώσσες, και έβλεπα τους υπότιτλους και ήταν σα να βλέπω την ταινία στα ελληνικά. Αλλά ήρθα εδώ και ήθελα να μιλήσω, να μάθω. Έκανα μαθήματα στο διαδίκτυο, άρχισα να διαβάζω και να μιλάω.

Emmanouela: Μου έκανε εντύπωση που για τα ελληνικά και τα αρμένικα, βάλατε χρώματα σχετικά με τη σημαία της χώρας, ενώ για τα αγγλικά βάλατε ένα χρώμα που δεν έχει σχέση με την αγγλική σημαία.

Sofia: Ναι. Το έχω συνδέσει με κάτι δύσκολο. Το σκούρο μωβ είναι σκληρό χρώμα για μένα. Και το έβαλα στο κεφάλι, γιατί πιστεύω ότι το έχω κλειδώσει το κεφάλι μου στην αγγλική γλώσσα. Και επειδή ξέρω πολύ καλά αγγλικά, μπορώ να γράψω και έκθεση -ενώ στα αρμένικα δεν ξέρω τόσο καλά το γραπτό λόγο- αλλά όταν μιλάω εκεί κολλάω, δε μπορώ να αναπτύξω τις σκέψεις μου. Προσπαθώ να μεταφράσω από τα ελληνικά και κολλάω, και ο άλλος πιστεύει ότι δεν ξέρω αγγλικά, αλλά ξέρω αρκετά καλά αγγλικά.

Translation:

Sofia: However, I remember that when I came here I was shocked because I could not understand anyone. Everyone spoke very fast and I had not practiced. When I watched a movie or listened to a song, I would close my ears to English. Many times, I thought I was watching the movie in Greek. I would turn down the volume so as not to listen, and I would look at the subtitles, so it was as if the movie was in Greek. But I came here, and I wanted to talk, to learn. I took some online courses, I started studying and speaking.

Emmanouela: What I find interesting is that for Greek and Armenian you used colors from the respective flags, but for English you chose a color that has nothing to do with the flag...

Sofia: Yes. I have associated English with something difficult to learn. Dark purple is a rough color for me. And I used it on the head, because I believe that I have locked English in my head, And this is the reason why I can write an essay in English, whereas I cannot write in Armenian. But when I speak, I get stuck and I cannot fully express myself. I try to translate from Greek and I get stuck, and the other person thinks that I do not know English, but I am actually quite fluent in it.



Figure 4.8: Niki's language portrait

She identifies Greek as her first language

Participant Niki clearly identified Greek as her first language. She associated it with the color of the sun, and noted that the first language she thinks in is always Greek.

Niki: Λοιπόν, ωραία ξεκινάω με τα ελληνικά. Θα χρησιμοποιήσω το κίτρινο, επειδή είναι το χρώμα του ήλιου και είναι φωτεινό, και θα βάλω όλο το πόδι μου στα ελληνικά - μη σου πω κι όλο το σώμα μου. Θα χρησιμοποιήσω το κίτρινο και για το κεφάλι μου, γιατί το κίτρινο είναι η Ελλάδα και είναι πάντα μέσα στο κεφάλι μου. Πάντα δηλαδή, η πρώτη γλώσσα που σκέφτομαι είναι τα ελληνικά. Και στην καρδιά μου είναι τα ελληνικά.

Translation:

Niki: I will start with Greek. I will use yellow to symbolize it, because yellow is the color of the sun and it is bright. I will color my entire leg yellow; perhaps even my entire body. I will use yellow to color my head too, because yellow stands for Greece and Greece is always in my head. The first language I think in is always Greek. Greek is also in my heart.

She finds English difficult but indispensable

Niki then chose a dark color that she did not like to represent English. She admitted that English posed a challenge to her, especially when teaching. At the same time, however, Niki recognized that English is necessary for her communication with the students.

Niki: Θα πάρω το μωβ, το οποίο είναι ψυχρό χρώμα και δεν μου αρέσει τόσο (γέλια) και θα το βάλω παντού, θα το βάλω στα χέρια και στον κορμό μου. Είναι τα αγγλικά, και πάντα με δυσκολεύουν. Με δυσκολεύει να εκφραστώ όπως θα ήθελα, ειδικά στη διδασκαλία μου. Αλλά μου χρειάζονται τα αγγλικά για να επικοινωνώ με τους μαθητές, τα χρησιμοποιώ πολύ.

Translation:

Niki: Now, I will take the purple color, which is cold and I don't really like it (laughs), and I will use it everywhere. I will use it for my hands and torso. It stands for English, because I find it difficult. I find it difficult to express myself in English, especially when I teach. On the other hand, it is a language that I use a lot, I need to know it to communicate with students.

She appreciates the Italian language and culture

Finally, Niki turned to a language that she likes; Italian. She chose a color she liked to represent the language, and placed it on the silhouette's throat, to signify that she needs to learn how to speak it.

Niki: Θα προσέθετα και τα Ιταλικά. Ξέρω λίγα δηλαδή. Θα τα έβαζα με πορτοκαλί, που μου αρέσει, στο λαιμό μου. Το πορτοκαλί είναι όμορφο χρώμα, έχει μία κουλτούρα και μου αρέσει. Και το βάζω στο λαιμό γιατί εκεί είναι οι φωνητικές χορδές και πρέπει να μάθω να τα μιλάω.

Translation:

Niki: I would also add Italian. I know some Italian. I would use orange to symbolize it, which is a color I like. Orange is a beautiful color, it is connected to a certain culture and elegance and I like it for that. And I would color my throat orange, because this is where the vocal chords are, and I need to learn how to speak Italian.

Greek HL teachers' perceptions of the average Greek HL learner's language portrait

Once the participants had completed their self-portrait, we moved to another task. I asked them to create another language portrait, this time the portrait of the average Greek HL student. The instructions that were given to the participants were to avoid thinking of or trying to represent a specific student. Rather, they were asked to think about the most common characteristics shared by their students and their students' views about languages. Evidently, these portraits are not the

portraits that students would have created for themselves, and thus cannot and should not be understood as true representations of their perceptions and emotions about languages. Nevertheless, that was not the aim of this task. The aim of this task was to see how the teachers view the students' languaging and whether they tend to assign identities to their students, based on the students' language skills and profiles.

Maria

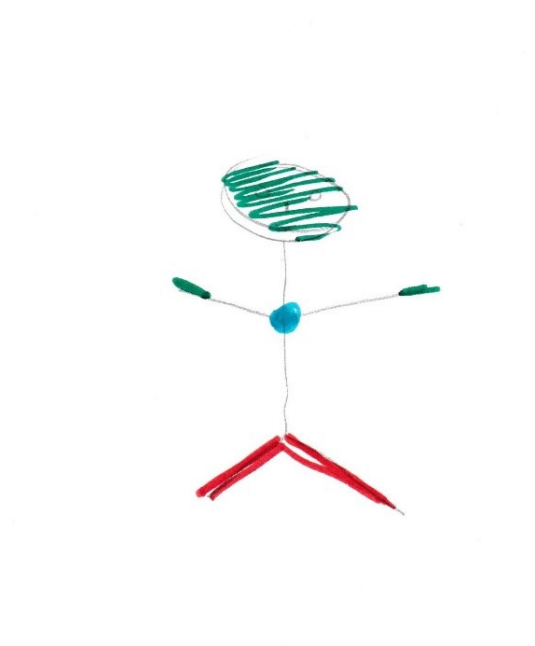


Figure 4.9: The student portrait created by Maria

Students make different associations with the three languages than Maria

Maria chose to preface the justification of her choices while creating the average student's language portrait, by noting that she would surely use different colors than the ones she used in her own portrait. She believed that students' associations and feelings about languages were very different from her own.

Maria: Είμαι σίγουρη ότι θα αλλάξουν τα χρώματα, γιατί νομίζω τα νιώθουν διαφορετικά τα παιδιά τα... όλες αυτές τις γλώσσες. Εγώ πώς νομίζω ότι τα νιώθουν. Λοιπόν, ο μέσος μαθητής μιλάει και τις τρεις γλώσσες, σε κάποιο βαθμό, αλλά σίγουρα τις μιλάει και τις τρεις σε κάθε περίπτωση.

Translation:

Maria: I am sure I will change the colors that I have used, because I think that students have different feelings about all these languages. That is my understanding. First of all, I think that the average student speaks all three languages; at least to some extent.

English comes naturally to students, unlike French

Maria noted that when students feel relaxed, they choose to speak in English, which comes naturally to them. She referred to the Greek day school where she works and its policy that forces students to speak in French while in school. Despite this policy, however, Maria was under the impression that outside of school students still choose English over French. She added that students communicate in English with their parents and most likely spend their free time watching television shows and movies in English.

Maria: Και, λοιπόν, θα χρησιμοποιήσω το πράσινο για τα αγγλικά και θα το βάλω σε μεγάλο ποσοστό. Διαλέγω το πράσινο γιατί είναι ένα χρώμα της φύσης, και είναι απόλυτα φυσικό να μιλάνε αγγλικά τα παιδιά εδώ. Θα το βάλω στο κεφάλι του –τα αγγλικά– και θα το βάλω και στα χέρια του, γιατί το χρησιμοποιεί πάρα πολύ και σχεδόν παντού, δεν ξέρω αν θα βάλω κι άλλο, γιατί όλοι, ακόμα και να μη τα μιλάνε μπροστά μου πολύ τα αγγλικά για διάφορους λόγους, για παράδειγμα στο καθημερινό σχολείο επιβάλλεται να μιλάνε γαλλικά τα παιδιά ακόμα και στο διάλειμμα –άρα, πολλές φορές έρχομαι σε επαφή με μαθητές που μιλούν γαλλικά μεταξύ τους. Αλλά νιώθω από τις πλάκες που κάνουν όταν είναι σε περιβάλλον εκτός σχολείου, και γενικότερα, όταν τους βλέπω με τους γονείς τους, όταν τους βλέπω άνετους, ότι τα αγγλικά τους είναι πολύ πιο μέσα στην κουλτούρα τους και τα shows- οι διάφορες σειρές που παρακολουθούν, οι ταινίες και όλα αυτά είναι πάρα πολύ αμερικανοποιημένα και υποθέτω ότι τα βλέπουν στα αγγλικά. Ακόμα κι αν τα έχω συνηθίσει εγώ στην καθημερινότητά τους να μιλάνε γαλλικά περισσότερο.

Translation:

Maria: I will use the green color to represent English, and I will cover a big portion of the body with it. I use green because it is a natural color and it is only natural to speak English here. I will color the head and the hands –because they use it all the time. I may use some more, because even though they do not use English when I am present, because for example in the day school, they are obliged to speak in French even when they are on their break; so, I often hear them speak in French. But, from the expressions they use when they banter, from when I see them outside of school, with their parents and relaxed, I have the feeling that they are way closer to English. It is in their culture; all the shows they watch, the movies, all that is very American-like and I assume they watch all that in English.

When asked whether students who attend one of the Saturday schools choose English over French, like their counterparts from the day school, Maria argued that these students use even more English. She argued that students in the Saturday school are relaxed and choose to communicate

in English with their peers, even if they have *Québécois* parents. Interestingly, Maria switched to French when referring to Quebecers, in what seemed like an attempt to highlight that even students who would be expected to prefer French, because this is the language most used at home, end up using English instead. Her choice to switch to French could also be interpreted as indicative of her own view of Quebecers, as people who prioritize their language, especially over Canada's other official language, English.

Emmanouela: Στο σαββατιανό σχολείο ισχύει το ίδιο;

Maria: Στο σαββατιανό, αγγλικά. Αγγλικά. Πάλι το θεωρώ σαν μια χαλαρή στιγμή τους το σαββατιανό. Ναι, στο σαββατιανό μιλάνε αγγλικά περισσότερο μεταξύ τους και είναι επειδή είναι χαλαρά. Κι ακόμα κι αν έχουν γονείς *Québécois* πάλι αγγλικά μιλάνε - μεταξύ τους. Είναι σαν μια γλώσσα στην οποία και σκέφτονται αλλά και συνδέονται με τους άλλους. Νιώθουν πιο ασφαλείς. Νιώθουν κάπως ότι όλοι μιλούν αγγλικά, άρα κι αυτό επιλέγουν να κάνουν και οι ίδιοι.

Translation:

Emmanouela: Is this the case for students from the Saturday school too?

Maria: When it comes to the students from the Saturday school, they definitely prefer English. Again, I think that the Saturday school is a relaxed moment for them. They use English even more, because they are relaxed. Even if they have *Québécois* parents, they still speak in English with each other. It is as if English is a language in which they think but also use to connect with others. They feel safe using it. They see that everyone speaks English so they choose to do so too.

Despite not being their preferred language, French works as students' bulwark

When referring to French, Maria stressed that the average student has some knowledge of French, because either a family member is a *Québécois*, or generally, because they are exposed to French in the broader Quebec society, where French is dominant. Interestingly, Maria hypothesized that even if students are not proficient in French, they still want to have French in their linguistic arsenal. Maria even went as far as to argue that students see French as part of their origin or the origin they would like to have. According to Maria, French helps Greek students in Quebec feel they belong. Again, one could interpret this statement as being related to Maria's own insecurity about her French proficiency, which was evident in her own language portrait.

Maria: Θα βάλω το κόκκινο στα πόδια τους για τα γαλλικά. Στη δική τους περίπτωση είναι τα γαλλικά. Και βάζω κόκκινο, που είναι ένα έντονο χρώμα, γιατί τα γαλλικά έχουν δύναμη στο Κεμπέκ. Θα βάλω το κόκκινο στα πόδια τους γιατί πιστεύω ότι σχεδόν ο τυπικός, ο μέσος μαθητής μιλάει γαλλικά καταρχάς, ναι, και τα γαλλικά είτε είναι γλώσσα που ουσιαστικά χρησιμοποιείται μέσα στην οικογένειά τους γιατί έχουν για παράδειγμα ένα γονέα *Québécois* είτε επειδή έχουν μεγαλώσει στο Κεμπέκ και

έχουν όλες αυτές τις εικόνες, τις γαλλικές, τα γαλλικά λοιπόν είναι μία γλώσσα που γι' αυτούς είναι οι ρίζες που θα ήθελαν να έχουν ή που έχουν. Οπότε τις βάζω στα πόδια. Και θέλουν να έχουν το στήριγμα των γαλλικών τα περισσότερα παιδιά. Κάπως έτσι δηλαδή το νιώθω. Ότι ακόμα κι αυτοί που δεν τα προτιμούν κάπως θα ήθελαν να τα μιλάνε καλύτερα ή γενικά να ξέρουν ότι μπορούν να τα μιλάνε.

Emmanouela: Για πρακτικούς λόγους;

Maria: Για πρακτικούς λόγους αλλά και για να νιώθουν ότι ανήκουν. Δηλαδή, ο μέσος μαθητής έτσι νομίζω ότι τα έχει τα γαλλικά. Γι' αυτούς είναι ένα... βοηθάνε το ανήκειν.

Translation:

Maria: I will use red for their legs, which stands for French - in their case. I will use red for French because I see it as a strong color and French is strong in Quebec. I will color the legs red, because I think that the average student speaks French either with a family member, for example if they have a Québécois parent, or simply because they grow up in Quebec and they have all these French images. French represents the students' roots; the ones they have or the ones they would like to have. Most students would like to have French as their bulwark. That is what I feel. That even those who do not really use French would like to be able to speak it better.

Emmanouela: For practical reasons?

Maria: For practical reasons, yes, but also to feel they belong. This is how I think the average student views French. For them, French helps them feel they belong.

Students have mixed feelings about Greek

Finally, Maria turned to the way the average student views Greek, and hypothesized that they must have mixed feelings about it. She argued that the way students see Greek is very stereotypical –hence, her choice of an obvious color to represent Greek in their portrait- as it is filtered through what their family and teachers tell them about Greece. She described the students' relation with the language as a love-hate relation, and explained that they recognize that Greek is important, but resent the fact that they are forced to take Greek classes.

Maria: Και θα βάλω και τα ελληνικά τώρα αλλά τι χρώμα να χρησιμοποιήσω για τα ελληνικά; Θα βάλω μπλε γιατί πιστεύω ότι το βλέπουν πολύ σαν κάτι γραφικό και πολύ σχηματοποιημένο τα ελληνικά έτσι όπως τους περνιέται και από το σχολείο και από τις οικογένειές τους, και από τις εικόνες που έχουν. Αλλά θα το βάλω στην καρδιά - και αυτοί μπορεί να έχουν ανάμεικτα συναισθήματα για τα ελληνικά, σίγουρα, για διάφορους λόγους. Θα χρησιμοποιήσω ένα τυπικό χρώμα πολύ, έτσι δεν ξέρω, σχηματικά εύκολο, το μπλε, αλλά θα το βάλω και σ' αυτούς στην καρδιά γιατί σίγουρα τους είναι πολύ σημαντικά συναισθηματικά και ξαναλέω ότι μπορεί να έχουν ανάμεικτα συναισθήματα για αυτά, μίσους και πάθους.

Emmanouela: Και μίσους ε;

Maria: Και μίσους ναι. Γιατί τους αναγκάζουν να πηγαίνουν στα σχολεία, ειδικά τα σαββατιανά που δεν είναι καθημερινότητα του παιδιού, νομίζω ότι είναι γι' αυτούς κάτι που ναι μεν έχει μια κανονικότητα όσον αφορά στο πρόγραμμα της ζωής τους, μια περιοδικότητα, αλλά είναι και μια έξτρα μέρα κατά την οποία αναγκάζονται να πηγαίνουν στο σχολείο και σίγουρα αυτό δεν είναι επιλογή τους. Του μέσου μαθητή δεν είναι σίγουρα μπορώ να το υπογράψω.

Translation:

Maria: And now, what color should I use for Greek? I will use blue to represent Greek, because I think that the way they see Greek is somehow stereotypical and filtered through what others tell them about Greece; their family, the school, all the images they have. Nevertheless, I will put Greek in their hearts. Students too may have mixed feelings about Greek, for numerous reasons. So, I will use a stereotypical color –too stereotypical- but I will place it on their heart because they definitely consider Greek as important. But, again, many students may have mixed feelings about Greek; they both love and hate it.

Emmanouela: They hate it?

Maria: They hate it because they are forced to go to school to learn it. Especially the students who go to school on Saturday. Because for them, Greek is not part of their everyday routine, it is something they do periodically and something for which they are forced to go to school an extra day. It certainly is not their choice to go to school six days per week. That I know.

George



Figure 4.10: The student portrait created by George

Greek is the students' second language and colors their existence

Even though it was not required or suggested in any way, George followed a specific sequence when creating the portrait of the average student, just as he had done for his own portrait. He started from the students' first language and then moved on to what he believed to be their second and third language. He argued that the students' first language, as well as the language they use the most and in which they think, is English. He then speculated that students identify Greek and not French as their second language. He argued that Greek influences the students' worldview, and that they both love and use it. He explained that he chose to represent Greek with the blue color, because unlike the neutral color white (the second color that is typically associated with Greece), blue is vivid and thus more appropriate to represent the great impact that Greek has on students.

George: Μάλιστα. Θα αποτύπωνα το γυναικείο φύλο, γιατί οι πιο πολλοί μαθητές είναι κορίτσια παρά αγόρια. (σχεδιάζει) Η μέση μαθήτρια νιώθει μητρική την αγγλική γλώσσα.

Emmanouela: Και με ποιο χρώμα θα τη συμβολίσεις;

George: Πράσινο ανοικτό. Γιατί και αυτό το συνδέω με τη φύση - ίσως γιατί τους βγαίνει φυσικά. Θα το βάλω στην ομιλία και στη σκέψη - άρα στο στόμα και το κεφάλι. Θα έλεγα όλο το πρόσωπο - χαρούμενο, χαμογελαστό και πράσινο. Η δεύτερη γλώσσα τους θα έλεγα πως είναι τα ελληνικά, δεν θα έβαζα τα γαλλικά. Θα το έβαζα στα μάτια, πώς κοιτάνε τον κόσμο, και για το μέσο μαθητή και στα χέρια και στα πόδια. Και θα το βάλω με μπλε για τον ίδιο λόγο με πριν- είναι συνδεδεμένο με την Ελλάδα, το μπλε, το γαλάζιο, τα χρώματα τα ελληνικά. Θα μπορούσα να σου πω και το λευκό, αλλά το λευκό έχει πολλές φορές και το ουδέτερο μέσα. Εγώ, λέγοντας μπλε, χρωματίζω - χρωματίζεται η ύπαρξή τους με την Ελλάδα, μέσω του μπλε. Και τα χέρια, γιατί την χρησιμοποιούν, αλλά και το βάδισμα είναι ελληνικό του μέσου μαθητή. Αλλά και η καρδιά τους είναι ελληνική - οπότε την βάζω κι αυτή μπλε.

Translation:

George: In my drawing, the average student would be female, because most of our students are girls. (draws) The average student definitely identifies English as her first language.

Emmanouela: And what color will you use to symbolize it?

George: I will use light green to symbolize it, because I associate it with nature. Maybe because English comes naturally to them. I will color the mouth and the brain –because they speak it and they think in it. Perhaps I could color the entire head green; happy, smiley, and green. Their second language is Greek, not French. I will use it on their eyes, the way they see the world, the hands and the feet. And I will use the same color as before –blue- because blue, light blue, is connected with Greece; it is the color of Greece. I could also use white to represent Greek, but there is something neutral about

white. By choosing blue, I am adding color; their existence is colored through blue, through Greece. I will also color the hands blue, because it is a language they use, and the legs, because they march using Greek. Also, our students' heart is Greek, so I will color the heart blue as well.

Students know but do not invest in French

When it was time to turn to what he perceived to be the students' third language, French, George started by acknowledging the fact that French is the dominant language and culture in Quebec. Nevertheless, at first he questioned whether all students were familiar with the language. As he was reflecting on the students' education, he remembered that according to Quebec's language policies, even students enrolled in English schools must learn French, and therefore concluded that all students must know the language. When asked about his initial questioning of the students' French knowledge, he explained that he sensed that students do not use French outside of school. He provided an alternative explanation, arguing that students learn French but refuse to invest in it, because no one in their immediate environment uses it. If we consider George's passion about French, as evidenced by his self-portrait, this statement can be interpreted as an indication of his disappointment for students not sharing the same love for French, despite living in Quebec.

George: Ο μέσος μαθητής... δεν μπορώ να πω με βεβαιότητα ότι όλοι οι μαθητές ξέρουν γαλλικά. Τα παιδιά που πάνε στο δημόσιο σύστημα εκπαίδευσης, τα γαλλικά τα μαθαίνουν υποχρεωτικά. Τα παιδιά που έχουμε εμείς, τα περισσότερα, οκτώ αν όχι εννιά στα δέκα, πάνε σε ιδιωτικά σχολεία και κυρίως πάνε σε καλά αγγλικά σχολεία. Κάποιοι πάνε και σε καλά γαλλικά βέβαια. Τα γαλλικά θα τα έβαζα στα αυτιά και στον κορμό. Γιατί στο Κεμπέκ αυτά είναι τα ακούσματα, είναι η κυρίαρχη κουλτούρα - η γαλλική. Ο κορμός δείχνει την κυρίαρχη κουλτούρα. Γιατί ακόμα και στα αγγλικά σχολεία, τώρα που το σκέφτομαι, κάνουν πρώτα γαλλικά και μετά αγγλικά...

Emmanouela: Παρόλα αυτά μου είπες ότι δεν ξέρει γαλλικά ο μέσος μαθητής...

George: Ναι. Ή αρνείται. Αρνείται να μπει στην περαιτέρω καλλιέργεια αυτής της γλώσσας. Έχω την αίσθηση ότι τα καταλαβαίνουν αλλά δεν θέλουν να τα μάθουν σε βάθος. Και αυτό, έχω την αίσθηση ότι έχει να κάνει με τους παππούδες και τις γιαγιάδες. Δηλαδή, οι γονείς πήγαν στα αγγλικά, ο παππούς και η γιαγιά γαλλικά δεν μιλάνε, μόνο ξέρουν σπαστές λέξεις στα αγγλικά και ελληνικά, οπότε παίζουν μεταξύ ελληνικών κι αγγλικών. Τα γαλλικά δεν τα χρησιμοποιούν τα παιδιά πέραν του σχολείου.

Emmanouela: Μάλιστα. Και τι χρώμα θα έβαζες για τα γαλλικά;

George: Θα έβαζα το μπορντό. Δεν ξέρω γιατί... είναι ένα χρώμα που μου αρέσει. Είναι ένα χρώμα έντονο μεν, δεύτερο δε. Δεν είναι κύριο.

Translation:

George: The average student... I cannot say with certainty that all our students know French. Those who go to public schools do, because it is a mandatory course. But most of our students go to private schools - mainly prestigious private English schools. Some of them go to prestigious French private schools. I will put French on the torso and the ears. Because in Quebec this is what students hear, this is the dominant culture; French. The torso represents that dominant culture. Because now that I am thinking about it, even students in English schools have to study French first and then English in Quebec.

Emmanouela: But you said that the average student does not know French...

George: Or, refuses to learn it. Refuses to invest in learning this language. I sense that they understand the language, but they do not want to go deeper, to truly learn it. And, I think all this goes back to the family; the parents chose English, and the grandparents do not speak French; they mainly use some broken English and Greek. So the student doesn't really use French outside of school.

Emmanouela: I see. What color would you use for French?

George: I would use burgundy to represent French. I don't know why exactly... it is a color I like. It is a vivid, but secondary color. It is not primary.

Anna



Figure 4.11: The student portrait created by Anna

The students' core values are Greek even though their first language is English

Anna chose a very interesting way to demonstrate the students' languages. She drew three concentric circles in the silhouette's head and explained that the outer circle stands for French, the middle circle stands for English and the inner circle stands for Greek. According to her, French is on the outside because students use French in the broader Quebec society, but not in their immediate environment. Like the previous participants, Anna explained that in their everyday interactions, students opt for English, which they identify as their first language. Interestingly, according to Anna, the inner circle represents Greek, because the students' core values are Greek.

Anna: Θα βασιστώ στις τρεις γλώσσες -αγγλικά, ελληνικά, γαλλικά -και θα βάλω αντίστοιχα χρώματα. Λοιπόν, η μητρική τους είναι τα αγγλικά. Κρατάω τα ίδια χρώματα για πρακτικούς λόγους (μπλε για τα ελληνικά, μωβ για τα αγγλικά και κόκκινο για τα γαλλικά). Τα αγγλικά είναι η μητρική τους και είναι αυτή με την οποία σκέφτονται. Και που χρησιμοποιούν, αλλά κυρίως σκέφτονται σε αυτήν. Θα μουν σίγουρα στο μυαλό, αλλά πώς; (παύση) Οκ, διάλεξα κύκλο. Γιατί...

Emmanouela: Κατ' αρχάς βλέπω ότι έχεις κάνει τρεις ομόκεντρους κύκλους.

Anna: Ναι. Ο εξωτερικός είναι τα γαλλικά, ο μεσαίος τα αγγλικά και ο εσωτερικός τα ελληνικά. Τα αγγλικά είναι η μητρική τους γλώσσα, με την έννοια ότι είναι η γλώσσα που σκέφτονται, χρησιμοποιούν, νιώθουν άνετα και επικοινωνούν με τους άλλους. Τα γαλλικά είναι η γλώσσα με την οποία θα πρέπει να επικοινωνούν στο εξωτερικό τους πλαίσιο. Δηλαδή, στο σχολείο θα μιλάνε αγγλικά. Εκτός σχολείου, στην ευρύτερη κοινωνία, θα μιλάνε γαλλικά. Ο κύκλος στη μέση, τα ελληνικά, έχει να κάνει και με το κομμάτι των αξιών. Δηλαδή, τα ελληνικά, η ελληνική γλώσσα, είναι συνδεδεμένη με τις ελληνικές αξίες, τις οικογενειακές αξίες. Είναι το κεντρικό, πιο μικρό κομμάτι. Δεν θα έλεγα όμως ότι είναι πιο υποσυνείδητο -δεν είναι ότι δεν αντιλαμβάνονται ότι έχουν ελληνικές αξίες.

Translation:

Anna: I will use the three main languages for this portrait -English, Greek and French- and I will use three respective colors. Their first language is English. For practical reasons, I will keep the same colors I used in my portrait (blue for Greek, purple for English, red for French). English is the language they think in. It is the language they use the most, but most importantly, it is the language they think in. So, it will definitely go in their brain, but I need to think how I will represent it. (pauses and then starts drawing) Okay, I chose to use a circle, because...

Emmanouela: I see you used three concentric circles.

Anna: Yes. The outer circle stands for French, the middle one for English, and the inner circle for Greek. English is the language they think in, the language they choose, the language they are most comfortable using to communicate. French is the language they need to use in the broader society. So, for example, in school they use English [note from fieldnotes: despite the policy to use French in the day school], whereas

outside of school, in the Quebec society, they may have to use French. The inner circle stands for Greek, and it is related to their morals and values. Greek is linked to Greek values, family values. It is the smallest part, the most central. Even though it is small, it is not subconscious. The students realize their values are Greek.

The students' languages are interconnected

A unique aspect of this portrait is the fact that Anna drew lines between the three concentric circles to demonstrate that the students' languages are in fact interconnected. That is, she claimed that the students' knowledge of a language influences the other languages that make up this student's repertoire. Anna appeared to be convinced that there are links between the students' inner and middle (Greek and English) and middle and outer (English and French) circles, but questioned whether there is a connection between their inner and outer circles (Greek and French). Even though Anna was not certain whether all languages are interconnected or not, it is impressive to see her understanding of the students' languages and how it resembles the way linguistic repertoires are understood by proponents of translanguaging. Proponents of this framework consider all languages as resources, encourage their interchangeable use, and designate the agentive power of individuals (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Canagarajah, 2018; Cummins, 2017; García 2009a, 2009b; García & Wei, 2014; Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015; Palmer et al. 2014).

Anna: Αλλά θεωρώ ότι μεταξύ τους οι κύκλοι επικοινωνούν. (σχεδιάζει) Δεν είναι ότι ξεκινάει ο ένας κύκλος και τελειώνει ο άλλος. Θεωρώ ότι τα ελληνικά είναι μία γλώσσα κληρονομιάς, αλλά δεν θεωρώ ότι είναι νεκρή για αυτά τα παιδιά. Άσχετα από το πώς τα μιλάνε, δεν είναι ούτε ξένη ούτε τρίτη γλώσσα. Έχει άλλες ιδιαιτερότητες. Δεν ξέρω κατά πόσο βέβαια το ελληνικό κομμάτι βγαίνει εδώ (δείχνει τον κύκλο των γαλλικών).

Emmanouela: Άρα τα ελληνικά επικοινωνούν με τα αγγλικά αλλά όχι με τα γαλλικά;

Anna: Ναι, ναι. Αυτό δεν το ξέρω. Και αν την επηρεάζουν, δεν ξέρω σε τι βαθμό. Και τώρα στην καρδιά, αν τη συνδέσουμε με το συναίσθημα, είναι πιο πολύ ελληνικό και αγγλικό. Και το ίδιο και στις βάσεις (χρωματίζει τα πόδια του σκίτσου). Μιλάμε για το μέσο όρο, υπάρχουν και παιδιά με εντελώς άλλη σχέση με τις γλώσσες, αλλά ο μέσος μαθητής νομίζω έχει τις δύο μόνο στην καρδιά.

Translation:

Anna: However, I also think that the three circles are interconnected. (continues to draw) It's not like this is where the one circle ends and the other one begins. Greek is a heritage language, but not a dead language. Irrespective of the students' proficiency in it, you cannot call it a second nor a third language. It has other properties. The one thing I don't know is whether Greek reaches this circle (points to the outer circle, used for French)

Emmanouela: So, Greek comes into contact with English but not French?

Anna: Yes, yes. That, I don't know. And even if there is some influence, I don't know its extent. Now, when it comes to the heart, their sentiment, I think students mainly love Greek and English. And the same goes for their basis (she colors the feet). Of course, this is my idea of the average student; if we focus on individuals, they could have a very different relation to these languages. But when it comes to the average student, I think they only have two languages in their heart.

Lena



Figure 4.12: The student portrait created by Lena

Students only use French for school projects

Participant Lena argued that students only use French when they have to, for the needs of an assigned project or for homework. According to her, students find French tiring, and it is very rare to hear them use it to communicate with one another. On the contrary, she explained that English is the students' preferred language and using it makes them happy. Finally, Lena praised the students' pronunciation in English, which outshines that of Greeks of previous generations.

Lena: (σχεδιάζει) Θα βάλω τη γαλλική γλώσσα μόνο για homework. Θα την κάνω μωβ και θα τη βάλω στα χέρια, γιατί τα παιδιά για να μιλήσουν γαλλικά πρέπει να υπάρχει κάποιος λόγος εργασίας. Το μωβ ένα μουντό χρώμα και έχω την αίσθηση ότι τα γαλλικά κουράζουν τα παιδιά. Θα μπορούσα να βάλω και το γκρι. Πάντως μόλις φύγουν από το σχολείο τα παιδιά μιλάνε αγγλικά. Πολύ σπάνια μιλάνε μεταξύ τους στα γαλλικά. Τα χρησιμοποιούν μόνο για εργασία. Την αγγλική θα την κάνω με κόκκινο, γιατί είναι χαρούμενο. Και θα βάλω πολύ. Την ξέρουν την αγγλική τα παιδιά,

την χρησιμοποιούν, βλέπουν τηλεόραση στα αγγλικά, βλέπουν βίντεο στα αγγλικά, και είναι πιο εύκολο στα παιδιά μας να προφέρουν την αγγλική γλώσσα.

Translation:

Lena: (draws) I will only use French for students' homework. I will put it on their hands and I will use the purple color. Our students only use French if they have to for a project. I am using purple because it is a dull color and I feel that French tires students. I could also use grey. As soon as they leave school, they start speaking in English. It is very rare to hear students talking to one another in French. They only use it for their projects. I will represent English with red –because it is a happy color- and I will use a lot of it. The students know English, they use it, they watch TV in English, they watch videos in English, and they find it easier to have a good accent in English.

Students do not use Greek that much

Participant Lena acknowledged that students do not use Greek unless asked by their teacher, in which case they make an effort to put some words together. Nevertheless, she seemed to appreciate students' determination to go to the Greek school despite finding the language difficult to learn.

Lena: Και δυστυχώς, θέλουμε δε θέλουμε, την ελληνική δεν την πολυχρησιμοποιούν τα παιδιά. Ειδικά τα παιδιά τρίτης γενιάς. Θα τα βάλω με μπλε, γιατί τα χρησιμοποιούν μόνο στα ελληνικά σχολεία κι αυτό αν τους ρωτήσεις.

Emmanouela: Βάζετε βλέπω το μπλε στα πόδια, γιατί;

Lena: Το βάζω στα πόδια γιατί κάνουν τον κόπο να έρθουν στο ελληνικό σχολείο τα παιδιά. Προσπαθούν, αλλά δεν τους είναι εύκολο.

Translation:

Lena: Unfortunately, whether we like it or not, our students do not use Greek that much. Especially the third generation. I will use blue for Greek, because they only use it in Greek school and only if you ask them to.

Emmanouela: I see you colored the legs blue, why is that?

Lena: I colored the feet because they make the effort to come to Greek school. They try, but it is not easy for them.

Using French to counter the stigma of the immigrant

While creating the average student's portrait, Lena referred to a family she knew that insisted on using French at home to ensure that their children would learn the language and escape the stigma of being called an immigrant. She described the family's concern about the fact that students in the Greek day school used English instead of French, and their expectation that their children would develop a native-like accent in French. According to Lena, the children of this

family attended French schools, but ironically, when they graduated from high school, they chose to attend English universities.

Two important issues emerged from this story narrated by Lena: the fact that some members of minority communities in Quebec may feel that they are stigmatized as immigrants, and the fact that in order to counter this stigma, they feel that their children need to sound like French Canadians. Both these perceptions are aligned with Lena's own view of French. In her self-portrait, Lena presented French as an *elite* language, or in her words, *the language of the aristocracy*. Even though she seemed to disagree with the choices of this family, she appeared to share the view that being fluent in French can distinguish someone in Quebec, and more so than merely being fluent in English.

Lena: Έχω στο μυαλό μου μία οικογένεια μόνο, αλλά δεν είναι αυτός ο μέσος όρος. Αυτή η οικογένεια μιλάει γαλλικά στο σπίτι και τα παιδιά πηγαίνουν στο καθημερινό σχολείο για να μάθουν τις άλλες δύο γλώσσες. Είναι σημαντικό για αυτούς τους γονείς να ξέρουν τα παιδιά τους καλά γαλλικά και να μην ξεχωρίζουν από τα γαλλάκια. Να μην τους λένε immigrants. Αλλά μόνο αυτούς ξέρω έτσι. Και έχουν παράπονο γιατί τα παιδιά δε χρησιμοποιούν τη γαλλική στο λεωφορείο. «Όλο μιλάνε αγγλικά» λένε «θέλω να μιλάνε σα γαλλάκια».

Emmanouela: Υπάρχουν θέματα ταυτότητας.

Lena: Υπάρχουν και βέβαια. Υπάρχουν και θέλουν να μιλάνε και με προφορά. Δεν φτάνει καν γι' αυτούς να καταλαβαίνει και να μιλάει το παιδί. Ξέρεις γιατί; Γιατί οι Έλληνες εδώ κρατούσαν πολύ την ελληνική γλώσσα και τα αγγλικά. Δεν θέλανε τα γαλλικά. Γιατί πολλοί που ήρθαν από την Ελλάδα ήταν αναγκασμένοι να στείλουν τα παιδιά τους στο γαλλικό σχολείο και δυσκολεύτηκαν να τους δείχνουν το μάθημα. Γιατί εμείς στην Ελλάδα δεν ξέραμε την γαλλική γλώσσα. Και τους έχει μείνει ένα στίγμα και λένε δεν θέλουμε τη γαλλική γλώσσα. Αλλά είναι και λίγοι που σκέφτονται όπως σου είπα πριν- στο άλλο άκρο. Που θέλουν γαλλικά μόνο και με προφορά. Πάντως από τα παιδιά της οικογένειας, όλα προτίμησαν αγγλικό κολλέγιο και πανεπιστήμιο. Έλεγαν «πο, πο έμαθα αρκετά γαλλικά».

Emmanouela: Άρα τους απωθούν τα γαλλικά;

Lena: Υπάρχει κάτι μαύρο, κάτι σκοτεινό. Βέβαια παλιά οι γαλλόφωνοι δεν μιλούσαν καθόλου τα αγγλικά. Τώρα μιλάνε, είναι όλοι δίγλωσσοι. Μπήκε η αγγλική γλώσσα μέσα.

Translation:

Lena: I am thinking of a family now, that is different, but it is definitely not the average family. They speak French at home and the kids go to the day school to learn the other two languages. For these parents, it is very important that their kids know French and that they are indistinguishable from French kids. They do not want to be called

immigrants. But these are the only ones I know who think like that. And they complain! “all the kids speak in English, I want my kids to speak like the French kids” they say.

Emmanouela: So there are identity issues there.

Lena: Of course there are. They even go beyond that; they want their kids to have the French accent too. You know why? Because Greeks used to only focus on Greek and English here. They didn’t want to use French. Because many people who came from Greece had to send their children to the French school and it was difficult for them to help their kids with the homework. Because back in Greece we didn’t know French. Interestingly, even these kids, from the family that insisted on French, chose to go to an English CEGEP or university. They said, “I learned enough French”.

Emmanouela: So they resent French?

Lena: There is something dark about it. Of course, in the past Francophones didn’t speak English. Now they do, everyone is bilingual. The English language penetrated.

Using English to counter the stigma of the immigrant

Finally, Lena referred to first-generation Greeks who shared the opinion that in order to assimilate in the Quebec society, they had to hide their identity and Greek origins. She referred to first generation Greeks in Quebec who use English and avoid Greek altogether, and commented that as a result of this choice, their children’s Greek is broken. Lena also mentioned that there are Greeks who have gone as far as to change their surnames in order to hide their Greekness. According to her, these people act as if they are ashamed of being Greek, and their choices are detrimental for Greeks living in Quebec.

Lena: Και υπάρχει και κάτι άλλο. Υπήρχαν και Έλληνες που επειδή ήταν αμόρφωτοι, ήρθαν εδώ και έκαναν ό,τι μπορούσαν για να μάθουν τα αγγλικά. Νόμιζαν πως αν μιλάνε αγγλικά στο σπίτι τους θα γίνουν αριστοκράτες. Και τα παιδιά τους μετά μιλάνε σπαστά ελληνικά. Βλέπεις 75άρηδες να μιλάνε αγγλικά και όχι ελληνικά. Εγώ έτσι το εξηγώ, νόμιζαν θα αφομοιωθούν. Ένιωθαν ότι θα ανέβουν ένα επίπεδο πιο ψηλό από τους άλλους. Πολλοί αλλάζουν και τα επίθετά τους για να μη φαίνεται ότι είναι immigrants. Δηλαδή κρύβουν την εθνικότητα και την ταυτότητά τους. Δηλαδή ντρέπονται για την Ελλάδα. Εγώ αυτούς που διατηρούν τα ελληνικά τους θαυμάζω - γιατί μετά θα μας φάνε λάχανο.

Translation:

Lena: And there is something else that needs to be said. When Greeks first immigrated here, they were illiterate. They did everything in their power to learn English. They thought they would become aristocrats if they spoke English at home. The result is that their kids now speak broken Greek. You see Greeks here, who are around 75 years old and they speak in English and not in Greek. They thought that by doing that they would assimilate, they would rise above all others. Many change their last names to hide that they are immigrants. That is, they hide their identity and nationality. That is, they are

ashamed of Greece. Personally, I respect those who preserve Greek. Because, otherwise we will be lost.

Stella



Figure 4.13: The student portrait created by Stella

Students love English and find French difficult

Participant Stella started the portrait of the average student by placing English in the silhouette's brain and heart, noting that students identify as English native speakers and that this language represents their hope for the future. On the contrary, she commented that students find French difficult to learn and do not view it as favorably as English, because they feel that this language is forced on them. According to her, French is a tool that students do not really use, but have it anyway.

Stella: Ωραία, άρα κάνω το σώμα. (σχεδιάζει) Λοιπόν, η μητρική τους γλώσσα είναι τα αγγλικά. Θα τα βάλω με πράσινο, γιατί αυτή είναι η ελπίδα τους. Είναι η μητρική τους γλώσσα και με αυτήν πορεύονται.

Emmanouela: Άρα για σας το πράσινο είναι το χρώμα της ελπίδας;

Stella: Ναι, της ελπίδας τους και είναι κι αυτό που ανοίγει το δρόμο για τη ζωή τους, είναι το ξεκίνημά τους. Και θα το βάλω στο μυαλό και την καρδιά, γιατί τα αγαπούν τα αγγλικά και είναι και η σκέψη τους αγγλική. Θα βάλω και τα γαλλικά. Θα τα βάλω με καφέ, γιατί κάπως τα δυσκολεύουν, κάπου είναι υποχρεωτικά να τα κάνουν... Επειδή είναι επίσημη γλώσσα του Καναδά, τα μαθαίνουν επίσημα στο πρόγραμμα.

Είναι βέβαια λιγότερες από τις ώρες των αγγλικών. Θα τα βάλω στα χέρια τους, γιατί είναι ένα εργαλείο το οποίο δεν το πολύ-επιλέγουν, αλλά εν πάση περιπτώσει το έχουν.

Emmanouela: Μεταξύ τους τα παιδιά τι γλώσσα μιλάνε;

Stella: Αγγλικά. Μόνο.

Translation

Stella: Ok, so I start by drawing the outline (draws). First things first, their first language is English. I will use the green color to symbolize it, because it is their hope. It is their first language, and the language they use.

Emmanouela: So, for you green is the color of hope?

Stella: Yes, the color of hope, the color that opens up a path in their life, their beginning. I will put English in their brain and in their heart, because they love English and their way of thinking is English. I will also add French in the portrait. I will use brown to represent it, because French is difficult for students, they are forced to learn it. It is one of Canada's two official languages, so it is a mandatory course. Of course, they spend more hours learning English than French. I will put French on the student's hands, because it is a tool to them. They do not really use it, but they have it anyway.

Emmanouela: What language do they use when they speak to one another?

Stella: English. Only.

If students could kick away Greek, they would gladly do so

When Stella reached the point of adding Greek to the student's portrait, she appeared to be somewhat cynical. She argued that students are not positively inclined towards Greek, and placed Greek on the silhouette's feet. When asked to justify her choice, she explained that she felt that if students could kick Greek away, they would gladly do so.

Stella: Στα πόδια θα μούνε τα ελληνικά, γιατί είναι ελάχιστοι αυτοί που τους αρέσουν. Τα μαθαίνουν κυρίως επειδή τους πιέζει η οικογένεια να κρατήσουν την επαφή.

Emmanouela: Και τι σημαίνει ότι μπαίνουν στα πόδια;

Stella: Ότι αν μπορούσαν να τα διώξουν θα τους έριχναν μια κλωτσιά θα το έκαναν. Τα βάζω με μπλε σκούρο. Γιατί δεν έχω αισθανθεί ότι είναι κάτι χαρούμενο γι' αυτούς.

Translation:

Stella: I will put Greek on their feet, because the students who like Greek are very few. They mainly learn it because they are forced to do so by their family. The family insists that they maintain some kind of connection to Greek.

Emmanouela: What does this mean? Why on the feet?

Stella: Because if they could kick it away they would. And I will use dark blue to represent it because I sense that Greek is not pleasant to them.

Students of different ethnicities prioritize languages differently

Finally, Stella referred to the fact that in the Greek Orthodox day school where she works, there are students of different origins. She explained that while being an Orthodox Christian is a prerequisite for being admitted in the school, being Greek is not. Therefore, there are many students who identify as Orthodox Christians and have Russian, Ukrainian, Romanian, or Bulgarian origins among others. Stella argued that such students of different ethnicities most likely prioritize languages differently than the average Greek student. She went on to explain that they each prioritize their own language of origin, and decided to place the students' heritage languages on the silhouette's feet, using the same color that she had used for Greek. In short, even though her first comment was that students of different ethnicities prioritize languages differently, she eventually chose to group what she called the *ancestral languages* together, thus implying that HL learners view their HLs in similar ways. Stella stressed that students are forced by their families to learn these languages, and hypothesized that students associate them with something dark and unpleasant (she wrote "Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian, Russian -dark part" next to the silhouette's feet).

Emmanouela: Πιστεύετε ότι πρέπει να μπει κάτι άλλο στο πορτραίτο ή έχει ολοκληρωθεί;

Stella: Σκέφτομαι ότι υπάρχουν διάφορες εθνικότητες στο σχολείο, και ανάλογα με την εθνικότητα του καθενός έχουν και σε προτεραιότητα μία άλλη γλώσσα. Ας πούμε τα ρουμανάκια έχουν τα ρουμάνικα, τα βουλγαράκια έχουν τα βουλγαρικά, αλλά δεν υπάρχει ένα στατιστικό δείγμα ώστε να πω ότι ο μέσος μαθητής είναι από τη Ρουμανία ή τη Βουλγαρία ή από τη Ρωσία. Αν μπορούσα να βάλω κάτι θα ήταν το 'γλώσσα καταγωγής' που επίσης είναι υποχρεωτική από την οικογένεια. Δηλαδή ό,τι ισχύει με τα ελληνικά για τα ελληνάκια ισχύει και για τις άλλες γλώσσες καταγωγής.

Translation

Emmanouela: Right. Is there something else that needs to be added, or is the portrait finished?

Stella: I think about the different ethnicities in the school where I work, and I think that based on their ethnicity they prioritize different languages. For example, Romanians prioritize Romanian, Bulgarians prioritize Bulgarian, but there is no statistical sample in order to say that the average student is from Romania, Bulgaria or Russia. I guess I could group these languages together as 'ancestral languages', languages that students are forced by their family to learn. Just like Greek students have to learn Greek, they have to learn their respective ancestral language.

Kostas

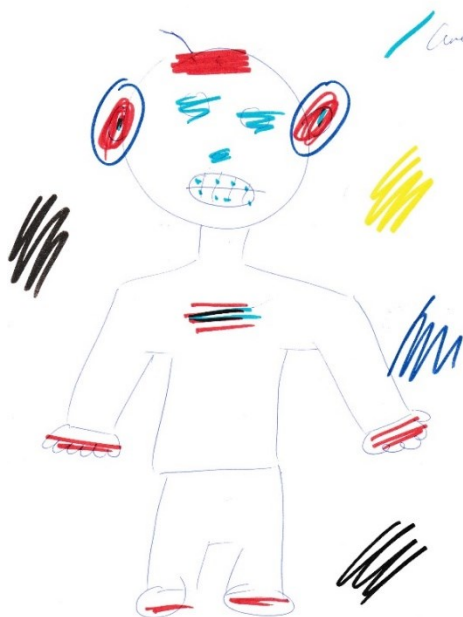


Figure 4.14: The student portrait created by Kostas

Students from mixed marriages are not fully Greek

Participant Kostas began creating the portrait of the average student of the Greek school by referring to students who have only one parent of Greek origin. He stressed that mixed marriages lead to children who are not fully Greek, since they are *half Greek and half another culture*. Kostas stressed that he knew only a few students whose parents were not both Greek, but noted that this was still a possibility that needed to be presented.

Kostas: (σχεδιάζει) Λοιπόν. Το κίτρινο για τα Κινέζικα, το μαύρο για τις Αφρικανικές γλώσσες, το μπλε για τα γαλλικά, και καφέ για άλλες Ασιατικές γλώσσες εκτός από τα Κινέζικα. Κυρίως με βάση τη σημαία τα έβαλα. Γιατί ο μέσος μαθητής κάποιες φορές είναι μισός Έλληνας ή μισή Ελληνίδα, και μισός ή μισή άλλη κουλτούρα.

Emmanouela: Όταν έχουμε μεικτό γάμο εννοείς;

Kostas: Ναι. So, το παιδί δεν είναι full Έλληνας. Υπάρχει περίπτωση αφού είμαστε στον Καναδά να είναι από mixed marriage.

Emmanouela: Βλέπω ότι έβαλες κάποιες γλώσσες εκτός του σώματος του παιδιού. Γιατί;

Kostas: Γιατί είναι το average Greek student. Και το average Greek student μπορεί να είναι μισό-μισό, είναι σπάνιο αλλά μπορεί να είναι. Στα 200 παιδιά του σχολείου, ίσως

τα 5 είναι involved σε mixed marriage. Αλλά είναι και αυτό μία πιθανότητα, δεν είναι μόνο παιδιά με δύο γονείς Έλληνες.

Translation:

Kostas: (draws) OK. I am using yellow for Chinese, black for African languages, blue for French and brown for all other Asian languages aside from Chinese. I have chosen the colors based on the flags for most of these languages. Sometimes, the students in our school are half Greek and half another culture.

Emmanouela: When there is a mixed marriage you mean?

Kostas: Yes. So, this child is not a full Greek. Since we live in Canada, it is possible to have mixed marriages.

Emmanouela: I see that some of the languages are outside the student's body. Why is that?

Kostas: Because this is the average student. The average student may be half and half, it's a possibility, but it is rare. Out of the two hundred students in our school, maybe five students are involved in a mixed marriage. It is one possibility, not all our students have two Greek parents.

Students think in English, but hold Greek in their hearts

Kostas then turned to the three main languages that all students in the Greek school speak; English, French and Greek. He explained that the students' way of thinking is *Canadian* or *English*, while at the same time, students love Greek and are influenced by the Greek culture. He acknowledged that the oral component of Greek is hard for students to master, despite the fact that they are still exposed to the language. When referring to French, he noted that just like him, most students know the language, but do not really use it outside of the classroom.

Kostas: Επειδή ο μέσος μαθητής είναι τρίτης ή τέταρτης γενιάς, έχει καναδέζικη σκέψη, αγγλική σκέψη. Και το ίδιο πράγμα που έκανα και στο δικό μου πορτραίτο - πατάνε στον Καναδά, γράφουν στη γλώσσα είναι involved σε αθλήματα κι όλα αυτά καναδέζικα. Έβαλα το γαλάζιο που συμβολίζει τα ελληνικά στη μύτη γιατί μυρίζουν τα ελληνικά φαγητά, και στα μάτια, γιατί βλέπουν την Ελλάδα και τον ελληνισμό. Έχουν τον ελληνισμό στην καρδιά, αλλά η σκέψη τους είναι Καναδέζικη. Επίσης έβαλα γαλάζιο και στα αυτιά επειδή ακούν ακόμα ελληνικά. Ελληνικά, αγγλικά και γαλλικά. Νομίζω αυτά μιλάει ο μέσος μαθητής. Επειδή μαθαίνουν και γαλλικά όλα τα παιδιά. Κάποια πηγαίνουν και σε French immersion και μιλάνε πιο πολύ, αλλά όλα τα παιδιά ακούνε γαλλικά. Και ο μέσος μαθητής ακούει αγγλικά και γαλλικά, αλλά λιγότερο ελληνικά. Και δεν τα μιλάει τόσο. They eat Greek but they do not speak Greek. The oral component is very hard to get because there is very few people who use it. It's like me; I know French for example, but I don't speak it outside the classroom, because I can only use it with two or three people.

Translation:

Kostas: And because they are either third or fourth generation, their thinking is Canadian, English. And, like I did in my portrait too, the students have their feet on Canada, they write the language, they are involved in sports and all this is Canadian. I used light blue to symbolize Greek and I colored their nose blue, because the students smell the Greek food, and their eyes, because they see Greece and the Greek culture. They have Greece in their hearts, but their way of thinking is Canadian. I also used light blue for their ears, because they still hear some Greek. They hear all three languages; Greek, English and French. I think the average student speaks these three languages. All of them learn French too. Some of them go to French immersion schools and use it more, but all students hear French. And the average student hears more English and French than Greek. And he or she doesn't speak Greek that much. They eat Greek but they do not speak Greek. The oral component is very hard to get because there is very few people who use it. It's like me; I know French for example, but I don't speak it outside the classroom, because I can only use it with two or three people.

Greek is a proud culture therefore Greekness will not cease to exist

When referring to the way students view Greek, Kostas argued that there is a lot of pride in the Greek culture, and therefore predicted that the next generations of Greeks will continue to maintain some connection to the language.

Kostas: Εδώ πέρα (δείχνει στην καρδιά του σκίτσου) πάντα θα υπάρχει ελληνισμός θεωρώ σε όλα τα παιδιά, επειδή είναι σαν κουλτούρα ελληνική, αλλά η σκέψη τους θα είναι πάντα Καναδέζικη.

Emmanouela: Στις επόμενες γενιές θα υπάρχει;

Kostas: Εγώ θα έλεγα ναι. Γιατί εγώ νομίζω ότι ο ελληνισμός πάντα θα υπάρχει. Είναι μία κουλτούρα που είναι πολύ proud. Και η περηφάνια αυτή δεν φεύγει. Τώρα σε δέκα γενιές, δεν ξέρω, μπορεί. Αλλά και ο Καναδέζος τρίτης γενιάς λέει I am one third Greek. Δεν ξέρω αν το έχεις ακούσει εσύ στο Μόντρεαλ, αλλά στο Τορόντο πάντα το λένε. Και αν δεν την έχουν οι ίδιοι, την αποκτούν αυτή την περηφάνια, γιατί ξέρουν ότι η ελληνική κουλτούρα είναι κουλτούρα μεγάλη και είναι ωραίο πράγμα να έχεις κάτι ελληνικό στο DNA σου.

Translation

Kostas: Here (he points to the heart on his drawing) there will always be room for Greekness, but their thinking is Canadian.

Emmanouela: Do you think this will also be the case for the next generations?

Kostas: I think that there will be room for Greekness in the next generations too. It will not cease to exist. The Greek culture is a very proud culture. And this pride cannot fade. Now, after ten generations, I don't know what will happen. But the third generation Greek-Canadian says I am one third Greek. I don't know if you have heard it in Montreal, they say that a lot here in Toronto. Even if they don't have it at first,

they all acquire this pride, because they know that the Greek culture is a big culture and it is beautiful to have something Greek in your DNA.

Third-generation Greeks have no φιλότιμο

While Kostas stressed that Greeks are proud of their origins, he also noted that third-generation Greeks, that is, the students who are currently enrolled in the Greek schools, have no *φιλότιμο*². According to Kostas, the reason why third-generation Greeks do not have *φιλότιμο*, in other words the reason why they are not fully immersed in Greek values, is that their way of thinking is Canadian. Kostas explained that in the Canadian society, notions like *φιλότιμο* are not valued. On the contrary, Kostas described the Canadian society as materialistic, and argued that even if students have *φιλότιμο* in their hearts, the fact that they are brought up in this society makes them devalue such virtues.

Kostas: Αλλά θέλω να πω και κάτι άλλο. Εδώ πέρα (δείχνει το σκίτσο) δεν υπάρχει μπλε στη σκέψη γιατί δεν υπάρχει φιλότιμο. Νομίζω ότι ο μέσος μαθητής δεν έχει τόσο φιλότιμο -ο Έλληνας πρώτης ή δεύτερης γενιάς νομίζω ότι έχει πολύ παραπάνω φιλότιμο. Νομίζω επειδή στην κοινωνία που ζούμε, εδώ στον Καναδά, το φιλότιμο δεν έχει αξία. Εδώ κοιτάμε ποιος θα βγάλει τα λεφτά, ποιος θα έχει το καλύτερο σπίτι και όλα αυτά, αλλά το να είσαι άξιος δεν έχει αξία. Δεν ξέρω, είναι πολύ δύσκολο να εξηγήσεις τι είναι το φιλότιμο. Λείπει αυτό. Every man for themselves, you know what I mean?

Emmanouela: Και βέβαια. Ξέρεις τι μου κάνει εντύπωση; Πώς και το φιλότιμο το τοποθετείς στο μυαλό;

Kostas: (παύση) Δεν ξέρω. Έτσι μου βγήκε. (ανασηκώνεται στην καρέκλα) Περίμενε, περίμενε. Να σου πω κάτι; Νομίζω το βρήκα. Εδώ το κόκκινο, στη σκέψη, συμβολίζει ότι η σκέψη των παιδιών είναι Καναδέζικη. Στην Καναδέζικη σκέψη δεν υπάρχει χώρος για φιλότιμο. Στην καρδιά έβαλα και το μπλε, γιατί νομίζω ότι όλοι οι Έλληνες έχουν ένα Greek aspect. Και το φιλότιμο μπορεί να είναι εκεί μέσα. Μπορεί να μην είναι, αλλά μπορεί και να είναι. Αλλά αν υπάρχει στην καρδιά, μέχρι να πάει στο μυαλό, που σκέφτεται πάντα Καναδέζικα, χάνεται. Νομίζω ότι η κοινωνία δεν βάζει αξία στο φιλότιμο. Κι επειδή δεν βάζει αξία, αυτό δεν πάει μέχρι εδώ (δείχνει το μυαλό του σκίτσου). Κι αφού δεν πάει εκεί, δεν γίνεται.

Translation

Kostas: But I want to add something else too. Here (he points to the head in his drawing) there is no blue, their way of thinking is not blue, because there is no *φιλότιμο*. I think that the average student does not have so much *φιλότιμο*; the first or second generation Greek has a lot more. I think this is because in the society we live

² Φιλότιμο [philotimo] is a Greek word, which is believed to be impossible to adequately translate into another language. It is a notion that describes a complex array of virtues that characterize honorable people and distinguishes them from others.

in, here in Canada, φιλότιμο is not valued. Here we are interested in who will make the most money, who will get the best house and all that; being honorable has no value here. It is very hard to explain what φιλότιμο is. It is nowhere to be found here. Every man for themselves, you know what I mean?

Emmanouela: Sure. You know what I find surprising? How come you placed φιλότιμο in the head?

Kostas: (pause) I don't know. That's how it came out... (leans forward in his chair) Wait, wait. You know what? I think I found it. Here, I used the red color for the student's brain, because their thinking –all students' thinking- is Canadian. But there is no room for φιλότιμο in the Canadian way of thinking. In their heart, I used the light blue color, because I think that all Greeks have a Greek aspect. And there could be some φιλότιμο in there. Maybe there is, maybe there isn't. But even if they do have φιλότιμο in their hearts, by the time this reaches their brain, which always thinks in the Canadian way, it is lost. The society here does not value φιλότιμο. And because of that, it never reaches this part (points to the silhouette's brain).

Sofia

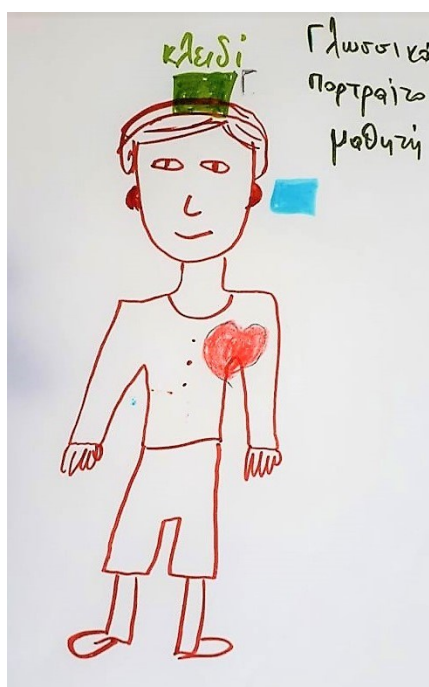


Figure 4.15: The student portrait created by Sofia

Students do not love Greek, but being exposed to it early on can help them learn it

Sofia chose to draw a blue flag to represent the way students view Greek, whereas in her own portrait, she had drawn a blue heart. Sofia explained that she chose to draw a flag in this case, because she did not believe that students truly love Greek. She did however stress a substantial advantage that these students have, that can facilitate their learning of Greek; their exposure to the

language even before being born. Indeed, it has been shown that babies pick up their mother's words while in womb (Moon et al., 2013), a fact that participant Sofia may have known from having worked as a midwife.

Sofia: Λοιπόν, θα βάλω τα ελληνικά με γαλάζιο χρώμα, πάλι λόγω της σημαίας. Θα τα βάλω σε σχήμα σημαίας, όχι καρδιάς, γιατί δεν τα αγαπάνε τόσο πολύ. Και θα τα βάλω στο αυτί τους, επειδή θεωρώ –ίσως επειδή είμαι και μαία- ότι είναι πολύ σημαντικό ότι αυτά τα παιδιά γεννιούνται και έχουν το άκουσμα των ελληνικών. Μπορεί να μην ξέρουν την ελληνική γλώσσα, αλλά την έχουν ακούσει. Εμένα μου έκανε καλό αυτό -εγώ όταν ήμουν μικρή τα άκουγα τα αρμένικα από τη γιαγιά μου. Μπορεί να μη τα μίλαγα, αλλά τα άκουγα. Έλεγε ο παππούς μου ιστορίες από τη γενοκτονία -είχε έρθει στα 15 στην Ελλάδα- και ήθελα πάρα πολύ να καταλάβω τι έλεγε. Τα παιδιά λοιπόν εδώ έχουν τα ελληνικά στο αυτί τους -έχουν τον παππού, τη γιαγιά, πολύ σημαντικό. Η γλώσσα αυτή είναι μέσα τους, είναι στο αυτί τους, την έχουν ακούσει. Έστω και αυτές οι πέντε λέξεις ελληνικά που ρίχνουν ξόφαιτσα οι γονείς ανάμεσα στα αγγλικά είναι ελληνικό άκουσμα, είναι πάρα πολύ σημαντικό για τα παιδιά. Και είναι άκουσμα από τη μήτρα, είναι πάρα πολύ σημαντικό. Και το λέω αυτό στα παιδιά -τους λέω την έχετε μέσα σας τη γλώσσα, πρέπει να τη βγάλουμε από το αυτί.

Translation:

Sofia: I will represent Greek with light blue, because this is the color of the Greek flag. However, in this portrait, I will draw the shape of a flag and not the shape of a heart, because students don't love Greek that much. I will put Greek near their ear, because I think –perhaps because I am a midwife- that it is very important that these children are born and have already been exposed to Greek. They may not know Greek, but they have heard it. That was very helpful for me; when I was young, I heard my grandmother speak Armenian. I did not speak it, but I was exposed to it. And my grandfather, he used to narrate stories from the genocide –he came to Greece when he was 15- and I truly wanted to understand what he was saying. So, children here have Greek in their ears; they have the grandparents, this is very important. This language is inside them, in their ears, they have heard it. Even these five words of Greek that their parents throw here and there count; it is very important for the kids. And they have heard Greek from inside the womb, this is very important. And this is something I tell students; I tell them ‘you already have this language inside you, now all we need to do is drag it through the ear’.

Students see no reason to learn any language other than English

According to Sofia, an opinion shared by many students is that the only language worth learning is English. This is not surprising, as unlike Quebec, where French is the only official language, in Ontario English is the dominant and by far the most used official language (Statistics Canada, 2016b). Sofia argued that the fact that English has become an international language, shared by most people in Ontario, but also across the world, discourages students from learning

other languages. In fact, she admitted that if she were in their position, she would probably also share this view, as she would be able to communicate with everyone in her first language, and would therefore find no reason to invest time and effort in language learning.

Sofia: Τώρα, βάζω τα αγγλικά με κόκκινο στην καρδιά. Το κόκκινο το έβαλα όχι λόγω της σημαίας, αλλά λόγω της αγάπης που έχουν για τα αγγλικά. Δεν είναι μόνο ότι τα αγαπούν. Έχουν και μία άποψη ότι αφού ξέρουν τα αγγλικά, δεν χρειάζεται να μάθουν τίποτε άλλο. Δυστυχώς αυτή την άποψη την έχουν όλοι εδώ, κανείς δεν προσπαθεί. Πολύ λίγοι άνθρωποι προσπαθούν και έχουν ανοιχτό μυαλό. Γιατί τα αγγλικά είναι international γλώσσα, δεν χρειάζεται να ξέρεις κάτι άλλο. Αν ήμουν στη θέση τους, στο λέω ειλικρινά, δεν θα μάθαινα καμία άλλη γλώσσα. Γιατί να μάθω; Αφού όλος ο κόσμος μιλάει αγγλικά. Δεν θα έκανα καθόλου κόπο -θα έβαζα την ενέργειά μου σε κάτι άλλο. Γιατί να μάθω μία άλλη γλώσσα; Αφού όλοι μιλάνε τη γλώσσα μου. Και είναι ένα θέμα σοβαρό εδώ, όλοι οι δάσκαλοι πρέπει να το έχουν υπόψη τους πιστεύω.

Translation:

Sofia: Now, I will put English in their heart, and I will use the red color. I used red not because of the flag, but because of the students' love for English. It is not just that they love this language. They also have this perception that since they know English, they do not need to learn anything else. Unfortunately, everyone here shares this opinion. They do not make any effort. Very few people try to learn and are open-minded. Because English is an international language, you don't really need to know anything else. If I were one of them, I probably wouldn't want to learn any other language either. Why bother? Everyone speaks English. I would put my energy into something else. Why learn another language? Everyone else speaks my language already. This issue is something that all teachers need to keep in mind.

Students eventually realize the benefits of learning other languages

Despite her concern about students not finding a reason to learn a language other than English, Sofia argued that by learning French, students are hoping to create a better future for themselves. She characterized French as a 'key' language that can increase the students' employability, and concluded that eventually they realize the importance of learning both French and Greek.

Sofia: Τα γαλλικά τα έβαλα με πράσινο και έγραψα “κλειδί” δίπλα, γιατί τα γαλλικά τα χρειάζονται, είναι άλλη μια γλώσσα του Καναδά που είναι πολύ σημαντική, πρέπει να τη μάθουν, και είναι το κλειδί για να τους ανοίξει πόρτες σε εταιρείες, σε δουλειές, στο δημόσιο. Για εμάς, στην Ελλάδα, το κλειδί είναι τα αγγλικά. Γι' αυτούς είναι τα γαλλικά, κάνει καλό να τα ξέρουν. Το έβαλα με πράσινο γιατί είναι το χρώμα της ελπίδας και μαθαίνοντας γαλλικά ελπίζουν σε κάτι καλύτερο - επαγγελματικά μιλώντας.

Emmanouela: Αυτό δεν έρχεται όμως λίγο σε αντίθεση με αυτό που είπατε πριν ότι τα παιδιά δεν έχουν λόγο να μάθουν άλλη γλώσσα πέρα από τα αγγλικά;

Sofia: Ναι νομίζω ότι τελικά βλέπουν την χρησιμότητα των γαλλικών. Όπως και ότι πρέπει να μάθουν και ελληνικά, έστω για να μιλήσουν στον παππού και στη γιαγιά.

Translation:

Sofia: I used green to symbolize French and I wrote “key” next to it, because they need French. It is Canada’s second official language and it is very important, it is the key to their success; it can open doors when it comes to finding a job, working in companies, finding a job in the public sector. For us, in Greece, English is the key. For them, it is French. It is good for them to know the language. I used green to symbolize it because this is the color of hope and by learning French, they hope they will have a better future - jobwise.

Emmanouela: But doesn’t that contradict what you said before about children not wanting to learn another language aside from English?

Sofia: Yes, I think that they eventually recognize the usefulness of French. They also realize that they must learn Greek, even if it is just so that they can speak with their grandparents.

Niki



Figure 4.16: The student portrait created by Niki

Students love English and Greek

Participant Niki noted that English is by far the students’ preferred language and the one they use the most. At the same time, however, she acknowledged that students also love Greek. Unlike participants Stella and Sofia, who felt that students do not love Greek, participant Niki

claimed that students may not use the language, but make every effort to learn it, as they hold both Greece and the Greek language in their hearts.

Niki: Ωραία θα χρησιμοποιήσω το μπλε γιατί τους αρέσει αυτό το χρώμα. Θα το βάλω στο κεφάλι, στο πρόσωπο, γιατί είναι ένα χρώμα που αγαπάνε. Και το μπλε συμβολίζει τα αγγλικά, που τα αγαπάνε. Αυτά χρησιμοποιούν στο σπίτι. Αν κάποια στιγμή χρησιμοποιούν ελληνικά είναι με τη γιαγιά και τον παππού, αλλά ο κανόνας είναι τα αγγλικά. Και θα τα βάλω και στα χέρια, επειδή τα χέρια είναι μέσο επικοινωνίας -τα κινείς, τα κάνεις, επικοινωνείς μέσω αυτών. Και στα πόδια θα βάλω το ίδιο, γιατί αυτά τον κινούν, με τα αγγλικά θα πάνε μακριά. Όμως στον κορμό που είναι και η καρδιά θα χρησιμοποιήσω το κίτρινο που είναι φωτεινό χρώμα για τα ελληνικά, γιατί πραγματικά νομίζω πως τα παιδιά θέλουν να μάθουν. Μπορεί να μιλάνε αγγλικά, αλλά θέλουν να μάθουν τα ελληνικά. Πιστεύω ότι αγαπάνε την Ελλάδα και τα ελληνικά.

Emmanouela: Άρα, τα ελληνικά τα αγαπάνε και τα ακούνε από τη γιαγιά και τον παππού, αλλά στην καθημερινότητά τους χρησιμοποιούν τα αγγλικά.

Niki: Ναι, είναι η πρώτη τους γλώσσα. Αυτή μιλάνε και με τους γονείς τους. Αυτά χρησιμοποιούν όλη τους τη μέρα.

Translation:

Niki: OK. I will use the blue color because I feel they like it. I will put it on their head, on their entire face, because it is a color they love. And blue symbolizes English, because they love it. This is what they use at home. If at some time they use Greek, it is to communicate with their grandmother and grandfather, but the rule is for them to use English. I will also color their hands blue, because the hands are a means of communication; you use them, you move them, you communicate through them. I will also use the same color for their feet because they move with English; this is what will take them far. However, I will use yellow, a bright and happy color, on their torso – this is also where the heart is- to symbolize Greek, because I truly believe that students want to learn it. They may speak English, but they want to learn Greek.

Emmanouela: Ok, so they love Greek and they hear it from their grandparents, but in their everyday interactions they use English.

Niki: Yes, it is their first language. The language they use with their parents. The language they use all day long.

Students of different ethnicities prioritize languages differently

Similarly to Stella, Niki referred to the Greek Orthodox day school in which there are students of various ethnicities. Niki hypothesized that students of other origins prefer French to Greek, whereas Greek origin students prefer the latter. Unlike Stella, Niki chose not to include other heritage languages in the student portrait, and simply noted that they most likely prioritize languages differently.

Emmanouela: Πρέπει να μπει κάτι άλλο στο πορτραίτο ή έχει ολοκληρωθεί;

Niki: Ίσως τα γαλλικά. Δεν ξέρω. Θα μπορούσαν να μουν σε ένα μικρό μέρος του κεφαλιού. Τα βάζω με πορτοκαλί.

Emmanouela: Είπες ότι θα μουν σε ένα μικρό κομμάτι του κεφαλιού. Γιατί;

Niki: Στο καθημερινό σχολείο που δουλεύω, τα παιδιά μιλάνε και τις τρεις γλώσσες. Από το νηπιαγωγείο μέχρι το grade 8 κάνουν και τις τρεις γλώσσες, οπότε μαθαίνουν γαλλικά θέλοντας και μη. Βέβαια σημείωσε ότι στο σχολείο μας έχουμε και βουλγαράκια. Πιστεύω ότι τα βουλγαράκια θα προτιμούν τα γαλλικά από τα ελληνικά, ενώ τα ελληνικά θα προτιμούν τα ελληνικά. Κατάλαβες τι εννοώ;

Translation:

Emmanouela: Is there something else that needs to be added to the portrait or is it complete?

Niki: Perhaps I could also add French. I could put it in a small area in their brain. I would use orange to symbolize it.

Emmanouela: You talked about a small area in their brain. Why?

Niki: In the day school where I work, all students speak all three languages. From kindergarten until grade 8, they study all three languages, so they learn French whether they want to or not. Note, however, that there are also students of Bulgarian ancestry for example. I think that these students prefer French to Greek, whereas Greek origin students prefer Greek. You see what I mean?

Participants' identity charts, before and after becoming HL teachers

The participants were also asked to create two identity charts; one to describe themselves in the present, and one to describe themselves before becoming teachers. This activity was used as an elicitation tool to help teachers visualize and reflect on their identification and on the changes brought about by their role as teachers. The participants were asked to work on the two charts simultaneously, and once they felt they had completed them, they were invited to explain what they had included in each chart and discuss the evolution of their identities. This task was used to help teachers reflect on their teacher identities and on aspects of their personalities that have either remained unaltered through the years, or have partially or fully changed after they gained teaching experience.

Translation:

Maria: I am a teacher; I don't know of any other fundamental change in my life other than the fact that I simply became a teacher. Since I've started working in general, yes, but not as a teacher. In all my jobs, I had to be, let's say, patient. But since I had other roles at the same time, I utilized many things from previous jobs in my course as a teacher. I needed to be communicative - I always was, but I explored this trait through working and I continue working on it through teaching. I can't think of anything else. I don't feel anything has changed. I'm also organizational. I needed to be in other jobs I used to have. I don't know... As a teacher I feel that some of my traits emerged more massively. That is, while in other jobs I only needed to be organizational, as a teacher, I need to be organizational on top of other things. I am organizational because I need to be, but I also used to do this before.

When discussing issues related to people's identities in general, Maria seemed to question those who find that people can change radically. She argued that a change in one's identity might appear radical simply because we were not observant enough from the beginning, and missed it.

Maria: Νομίζω ότι μπορεί να φανεί κάτι σε μερικές περιπτώσεις ως ριζική αλλαγή, γιατί δεν προσέχουμε, δεν το σκάβουμε και δεν το εξερευνούμε φοβερά. Δηλαδή, υπάρχουν άνθρωποι που δεν τους έχουν δοθεί οι ευκαιρίες να αναδειχθούν για να διαμορφώσουν διάφορα χαρακτηριστικά τους και ξαφνικά βρίσκονται σε ένα περιβάλλον όπου μπορούν να ανθίσουν και βλέπεις μια τελείως άλλη προσωπικότητα. Αλλά αυτό και πάλι δεν θα το κατηγοριοποιούσα ως μία ριζική αλλαγή. Είναι μία αλλαγή, αλλά υπήρχε ο σπόρος, απλά ο άνθρωπος δεν είχε βρεθεί στις σωστές συνθήκες.

Translation:

Maria: I think sometimes a change may appear to be radical, because we're not being too observant, we don't explore this issue that much. I mean, there are people who have not been given the opportunities to grow and develop their characteristics and suddenly they find themselves in a context where they can bloom and then you see a totally different personality. But I wouldn't even describe this as a radical change. It is a change, but the seeds were already there, this individual just needed to find himself/herself in the right conditions.

Finally, when referring to the teacher's role, Maria noted that teachers must help students be flexible, because our surroundings change constantly and it is essential that people are able to adapt to these changes. Once again, she stressed that she did not believe in radical changes regarding people's identities, and suggested that the teacher's goal should be to help students find their best version of themselves.

Maria: Δε νομίζω ότι θα έπρεπε να μας απασχολεί τόσο αυτό, όσο το ότι πρέπει να εξελισσόμαστε, γιατί συνέχεια το περιβάλλον αλλάζει γύρω μας και πρέπει εμείς ως εκπαιδευτικοί να βοηθούμε τους μαθητές μας, να τους προετοιμάζουμε γι' αυτό, να

(*missing the homeland, 5.5 years of absence from Greece*), as well as his feelings about the Greek culture (*realization of my cultural and linguistic heritage, proud teacher of Greek, Saturday school as an incentive to maintain a connection with my homeland and my culture*). He included aspects related to his immigration to Canada (*immigrant, citizen of the world, in search of permanent job, based on my skills, professional*).

In addition, he added two aspects that he believed characterized his identity; he described himself as *down-to-earth*, and noted that he had a *triple linguistic identity*. Interestingly, George chose not to include this information in his first chart, even though he was trilingual before immigrating to Canada. It can be suggested that while in Montreal he gets opportunities to use all the languages that make up his linguistic repertoire, which perhaps was not the case when he was in Greece and France. Finally, George had a realization after creating and reflecting on his two identity charts. He realized that his teacher identity was intertwined with his other multiple identities, and he admired the way these two identity charts visualized his progress in different aspects of his life.

Emmanouela: Υπάρχουν στοιχεία του χαρακτήρα σου που έχουν αλλάξει τώρα που έγινες δάσκαλος;

George: Όχι, αυτά προϋπήρχαν. Ναι, σταθερά. Νομίζω ο κορμός κάθε χαρακτήρα είναι ένας, αλλά μπορεί να εμπλουτιστεί. Έχει πολλές εκφάνσεις. Εμπλουτίζεται πάντα σε σχέση με το περιβάλλον, τη γλώσσα – πάντα, πάντα.

Emmanouela: Μάλιστα. Αντίστοιχα πιστεύεις ότι ο δάσκαλος μπορεί να εμπλουτίσει την ταυτότητα του μαθητή;

George: Βεβαίως. Εξαρτάται όμως από τον εκπαιδευτικό και τις μεθόδους του. Νομίζω όμως ότι πρέπει να προσπαθούμε γι' αυτό. Φαντάζομαι ότι όλοι έχουμε ως κύριο μέλημά μας να το πετύχουμε αυτό. (παύση) Τώρα τα βλέπω αυτά τα διαγράμματα και βλέπω μία πορεία εξελικτική. Βλέπω μία εξέλιξη τώρα που τα βλέπω. Συνειδητοποιώ ότι μπλέκονται όλα μαζί - δεν είναι μόνο ποιος είμαι ως δάσκαλος. Αυτό συνειδητοποίησα μόλις με αυτή την κατάδυση.

Translation:

Emmanouela: Have any of your personality traits changed since you became a teacher?

George: No, these pre-existed. They are fixed. I think the foundation of an individual's personality remains the same, but it can be enriched. It has different expressions. It is enriched in relation to your surroundings, the language - constantly.

Emmanouela: I see. Do you believe that a teacher can enrich a student's identity?

George: Of course. But it depends on the teacher and the methods used. I think we should all try to do this. I imagine we all want to achieve this. (pause) Now that I notice

these charts again, I see an evolutionary course. I see some progress by looking at them. I realize everything blends in, it is not just who I am as a teacher. This is what I just realized by reflecting on these.

Anna



Figure 4.19: The before (left) and after (right) identity charts of participant Anna

When creating the first chart, to present her identity before becoming a teacher, Anna included her role as a student and listed several traits that she felt characterized her (*peace maker, good listener, patient, responsible, stressed, well-organized*, and having a *traditional way of thinking*). She also included three desires that she had, namely the desire to *discover herself*, the desire to *discover her strength* and her desire to *share her knowledge*. Next, when she turned to her current identity chart, she included her unaltered personality traits (*well-organized, responsible, patient, good listener*), her various roles (*teacher, wife, student*), and her aspirations (*make money, become more confident, trust more myself, meet new cultures, make social connections, create a family and write a book*). Finally, she now differentiated between her old family—her parents—and her new family, the one that she has created with her husband and aspires to grow.

Anna found that she had changed since she became a teacher, but noted that these changes were not radical ones. She explained that she assumed she had some specific character traits, but never had the opportunity to practice them before entering the class. Therefore, according to her, her role as a teacher allowed her to expand her pre-existing traits.

Anna: Δε νιώθω ότι έχω αλλάξει πολύ, απλά νιώθω ότι έχω περισσότερη εμπειρία. Με την έννοια ότι έχω ξαναδεί μία συμπεριφορά, την έχω ξαναντιμετωπίσει και ξέρω τι μπορεί να πιάσει. Αλλά γενικότερα, ότι έχει να κάνει ας πούμε με υπευθυνότητα, ό,τι ήξερα για εμένα σε θεωρητικό επίπεδο το είδα μετά σε εφαρμογή, όταν έγινα δασκάλα.

Emmanouela: Άρα πιστεύεις ότι αυτά τα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά τα είχες από πριν;

Anna: Ναι και απλά τώρα τα έχω καλλιεργήσει περισσότερο και σε επίπεδο τάξης. Όπως εξέλιξα και τη μεθοδολογία μου. Δηλαδή θεωρούσα ότι έχεις το βιβλίο και διδάσκεις, άρα είσαι δάσκαλος. Στην πορεία είδα ότι δεν είναι έτσι τα πράγματα.

Translation:

Anna: I don't feel I've changed that much; I just feel I have more experience. Meaning that I've seen certain behaviors, I've dealt with them before and I know what will work. But in general, with regard to responsibility, everything I knew about myself theoretically I also saw it applied practically, once I became a teacher.

Emmanouela: So, you believe that you already had all these basic traits before?

Anna: Yes, and I've expanded them more in class. The same way I expanded my methodology. I used to think that if you have a textbook and you teach, then you're a teacher. Then I realized it wasn't exactly like that.

Anna also referred to her role as a mediator and noted that she has found this trait particularly important for maintaining balance in the classroom. She stressed the importance of non-verbal cues, such as maintaining eye contact with the students, showing respect for them, using a soft voice and listening to what they have to say. According to her, all these cues make students feel they are equals with the teacher, and ultimately help her gain their trust.

Anna: Και σαν χαρακτήρας είμαι συνήθως αυτή που διαμεσολαβεί, είμαι δηλαδή η peace maker - και αυτό με βοήθησε.

Emmanouela: Αυτό πώς σε βοήθησε στην τάξη;

Anna: Με την έννοια της ισορροπίας. Ακόμα και η φωνή μου όταν μιλάω, ότι μιλάω με ένα συγκεκριμένο ρυθμό, ότι κοιτάζω τα παιδιά μέσα στα μάτια όταν μιλάω, ότι δείχνω τον απαιτούμενο σεβασμό –γιατί πραγματικά τα ακούω, και τους το δείχνω ότι τα ακούω- προσπαθώ να νιώθουν ότι είμαστε ισοδύναμοι. Με ενδιαφέρει πολύ και η έννοια της δικαιοσύνης - όχι με τη νομική έννοια, αλλά με την έννοια του fairness, και βλέπω ότι η εφαρμογή όλων αυτών παίζει μεγάλο ρόλο στο διδακτικό χώρο. Νιώθω ότι εκείνη τη στιγμή έχω μεγάλη ευθύνη, που δεν έχει να κάνει μόνο με το να μεταδώσω γνώση, αλλά έχει να κάνει και με το κομμάτι της παιδείας. Τα μη λεκτικά μηνύματα ίσως έχουν και μεγαλύτερη βαρύτητα. Και αν έχεις να κάνεις με εφήβους, αυτό είναι ακόμα πιο σημαντικό γιατί είναι ιδιαίτερα ευαίσθητοι σε όλο αυτό. Έχουν ανοικτές κεραίες και τα πιάνουν όλα αυτά - όσο πιο καλά είσαι με τον εαυτό σου, το βλέπουν αυτό και το εμπιστεύονται.

Translation:

Anna: I am usually a mediator, I am a peacemaker - this has also proved helpful.

Emmanouela: How did this help in class?

Anna: To maintain balance. Even the tone of my voice, my pace, the fact that I look children in the eyes when I'm speaking, that I show them the necessary respect -

because I do listen to what they're saying and I show it to them, I'm trying to make them feel that we're equal. I'm very interested in the sense of justice - not in the legal sense, but in terms of fairness, and I see that applying all these really helps in teaching. I feel a sense of responsibility, not only to transfer knowledge but also in terms of offering a well-rounded education. Non-verbal cues are perhaps more important. And when you deal with adolescents, this is even more important because they are particularly sensitive with regard to this. They do catch on everything - the more confident you are, the better they see this and trust you.

Even though Anna could not identify any radical changes in herself, she argued that it is possible for individuals to acquire new traits, as identities are based not only on one's core character, but also on that person's experiences.

Anna: Η ταυτότητα πατάει στον χαρακτήρα, αλλά χτίζεται πάνω και στην εμπειρία. Με βάση αυτή την εμπειρία βλέπεις και τον χαρακτήρα σου. (παύση) Θεωρώ ότι μπορούν να προστεθούν και νέα στοιχεία που δεν είχες πριν. Κάποια καινούργια πράγματα που δεν υπήρχαν πριν.

Translation:

Anna: Identity is based on one's character, but it is also built in experience. Based on this experience, you get to see your character. (pauses) I think you can acquire new traits that you did not have in the past. Some new things that did not exist before.

Lena

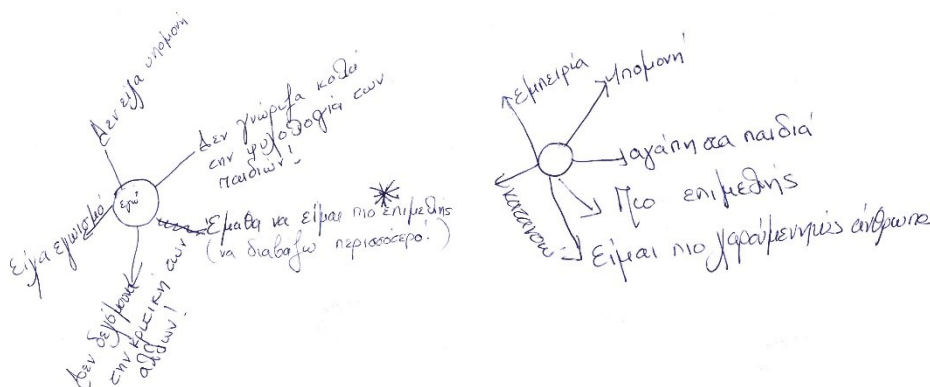


Figure 4.20: The before (left) and after (right) identity charts of participant Lena

In her first identity chart, Lena included six aspects that characterized her; *having no patience, having no knowledge of children psychology, being meticulous, not accepting criticism and being selfish*. In her second chart, Lena included traits that she now had, and which were testament to her maturity: *experience, patience, understanding, love for children, more meticulous, happier person*. Clearly, Lena felt that being a teacher had changed her identity in positive ways.

She reflected on the aspects of her identity that changed since she became a teacher, and argued that teaching made her more understanding towards others, and less self-involved. Most importantly, Lena explained that teaching showed her how to love children and care for them.

Lena: Δεν ήξερα πολλά για τα παιδιά. Δε γνώριζα την ψυχολογία των παιδιών. Πήρα πολλή εμπειρία διδάσκοντας. Με τη διδασκαλία άρχισα να διαβάζω πολύ περισσότερο. Βέβαια οργανωτική ήμουν κι από πριν. Μπορεί να μη διάβαζα, αλλά οργανωτική ήμουν. Και έμαθα να αγαπώ και τα παιδιά. Τρελαίνομαι να είμαι με τα παιδιά -τρελαίνομαι για την αγάπη τους. Τους είχα αγάπη κι από πριν και τώρα πιο πολύ. Επίσης δεν είχα υπομονή όση έχω τώρα. Πρέπει να έχεις υπομονή. Πολλή υπομονή. Και κατανόηση. Κατανόηση και για τα παιδιά αλλά και για συναδέλφους - έχω μάθει να κατανοώ. Τι άλλο; Α! Ήμουν πιο πολύ για τον εαυτό μου -σκεφτόμουν την καλοπέρασή μου. Τώρα σκέφτομαι τι να δώσω στα παιδιά, τι να κάνω για να μάθουν καλύτερα. Ήμουν πιο πολύ εγωίστρια. Δεν ήθελα να με κρίνουν, δεν δεχόμουν την κριτική. Νόμιζα ότι ήμουν τέλεια. Τώρα δέχομαι κριτική κάθε μέρα. Γενικά, η διδασκαλία με κάνει χαρούμενη. Με ψηλώνει ως άνθρωπο.

Translation:

Lena: I did not know much about children. I did not know anything about children's psychology. I acquired significant experience by teaching. Teaching got me studying more, even though I already had good organizing skills. I may not have studied, but I had organizing skills. And I learned how to love children. I love being with children, I enjoy their love. I loved them before, but even more so now. Also, I wasn't as patient as I am now. You need to be patient. Very patient. And understanding. Understanding with children and your colleagues, I have learned how to understand. What else? Oh! I used to care more about myself, having a good time. Now I am thinking of ways to support children, ways to make them learn. I used to be more selfish. I did not like being judged; I would not tolerate any criticism. I thought I was perfect. Now I am being judged every single day. Teaching makes me happy. It elevates me as a person.

When asked about people's identities, and whether or not they remain stable in the course of the years, Lena argued that people do not change altogether, but some of their traits can be slightly altered. According to her, what changes when one becomes a teacher, is not that person's identity, but their sense of responsibility towards the students.

Lena: Να σου πω κάτι; Ο άνθρωπος δεν αλλάζει. Αλλοιώνεται. Αλλάζει πολύ λίγο. Ελάχιστα. Ο άνθρωπος δεν μπορεί να αλλάξει πλήρως. Και δεν μπορείς να αλλάξεις κάποιον άλλο, παρά μόνο αν έχει θέληση ο ίδιος να αλλάξει. Πάντως για να γυρίσω στα διαγράμματα, αυτό που αλλάζει όταν γίνεσαι δάσκαλος είναι η ευθύνη. Θέλω να μπαίνω στην τάξη και να δίνω το 100%, να βλέπω ότι μένει κάτι στα παιδιά. Γιατί το αγαπώ αυτό που κάνω. Διδάσκοντας βρήκα τον εαυτό μου.

Translation:

Lena: You wanna know something? People do not change. They are altered. Very few things change. Really very few. People cannot change completely. And you can't

change someone else, they need to be willing to change. But, going back to the charts, what changes once you become a teacher is the sense of responsibility. I want to enter a class, give 100% of me, and see that children benefit from that. Because I love what I am doing; I found myself in teaching.

Stella

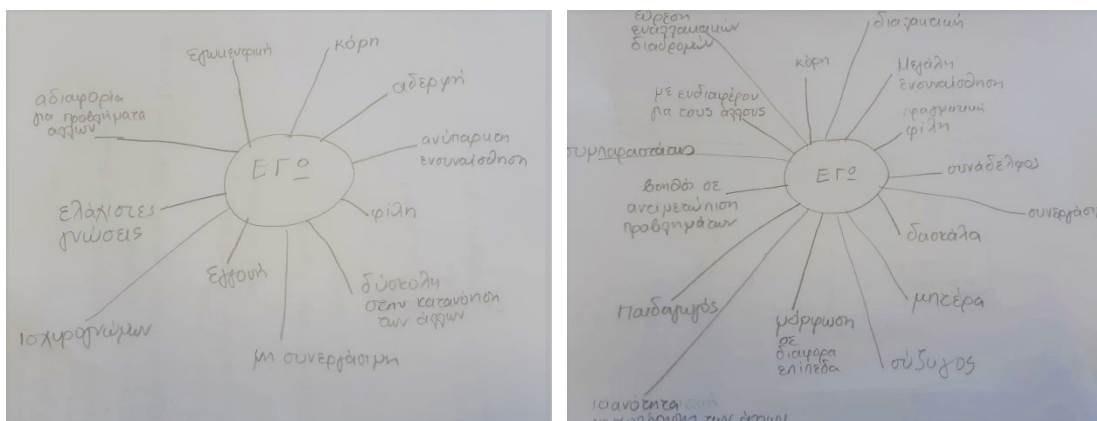


Figure 4.21: The before (left) and after (right) identity charts of participant Stella

In her first identity chart, Stella presented a rather negative image of herself. She included her roles (*daughter, sister, friend, granddaughter*) and some of the character traits that she felt characterized her in the past (*lacking empathy, having difficulty in understanding others, being non-cooperative, being strong-minded, being ignorant, being indifferent for others' problems and being self-centered*). In her second chart, both her roles and her character traits changed in a positive direction. She now described herself as a *daughter, a mother, a wife, a real friend, a colleague, a teacher and an educator*. She also believed that she now *was cooperative, helpful, supportive, interested in others, educated on various levels*, and that she had *great empathy*, and the *ability to understand others and find alternatives*.

Stella argued that her studies in Special Education and her working experience led to these changes in her worldview and identity. She highlighted that everything she had learned affected her as a person in general, and not merely as a professional.

Stella: Ξεκίνησε από την εκπαίδευση από το πανεπιστήμιο, εξελίχθηκε, και κορυφώθηκε με τις σπουδές που έκανα στην ειδική αγωγή. Και το αποκορύφωμα ήρθε όταν δούλευα με παιδιά με εγκεφαλική παράλυση. Όλα αυτά που έμαθα με βοήθησαν γενικά σαν άτομο, όχι μόνο στα επαγγελματικά.

Translation:

Stella: It started out with my studies in University and it grew. It peaked with my studies in special education. The most important part was when I worked with children suffering from cerebral palsy. All the things I learned helped me as a person in general, not just as a professional.

Stella explained that she viewed herself not just as a teacher, but also as an educator. According to her, an educator is responsible for the students' well-rounded education, and not just for imparting knowledge to them.

Emmanouela: Γράψατε επίσης και 'παιδαγωγός'. Αυτό για εσάς έχει άλλο βάρος από το να πείτε ότι είστε δασκάλα;

Stella: Ναι, είναι διαφορετικό. Η δασκάλα, με τη στενή έννοια του όρου έχει να κάνει με το γνωστικό κομμάτι -να μάθει το παιδί να γράφει, να διαβάζει. Ο παιδαγωγός έχει να κάνει με αξίες, με τον τρόπο που του μαθαίνει να φέρεται και με το παράδειγμα του, αλλά και με την αντιμετώπιση διαφόρων περιστατικών μέσα στην τάξη, δηλαδή με το να του δείχνει τι έχει σημασία και τι όχι. Είναι διαφορετικό, και πιο ουσιαστικό, και πιο δύσκολο. Είναι μία ευρύτερη έννοια.

Translation:

Emmanouela: You also wrote 'educator'. Does this carry a different weight than saying you are a teacher?

Stella: Yes, it is different. A teacher, in the strict sense of the word, has to do with imparting knowledge - teaching the child how to write and read. The educator teaches values, they teach children by the way they act, by the way they handle incidents in class. In short, by showing what is and what is not important. It is different, more substantial and harder, it is a broader concept.

Stella also argued that an individual's traits can change radically, and suggested that people are not meant to remain stable but need to constantly keep evolving.

Stella: Όλα μπορούν να αλλάξουν, να γίνουν και από άσπρα μαύρα. Είμαι της άποψης ότι ο άνθρωπος πρέπει πάντα να έχει μία εξέλιξη, έστω και απειροελάχιστη. Για μένα, η στασιμότητα είναι θάνατος, σε οποιοδήποτε τομέα. Δε μπορεί να είσαι ο ίδιος άνθρωπος στα 20 και στα 40. Μπορεί κάποια χαρακτηριστικά να μένουν αναλλοίωτα, αν δεν ασχοληθείς να τα εξελίξεις, αλλά γενικώς πρέπει να υπάρχει μία εξέλιξη.

Translation:

Stella: Everything can change radically. I believe a person should always be evolving, even at a minimal level. To me, not changing is death, in any sector. You cannot be the same person at 20 and 40. Some traits may remain unchanged, if you do not take the time to grow them, but in general, there should be some growth.

Finally, when asked about the educator's role in helping students shape their identities, Stella argued that they must help students develop their critical thinking and constantly provide

food for thought. She highlighted that teachers cannot change the students' identities themselves, but they can motivate them to change.

Stella: Ο άλλος μπορεί να σου δώσει το κίνητρο να αλλάξεις, να σε κάνει να δεις μία άλλη πλευρά που δεν είχες δει. Αλλά να σου πει 'κάτσε κάτω τώρα θα μάθεις αυτό' όχι αυτό δεν γίνεται.

Emmanouela: Και πώς μπορούν οι παιδαγωγοί να βοηθήσουν τους μαθητές τους να σχηματίσουν τις ταυτότητές τους;

Stella: Μπορούν να θέτουν προβληματισμούς - σε σχέση με θέματα θρησκείας, με θέματα ιστορικής και εθνικής ταυτότητας, να τους βάλουν στη διαδικασία να σκέφτονται κάτι που ακούν, να το κρίνουν, και να καταλήγουν σε ένα δικό τους συμπέρασμα, να επεξεργάζονται τις πληροφορίες που δέχονται, να το ψάχνουν παραπάνω, να ψάχνουν διάφορες πηγές, να μη δέχονται αμάσητο κάτι που ακούν ή διαβάζουν.

Translation:

Stella: Others can provide you with the motivation to change, to help you see another side of yourself that you had not noticed. But they can't force you to learn something, it's impossible.

Emmanouela: And how can educators help their students shape their identities?

Stella: They can give them food for thought - on issues related to religion, historical and national identity, get them in the process of applying their thinking process in whatever they hear, consider information, reach their own conclusions, process incoming information, look into things, seek out different sources, not accept anything they may hear or read.

Kostas

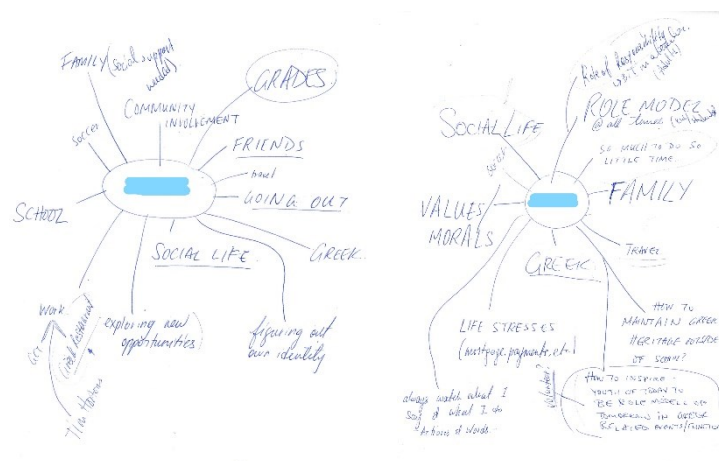


Figure 4.22: The before (left) and after (right) identity charts of participant Kostas

Kostas used his real name in the center of his two identity charts, and to protect his anonymity the name has now been blurred. In his first chart, Kostas listed a number of his interests,

character traits and roles. Interestingly, he decided to demonstrate the most important aspects of his identity by capitalizing them. He explained that his *family*, and his *friends* were very important to him, as was the fact that he is *Greek*. He also valued his *social life* and *community involvement*. In addition, he found *school* in general and his *grades* in particular to be very important. Kostas also added aspects of his identity that were not capitalized, such as the fact that he *worked* in various positions, he played *soccer*, he *traveled*, he was *trying to figure out his identity* and was eager to *explore new opportunities*.

In his second chart, Kostas followed the same strategy and capitalized the most important aspects of his identity. Once again, he stressed that his *family*, his *social life* and the fact that he is *Greek*, remained essential for him. He also chose to capitalize some new aspects, centered around his role as a teacher and an HL speaker (*values/morals, role model at all times; role of responsibility, life stresses, how to maintain Greek Heritage outside of school?, How to inspire the youth of today?*). He then also added some of his interests, habits and concerns (*travel, soccer, always watch what I say and do, so much to do so little time*).

One of the aspects that Kostas presented as essential in both his charts was community involvement. He explained that aside from the fact that being involved in the community helped him professionally, he also felt the need to support the community and the Greek culture.

Kostas: To community involvement ήταν σημαντικό γι' αυτό που ήθελα να κάνω. And that was very different from the things my friends did when we went out and the things I did when I went out; it was a different social life.

Emmanouela: Άρα το community involvement είχε να κάνει με τα επαγγελματικά.

Kostas: Ναι αλλά όχι μόνο. Ήθελα να κάνω πράγματα που έχουν σχέση με την κουλτούρα μας. Το να πηγαίνω στην παρέλαση δεν βοηθούσε με τα επαγγελματικά, αλλά ήθελα να το κάνω. I did not want to lose my language but also θα ήθελα να λέω πως είμαι περήφανος και πως υποστηρίζω την κουλτούρα.

Translation:

Kostas: Community involvement was important for what I wanted to do. And that was very different from the things my friends did when we went out and the things I did when I went out; it was a different social life.

Emmanouela: So you associate community involvement with your professional life.

Kostas: Yes, but it is not just that. I wanted to do things related to our culture. Going to the parade did not help me in terms of my career, but I wanted to do it. I did not want to lose my language and also I would like to think that I am proud and I support our culture.

Kostas stressed that as a teacher, he feels he has to be a role model at all times. He explained that he takes the responsibility of teaching the Greek students very seriously and wants to find ways to get more young people involved with the community.

Kostas: I am always a role model. For the students, but also for everybody else. Παράδειγμα. Πάω και τα πίνω, γίνομαι λιώμα. I think I am not allowed to do that anymore, because now I am a teacher. Είμαι δάσκαλος στα παιδιά μας. υπάρχουν πιο πολλά άγχη τώρα ως δάσκαλος, και η σκέψη μου είναι τώρα how to inspire the youth of today. Πώς μπορείς να εμπνεύσεις κάποιον που δεν έχει σχέση με την κοινότητα, να ασχοληθεί με τον ελληνισμό; Από τα τόσα παιδιά που έχουν πάει στο ελληνικό σχολείο, μόνο δύο έχουν έρθει να διδάξουν. Τόσα παιδιά αποφοιτούν κάθε χρόνο, γιατί μόνο 2; How can we get the youth να ασχοληθεί; I think we need an incentive, γιατί χρειάζονται και χρήματα για να τους φέρεις -Είπαμε, η σκέψη είναι Καναδική δεν θα το κάνουν εθελοντικά.

Translation:

Kostas: I am always a role model. For the students, but also for everybody else. For example, going out and getting drunk; I think I am not allowed to do that anymore, because now I am a teacher. I am a teacher for our children. There are many things that stress me out now that I am a teacher, and all I think about is how to inspire the youth. How can you inspire someone who does not have a connection to the community and make them care about the Greek culture? From all the students that have attended the Greek school, only two have returned to the schools and taught as teachers of Greek. We have so many graduates, why are there only two teachers? How can we persuade the youth to get involved? I think we need an incentive, because it takes money to bring them; as I said before, they think like Canadians so they will not do it for free.

Finally, Kostas stressed the need for teachers to inspire students to be involved in the community and help preserve the Greek culture.

Emmanouela: Μπορείς να βοηθήσεις εσύ να διαμορφωθούν οι ταυτότητες των μαθητών; Ή τις διαμορφώνουν μόνοι τους;

Kostas: Δεν ξέρω. Νομίζω πρέπει να το έχεις μέσα σου. Αλλά και από τους γονείς. Μπορεί όμως ο δάσκαλος να εμπνεύσει -να εμπνεύσει τους μαθητές να ασχοληθούν με τον ελληνισμό, να ασχοληθούν με την κοινότητα, να ασχοληθούν με τον εθελοντισμό -και μετά θα έρθουν και τα υπόλοιπα.

Translation:

Emmanouela: Is it possible to help shape the students' identities or do they shape them on their own?

Kostas: I do not know. I think you must have it in you. It also comes from the parents. But the teacher can inspire students to care about the Greek culture, to be involved in the community, to volunteer; and then the rest will follow.

Sofia

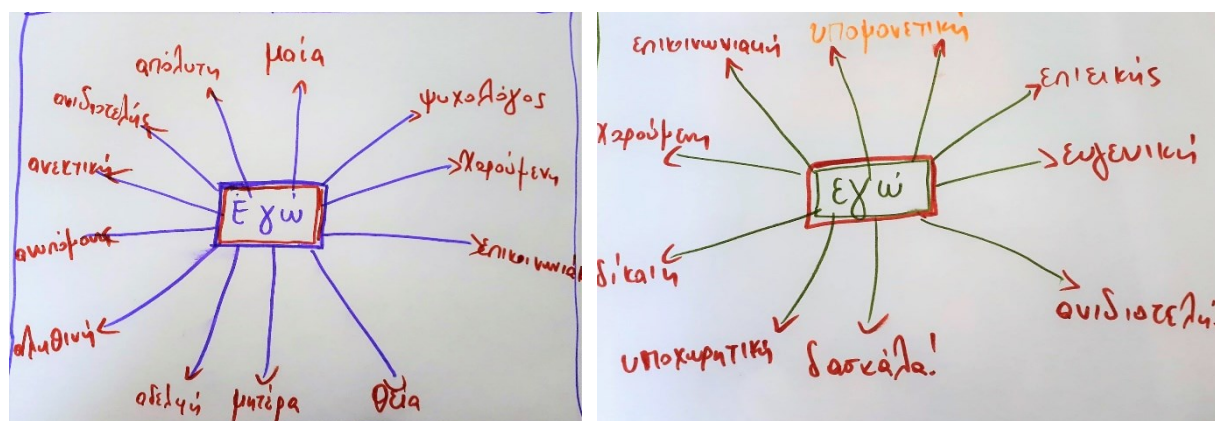


Figure 4.23: The before (left) and after (right) identity charts of participant Sofia

In her first identity chart, Sofia included her roles (*sister, mother, aunt and midwife*) and some traits that characterized her (*dogmatic, altruistic, tolerant, impatient, real, communicative, happy and psychologist*). In her second chart, she only focused on her role as a *teacher*, and listed the traits that she felt characterized her in the present (*communicative, happy, fair, permissive, selfless, kind, lenient, and patient*). When juxtaposing her two identity charts, Sofia concluded that after immigrating to Canada and working as a teacher, she had become more conciliatory and patient. She also found that she had become more polite in Canada, which as she explained, was not necessarily a positive change.

Sofia: Τώρα έχουν αλλάξει πολύ οι ορίζοντές μου. Έλεγα κάτι σε μία γυναίκα και της έλεγα αυτό είναι, τελειώσε. Έλεγα αυτό είναι το σωστό, τέλος. Τώρα είμαι πιο διαλλακτική. Τώρα στο διάγραμμα για το μετά, έχω γράψει 'δασκάλα' και 'υπομονετική', γιατί ήταν δύσκολο για μένα να γίνω τόσο υπομονετική. Δεν είχα τόσο πολλή υπομονή. Υποχωρητική, ως δασκάλα, πολύ -υποχωρώ πολύ όταν βλέπω ότι το παιδί επιμένει, γιατί καταλαβαίνω την ψυχολογία τους, έχω μάθει να υποχωρώ. Δεν ήμουν πάντα υποχωρητική, έχω γίνει τώρα ως δασκάλα. Κι ευγενική δεν ήμουν τόσο πολύ -αγενής δεν ήμουν ποτέ αλλά δεν ήμουν τόσο ευγενική όσο είμαι τώρα. Αυτή η ευγένεια με κοκαλώνει.

Emmanouela: Αυτό έχει να κάνει με τη λογική του Καναδά;

Sofia: Ναι, ναι είναι πολύ των τύπων εδώ. Δεν θεωρώ ότι βοηθάει αυτό, αλλά πρέπει να είσαι έτσι εδώ.

Translation:

Sofia: My views have changed. I would say something to a woman and be like, that is it, end of story. This is the right thing to do, end of story. Now I am more conciliatory. In the "after" chart, I have written 'teacher', 'patient', because it was hard for me

to become so patient. I was not very patient. I am permissive as a teacher; I cave when a child insists, because I understand children's psychology, I have learned to back down. I was not always like that; this has changed since I became a teacher. I was not very polite - I was not rude either, but I was not as polite as I am now. This politeness makes me freeze.

Emmanouela: Is this politeness connected to Canadians' mentality?

Sofia: Yes, people are very formal here. I do not think that is helpful, but this is the way they expect you to be.

Sofia also argued that people's identities change over time based on their experiences. However, she noted that another person cannot change you unless you are willing to change yourself, and therefore teachers can help students, but they cannot change them.

Emmanouela: Θεωρείτε ότι η ταυτότητα του ανθρώπου είναι κάτι που αλλάζει ή παραμένει ίδια;

Sofia: Αλλάζει, βέβαια. Περνώντας τα χρόνια αλλάζει ο άνθρωπος. Είναι δυνατόν να είμαι ο ίδιος άνθρωπος τώρα με ό,τι ήμουν στα 25; Ο βασικός χαρακτήρας είναι ένας αλλά τα διάφορα στοιχεία αλλάζουν. Και εξαρτάται από τις εμπειρίες και τα βιώματά σου.

Emmanouela: Μάλιστα, άρα τα βιώματά σου μπορούν να σε αλλάξουν. Κάποιος άλλος άνθρωπος μπορεί να σε αλλάξει;

Sofia: Όχι. Κανένας. Μπορεί να σε βοηθήσει, αλλά όχι να σε αλλάξει. Αν δεν θέλεις εσύ δεν σε αλλάζει κανείς. Τα παιδάκια έχουν ένα κεράκι μέσα τους και ο δάσκαλος μπορεί να τα εμπνεύσει να ανάψουν τα ίδια το κεράκι, αλλά όχι να το ανάψουν οι ίδιοι για τα παιδιά. Και κάποια κεριά δεν ανάβουν τελικά.

Translation:

Emmanouela: Do you believe a person's identity can change or does it remain the same?

Sofia: It certainly changes. Time changes people. How can I be the same person as the one I was at 25? Your character remains the same, but its elements change. And it depends on your experiences.

Emmanouela: So, your experiences can change you. Can another person change you?

Sofia: No. Nobody. They can help you, but they cannot change you. You can only change if you want to do so yourself. Children carry candles inside them and teachers must inspire them to light up their own candles, not light them up for them. And some candles don't light up.

Niki

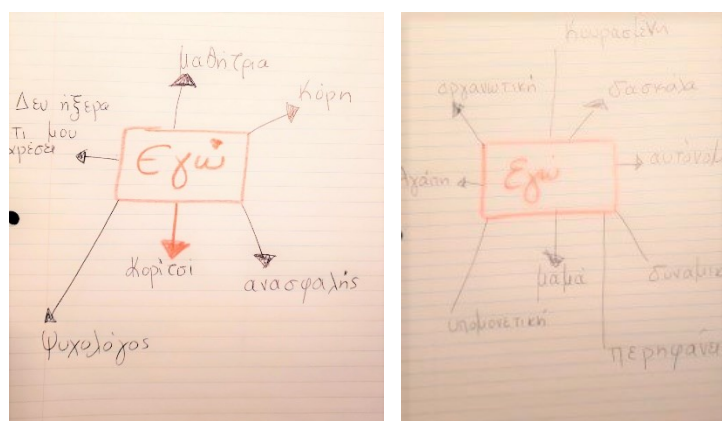


Figure 4.24: The before (left) and after (right) identity charts of participant Niki

In her first identity chart, Niki included her roles (*student, daughter, girl, psychologist*) and two character traits (*insecure and not knowing what I liked*). In her second chart, she only included her role as a *teacher* and a ‘mom’ for her students, but added more traits that characterized her in the present (*independent, fiery, patient, well organized, and tired*), as well as two emotions that described how she felt for her students, namely *love and pride*.

Niki elucidated that teaching was very rewarding for her, as she could see her students benefit from her teaching and this was clearly a driving force for her.

Niki: Τώρα έχουν αλλάξει πολλά, είναι πολύ καλύτερα. Νιώθω ότι τώρα είμαι δασκάλα με όλη την έννοια της λέξης. Νιώθω ότι κάνω καλό σε κάποιους ανθρώπους, βλέπω αλλαγές στα παιδάκια μου. Τα βλέπω καθημερινά να αλλάζουν και να μαθαίνουν από εμένα. Κι αυτό είναι το καλό με τη διδασκαλία -δεν το βλέπεις τώρα αυτό που αλλάζει. Θα τους μάθεις κάτι και θα στο πούνε μετά από λίγο καιρό. Θα μου το πετάξουν και θα πω ‘από εμένα είναι αυτό’.

Translation:

Niki: A lot has changed now, it is much better. Now I feel like 100% a teacher. I feel I help some people; I see changes in my students. I see them changing every day and learning from me. This is the good part about teaching; you do not see the actual change right away. You teach them something and they will repeat it some time later. They will just throw it out there and I will think, “they took this from me”.

Niki believed that people’s identities are shaped by the person’s core character and the people they surround themselves with; namely their parents, friends, and acquaintances. She did note, however, that parents are the ones who play the most important role in a child’s upbringing and development.

Niki: Έχεις κάποια χαρακτηριστικά και απλά όταν βρίσκεις αυτό που θες μεγαλώνουν και δυναμώνουν, γίνονται πιο μεγάλα. Αλλά η στοργή και η αγάπη για τα παιδιά δεν είναι κάτι που το έχουν όλοι. Θέλω να πω, πρέπει να τα έχεις εξ αρχής. Μπορεί επίσης να σε επηρεάσει και ο άλλος. Γενικά νομίζω ότι όσο σημαντικό είναι τα χαρακτηριστικά που έχεις εξ αρχής, άλλο τόσο είναι και ο περίγυρός σου. Είναι οι γονείς σου, ο τρόπος που μεγάλωσες, οι φίλοι σου, οι άνθρωποι που γνωρίζεις -όλα περνάνε. Νομίζω λοιπόν ότι οι γονείς και οι δάσκαλοι είναι πάρα πολύ σημαντική επιρροή. Και οι φίλοι βέβαια. Αλλά νομίζω ότι οι γονείς είναι ο πρώτος παράγοντας.

Translation:

Niki: You have some traits and you simply find out what you want and they are enhanced and strengthened, they are enlarged. But affection and love for children is not a common trait for everyone. I mean, you need to have these from the start. You can also be affected by others. I think it's two-sided, the traits you start out with and the influence of your surroundings. Your parents, the way you grew up, your friends, the people you know, everything affects you. So, I think parents and teachers are a very important influencing factor. And friends too, of course. But I think parents are the most important ones.

Field texts on teachers' attitudes

Photo elicitation

In the second session, the participants were asked to respond to a photo. For the purposes of this activity, I used a photo of the “sculpture of the Greek immigrant” [Appendix E], which can be found in Montreal, at the intersection of Park Avenue and Jean-Talon Street. The aim of this task was to elicit information and open up a discussion about the teachers' views and attitudes towards the different generations of Greeks in Canada.

Maria

There is a gap between former and new immigrants

When asked to comment on the photo, Maria identified a gap between first-generation Greeks and people who have immigrated to Canada more recently. According to her, her generation is viewed as different by previous generations of Greeks who prefer to keep their distances from them.

Maria: Για μένα είναι κάτι το παρωχημένο αυτό και ξένο σαν εικόνα. Καταλαβαίνω ότι για κάποιους αυτό είναι κάτι το πολύ οικείο κι αυτό με κάνει κάπως συναισθηματικά να νιώθω περίεργα- δεν ξέρω, διάφορα συναισθήματα μου βγάζει αυτός ο διαχωρισμός. Γιατί εγώ μετανάστευσα πρόσφατα και δεν έχω καμία σχέση με αυτή την εικόνα.

Emmanouela: Θεωρείς ότι τους μετανάστες που ήρθαν γύρω στο 1950, τους εκφράζει αυτό το άγαλμα;

Maria Σίγουρα. Είναι κάτι το πολύ οικείο, πιστεύω. Αλλά αυτό εμένα με κάνει να νιώθω περίεργα. Δηλαδή... ναι είναι αυτό το χάσμα μεταξύ των νέων μεταναστών και των παλιότερων. Που σίγουρα στο δικό τους το μυαλό υπάρχει. Για μένα και για τη δική μας τη γενιά γενικότερα, αυτή η εικόνα δεν είναι οικεία και νομίζω ότι οι παλιότεροι βλέποντάς μας να ερχόμαστε τελείως διαφορετικοί, αυτό μας βάζει σε μία διαφορετική πλευρά.

Emmanouela: Δημιουργεί ενδεχομένως έναν ανταγωνισμό;

Maria: Ναι. Από τη δική τους πλευρά.

Translation:

Maria: To me there is something outdated and foreign in this image. I understand this may be very familiar for some people and this makes me feel strange - I don't know, I feel various emotions with this separation. Because I have immigrated recently and I have nothing in common with this image.

Emmanouela: Do you believe that this statue expresses immigrants who arrived here around 1950?

Maria: Certainly. I think it would be something very familiar. But this makes me feel weird. I mean... Yes, it is the gap between younger and older immigrants. And I'm sure that's how they think of it. For me, and our generation in general, this is not a familiar image and I think the older generations think we are very different and this puts us on different sides.

Emmanouela: It creates a rivalry?

Maria: Yes. From their part.

Former immigrants are unwilling to help newcomers

Maria's own biases became evident when she was asked to compare and contrast the difficulties Greeks faced in the past to those new immigrants have to face today. She presented Greeks of previous generations as unwilling to help newcomers.

Emmanouela: Θεωρείς ότι είναι πιο εύκολες οι συνθήκες για τους μετανάστες σήμερα;

Maria: (παύση) Όχι. Δε μπορείς να κάνεις αναχρονισμούς. Άλλες δυσκολίες υπήρχαν τότε κι άλλες τώρα. Αυτό που διαφοροποιεί το τότε με το τώρα, είναι ότι τότε, για όλον τον κόσμο και παντού, η ζωή ήταν πολύ πιο περιορισμένη και πιο συγκεκριμένη. Και η πορεία ενός μετανάστη τότε ήταν πολύ πιο προδιαγεγραμμένη απ' ό,τι σήμερα. Αυτό είναι και καλό και κακό. Τότε έρχονταν αγράμματοι, φτωχοί, με διάφορα συγκεκριμένα εμπόδια και δεδομένα και έπειτα ακολουθούσε μια συγκεκριμένη πορεία. Οι περισσότεροι έφτιαξαν κάποιες επιχειρήσεις, συγκεκριμένα στην εστίαση, έκαναν κάποια χρήματα, υπήρχε και πολλή φοροδιαφυγή, έμειναν αγράμματοι οι πιο πολλοί και έχουν μια συγκεκριμένη πορεία. Στη σημερινή εποχή, μπορεί να έρθεις πολύ μορφωμένος, και να βρεθείς να δουλεύεις εργάτης και για κάποιους λόγους να

συνεχίσεις να δουλεύεις εργάτης για πάντα. Και να έρθεις απ' το χωριό σου χωρίς να ξέρεις αγγλικά και γαλλικά και επειδή σου χαμογέλασε η τύχη ή ένας συγγενής να βρεθείς να πλουτίσεις- η ζωή είναι πολύ πιο ανοιχτή. Αλλά νομίζω ότι εκείνοι μας βλέπουν ως ανθρώπους που θα τα βρούμε πιο εύκολα. Και ίσως να θέλουν να μας δυσκολέψουν τη ζωή γι' αυτό.

Emmanouela: Άρα δεν υπάρχει αυτό που λέμε η αλληλοβοήθεια ανάμεσα σε ομοεθνείς;

Maria: Υπάρχει. Αλλά αυτό εξαρτάται από την προσωπικότητα του καθενός.

Translation:

Emmanouela: Do you believe that things are easier for immigrants today?

Maria: (pause) No. You cannot be anachronistic on this. There were different difficulties then and different now. What differentiates the past with the present is that then, for all people and everywhere around the world, life was very limited and specific. And an immigrant's course then was pretty much more predetermined than it is today. This is both good and bad. In the past, immigrants were illiterate, poor, with certain obstacles and facts and then they followed a certain course. Most of them started up businesses, mostly in dining, they earned some money, there was much tax evasion as well, they remained illiterate and most of them had a specific course. Today, you can arrive and be well educated, and find yourself working as a laborer for various reasons, or continue working as a laborer forever. Or you can come from your village without speaking English and French and you may be lucky, a relative may help you make money, life is much more open. But I think they see us as people who had it all very easy. And perhaps they want to make our lives a little more difficult, because of this reason.

Emmanouela: So there is no solidarity among people from the same country?

Maria: There is. But it depends on each person's personality.

George

First-generation Greeks had to face difficulties related to the particularities of Quebec

George identified trilingualism as the main difficulty first-generation Greeks had to face in Quebec. He referred to the particularities of Quebec, namely the coexistence of French and English, as well as the separatist movement that emerged in the 1960s in Quebec, which reminded Greeks of their own Civil War (1946-1949).

Emmanouela: Θέλω να κοιτάξεις αυτή τη φωτογραφία και να μου πεις τι σκέφτεσαι. Ξέρεις τι είναι αυτό;

George: Βεβαίως. Ναι, είναι καθαρά ο ερχομός των πρώτων Ελλήνων στον Καναδά. Δείχνει εμφανώς την απόγνωση της εγκατάλειψης της μίας πατρίδας -οι εκφράσεις τους σου λέω τι μου βγάζουν- και από την άλλη την προσμονή και την ελπίδα για τη νέα πατρίδα. Δείχνει την αγωνία τους για το μέλλον.

Emmanouela: Ποιες πιστεύεις ότι ήταν οι δυσκολίες που είχε να αντιμετωπίσει αυτή η γενιά;

George: Η γλώσσα. Βέβαια. Γατί δεν μιλούσαν γρι αγγλικά, δεν μιλούσαν γαλλικά. Το φορτίο του μετανάστη ήταν μεγαλύτερο στο Κεμπέκ, γιατί είχε να αντιμετωπίσει και την τριλωσσία -δεν ήταν μόνο η διγλωσσία. Έξτρα άγχος, έξτρα φόβος, έξτρα ανασφάλεια. Στην πορεία βέβαια προέκυψαν οι γνωστές διασπαστικές τάσεις με αποτέλεσμα να νιώθει αυτή τη φοβία, αυτή τη διάσπαση και μέσα του, γιατί δεν ήξερε προς τα πού πάει... ο Έλληνας έχει και το Διχασμό μέσα του από την Ελλάδα, το φέρουμε στην ιστορία μας, είχε και τα πρόσφατα γεγονότα του Εμφυλίου... ξέρεις είχε και τις μνήμες τις δικές του και τις έβλεπε εδώ -διάσπαση, αγγλική-γαλλική κουλτούρα... παρόλα αυτά, θεωρώ ότι το γλωσσικό ήταν πάντα το κύριο ζήτημα.

Translation:

Emmanouela: I want you to look at this photograph and tell me your thoughts. Do you know what this is?

George: Sure. Yes, it is clearly the arrival of the first Greeks in Canada. It shows the despair of abandoning your country - this is what their expressions are telling me - and on the other hand being hopeful for your new country. It shows their anxiety for the future.

Emmanouela: What difficulties do you think this generation had to face?

George: Again, language. Certainly. They could not speak English or French. An immigrant's burden was greater in Quebec, because they had to deal with trilingualism, not just bilingualism. Extra stress, extra fear, extra insecurities. Along the way, the usual separatist tendencies emerged and so immigrants felt this fear, this dissociation of not knowing where to turn... Greeks have this dissociation tendency; we carry it in our history, due to the recent events of the Civil War... They had their own memories and they were reminded of them here, from this dissociation between the English and French cultures... Despite all that, I believe the language was the main issue.

Second-generation Greeks viewed themselves as different from Anglophones and Francophones

George explained that second-generation Greeks did not have any language-related problems, but they did have identity issues. According to George, they could sense that they were different from Anglophones and Francophones, and this created an identity issue for them.

George: Η δεύτερη γενιά δεν έχει το πρόβλημα της γλώσσας. Συγκρίνοντας όμως τον εαυτό τους με τα υπόλοιπα γαλλάκια ή αγγλάκια του Κεμπέκ, έβλεπαν και βλέπουν διαφορετικό στάτους. Βλέπουν ότι άλλη είναι η γλώσσα που μιλάνε στο σπίτι οι γονείς και άλλη είναι η γλώσσα του περιβάλλοντος. Άρα αυτομάτως υπάρχει ένας διχασμός μέσα τους -έχουν θέματα ταυτότητας.

Translation:

George: The second generation did not face the issue of learning the language. However, when comparing themselves with Quebec's French-speaking or English-speaking children, they saw and still see they had a different status. They see that they

speak one language at home with their parents and another one when outside their home. So, there's a dissociation there - an identity issue.

Third-generation Greeks are fully integrated

Finally, George argued that third-generation Greeks are fully integrated, and do not have to face the difficulties that previous generations had to face. However, he noted that a sense of responsibility not to desert the Greek language is passed onto them, and highlighted the importance of the grandparents' role in this mission.

Emmanouela: Και μετά αν πάμε ακόμα πιο κάτω, αν φτάσουμε δηλαδή στους σημερινούς μαθητές;

George: Ναι εδώ θέλει συζήτηση. Δεν μπορώ να απαντήσω απόλυτα. Γιατί αφενός, ναι, αισθάνονται καναδεζάκια, γιατί είναι γεννημένα εδώ, ακούνε από τους γονείς πιο πολύ αγγλικά στο σπίτι, οπότε υπάρχει ταύτιση εκεί - δε νιώθουν ξένοι ως προς το περιβάλλον. Αλλά εδώ, υπάρχει ανάδυση ενός άλλου θέματος. Υπάρχει ανάγκη να μην ξεχάσουμε την ελληνική. Υπάρχει αυτή η περηφάνια, η περηφάνια γι' αυτές τις ρίζες. Εδώ νομίζω είναι ο παππούς και η γιαγιά που κρατάνε τη σχέση ζωντανή με την Ελλάδα.

Translation:

Emmanouela: And if we take it one generation onwards, reaching today's students?

George: Yes, there is much to be said about this. I cannot give you a definitive answer. On the one hand, they do feel Canadian, they are born here, they mostly listen to their parents speaking English at home, they are not different in this respect - they do not feel like foreigners. But another issue emerges. There is this need not to forsake the Greek language. There is this pride, the pride they feel for their roots. I think the grandparents keep the relationship with Greece alive.

Anna

First-generation Greeks' decision to immigrate was the beginning of our history

Anna found that the sculpture of the Greek immigrant truthfully portrayed the beginning of a new era for Greek immigrants, and speculated that the first-generation Greeks must have had mixed feelings about leaving their homeland and beginning a journey to the unknown.

Anna: Για κάποιο λόγο μου βγαίνει ένα χαμόγελο. Νιώθω ότι είναι η ιστορία μας, δηλαδή από εκεί ξεκινήσαμε όλοι. Είναι με μία μόνο βαλίτσα στο χέρι και δεν υπάρχει χαρά στα πρόσωπά τους. Προφανώς φεύγουν από το σπίτι τους, πάνε σε μία άλλη χώρα. Δεν υπάρχει δηλαδή το χαμόγελο, αλλά ούτε και τρομερή θλίψη, τουλάχιστον όπως το αντιλαμβάνομαι εγώ. Είναι μία πορεία στο άγνωστο.

Translation:

Anna: For some reason, it makes me smile. I think it is our history; this is where it all began. There is only one luggage that they are holding, no joy in their faces. They are obviously leaving home to move to another country. They are not smiling, but they are not too sad either, at least that is the way I see it. It is a course to the unknown.

Bill 101 was a positive change for Greeks

Anna referred to Bill 101 and its effects for Greeks in Quebec. Bill 101, or the Charter of French Language, was brought into law in 1977 in the province of Quebec and declared French as the province's official language. One of this language law's regulations mandates that children of immigrants receive instruction in French, unless their parents are Canadian citizens and received the majority of their elementary school education in English, either in Quebec or another province. This language law led to the weakening of the English-speaking community in Quebec, as many English institutions closed or lost a substantial portion of their power. The overall decline of English-speaking communities in Quebec, that was brought about as a result of Bill 101, led many English speakers to leave the province (Haque, 2012). While many English speakers viewed this law negatively, Anna, who was born in Montreal and had first-hand experience of the effects of Bill 101, seemed to have a different opinion. She explained that the majority of second-generation Greeks went to English schools, as Bill 101 was not in effect yet. As a result, they were never comfortable using French, which, in turn, led to their limited social mobility. Anna explained that since Bill 101 came into force, the new generations of Greeks have a closer connection to French, and, as a result, their social mobility is greater.

Anna: Η δυσκολία με τη γλώσσα ας πούμε, μπορεί να ίσχυε αλλά μέχρι να πάνε σχολείο. Βέβαια αυτές είναι οι γενιές που έμαθαν αγγλικά, λόγω του ότι υπήρχε τότε και ο νόμος στο Κεμπέκ ότι όποιος δεν έχει σχέση με τα γαλλικά δεν πάει σε γαλλικό σχολείο. Άρα ήταν μία γενιά που αγγλουχρήθηκε. Και ήταν μία γενιά απομακρυσμένη από το γαλλικό κομμάτι. Και ίσως αυτός ήταν και ο λόγος που έμειναν στα βήματα των γονιών -ακολούθησαν πιο συντηρητικά τις στρωμένες δουλειές των γονιών τους. Λόγω της γλώσσας δε μπορούσαν ακόμα να βγουν στη γαλλική κοινωνία και δεν είχαν συναναστροφές. Τώρα, η τρίτη και τέταρτη γενιά, θεωρώ ότι αγγλικά και ελληνικά είναι οι βασικές τους γλώσσες, αλλά μπορούν και κινούνται καλύτερα στη γαλλική κοινωνία, λόγω και του νόμου που άλλαξε -ήταν ισχυρός παράγοντας.

Translation:

Anna: The language difficulty may have been there, but only until they started going to school. These are the generations who were taught in English, because there was the law in Quebec, that people who were not connected to French in some way could not attend a French school. So an entire generation was educated in English. And this was

a generation that distanced itself from the French part. Perhaps this is the reason why they followed their parents' footsteps: they followed the jobs their parents had set up. Due to the language issue, they could not emerge into the French society, and they did not have any contacts. Now, for the third and fourth generations, I think English and Greek are their primary languages, but they are also better prepared for the French community, ever since the law has been changed - this was a strong factor.

Lena

First-generation Greeks should be viewed as role models

Lena commented that first-generation Greeks, who came to Canada and managed to face all difficulties on their own, should be viewed as role models. She juxtaposed their experience to young people who immigrate to Canada nowadays, and highlighted the fact that the two experiences are very different.

Lena: Νιώθω ότι αυτοί οι Έλληνες (δείχνει την φωτογραφία) ήταν πολύ δυνατοί. Φαντάζομαι τον εαυτό μου να έρθω εδώ με μία βαλίτσα, χωρίς να ξέρω τη γλώσσα, χωρίς να έχω κανένα συγγενή, τους βρίσκω πάρα πολύ δυνατούς. Ταξίδευαν εβδομάδες ολόκληρες με τα πλοία, χωρίς ένα δολάριο. Ερχόντουσαν για να αντικρύσουν έναν νέο κόσμο και δεν είχαν τίποτα. Οι Έλληνες εκείνοι πρέπει να είναι παράδειγμα. Βέβαια τώρα τα παιδιά που έρχονται είναι τελείως αλλιώς. Τα παιδιά που έρχονται τώρα είναι μορφωμένα. Άλλες συνθήκες. Πάντως, αυτή η φωτογραφία με λυπεί εμένα.

Translation:

Lena: I feel that these Greeks (shows the photograph) were very strong. I imagine myself coming here with just one piece of luggage, not knowing how to speak the language, without any relatives - I think they were very strong. They would travel for weeks by ship, without a dollar on them. They would come to face a new world and they had nothing. Those Greeks should be role models for us. Of course, young people coming in today are very different. Today's youth is educated. The conditions have changed. Well, this photograph makes me sad.

It is a lot easier to teach Greek native speakers than Greek HL learners

Lena was asked to compare and contrast students who are Greek native speakers and Greek HL learners, and stressed that the differences between the two groups are significant. She explained that HL learners often find it difficult to understand Greek, and argued that one of the difficulties that teachers are met with is to ensure that these students do not understand just how much easier it is to work with native speakers.

Lena: Αυτός που είναι δεύτερης και τρίτης γενιάς δεν καταλαβαίνει. Με τον πρώτης γενιάς θα κάνεις ένα μάθημα και θα πεις να είχα κι άλλους τέτοιους. Κι αυτή είναι και μια δυσκολία για τη δασκάλα -να μη σε καταλάβει το παιδί. Να μην καταλάβει ότι σου

βγαίνει το μάθημα τέλεια με τους πρώτης γενιάς κι όχι με τους άλλους. Γιατί δεν αρκεί ό,τι πεις - πρέπει να τους το υπογραμμίσεις. Αφού δεν καταλαβαίνουν. Δεν είναι το ίδιο. Είναι πιο εύκολο για τη δασκάλα, μετά φεύγει πολύ γρήγορα το μάθημα. Είναι άλλη εμπειρία.

Translation:

Lena: Second-and-third-generation students do not understand. With first-generation students, you can deliver a good lesson that makes you wish there were more of them. This is a challenge for teachers; the children must not understand that. They must not understand that the lesson is going great with first-generation students, but not with the others. It is not just saying something; you need to emphasize it. They do not understand. It is not the same. It is easier for the teacher with first-generation students; there is great flow in the lesson then. It is a different experience.

Stella

Second-generation Greeks were already fully integrated

Stella, a second-generation Greek herself, explained that her generation was already fully integrated in the Canadian society and faced no discrimination whatsoever.

Stella: Οι δυσκολίες της δεύτερης γενιάς δε σχετίζονται με το θέμα της μετανάστευσης των γονιών τους. Θεωρώ ότι ήταν οι δυσκολίες που είχε ο μέσος Καναδός. Δεν υπήρχαν δηλαδή ρατσιστικές εκδηλώσεις. Δεν τους έλεγε κανένας ‘α εσύ είσαι Έλληνας’. Ή δεν έμειναν ποτέ άνεργοι επειδή ήταν Έλληνες. Είχαν αφομοιωθεί πλέον εντελώς από την κοινωνία.

Translation:

Stella: The difficulties the second generation met were not related to their parents' immigration. I believe they were the same with the difficulties faced by an average Canadian. There was no racism, I mean. No one would tell them “oh, you're a Greek”. Or, none of them was unemployed because they were Greek. They were fully integrated in the society.

Third-generation Greeks identify as Canadians and do not feel their origin is Greek

Stella argued that third-generation Greeks identify as full Canadians, and that their connection to Greek is lost. She appeared to be rather pessimistic about the future, and predicted that the Greek element will soon be lost in Canada. According to her, mixed marriages further complicate the attempt to preserve the new generations' connection to the Greek language and culture.

Stella: Νομίζω πως η επαφή τους με την ελληνική γλώσσα έχει χαθεί, γιατί και οι γονείς γεννήθηκαν με μητρική τα αγγλικά, όπως βέβαια και για αυτή την επόμενη γενιά μητρική είναι τα αγγλικά. Όπου υπάρχουν γιαγιάδες και παππούδες, υπάρχει μία σχετική επαφή. Ίσως να τους μιλάνε ακόμα ελληνικά. Από εκεί και πέρα νομίζω ότι είναι πλέον Καναδοί σε όλα. Αν τους ρωτήσεις ‘από πού είσαι;’ όλοι θα σου πουν από

τον Καναδά. Και αν τους πεις για την Ελλάδα, θα σου πουν ‘ο παππούς μου είναι από εκεί’. Δεν έχω εισπράξει δηλαδή ότι νιώθουν ότι η καταγωγή τους είναι ελληνική, ότι έχουν ρίζες ελληνικές. Αυτό είναι κάτι που αφορά τον παππού και τη γιαγιά. Εγώ νομίζω ότι θα χαθεί το ελληνικό στοιχείο έτσι όπως τα βλέπω τα πράγματα. Θα λένε ‘είχα και έναν προπαππού από την Ελλάδα και πήγε μετανάστης’. Ήδη το βλέπω. Λένε “I am Canadian”. Εντωμεταξύ υπάρχουν και μεικτοί γάμοι, οπότε γίνεται ακόμα πιο περίπλοκο.

Translation:

Stella: I think they have lost contact with the Greek language, because their parents were born with English as their mother tongue and of course this is also their mother tongue. If the grandparents are still around, they do have some contact. Perhaps they still speak Greek to them. But other than that, I think they're full Canadians. If you ask them, “Where are you from?” they will all say they are from Canada. If you mention Greece, they will tell you: “my grandpa is from Greece”. I do not think they feel their origin is Greek, that they have Greek roots. This is something specific to their grandparents. The way I see it, the Greek element will be lost. They will be saying: “I had a great-grandfather from Greece, and he came here as an immigrant”. I am already seeing this. They say, “I am Canadian”. And there are mixed marriages as well, so it gets even more complicated.

Kostas

First-generation Greeks had to fight for their rights; now rights are just given to newcomers

Kostas, a second-generation Greek in Canada, juxtaposed first-generation Greeks to newcomers, and argued that the former were faced with numerous difficulties, whereas settling in Canada is much easier for the latter. He described newcomers as educated young people from wealthy backgrounds, and asserted that rights are simply given to them, whereas previous generations had to fight for them.

Kostas: Βαλίτσες (δείχνει τη φωτογραφία). Νομίζω αυτές οι βαλίτσες συμβολίζουν ρίσκο, συμβολίζουν το τι σημαίνει να είσαι μετανάστης σε άλλη χώρα. Εκείνη η γενιά είχε δυσκολίες που δεν έχουν οι σημερινές γενιές. Νομίζω ότι σε σχέση με τότε έχει χαθεί λίγο το family bonding. Αυτή η γενιά το είχε πιο πολύ, γιατί είχε και πιο πολλά barriers, όπως η γλώσσα. Θα είχαν και ρατσισμό, σίγουρα. They had to stick together and fight for their rights.

Emmanouela: Και αυτοί που μεταναστεύουν σήμερα;

Kostas: Το ίδιο. Αλλά, now governments are becoming very sensitive to a lot of rights. Everybody has rights and there is a lot of emphasis on everybody exercising their rights. I think now people get respect rather than earning respect. Rights are given to people, and people do not earn their respect now as they did back then. These guys (δείχνει τη φωτογραφία) to earn their respect had to go through three generations. Now, you come as a μετανάστη and you are ready to go.

Emmanouela: Ποιο πιστεύεις ότι είναι το προφίλ του Έλληνα μετανάστη του σήμερα;

Kostas: Για μένα είναι παιδιά ηλικίας 18-28, μορφωμένοι. Αυτοί που είναι αμόρφωτοι πάνε πίσω Ελλάδα. Αυτοί που είναι μορφωμένοι μένουν εδώ και βρίσκουν δουλειά. Όταν ερχόταν η πρώτη γενιά ήταν αγράμματοι και φτωχοί και έπρεπε να παλέψουν πολύ. Αυτοί που έρχονται σήμερα, those who take the risk of coming to Canada, are usually well off. Not well off, but relatively more well off than the rest of the people in Greece.

Translation:

Kostas: Luggage (points to the photo). I think it symbolizes risk-taking, it symbolizes what it means to be an immigrant. That generation had to face difficulties that new generations do not have to face. And I think that compared to that time, now the family bonding is lost. That generation had more of it, because it also had more barriers to overcome, like the language barrier. And they must have had to deal with racism too. They had to stick together and fight for their rights.

Emmanouela: And what about people who immigrate to Canada now?

Kostas: The same. But, now governments are becoming very sensitive to a lot of rights. Everybody has rights and there is a lot of emphasis on everybody exercising their rights. I think now people get respect rather than earning respect. Rights are given to people, and people do not earn their respect now as they did back then. These guys (points to the photo) to earn their respect had to go through three generations. Now, you come as an immigrant and you are ready to go.

Emmanouela: How would you describe people who immigrate to Canada now?

Kostas: I think they are between the ages of 18 and 28, and they are educated. Those who are not educated eventually go back to Greece. Those who are educated stay here and find jobs. When the first generation came, they were illiterate and poor, and they had to struggle. Those who come today, those who take the risk of coming to Canada, are usually well off. Not well off, but relatively more well off than the rest of the people in Greece.

Sofia

First-generation Greeks trusted their children to the Canadian Welfare, and the second generation did not learn Greek well

Sofia argued that when the first generation of Greeks came to Canada, they were faced with a substantial cultural shock. They had to work long hours and try very hard to make money, and they decided to trust the Canadian educational system for the education of their children, knowing that it was well organized. However, Sofia also added that the parents' decision not to teach their children Greek is the reason why the second generation is now not using Greek with the third generation.

Sofia: Πιστεύω ότι αυτοί οι άνθρωποι ήταν σε μεγάλη απελπισία. Και με όσους έχω συζητήσει δηλαδή, αυτοί οι άνθρωποι πέρασαν ένα τρομερό πολιτισμικό σοκ, μέχρι

να προσαρμοστούν. Ήταν ένα τρομερό σοκ, κατάλαβαν ότι έπρεπε να βγάλουν λεφτά και να στέλνουν και κάποια από αυτά πίσω στην Ελλάδα, παράτησαν τα παιδιά τους και τα παιδιά τους δεν έμαθαν την ελληνική γλώσσα, και μάλιστα και οι ίδιοι δεν την ήξεραν καλά τη γλώσσα, δεν ήταν μορφωμένοι. Τα παιδιά τους τα σπούδασαν όμως προς τιμήν τους. Τα παιδιά τους τα εμπιστεύτηκαν στην Καναδική Πρόνοια - θεώρησαν ότι είναι πάρα πολύ καλή, και πράγματι είναι, αλλά τα παιδιά τους δεν έμαθαν τα ελληνικά καλά. Έχουν ελληνική κουλτούρα- έχουν τις γιορτές, θέλουν να τις γιορτάζουν, αλλά δεν έμαθαν καλά ελληνικά και αυτός είναι ο λόγος που η δεύτερη γενιά δεν μιλάει ελληνικά στα παιδιά της -στην τρίτη γενιά δηλαδή. Είπαν θα κάνουμε μία νέα αρχή. Όλο αυτό όμως τους στοίχισε.

Translation:

Sofia: I believe these people were desperate. Everyone I have talked with about this agrees; these people went through an immense cultural shock until they could adapt. It was a huge shock for them, they realized that they had to make money and send some of them back to Greece, they had to leave their children, their children never learned Greek and they themselves didn't know the language that well, they weren't educated. However, they did manage to provide a good education for their children, and that tells a lot about them. They trusted their children to Canadian Welfare - they found it very good and indeed, it is, but their children did not learn Greek well. They do have a Greek culture - they have the Greek celebrations, they want to celebrate them, but they did not learn how to speak Greek well and that is the reason why the second generation does not speak Greek with their children - the third generation. They said, 'we will start over'. But that came with a cost.

The conflict between their two cultures and the burden of their parents' homesickness made second-generation Greeks feel torn

Sofia described the difficulties that second-generation Greeks had to face. She explained that their parents were absent from home and at school they would feel the conflict between their Greek and Canadian sides. Sofia also asserted that this conflict became even more difficult to manage, as first-generation Greeks would perpetuate and pass on to them negative stereotypes about Greece, as a result of their nostalgia and their inability to visit the homeland.

Sofia: Η δεύτερη γενιά είχε διαφορετικές δυσκολίες. Αυτοί δεν έβλεπαν τους γονείς τους, δούλευαν από το πρωί ως το βράδυ οι άνθρωποι, μπήκαν στα daycare τα Καναδικά, μπήκαν μάλιστα κάποια παιδιά χωρίς να ξέρουν αγγλικά. Αλλά αυτό ξεπεράστηκε, γιατί αν ξεκινήσεις στο νήπιο τα μαθαίνεις αμέσως. Η σύγκρουση της κουλτούρας της ελληνικής με την καναδική κουλτούρα, αυτό είναι το δύσκολο. Κι έτσι αυτοί έχουν κάνει ένα μείγμα, ένα μείγμα, ελληνικής και καναδικής κουλτούρας. Αλλά βέβαια υπερτερεί η Καναδική. Είναι διαφορετικοί όμως, έχουν μία παράξενη κουλτούρα. Μετά μην ξεχνάς ότι έχουν φορτωθεί όλο το νόστο των γονιών τους για την Ελλάδα και την έλλειψη -τα φορτώθηκαν αυτοί. Γιατί αυτό που βγάζουν οι ηλικιωμένοι, το 'η Ελλάδα δεν είναι καλή, οι Έλληνες είναι τεμπέληδες, δεν είναι ευγενικοί, η Ελλάδα δεν πάει μπροστά' το βγάζουν για να αντισταθμίσουν τη

νοσταλγία τους. Ξέρεις, αυτοί δε μπορούσαν κάθε χρόνο να πηγαίνουν στην Ελλάδα που πηγαίνουμε εμείς τώρα. Κάνανε και δέκα χρόνια για να πάνε και τους έβγαине η αντίδραση -η Ελλάδα είναι το ένα και το άλλο. Και όλο αυτό έβγαине πάνω στα παιδιά.

Translation:

Sofia: The second generation had different difficulties to face. They would not be seeing their parents much, because these people used to work from day to night, they were sent to Canadian daycare, some of them without even speaking English. But they worked through this, because if you start as a very young child you catch on very quickly. The conflict between the Greek and the Canadian cultures, this is the hard part. And these people have a mix of Greek and Canadian culture. Of course, the Canadian part is stronger. They are different, they have this strange culture. Don't forget that they've experienced their parents' homesickness for Greece and its absence - they were burdened with all that. What the elderly say, like, "Greece is not good, Greeks are lazy, they're not polite, Greece won't progress", is a defense to compensate for their nostalgia. You know, they could not visit Greece each year, like we do now. It would even take them up to ten years to return and this was their reaction - Greece is this and that. And all that was passed on to their children.

Niki

The role of first-generation Greeks is very important

Niki referred to the hardships that first-generation Greeks had to face, and the ways in which they were affected by immigration. She noted that first-generation Greeks still take care of the family's children, and help them with their homework, which, as she narrated, can have interesting results.

Niki: Νομίζω ότι οι άνθρωποι τότε υπέφεραν και είναι διαφορετικοί από εμάς τώρα. Νομίζω ότι είναι πίσω, με την έννοια ότι νομίζουν ότι η Ελλάδα είναι αυτό που άφησαν το 1960. Και έχουν ζήσει την ξενιτιά στο πετσί τους. Και την φτώχεια. Και νομίζω ότι κάποιοι έχουν ακόμα το σύνδρομο της φτώχειας εξαιτίας όλων αυτών των στερήσεων που πέρασαν. Αλλά είναι ακόμα δίπλα στα παιδιά, είναι πολύ σημαντικός ο ρόλος τους. Και μπορείς να δεις τις εργασίες για το σπίτι που τους βάζω, που τους τα κάνει η γιαγιά και ο παππούς. Βλέπεις κάτι *κάρο* αντί για *αυτοκίνητο*, κάτι εκφράσεις που χρησιμοποιεί η πρώτη γενιά.

Emmanouela: Εκεί τι κάνεις, το διορθώνεις;

Niki: Ναι. Όχι πάντα, όμως. Ειδικά αν μου το πει κάποιος προφορικά και δε το δω γραμμένο, δεν θέλω να τους προσβάλλω. Ή θα το πω έμμεσα -θα πω 'μ' αρέσει που εδώ στον Καναδά λέτε *κάρο* το *αυτοκίνητο*, από το αγγλικό *car*'.

Translation:

Niki: I think people suffered at the time and they are different from us. I think they still believe Greece is how it used to be when they left in 1960. And they've experienced first-hand all the hardships of living away from your country. And poverty. I think some of them still carry this sense of poverty because of all the difficulties they have

been through. However, they play an important role with the children. You can tell when their grandparents have done their homework for them. You see the word *karo* instead of *aftokinito* (car), you see some expressions used by the first generation.

Emmanouela: What do you do in such cases? Do you correct them?

Niki: Yes, but not always. If it comes up when I speak with someone, and I do not see it written somewhere, I do not want to insult them. I may use a more indirect approach, like saying, “I like how here in Canada you call *aftokinito* a *karo*, it comes from the English word *car*”.

Video elicitation

Aside from the photo, I also used a video as a prompt to elicit information and open up a discussion with the participants. I used an already existing YouTube video [Appendix E], containing several shots from the Greek parade that was held in March 2018, in Toronto. My aim was to use a visual means that would help participants recall details from such events (for instance information on clothing, music, number of attendees, among others) and then discuss about the HL learners’ connection to Greek customs and traditions. Once again, I was primarily interested in finding out the participants’ attitudes, and more specifically, their attitudes towards HL learners.

Maria

The Greek parade in Canada can be seen as a mockery, but Greeks in Canada do not view it as such

After watching the video, participant Maria commented on some aspects of the Greek parade in Canada that she found odd. She compared and contrasted it to the respective parades in Greece, and stressed that in Canada there is no military march, which makes the event resemble a festival rather than a parade. She realized however that what she understood as disrespectful was actually an important event for students, who felt very proud while participating in it.

Maria: Τώρα πια τίποτα από αυτά δεν μου έκανε εντύπωση. Αλλά θυμήθηκα τι μου έκανε εντύπωση όταν είχα πρωτοδεί κάτι τέτοιο - ότι δεν έκαναν στρατιωτικό βηματισμό. Μου είχε κακοφανεί πάρα πολύ γιατί ερχόταν σε αντίθεση με τη δική μου εμπειρία ως μαθήτρια. Εγώ γενικά δεν είχα πρόβλημα να πηγαίνω στην παρέλαση- δεν είχα ιδεολογική αποστροφή απέναντι στις παρελάσεις. Και μου φάνηκε πολύ πιο πανηγυρτικό- δεν ξέρω, γεμάτο έλλειψη σεβασμού απέναντι σε αυτό που εμείς στην Ελλάδα κάνουμε για παρέλαση. Αυτό μου είχε κάνει πολύ αρνητική εντύπωση τότε. Και το γεγονός ότι δεν δίνανε καθόλου χρόνο στα σχολεία για να μάθουν τα παιδιά βηματισμό, να τους εξηγήσουμε ότι αυτό είναι κάτι που το κάνουμε και επί της ουσίας έχει σχέση με το στρατό και με τις δομές τις στρατιωτικές -ήταν πολύ περισσότερα σαν ένα φεστιβάλ.

Emmanouela: Θεωρείς ότι τα παιδιά πιστεύουν ότι δείχνουν έλλειψη σεβασμού;

Maria: Όχι, σε καμία περίπτωση. Γι' αυτούς ίσα-ίσα. Νιώθουν πολύ περήφανοι που προωθούν την χώρα τους έτσι.

Translation:

Maria: None of these things surprises me anymore. But I remember what I found strange when I first saw the parade here; the fact that they didn't do a military march. It looked very odd to me, because it contradicted my own experience as a student. I did not mind going to the parade - I did not have an ideological aversion to parades. And it looked very mocking to me, like showing a lack of respect to what we do in Greece in parades. It struck me as very negative then. And the fact that we didn't provide time in school for children to learn how to march, to explain them what it is that we do and that it is related to the army and military structures - it was more like a festival.

Emmanouela: Do you believe that the students feel they show lack of respect?

Maria: Not at all. Quite the contrary. They feel very proud to support their country like this.

George

The Greek parade in Canada makes him emotional and appreciative of Canada's openness to multiculturalism

George elucidated that he gets emotional when watching the Greek parade in Canada. He described his appreciation for the Canadian society that accepts multiculturalism and people's diverse identities. When comparing the Greek parades in Canada to those in Greece, he stressed that unlike the former, the latter are meant to strengthen Greeks' sense of patriotism. Hence, the military aspect, which is non-existent in Canada, is emphasized in Greece.

Emmanouela: Πώς αισθάνθηκες βλέποντας την παρέλαση των Ελλήνων στο Τορόντο;

George: Συγκίνηση, ρίγος, δέος, περηφάνια, τιμή μεγάλη. Γιατί, μέσα σε μία κοινωνία πολυφυλετική και πολυπολιτισμική, αποδέχονται και τη δική μου κουλτούρα και ταυτότητα χωρίς να την αποδοκιμάζουν ή να την κατακρίνουν. Όπως κι όταν βλέπω την παρέλαση εδώ, στο Μόντρεαλ, μου κάνει εντύπωση που βλέπω κόσμο από άλλες χώρες και πολιτισμούς, οι οποίοι ήταν στο πεζοδρόμιο, κοίταζαν, χειροκροτούσαν... μου αρέσει έτσι όπως γίνεται εδώ, είναι εντυπωσιακό. Αυτό με εντυπωσιάζει, ότι αυτό το μωσαϊκό των γλωσσών και πολιτισμών συνυπάρχει. Δεν είναι τόση η συγκίνηση στην Ελλάδα - στην Ελλάδα πιο πολύ είναι το δέος της στρατιωτικής παρέλασης. Και έχει το νόημα να μας τονώσει το αίσθημα του πατριωτισμού. Να μας κάνει να νιώσουμε ότι είμαστε ισχυροί κι ότι ανά πάσα ώρα και στιγμή είμαστε σε ετοιμότητα.

Translation:

Emmanouela: How did you feel watching the Greeks' parade in Toronto?

George: Emotional; chills, awe, pride, a great sense of honor. In a society that is multiracial and multicultural, people accept my own culture and identity, without

denouncing or judging it. When I see the parade here in Montreal, I am impressed by the fact that there are people from other countries and cultures, standing on the sidewalk, looking, clapping their hands... I like the way parades are done here, it is very impressive. This mosaic of languages and cultures co-existing is impressive to me. It is not as emotional in Greece - in Greece it has more to do with the awe of the military parade. The point is to strengthen the sense of patriotism. To make us feel that we are strong and ready for anything at any given moment.

Anna

People who participate in the Greek parade in Canada take pride in it and have a close connection to Greek customs

Anna seemed to enjoy the parade in Canada and described a plethora of factors that contribute to the students' sense of pride when they parade. Anna explained that these factors are not necessarily present in the parades held in Greece. Anna also mentioned *tsoliades*, a colloquial term used to refer to the *Evzones*, the members of the Greek Presidential Guard. *Evzones* or *tsoliades* wear a distinctive uniform, and parents often dress their children in similar uniforms when they attend the Greek parade.

Anna: Αυτό που μου έχει κάνει εντύπωση είναι ότι εδώ πέρα χρησιμοποιούμε πιο πολύ τις σημαίες, τις στολές, τα τύμπανα. Προσπαθούμε κι εμείς να δώσουμε σε όλα τα παιδιά τη χαρά να κουβαλάνε την ελληνική σημαία. Αυτά δεν τα έχω δει στην Ελλάδα. Νιώθω ότι τα παιδιά νιώθουν ιδιαίτερη χαρά, είναι περήφανα όταν κάνουν παρέλαση εδώ. Και είναι κάποια παιδιά που έχουν ιδιαίτερη αδυναμία σε ένα τόπο οπότε φοράνε ας πούμε τις Κρητικές στολές. Έχουμε και τσολιάδες, και συνθήματα, απ' όλα. Και πολλά παιδιά, φοράνε στολές και τους βλέπω τρομερά ενθουσιασμένους. Το έχουν καμάρι. Και το θεωρούν σημαντικό που ξέρουν πώς να βάλουν τη στολή -γιατί είναι κάποια πράγματα, το πώς θα δέσει η στολή, τι κόμπο θα κάνεις, πώς θα σιδερώσεις το ρούχο, που πρέπει να τα ξέρεις.

Translation:

Anna: What impresses me is that we use flags, traditional costumes, and drums more here. We try to make children happy by giving them all the chance to carry the Greek flag. I haven't seen this in Greece. I think children feel happy here, they feel proud when they parade. And some children have a special affinity with a certain place, so they wear Cretan costumes, for instance. We also have *tsoliades* and slogans, all that. Many children here wear costumes and they are really excited about this. They feel proud. And they feel it's important that they know how to put on their costume - there are certain things, how to tie the costume, what knot you'll make, how to iron the clothes, things you need to know.

Lena***Greeks in Canada hold more respect for the Greek parade, than those in Greece***

Lena compared and contrasted the parades in Greece and Canada and concluded that Greeks who live outside of Greece place greater importance on patriotism. She was adamant that Greeks in Canada feel greater pride and hold more respect for the parade.

Lena: Εδώ νιώθεις την ψυχή του Έλληνα. Που λαχταρά να κατέβει να ψηλώσει την ελληνική σημαία. Να δείξει τον ηρωισμό, τη δύναμη της ψυχής του Έλληνα. Στην Ελλάδα, πηγαίναμε στην παρέλαση αλλά το νου μας τον είχαμε στον καφέ μετά. Εδώ είναι και χειμώνας ακόμα όταν γίνεται η παρέλαση της 25^{ης} Μαρτίου. Θα άκουγες ακόμα μεγαλύτερο χειροκρότημα αν δεν ήταν. Εντάξει, ίσως να υπάρχει καλύτερη σκηνική παρουσία στην Ελλάδα ειδικά στην στρατιωτική παρέλαση. Αλλά εδώ βλέπεις την ψυχή του Έλληνα. Η καρδιά των Ελλήνων χτυπά στο εξωτερικό πιο πολύ.

Emmanouela: Και είναι και οι μαθητές περήφανοι;

Lena: Εννοείται, ναι. Θέλουν να πάρουν την ελληνική σημαία μες στο κρύο. Δεν βλέπεις τα παιδιά τσολιάδες μες στο κρύο;

Translation:

Lena: You can feel the Greek soul here. The Greeks who yearn to go out and raise the Greek flag high. To show off the Greek people's heroism, their strong souls. In Greece we'd go to the parade and keep thinking of where we'd grab a coffee later. It is also still winter here, when we hold the March 25th parade. Clapping would be even stronger if it was summer. OK, perhaps the visuals are better in Greece, mostly in the military parade. But here you can see the Greek soul. The Greek heart beats stronger abroad.

Emmanouela: Are students proud as well?

Lena: Of course, yes. They want to hold the Greek flag even if the weather is cold. Didn't you see them dressed as tsoliades in the cold?

Stella***The Greek parade in Canada is unrehearsed and students are unwilling to attend it***

Stella expressed her disappointment in the way the Greek parade is carried out in Canada. She noted that it is unrehearsed and that it lacks solemnity, unlike parades in Greece. She also questioned the students' willingness to participate in the parade.

Stella: Η παρέλαση μου φαίνεται πρόχειρη. Και από όλες τις παρελάσεις που έχω δει δηλαδή... Δεν είναι συντεταγμένοι όσοι συμμετέχουν, πολλοί είναι με τον καφέ στο χέρι, οι γονείς είναι μέσα στην παρέλαση... Δεν έχει επισημότητα. Θα περίμενα να έχει μία επισημότητα όπως στην Ελλάδα.

Emmanouela: Τα παιδιά πώς αισθάνονται όταν παίρνουν μέρος στην παρέλαση;

Stella: Το σχολείο τους δίνει κίνητρο για να έρθουν. Δε νομίζω ότι θέλουν να συμμετέχουν.

Translation:

Stella: I think the parade is unrehearsed. And I am speaking for the parades I have attended. There is no coordination, many of them are drinking coffee, the parents are in the middle of the parade. There is no solemnity. I would expect there to be some solemnity like in Greece.

Emmanouela: How do children feel when they participate in the parade?

Stella: The school offers incentives to get them to come. I do not think they want to participate.

Kostas

As years go by, the parade deteriorates

Kostas referred to Greek parades he attended as a child in Toronto and compared them to current ones. According to him, the parade keeps getting worse, as people are no longer adamant about sending their children to honor their predecessors. Kostas asserted that the second generation does not take the parade as seriously as the first generation did, and described the parade's deterioration.

Kostas: Πηγαίνω κάθε χρόνο στην παρέλαση. Νομίζω ότι παλιά είχε πιο πολλά άτομα, αλλά ήμουν και πιο μικρός, οπότε μπορεί να ήταν ιδέα μου. Ακόμα νομίζω ότι έχει πολλά άτομα στην οδό Danforth που γίνεται, αλλά I think every year it's getting worse. Not that I want to be negative. But you hear a lot of excuses and not 'πρέπει να πάμε γιατί είμαστε Έλληνες και πρέπει να τιμήσουμε αυτά που έχουν κάνει οι Έλληνες στο παρελθόν'. Ενώ εμένα οι γονείς μου μου έλεγαν 'θα πας και θα πεις κ ένα τραγούδι. Θα πας, δεν υπάρχει περίπτωση'. Επίσης, οι παρελάσεις παλιά, το βλέπεις, they were more structured. Είχαμε τρεις γραμμές και περπατάγαμε στις τρεις γραμμές. Και αν έμπαινε κανένας πατέρας ή μητέρα, θα λέγανε αυτοί που ήταν εκεί 'όχι'. Δεν έμπαινε κανένας στην παρέλαση just in case you get lost or whatever. Now, you have kids in kindergarten and grade 1 και φοβούνται οι γονείς τους, και περπατάνε και αυτοί και φαίνεται χύμα. Επίσης, τότε δε μιλάγαμε. Τώρα, την ώρα της παρέλασης μιλάει ο καθένας.

Translation:

Kostas: I go to the parade every year. I think there used to be more attendees, but I was also younger, so maybe it was just my impression. I still find that there are many attendees when it takes place on Danforth Street, I just think every year it is getting worse. Not that I want to be negative. But you hear a lot of excuses and not 'we have to go because we are Greeks and we need to honor our predecessors and what they have achieved'. Whereas, my parents would say 'You are going. End of story'. Also, parades in the past were more structured. We formed three lines and paraded in these three lines. And if a father or a mother wanted to enter the parade the people in charge would prevent them from doing so. There were no parents entering the line just in case

you get lost or whatever. Now, you have kids in kindergarten and grade 1, and their parents are afraid, so they enter the line, and it looks bad. Also, we were not talking in the past. Now, everyone is talking during the parade.

Sofia

Parades in Canada are offhand, but they still generate positive feelings

Sofia compared and contrasted the Greek parades in Canada to those that take place in Greece, and found that the former are not as well organized and structured as the latter. Nevertheless, she also identified practical reasons, such as Canada's harsh winter, that do not allow for uniformity, and highlighted that she appreciates the fact that several parents continue to bring their children to the parade.

Sofia: Στην Ελλάδα η παρέλαση είναι θέμα τιμής, θέμα πειθαρχίας, ομοιότητας – πρέπει να φοράς τα ίδια ρούχα, να περπατάς με κοινό βηματισμό- είναι θέμα σχολείου, θέλεις δεν θέλεις θα πας, είσαι υποχρεωμένος, γίνεται εξάσκηση στην αυλή του σχολείου. Εδώ πέρα η παρέλαση, λίαν επιεικώς είναι χύμα. Καταρχήν μπαίνουν μέσα οι γονείς να κρατάνε το παιδί τους. Γιατί δεν ξέρω-τόσοι δάσκαλοι είμαστε. Δεν υπάρχει ομοιομορφία στις στολές. Ο καθένας φοράει ό,τι θέλει. Βέβαια, για να τα λέμε και όλα, δε μπορεί να υπάρχει ομοιομορφία. Γιατί όταν η παρέλαση γίνεται στο -30 °C, τι θα πεις στο παιδί, μη βάλεις το μπουφάν σου; Τέλος πάντων, παρότι είναι ανοργάνωτο, το εκτιμώ. Παρά τους γονείς που μπαίνουν μέσα - σου λένε κιόλας φύγε από τη μέση να το βγάλω φωτογραφία. Τέλος πάντων. Το εκτιμώ πάρα πολύ ότι τα φέρνουν τα παιδιά τους, και χαίρομαι. Δεν τα φέρνουν όλα. Σκέψου στην Κοινότητα έχουμε τόσα σχολεία και πόσα να φέρνουν -100; 150; εκεί, παραπάνω δεν είναι.

Translate:

Sofia: First off, the parade in Greece is an issue of honor, discipline, similarity - you need to wear the same clothes, walk in a common march - it's a school issue, you're obliged to do it, and you practice in the school yard. Parades here, quite honestly, are offhand. Parents walk into them and hold their children. I do not know why, there are so many teachers present after all. There is no uniformity in costumes. Anyone will wear whatever they like. But, to be honest, you can't have much uniformity. When a parade takes place at -30 °C, you cannot ask children not to put on their jacket. Anyway, although it is not well organized, I do appreciate it. Despite the fact that parents barge in and even tell you to move out of the way to take photographs. Anyway... I really appreciate that they bring their children, I am glad. Not everyone attends. In the Community, we have so many schools but only 100 or 150 children participate in parades.

Niki

Greeks in Canada are more passionate during the Greek parade

Niki, who immigrated to Canada in 2016, asserted that parades in Canada made her more emotional than the respective parades in Greece. She explained that people in Canada are more

passionate and care more about the parade than people in Greece, who often take these events for granted. Niki even admitted tearing up when watching Greeks parade in Toronto.

Niki: Συγκίνηση. Θυμάμαι και πέρσι που είχα έναν χρόνο να πάω σε παρέλαση και όταν πήγα δάκρυσα! Εδώ οι άνθρωποι νομίζω είναι πιο παθιασμένοι. Ίσως εγώ το αντιλαμβάνομαι έτσι. Γιατί στην Ελλάδα το θεωρείς και δεδομένο και δεν σε νοιάζει τόσο. Ενώ εδώ βγήκαμε και μαζευτήκαμε, ήμασταν παθιασμένοι, παρόλο που είμαστε μακριά. Κατάλαβες τι εννοώ;

Translation:

Niki: I feel moved. I remember last year; it was my first parade after a whole year and I teared up! I think people are more passionate here. That's the way I see it. Because in Greek you take it for granted and you don't care that much. Here, we gathered up, we were passionate, although we were so far away from Greece. Do you understand what I mean?

Field texts on teachers' practices

First written task (hypothetical scenario)

The participants were asked to respond to a hypothetical scenario taking place in the classroom [Appendix D]. They were provided with pen and paper, and had the time to either draft a written response or keep some short notes. Then, an oral discussion followed, based on the participants' written response. The scenario that was given to the participants was the following: "One of your students refuses to participate in class, does not do the assigned homework, and generally appears to be disengaged. When confronted about their behavior, the student states that they only attend Greek school because they are forced to do so by their parents, and after they finish school, Greek will not be useful to them as opposed to English or French. How do you react?" The participants' responses to the above scenario are included in this section.

Maria

Maria explained that she employs a variety of strategies to deal with this frequent occurrence. She starts by deconstructing the argument that learning a third language is not useful, by providing her immigration story as an example. She also provides specific examples where students' knowledge of Greek would be an asset, and would facilitate their communication, personal relations, or employability. Then, she discusses the benefits of multilingualism in general, and highlights the unique advantages that Greek students in Quebec have in terms of being exposed to multiple languages.

Maria: Αυτό συμβαίνει πάρα πολύ συχνά. Ξεκινώ αποδομώντας με τη λογική το επιχείρημα ότι δεν θα χρησιμεύσουν τα ελληνικά και χρησιμοποιώ το προσωπικό μου παράδειγμα - ούτε εγώ ήξερα δηλαδή ότι θα μου χρησιμεύσουν τα αγγλικά ή τα γαλλικά όταν θα ενηλικιώνόμουν, είτε για σπουδές είτε για να ζήσω εδώ - γενικότερα μιλάω για το απρόβλεπτο του μέλλοντος. Και προχωρώ και σε, ναι, ουσιαστικά είναι και επίκληση στο συναίσθημα αυτό, γιατί τα παιδιά όταν τους δίνεις μια δική σου ιστορία νιώθουν ότι μιλάς σε ένα πιο ανθρώπινο επίπεδο. Όταν χρησιμοποιώ το δικό μου το παράδειγμα είναι πιο έντονη η σύνδεση που νιώθουν. Επίσης, προσπαθώ κιόλας να τους δείξω ότι δεν έχει σημασία που βρίσκονται στον Καναδά, που θεωρούν ότι είναι μια χώρα πολύ πιο προηγμένη από την Ελλάδα. Τους λέω ότι μπορεί να έρθει ένας έρωτας, ή να πάνε διακοπές και να ερωτευτούν την Ελλάδα. Ή ότι μπορεί εδώ να χρειαστεί να δουλέψουν σε μία δουλειά που τα ελληνικά θα είναι κάτι για το οποίο θα τους προσλάβουν -μία θέση για παράδειγμα σε customer service που έχει προϋπόθεση και τα ελληνικά. Ή το προξενείο, ή κάτι τέτοιο, δηλαδή τους δίνω και τέτοιες εναλλακτικές. Τους λέω λοιπόν ιστορίες μετανάστευσης, ιστορίες επαγγελματικής πορείας αλλά και ακαδημαϊκής πορείας. Μετά τους αναφέρω και πλεονεκτήματα της πολυγλωσσίας - δηλαδή, ενδυνάμωση του εγκεφάλου, αποφυγή ασθενειών, ότι βοηθά με την ευφυΐα, την καλύτερη ακαδημαϊκή πορεία, επαγγελματική πορεία, την καλύτερη κατανόηση του κόσμου. Και αν κάποιος πει 'αν χρειαστεί να μεταναστεύσω θα τα μάθω τότε', εκεί τους υπογραμμίζω το πόσο σημαντικό είναι το γεγονός ότι είναι πολύ νέοι και ο εγκεφαλός τους είναι πολύ εύπλαστος κι ότι έχουν προβάδισμα σε σχέση με το να έκαναν αυτή την προσπάθεια αργότερα ή και σε σχέση με όλα τα παιδιά στην Ελλάδα -κι έπειτα τους παρουσιάζω την εικόνα την ελληνική που έχουμε σχεδόν πάντα καθηγητές που δεν είναι φυσικοί ομιλητές στις ξένες γλώσσες, που δεν έχουμε εικόνες και καθημερινότητα σε άλλες γλώσσες πλην της ελληνικής, ούτε παπούδες, ούτε στο δρόμο μιλάει κάποιος αγγλικά και γαλλικά ή κάποια άλλη ξένη γλώσσα και έτσι τους δίνω και μία τέτοια προοπτική, και τους δείχνω ότι ουσιαστικά καταλαβαίνω, είναι δύσκολο, αλλά δεν είναι και ανυπέρβλητο εμπόδιο.

Translation:

Maria: This is a very common occurrence. I start off by using reason to deconstruct the argument that Greek won't be useful to them, employing examples from my personal experience. My personal experience is that I did not know that English or French would be useful to me as an adult, either for studies or to live here. In general, I mention how unpredictable the future is. And yes, this is an emotional argument, because when you provide a personal story to children, they feel like you're speaking to them on a more humane level. When I use my own example, I feel a stronger connection with students. I'm also trying to show them that it does not matter that they are in Canada, which they consider a much more advanced country than Greece. I tell them how unpredictable life is and how they could indeed end up in Greece or that they may fall in love, they may go to Greece for vacation and fall in love with the country itself. Or that they may have a job here where Greek will be an asset for their hiring - for instance, working in customer service which needs Greek knowledge. Or at the consulate or something like that, I always provide them with alternatives. So, I tell them stories about immigration, stories about a professional and academic career. And then I state the advantages of multilingualism, that is, brain strengthening, avoidance of diseases, enhanced intelligence, better academic course, professional

career, better and more profound understanding of the world. And, if someone says “if I need to immigrate I will learn the language then”, I stress that they're still very young and their brain is much more flexible and they have a head start by doing this now instead of later. And I even make the comparison with children in Greece. I present them the conditions in Greece, where we mostly have language instructors who are not native speakers, we don't have input in our daily lives in languages other than Greek, we don't have relatives speaking other languages and there are not people on the streets speaking English or French or another foreign language. So, I give them some perspective and tell them that I do realize it's difficult, but it's not something that they can't do.

George

George also stressed that this attitude is very common among students and explained the sequence of steps he takes to handle such incidents. He starts by having a conversation with the child who appears to be disengaged, and tries to understand their background. Then, he turns to the whole class and explains that both English and French, their two other languages, are based on Greek. He writes Greek words that have been borrowed by the other two languages on the board, to help students see the information as opposed to just hearing it. He then stresses the importance of Greek for the students' communication with their grandparents, but also for their own sense of belonging. Finally, he also connects the knowledge of Greek to students' future employability.

George: Αυτό έχει συμβεί κατ' επανάληψη. Στην αρχή, μια απογοήτευση την παίρνω. Το παίρνω προσωπικά. Αλλά παρ' όλη την αρχική πικρία, που πιο πολύ μένει εσωτερικά, δεν το εξωτερικεύω, προσπαθώ να καταλάβω το μαθητή. Προσπαθώ να καταλάβω αυτό το παιδί, συζητώντας μαζί του, μπαίνω σε έναν διάλογο, και να μάθω περαιτέρω για το δικό του το background. Στη συνέχεια, απευθύνομαι στο σύνολο. Ορμώμενος από το περιστατικό το ένα, προσπαθώ και βρίσκω στοιχεία για να εμπνεύσω τα παιδιά και να τους δείξω ότι και η αγγλική και η γαλλική, στη βάση τους στηρίζονται στα ελληνικά -στις επιστήμες, στη φιλοσοφία, στις τέχνες, στα γράμματα, στην ιατρική... προσπαθώ να αναφερθώ σε λέξεις ελληνικές που χρησιμοποιούν στην καθημερινότητά τους χωρίς να το αντιλαμβάνονται ότι είναι ελληνικές. Γράφω λέξεις στον πίνακα, ή μία φράση, μία παροιμία, γιατί θέλω να έχουν και οπτική επαφή με τη γνώση. Και θίγω το θέμα της σύνδεσης παρελθόντος και μέλλοντος. Το παρελθόν είναι οι πρόγονοί μας, ο παππούς και η γιαγιά, οι συγγενείς που όταν θα κατέβουμε Ελλάδα θα πρέπει να συνεννοηθούμε. Οι ρίζες λοιπόν. Και το μέλλον τους -δηλαδή τα ίδια τα παιδιά. Όλοι έχουμε τον καημό να δούμε από πού προερχόμαστε και πού πηγαίνουμε. Και τέλος, συνδέω τη γνώση της ελληνικής και με την επαγγελματική αποκατάσταση. Αν κάποιος θέλει να βρει δουλειά στις επιστήμες, μπορεί πιο εύκολα... λόγω της ορολογίας. Ή μπορούν ακόμη και να διδάξουν ελληνικά στο μέλλον. Άρα και για επαγγελματική αποκατάσταση. Άλλωστε, κάποιοι Ελληνοκαναδοί γύρισαν και στην Ελλάδα, οπότε είναι κι αυτό μία πιθανότητα. Άρα και η επαγγελματική αποκατάσταση δεν είναι μόνο στον Καναδά αλλά και εκτός.

Translation:

George: This has happened many times. At first, I feel disappointed. I take it personally. Despite the initial bitterness, that I do not express, I try to understand my student. I try to understand this child, by talking with him, engaging in a dialogue, and learning more details about his own background. Then, I address the entire class. Starting from this incident, I try to find ways to inspire children and show them that both English and French are based on Greek - on sciences, philosophy, the arts, literature, medicine... I try to provide Greek words they use in their daily lives without realizing they are Greek. I write words on the board, or a phrase, a proverb, because I also want them to have a visual contact with knowledge. Then I address the issue of the link between the past and the future. Our past is our ancestors, our grandparents, the relatives we will want to talk to when we go to Greece. Our roots. The future is the children themselves. We all ponder where we came from and where we are headed. Finally, I connect knowledge of Greek with their professional careers. If someone wants a job in sciences, it is easier for them... because of the terminology. Or they can even teach Greek in the future. So, it offers professional safety as well. Some Greek-Canadians even returned to Greece, so that is another option. They can find a job both in Canada and abroad.

Anna

Anna explained she also has a variety of strategies for handling such incidents. When faced with this attitude, she begins by stressing the significance of Greek, stating that it is the *mother of all languages*, as well as part of the students' heritage. She refers to the fact that Greek is not merely a language Greeks use for communication, but a language in which values and morals are embedded. Finally, she tries to understand the exact reason why the student feels disengaged and distanced from Greek, and either encourages them or reminds them of everything they have achieved while learning the language.

Anna: Έχει τύχει αρκετές φορές αυτό. Προσπαθώ πάντοτε να τους προσεγγίσω, μιλώντας για την αξία των ελληνικών. Εξαρτάται βέβαια και από την τάξη -δηλαδή αν το παιδί είναι μικρότερο ή μεγαλύτερο. Για παράδειγμα, τους αναφέρω ότι τα ελληνικά είναι η μητέρα όλων των γλωσσών και είναι προτέρημα να την μαθαίνουμε, και μάλιστα ανήκει στην κληρονομιά μας. Ότι δεν πρόκειται απλά για μία γλώσσα με την οποία επικοινωνούμε, αλλά για μια γλώσσα με βαθύτερες αξίες. Προσπαθώ δηλαδή να τους δώσω να καταλάβουν όχι απλά πόσο τυχεροί είναι αλλά και πόσο περήφανοι θα πρέπει να νιώθουν που είναι σε θέση να μιλάνε μία γλώσσα όπως η ελληνική. Αν το παιδί είναι έφηβος, θα το συνδέσω και με τις εμπειρίες του με τους Έλληνες φίλους του. Θα είχε τη δυνατότητα να γνωρίσει τους φίλους του αν δεν ερχόταν να μάθει τα ελληνικά; Καταλαβαίνω ότι ένα παιδί μπορεί να νιώθει πίεση, αλλά θέλω να καταλάβω γιατί νιώθει πίεση. Δηλαδή θέλω να καταλάβω -πίσω από το 'οι γονείς μου θέλουν, εγώ δεν θέλω' υπάρχει κάτι άλλο που κρύβεται. Έτσι το βλέπω εγώ. Και είναι πολύ πιθανό αυτό το παιδί να πιέζεται επειδή του φαίνεται πολύ δύσκολο να μάθει ελληνικά. Στο δημοτικό είναι λίγο πιο δεδομένο ότι συμβαίνει, γιατί

μαθαίνει άλλες δύο γλώσσες το παιδί. Άρα, θα του πω ότι ναι είναι δύσκολο να μάθεις ελληνικά, αλλά μπράβο σου που είσαι εδώ και μαθαίνεις. Στο λύκειο, μία άρνηση έχει μάλλον να κάνει με την κούραση που νιώθει ένας έφηβος. Και εκεί θα τον βάλω να σκεφτεί και να αναλογιστεί όλα αυτά που έχει κερδίσει -ότι δεν είναι μάταια όλα αυτά που έχει κάνει. Είναι αυτή η ψυχολογία των εφήβων, ότι αυτά που κάνω είναι μάταια, και θα προσπαθήσω να του δείξω ότι όχι, δεν είναι έτσι. Και σίγουρα κάτι μέσα σου σε φέρνει στο σχολείο -δε μπορεί, είσαι μεγάλο παιδί, δεν μπορεί να θέλουν μόνο οι γονείς σου να έρχεσαι. Και μετά από αυτή την κουβέντα, βλέπεις ότι αλλάζει και η στάση των παιδιών.

Translation:

Anna: This has happened many times. I always try to approach them, talking about the value of Greek. It also depends on the class - whether the child is younger or older. For instance, I mention that Greek is the mother of all languages and it is an advantage when you know how to speak it, it is part of our heritage. It is not just a language we use to communicate, it is also a language with deeper values. I try to help them understand not just how lucky but also how proud they should be feeling that they're able to speak a language like Greek. When the child is an adolescent, I try linking the language with their experiences and Greek friends. Would they have been able to meet their friends if they did not come here to learn Greek? I understand that a child may be feeling pressure, but I want to understand the reasons behind this. I want to understand what lies behind "my parents want me to come, I don't". That is the way I see it. It is very likely that this child feels pressure because they face difficulties in learning Greek. At primary school, this is more common, as children are learning two other languages as well. So, I will tell them that yes, it is difficult learning Greek, but good for you that you're here and doing it. In High School, this will probably be related to the fatigue an adolescent feels. I try to make adolescents ponder everything they have achieved - that they were not in vain. This is the adolescent psychology, that all they do is in vain, and then I try to show them that no, this is not the case. And certainly, you have a reason that brings you to school - you're older now, it can't be just your parents asking you to do this. There is something else at play. And after having this talk, you see the children's attitudes changing.

Lena

Lena, the participant with the longest experience in the Greek schools, argued that when incidents like this occur, students need to be reminded of the importance of Greek in a manner that will make them zealous about Greek. She acknowledged that not all teachers agree with her approach, but argued that, in her experience, this is the way to preserve Greek. She explained that she stresses the importance of the language not just for Greeks, but for everyone, given its contribution to the sciences, culture and history. According to Lena, the root of the problem is that students place greater emphasis on their two other languages, and ultimately fail to see how the Greek language and history are relevant to them.

Lena: Ναι, αυτό λένε. Αρχίζω και λέω την ιστορία του Έλληνα που ήταν στην Κατοχή, για τους ήρωες που κράτησαν τη χώρα, και τους εξηγώ τη σημασία της ελληνικής γλώσσας, όχι μόνο για εμάς που είμαστε Έλληνες, αλλά τη σημασία της για όλον τον κόσμο. Τους λέω για τις λέξεις της ιατρικής που είναι όλες ελληνικές, τους λέω για τη δημοκρατία και πόσο περήφανοι θα έπρεπε να είναι για την ελληνική γλώσσα. Είναι μία γλώσσα που ο κόσμος όλος θα έπρεπε να μιλάει, που έδωσε την ιατρική, τη φυσική, τα μαθηματικά - 'ποια άλλη γλώσσα τα έδωσε όλα αυτά;' τους λέω- τους λέω για το Μέγα Αλέξανδρο -τους δίνω τέτοια παραδείγματα και λένε στο τέλος ότι είναι περήφανοι. Τι μπαίνει και τι δεν μπαίνει δεν ξέρω, πάντως συμφωνούν. Υπενθύμιση θέλουν. Τους λέω ξέρεις τι σημαίνει να είσαι Έλληνας; Και πόσοι πέθαναν για να είσαι εσύ Έλληνας; Τους εμψυχώνω, τους κάνω να νιώθουν τόσο περήφανοι που είναι Έλληνες... Ίσως να είναι λάθος, δεν συμφωνούν όλοι οι δάσκαλοι. Εγώ τους φανατίζω, γιατί το βλέπω ότι αλλιώς θα τα χάσουμε τα ελληνικά. Έτσι μας έμαθαν κι εμάς. Αλλά αυτό υπάρχει και στο καθημερινό και στο σαββατιανό - η έμφαση είναι στις άλλες γλώσσες. Λένε γιατί μας κουράζετε με τα ελληνικά, την ιστορία, που θα τα καταλάβουμε και πού θα τα συναντήσουμε;

Translation:

Lena: Yes, that is what they are saying. I start by telling the story of Greeks under German Occupation, about the heroes who kept the country alive, and I explain to them the importance of the Greek language, not just for us as Greeks, but its importance for the entire world. I tell them about words in medicine, which are all Greek, I tell them about democracy, and how proud they should be of the Greek language. All people should be speaking this language. This language that gave us medicine, physics, mathematics - is there another language that has done all that? I tell them about Alexander the Great, I give them examples like that and in the end, they say they feel proud. I am not sure what they keep from all that, but they do agree. They just need to be reminded of all that. I tell them, do you know what it means to be a Greek? How many people had to die for you to be a Greek? I try to inspire them; I make them feel proud of being Greek... Perhaps it is a mistake, not all teachers agree with this. I try to make them zealous; otherwise, I am sure we will lose Greek. That is how we were taught. And there are children with this attitude both in the day and the Saturday school. There is more emphasis on the other two languages. They say, why bother with Greek and history, when will all that be useful to us?

Stella

Stella explained that when students are disengaged, she tries to find ways to motivate them. She invites students to use Greek as a secret language that only they and their Greek friends can understand. She also encourages students whose parents are not Greek to assume the role of the teacher, and help them learn some Greek words. Finally, she stresses that the future is unpredictable, and that students may find themselves in situations where they will need to know the language.

Stella: Θα προσπαθήσω να του δώσω κίνητρο και να του πω ότι μπορεί να το χρησιμοποιήσει σαν μία μυστική γλώσσα με κάποιον άλλο που ξέρει ελληνικά όταν δεν θα θέλει να τον καταλαβαίνουν οι άλλοι. Αν οι γονείς του δεν είναι ελληνικής καταγωγής, θα του πω ότι θα μπορούσε να μπει στη θέση του δασκάλου και να διδάξει στους γονείς του κάποιες ελληνικές λέξεις. Φυσικά αν είναι και σε πιο μεγάλη ηλικία θα προσπαθήσω να τον πείσω με τα λόγια, ότι είναι καλό να ξέρει πολλές γλώσσες και δεν ξέρει τι θα του χρειαστεί στο μέλλον. Να επικαλεστώ δηλαδή τη λογική του. Μπορεί στην πορεία της ζωής του να του χρειαστεί κάτι που τώρα το θεωρεί περιττό. Επίσης πολλές φορές τους λέω θα πάτε ένα ταξίδι στην Ελλάδα, να μην καταλαβαίνετε τι λένε οι άλλοι; Κι επειδή αρκετοί από αυτούς πηγαίνουν Ελλάδα, τους φαίνεται χρήσιμο.

Translation:

Stella: I would try to motivate him and tell him that he can use this as a secret language with other people who speak Greek, when he does not want others to understand what he is saying. If his parents are not Greeks, I will tell him that he can try to serve as a teacher and teach a few Greek words to them. If the student is older, I will try to talk to him and convince him that it is good to speak many languages. You never know what you may need in the future. I appeal to his logic. At some point, he may find a use for something that seems useless now. Many times, I also tell them, 'say you visit Greece, wouldn't you want to understand what's being said?' And since many of them travel to Greece, they find this useful.

Kostas

Kostas listed numerous strategies that he employs to motivate students. According to him, his first choice is to make students feel guilt for not knowing the language. He tells white lies making them fear that people in Greece will make fun of them for not knowing how to use the language. Then, he changes his strategy and discusses the advantages of knowing Greek, highlighting its numerous root words and the fact that the terminology in sciences is usually Greek. For older students, he also stresses the social gains of knowing Greek and the fact that it is a prerequisite for finding and getting married to another Greek person. He then tries to win over the students by presenting his personal experience learning Greek in the same school as them. If all the above do not work, he tries to find out the students' interests and use them to gain their attention.

Kostas: Guilt; I would tell him 'Και άμα πας Ελλάδα ρε θα σε κοροϊδεύουνε.' εγώ έτσι το χειρίζομαι γιατί μου αρέσει να έχω rapport με το μαθητή κι όχι να είμαι typical teacher. Sometimes the kids need someone to talk to; they do not need someone to teach them. And then when you get that, you can ξεκλειδώσει the barrier. I am also younger, so I can connect easier with the students. Θα έλεγα κανένα ψέμα, ότι πάνε φίλοι μου στην Ελλάδα και ο παππούς και η γιαγιά γελάνε γιατί δεν ξέρουν ελληνικά. It is not the best, but that is what I do. Μετά θα τους έλεγα για το πλεονέκτημα που

έχει αυτή η γλώσσα αν θέλουν να προχωρήσουν σε σπουδές ιατρικής, αν θέλουν να γίνουν δικηγόροι, because of the fact that many root words come from Greek. If the student is younger, they will not know, but if the student is older, they will be able to make a connection right away that half the words are Greek. And also I would say that generally, knowing another language usually puts you higher than the rest. Also, depending on their age I would say ‘how are you going to find a nice Greek girl?’ - Αυτό το κλασικό, αλλά θα το έλεγα. Straight up, δε με νοιάζει. Then I would connect to personal experience. Θα τους έλεγα ότι you are going through a phase that I went through, and I want you to stay because soon you are going to realize that this is something that you will cherish for the rest of your life. And I would talk about the social gains you get; friends etc. There are times when I tell the students –στα ίσια, γιατί έχει γίνει τόσο πολλές φορές- ‘Don’t you want to go out with another five Greek friends and be able to talk without others being able to understand you? Don’t you want to go to concerts or something that is μόνο ελληνικό;’ I also tell them that when they have friends who are not Greek, with different cultures, religion, everything, sometimes it is hard because you lose connection after school. When you leave school, you start making or keeping friendships with people who are similar and have the same interests as you. Then I would see what their interests are. So, if one kid likes history, I would connect some sort of Greek History to the history they like –αντί να μιλάω μόνο για το World War, θα έλεγα τι έκανε η Ελλάδα στο World War. Somehow, so they have ties. So, if they realize that their προπαππούς was in the πόλεμος, that will be enough to get them going. It’s very hard this question, because it depends on the kid. That’s why I gave a lot of different answers. You have to πιάσει them. Sometimes you πιάσει them with δεν θα βρεις καμία γκόμενα and sometimes you πιάσει them with history.

Translation:

Kostas: Guilt; I would tell him ‘What if you go to Greece and people make fun of you?’ This is how I handle this incident, because I like to have a rapport with the student and not be a typical teacher. Sometimes the kids need someone to talk to; they do not need someone to teach them. And then when you get that, you can unlock the barrier. I am also younger, so I can connect easier with the students. I would also tell a white lie; like that my friends go to Greece and their grandparents laugh at them because they do not know Greek. It is not the best, but that is what I do. Then, I would tell that about the advantages of this language if they want to pursue medicine or law studies, because of the fact that many root words come from Greek. If the student is younger, they will not know, but if the student is older, they will be able to make a connection right away that half the words are Greek. And also I would say that generally, knowing another language usually puts you higher than the rest. Also, depending on their age I would say ‘how are you going to find a nice Greek girl?’ -It is a classic, but I would use it. Straight up, I do not care. Then I would connect to personal experience. I would tell them “you are going through a phase that I went through, and I want you to stay because soon you are going to realize that this is something that you will cherish for the rest of your life”. And I would talk about the social gains you get; friends etc. There are times when I tell the students –straight up, because this has happened so many times- ‘Don’t you want to go out with another five Greek friends and be able to talk without others being able to understand you? Don’t

you want to go to concerts or something that is Greek only?’ I also tell them that when they have friends who are not Greek, with different cultures, religion, everything, sometimes it is hard because you lose connection after school. When you leave school, you start making or keeping friendships with people who are similar and have the same interests as you. Then I would see what their interests are. So, if one kid likes history, I would connect some sort of Greek History to the history they like -instead of just talking about the World War, I would refer to Greece’s role in the World War. Somehow, so they have ties. So, if they realize that their great-grandfather was in the war, that will be enough to get them going. It is very hard this question, because it depends on the kid. That is why I gave many different answers. You have to win them over. Sometimes you do so with “you will not be able to find a Greek girl” and sometimes with history.

Sofia

Sofia presents students with occasions in which they may need to use Greek. She also highlights that knowing the language will bring them closer to their grandparents. However, according to Sofia, these strategies do not always work. According to her, the most effective strategy is to identify each student’s unique interests and adjust her teaching methods to them. She explained that she has often used music, board games, and even karaoke to teach Greek. She admitted, however, that it is more difficult to win over older students, and explained that in such cases she emphasizes that if students find themselves in Greece, they will realize that Greek is indispensable for their communication. Finally, Sofia also goes as far as to tell students that in order to be Greek, they need to speak the language and that otherwise, people may question their Greekness.

Sofia: Μου το λένε συνέχεια αυτό τα παιδιά. Δεν πανικοβάλλομαι όταν μου λένε τέτοια πράγματα τα παιδιά, γιατί τα έχω ζήσει και τα έχω μέσα μου. Όταν ήμουν μικρή με πίεζαν διάφοροι συγγενείς και γνωστοί να μάθω αρμένικα και να παντρευτώ Αρμένι. Τα ξέρω λοιπόν αυτά, δεν πανικοβάλλομαι, αλλά τους εξηγώ ότι θα τους χρειαστούν τα ελληνικά. Τους λέω ‘μπορεί να πας στην Ελλάδα, πρέπει να ξέρεις να μιλάς. Θα πρέπει να μιλήσεις με τον παππού και τη γιαγιά που δεν ξέρουν καλά αγγλικά, θα πρέπει να ξέρεις ελληνικά, και όσο πιο καλά ελληνικά ξέρεις, τόσο πιο κοντά θα έρθεις στον παππού και στη γιαγιά, γιατί θα καταλαβαίνεστε’. Δεν τους αλλάζω άποψη. Δεν είναι εύκολο. Πρέπει να βρεις το κουμπί τους. Ας πούμε έχω βρει ότι σε κάποια παιδιά αρέσει η μουσική, οπότε τους κάνω τραγούδια στα ελληνικά. Τους εξηγώ τις λέξεις για να καταλαβαίνουν τι λέει το τραγούδι και τους αρέσει. Κάποια άλλα θέλουν τις χειροτεχνίες, οπότε τα βάζω και κάνουν χειροτεχνίες με τα γράμματα της αλφαβήτου ας πούμε. Με άλλα παιδιά παίζω παιχνίδια και τους αρέσει -παίζουμε φιδάκι ή μονόπολη, αλλά πρέπει να μιλάνε ελληνικά. Ή σε ένα άλλο παιδί που κάνουμε ιδιαίτερα, του βάζω караόκε. Αυτός ξέρει να διαβάζει και του αρέσουν κάτι τραγούδια ελληνικά -όχι ποιότητας, κάτι τσιφτετέλια. Του τα βάζω λοιπόν στο караόκε και τον βάζω να τα τραγουδάει και να διαβάζει. Αυτό του αρέσει. Άρα, για

να καταλήξω, δεν πρέπει να σκέφτεσαι ότι θα τους κάνεις απλά ελληνικά, αλλά πρέπει να δεις τι θα τους κερδίσει. Σε μεγαλύτερα παιδιά έχω πρόβλημα πραγματικό. Σε αυτά τα παιδιά έχω αρχίσει και λέω ότι ‘θα βρείτε κάποιον Έλληνα να κάνετε σχέση ή να παντρευτείτε και πώς θα συνεννοείστε; Ή τους το πάω αλλού -τους λέω ‘θα πάτε διακοπές στην Ελλάδα, θα πείτε ότι είστε Έλληνες και δεν θα μιλάτε ελληνικά; Και αν σας προσβάλλει κάποιος; Δε μπορεί να είστε Έλληνες, να έχετε ελληνικά ονόματα και να μη μιλάτε’.

Translation:

Sofia: Children keep telling me this. I do not panic when I hear stuff like that, because I have experienced this and I am familiar with it. When I was younger, my relatives and acquaintances would pressure me into learning Armenian and marry an Armenian man. So, I'm familiar with this, I don't panic, but I explain to children that they will need Greek. I tell them, “you may go to Greece; you need to be able to speak. You need to be able to speak with your grandparents who don't speak English well, you need to speak Greek, and the better command you have, the closer you will be with your grandparents, because you'll understand each other”. I do not change their minds. It is not easy. You need to find what works for each of them. For instance, I have found that some children enjoy music so I teach them songs in Greek. I explain the words so that they understand what the song is about and they like this. Others prefer crafts, so I ask them to make something using the alphabet letters. With other children we play games and they like it - things like snakes and ladders or Monopoly, but they must speak Greek during the game. I offer private tuition to a child and I ask him to sing karaoke. He knows how to read and he likes some Greek songs - not good songs, some *tsiftetelia*³. So, I play them on karaoke and ask him to sing and read. He enjoys that. So, to sum up, you should not focus on just teaching them Greek, you need to find what will win them over. With older ones I have an actual problem. I have started telling these children that “you'll find a Greek person to start a relationship or get married - how will you be speaking to each other?” Or I try a different approach, I tell them, “You will go on vacation to Greece, you'll say you're Greek but you won't be speaking Greek? What if someone offends you? You can't be Greeks, have Greek names and not speak Greek.”

Niki

Niki also admitted that students often have this attitude, and appear to be disengaged. To win over her students, Niki uses her laptop to show some photos from Greece. She tries to inspire students by showing them what she likes about Greece, as she believes that the only way to get students to love the language is to get them to love the country first. Finally, with older students, whom she finds more difficult to convince, she uses a common strategy; she tries to lure them with the prospect of a romance with another Greek person.

Niki: Κοίτα, αυτό είναι το βασικό πράγμα που συμβαίνει στα ελληνικά σχολεία. Είναι το πρόβλημα που συναντούν όλοι οι δάσκαλοι. Αυτό που είχα κάνει εγώ είναι ότι είχα

³ The Tsifteteli (Greek: τσιφτετέλι; Turkish: Çiftetelli), is a type of music and dance of Anatolia and the Balkans.

φέρει τον υπολογιστή μου, που είχα φωτογραφίες από Ελλάδα - παραλίες, έξω, ανθρώπους, γέλιο, φαγητά- και άρχισα και τους έλεγα για την Ελλάδα και τι ωραία που είναι, και γιατί να είσαι περήφανος που είσαι Έλληνας, και τι έχουμε κάνει ως Έλληνες, την ιστορία μας. Προσπαθώ να παθιαστούν, προσπαθώ να αγαπήσουν την Ελλάδα μέσα από τα δικά μου τα μάτια. Μόνο αν αγαπήσουν την Ελλάδα θα αγαπήσουν και τα ελληνικά. Αν είναι πιο μεγάλα τα παιδιά τους λέω και το κλασικό ‘θα πας στην Ελλάδα θα γνωρίσεις μια Ελληνίδα ή έναν Έλληνα και τι θα κάνεις;’ Κάτι τέτοιο, στο δικό τους κόσμο. Ε, γελάνε. Τα πιο μικρά που τους δείχνω φωτογραφίες από Ελλάδα είναι πιο εύκολα -τους αρέσει. Τα πιο μεγάλα, πιο δύσκολα. Είναι όλα θέμα σπιτιού όμως. Αν ο γονιός από όταν είναι μικρά λέει ‘έλα μωρέ η Ελλάδα, σιγά’, έτσι θα είναι και η στάση των παιδιών μετά.

Translation:

Niki: This is the most common thing happening in Greek schools. It's an issue faced by all teachers. What I had done is that I'd brought along my laptop, with photographs from Greece - beaches, walking outdoors, people, laughing, eating - and I started telling them about Greece and how beautiful it is, and why one should feel proud of being Greek, what we've done as Greek people, our history. I am trying to get them excited; I am trying to get them to love Greece through my own perspective. Only if they manage to love Greece, will they love Greek as well. With older children, I say the usual thing: "you'll visit Greece, meet a Greek person and then what? You won't be able to talk to them!" Something like that, adjusted to their reality. Well, they laugh. With younger children, it is easier; I show them photographs from Greece, and they like that. It is harder with older children. But it starts at home. If the parents tell their children things like "Greece, big deal", this is the attitude they will have.

Second written task

Participants were asked to complete a second written task, which was focused on learners' different levels of familiarity with Greek [Appendix F]. The participants were asked to reflect on an incident where the students' different levels became an obstacle, and explain how they overcame this difficulty. Once again, they were provided with pen and paper, and were given the time to draft their response before engaging in an oral discussion. The participants' responses are included in this section.

Maria

Maria claimed that students' different levels of familiarity with Greek had never been an obstacle in her class. She explained that having students with different levels is a common occurrence in the Greek HL classes, and presented her strategy for accommodating the students' various needs. She asserted that the school's flexibility, allows her to create her own sets of activities as supplements to the teaching materials she uses, and that in these sets of activities she

includes both easy and more difficult tasks. She added that she always insists that her students put maximum effort in all the activities, and grades them according to their individual progress. She also has extra activities for more advanced students, and sometimes seats Greek native speakers close to less advanced HL learners to help them with difficult activities. Finally, she noted that she prefers individual to group projects, because she finds that the former can provide a clearer image of each student's efforts and progress, and because she finds that Quebec's educational system overemphasizes the latter.

Maria: Δε μπορώ να σκεφτώ ένα συγκεκριμένο περιστατικό. Το γεγονός ότι έχουν διαφορετικά επίπεδα δεν έχει αποτελέσει ποτέ εμπόδιο πραγματικό μέσα στην τάξη, κάτι που να με προβληματίσει. Ίσως έχει να κάνει με το ότι φτιάχνω κάθε φορά, ακριβώς επειδή δεν υπάρχει περιορισμός στο τι μάθημα θα κάνεις, φτιάχνω εγώ το πλάνο του μαθήματος και τις ασκήσεις, και προσέχω κάθε επίπεδο να είναι προσβάσιμο από τους μαθητές. Και τους εξηγώ ότι θα υπάρχουν και εύκολες και δύσκολες ασκήσεις και να προσπαθούν για όλα. Δε δέχομαι κάποιος να σνομπάρει τις ασκήσεις μου ως πολύ εύκολες. Θέλω να καταλαβαίνουν όλοι μου οι μαθητές ότι είναι σε διαδικασία μάθησης. Ακόμα και οι άριστοι. Και καθιστώ σαφές πάντα στους μαθητές μου ότι δεν με νοιάζει αν κάποιος είναι κακός μαθητής. Εμένα με νοιάζει να υπάρχει εξέλιξη για όλους. Επειδή έχουμε πάντα διαφορετικά επίπεδα νομίζω ότι είναι πολύ καλή μέθοδος αυτή- να βάζεις στο μυαλό όλων των μαθητών ότι όλοι έχουν έρθει εκεί για να γίνουν καλύτεροι σε σχέση με το δικό τους επίπεδο. Και δεν ανταγωνίζονται κανέναν άλλο. Γιατί πολλά παιδιά ξεκινούν από τελείως διαφορετικές αφετηρίες μεταξύ τους ως προς την εξοικείωσή τους με τα ελληνικά. Επίσης, βάζω αυτούς που έρχονται από την Ελλάδα με εκείνους που είναι από εδώ για να τους βοηθούν. Δε μου έχει τύχει ποτέ να είναι 50-50, αλλά προσπαθώ να τους κάνω αυτούς που έχουν μεγαλύτερη εξοικείωση με τα ελληνικά, βοηθούς μου. Επίσης προσπαθώ να τους κρατάω σε εγρήγορση με το να τους δίνω έξτρα ασκήσεις. Έχω πάντα έξτρα ασκήσεις ή ιδέες για το τι να κάνουν οι μαθητές που είναι πιο γρήγοροι. Και τους βάζω και ατομικές εργασίες. Γενικότερα τα αποφεύγω τα ομαδικά πρότζεκτ γιατί αυτή η ομαδικότητα γενικότερα ενισχύεται έντονα σε όλους τους εκπαιδευτικούς κύκλους εδώ στο Κεμπέκ. Ξέρουν να κάνουν ομαδικά πρότζεκτ, αλλά δεν ξέρουν καλά ελληνικά. Οπότε, προσπαθώ να κάνουν ατομική προσπάθεια και για να αξιολογώ το πού βρίσκονται και να μπορώ να τους βοηθήσω, αλλά και για να κάνουν πραγματική προσπάθεια. Να μην κρύβονται πίσω από κάποιον άλλο.

Translation:

Maria: I can't come up with a specific incident. The fact that there are students of different levels has never caused an actual problem in class, something that proved to be difficult. Maybe it is because, since there are no limitations on the way you teach, I always prepare the lesson plan and my own set of activities, and I make sure it's accessible on every level by all students. And I explain to them that there are easy and difficult exercises and they should put an effort in all of them. I will not take a student snubbing my exercises as too easy. I want all my students to understand that they are in the process of learning. Even the excellent ones. And I explain to my students that

I don't care if someone is a bad student. I want all of them to show progress. We always deal with different levels and I think this is a very good method - explaining to all students that they're here to become better in relation to their own level. And they are not competing with anyone else. Many children have completely different starting points with regard to familiarization with Greek. Also, I seat those coming from Greece next to the locals, so that they can help them. I have never had a 50-50 proportion, but I always try to turn those who are more familiar with Greek into my assistants. I also try to keep them interested by providing extra activities. I always have extra work for those who need less time for an activity. And I also give them individual projects. Generally, I avoid group projects, because teamwork is already strongly supported in all educational levels here in Quebec. The students know how to do group projects - they do not know how to speak Greek well though. So, I try to reinforce their personal effort, rate their individual performance and assist them. I want them to make a real effort and not hide behind a team.

George

George admitted that such incidents had taken place in his class, and recalled two cases of students who could not keep up with their peers. The first student had poor reading comprehension in Greek, and had anxiety attacks when she could not understand what was being discussed in class. The second student appeared to be disengaged, but a closer look revealed he only appeared to be indifferent, because he had great difficulty writing in Greek. George tried to help the students by offering individualized instruction and by always treating them as parts of the team.

George: Ναι, υπάρχει τέτοιο περιστατικό. Είχα μία μαθήτριά, με κρίσεις άγχους επειδή δεν καταλάβαινε τις λέξεις μέσα στο κείμενο, τίποτα. Καθίσαμε σε ένα διάλειμμα, μόνο με αυτή, και της είπα θα σε βοηθήσω αυτό το κείμενο που σε τρομάζει να το καταλάβεις. Καθίσαμε, το πήγαμε λέξη-λέξη και την είδα που αναθάρρησε. Άρχισε να νιώθει μία σιγουριά, κι ότι δεν την άφησα να πελαγώνει. Αυτό ήταν ένα περιστατικό. Εξατομικευμένα έδρασα, όσο μπορούσα βέβαια. Γιατί είναι δύσκολο να ασχολείσαι με έναν μόνο μαθητή όλη την χρονιά -θα έπρεπε να αφήσω όλους τους άλλους. Προσπαθούσα να ασχολούμαι εξατομικευμένα όσο μπορούσα, ξέκλεβα χρόνο, όταν υπαγόρευα ας πούμε -ή όταν έβαζα εργασία πήγαινα κοντά, της εξηγούσα λέξεις... αλλά ήταν μία πρόκληση. Άλλο case study, ήταν ένας μαθητής που πρέπει να είχε κάποιο συμπεριφορικό πρόβλημα. Έδειχνε άρνηση στο να συμμετέχει στην όλη εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία. Κοιμόταν, ερχόταν αργά, έπαιζε με το κινητό... κατάλαβα ότι δεν μπορούσε να γράψει καλά. Όταν τους έβαζα να γράψουν, μου έγραφε λίγες λέξεις και το παρέδιδε, ενώ μπορεί να είχα ζητήσει να γράψουν τέσσερεις παραγράφους. Παρατήρησα όμως ότι επειδή ποτέ δεν τον έβαλα στην άκρη, ποτέ δεν τον υποτίμησα, πάντα τον είχα μέσα στην ομάδα, έβλεπε λοιπόν ότι δεν τον απέκλεισα, κι αυτό είδα ότι το εξέλαβε θετικά. Νομίζω το εκτίμησε ότι δεν τον απέκλεια. Νομίζω ότι ήθελε μετά να μου αποδείξει ότι προσπαθούσε. Δεν μπορούσε να γράψει όσα ήθελα ξαφνικά, αλλά ερχόταν, ήταν παρών, άκουγε.

Translation:

George: Yes, there is such an incident. It was a student having anxiety attacks, because she could not understand words in the text. I sat with her during a break and told her that I would help her understand the text that seemed so scary for her. We sat together, took it word by word, and she was encouraged. She started feeling more confident. This was one such incident. I acted on a personalized level, to the extent that I could. Because you cannot work only with one student for the entire year - I would have to leave the others behind. I tried to work with her as much as I could, find the time, for example, when I was dictating or when I assigned an exercise, I would approach her, explain the words... It was challenging. Another case was a student who must have had some sort of behavioral issue. He refused to participate in the entire educational process. He would fall asleep, show up late, be on his cell phone... Then I realized he could not write very well. When I asked students to write something, he would write only a few words and hand his paper in, while I had asked them to write four paragraphs. However, since I never put him aside, never underestimated him, and always treated him as part of the team, he realized I did not exclude him and I noticed he reacted positively to this. I think he appreciated me not excluding him. I think after that he tried to show me he was putting an effort. He could not write everything I asked them to write all of a sudden, but he would come to class, he was present, he was participating.

Anna

Anna also stated that such incidents are frequent occurrences and argued that it is crucial to offer individualized assistance to students, especially when they are younger and setting the foundations of their knowledge of Greek. She recalled one year, where half of her students were considerably more advanced than the other half. Anna explained that she addressed this discrepancy by changing the format of her exams. Instead of creating individual exams, she opted for group exams and encouraged students to help one another. Anna claimed that exams are only one of the numerous ways a teacher can understand the students' level, and argued that exams can stress out less advanced students and ultimately alienate them. According to her, it is essential for teachers to remember that the end goal is to help students learn Greek, and creating stress-free conditions can foster the students' learning.

Anna: Είχα πολλές περιπτώσεις. Όταν έχεις να κάνεις με μικρότερες ηλικίες πρέπει να κάνεις και λίγο σαν ιδιαίτερο -να ασχολείσαι με το κάθε παιδί ακόμα πιο εξειδικευμένα, γιατί τότε βάζει τις βάσεις. Στη συμπληρωματική εκπαίδευση, το καλό είναι ότι μπορούμε να είμαστε πιο ελαστικοί. Για παράδειγμα, θυμάμαι μία χρονιά, που νομίζω δίδασκα πρώτη γυμνασίου, και είχα προσέξει ότι η μισή τάξη περίπου είχε πολύ χαμηλότερο επίπεδο σε σχέση με την άλλη μισή. Οπότε εκεί άλλαξα τακτική στα διαγωνίσματα, τα οποία πλέον δεν ήταν ατομικά αλλά ομαδικά -για την ακρίβεια τα παιδιά δούλευαν σε ζευγάρια. Άλλαξα τον τρόπο σκέψης -χώρισα τα παιδιά, κι όταν έβλεπα κάποια παιδιά να είναι πιο απομακρυσμένα τα έβαζα μαζί. Και τους είπα ότι

αυτός που βοηθάει θα βαθμολογηθεί περισσότερο. Δεν είπα δηλαδή ‘αυτός που αντιγράφει θα χάσει βαθμό’. Δεν ήθελα τα παιδιά να υποφέρουν όταν θα κληθούν να γράψουν ένα διαγώνισμα που ξέρουν ότι δεν μπορούν να γράψουν, ούτε να νιώσουν ότι αδικούνται. Γενικότερα, θεωρώ passé την ιδέα των διαγωνισμάτων. Ναι μεν είναι απαραίτητα για να έχεις κάποια σειρά, αλλά νομίζω ότι μπορείς να αξιολογήσεις και με άλλους τρόπους την εξέλιξη ενός παιδιού. Κι άλλωστε, δεν είναι αυτό το σχολείο που θα σε βάλει στο κολλέγιο. Απώτερος σκοπός είναι να μάθουν ελληνικά, όχι να γράψουν ένα διαγώνισμα.

Translation:

Anna: I have had several cases like that. When you are dealing with younger children, it is like a private lesson - you deal with each child in a more specialized way, this is when they build their foundations. The good thing about supplementary education is that we can be flexible. For instance, I remember one year, I think I used to teach a seventh grade and I noticed that almost half the class had much lower language levels than the other half. So, I changed my method in tests, switched them from personal to group ones; I had students work in pairs. I changed my way of thinking - when I found some students were isolated, I put them in groups together. And I told them that the one who would help most, would get higher grades. I did not say “if anyone is caught copying, they will lose marks”. I did not want children to suffer when they had to take a test where they would not know what to write, or feel that they were being wronged. In general, I find the whole idea of tests outdated. They are necessary to have some information on their level, but I think there are other ways to evaluate a child's progress too. Besides, this school is not going to get you into college. The aim is to teach them Greek, not how to take a test.

Lena

Lena also agreed that such incidents take place, and argued that the only way to help students is through individualized instruction. However, she appeared to be more pessimistic compared to the previous participants, and added that regardless of the teachers’ assistance, less advanced students will never be able to reach their peers’ level. She argued that having students with very different levels in the same class is unfair for everyone, and that the only way to truly help students is to separate them according to their level.

Lena: Πώς το χειρίζομαι - είναι πολύ δύσκολο. Εγώ φέτος έχω δύο κοριτσάκια που είναι δυνατά στην ελληνική γλώσσα -δεν τους φεύγει τίποτα. Κι έχω και δύο αγοράκια που δεν καταλαβαίνουν γρι. Άμα σου πω ότι ώρες-ώρες ξεχνιέμαι και καταπιάνομαι με εκείνα τα κοριτσάκια; Και τα αγοράκια είναι παραμελημένα και κοιμούνται. Και πάω από πάνω τους. Αλλά θέλω να σου πω πού και πού ξεχνιέται ο δάσκαλος, είναι πολύ δύσκολο. Τι πρέπει να κάνει; Έλα εδώ παιδί μου να σου δείξω τι έχω πει, να του σημειώσεις, να του κάνεις ό,τι μπορείς για να καταλάβει. Αλλά δεν φτάνει ποτέ στο ίδιο επίπεδο. Είναι άδικο και για τους μεν και για τους δε -κι ερχόμαστε πίσω σε αυτό που είπαμε πριν, ότι πρέπει να χωρίζονται τα επίπεδα. Δε γίνεται το μάθημα αλλιώς με τόσα διαφορετικά επίπεδα. Αυτό που γίνεται τώρα είναι άδικο και για το υψηλό

επίπεδο και για το χαμηλό. Έχεις παιδιά αδύναμα στα ελληνικά και έχεις και παιδιά με μαθησιακές δυσκολίες και όπως είναι τώρα η κατάσταση δεν μπορούν να έχουν όλη την προσοχή που πρέπει. Η εμπειρία μου αυτό λέει. Και όταν είναι έτσι το τμήμα δεν φεύγω χαρούμενη από το μάθημα. Και βέβαια λέω και ξαναλέω τα ίδια πράγματα όσο πιο αναλυτικά μπορώ μπας και μείνει κάτι στα παιδιά. Και μετά θυμώνουν και οι γονείς. Έρχεται ο ένας και σου λέει τους κάνεις δύσκολα κι έρχεται ο άλλος και σου λέει είναι πολύ εύκολα αυτά που κάνεις. Έτσι γίνεται όταν έχεις διαφορετικά επίπεδα στην ίδια τάξη. Δεν μπορείς να τους ικανοποιήσεις όλους.

Translation:

Lena: How I handle it... It is very difficult. This year, I have two little girls who are very good in Greek, they are really excellent. And I have two little boys who can't speak a word. Sometimes I get distracted and I only work with the girls. And the boys are left aside and they fall asleep. And I turn to them. I mean, sometimes teachers get distracted, it is very hard. What can you do? I show children what I have just said, I ask them to take notes, I try my best to help them understand. But they never reach the same level. It is unfair for all involved - we come back to what I said earlier, that levels should be separated. You cannot teach at so many different levels at the same time. The way things are done now is unfair, both for beginner and advanced students. You have children who are not good in Greek and you have children with learning difficulties and the way things are now they do not get all the attention they need. That is what my experience has taught me at least. And when a class is like that, you don't leave the lesson feeling happy. I keep saying the same things repeatedly, in as much detail as possible, hoping something will stick with the children. And then parents get angry. Some will complain 'you are teaching difficult concepts'; others will complain 'you're teaching very easy concepts'. That is the case when various levels co-exist in a class. You can't keep everyone happy.

Stella

Stella could not think of a specific incident where students' different levels had caused a problem. According to Stella, at first she needed some time to adjust to having what she identified as students of four different levels in the same class, but she soon found ways to cope with this situation. She now prepares and uses different activities aimed specifically at the students' levels, and when one group of students works on their assigned task, she finds the time to provide instructions to the other students. She explained that she mainly uses individual activities, but sometimes opts for group projects, where more advanced students are encouraged to help their peers.

Stella: Δεν έχω αντιμετωπίσει κάποιο μεγάλο πρόβλημα από τα παιδιά. Πιο πολύ εγώ είχα το θέμα, γιατί στην αρχή δεν ήξερα πώς να διαχειριστώ τέσσερα διαφορετικά επίπεδα μέσα στην ίδια τάξη. Ξεκινούσα να εξηγώ κάτι στα μικρά, τα μεγάλα μιλούσαν. Τώρα έχω βρει μία ισορροπία -βάζω τους μισούς να κάνουν αντιγραφή για να είναι απασχολημένα και να μην κάνουν φασαρία όση ώρα εξηγώ κάτι στους

άλλους. Δηλαδή έχω βρει τέτοιες λύσεις για να διαχειρίζομαι τα διαφορετικά επίπεδα. Δε μπορώ να πω ότι υπάρχει κάποιο πρόβλημα. Κυρίως χρησιμοποιώ ατομικές ασκήσεις, αλλά υπάρχουν και ασκήσεις -ας πούμε όταν ολοκληρώνουμε μία ενότητα- που είναι εμπεδωτικές και εκεί τους επιτρέπω να εργαστούν δυο-τρεις μαζί και να χρησιμοποιήσουν και βιβλία και να ρωτήσει ο ένας τον άλλο. Ή όταν κάνουμε κάποιο πρότζεκτ, δουλεύουν μαζί τα παιδιά. Παρόλο που είναι τυχαίο το μοίρασμα, προσπαθώ να υπάρχει μία ποικιλία, να μην είναι όλοι στο ίδιο επίπεδο, για να μπορεί ο ένας να βοηθάει τον άλλο.

Translation:

Stella: I have not dealt with any significant issue, not from the children's side. I was the one that had issues, because at first, I did not know how to handle four different levels in the same class. I would start explaining something to younger students, and the older ones would start talking to each other. Now I have found some balance - I ask half of them to copy a text, to keep them busy and quiet, while I explain something to the other half. I have found solutions to manage different levels. I cannot say there are any particular issues. I mainly use individual activities, but there are some activities -for instance, when we finish a section there are some revision activities- where I allow them to work in groups of two or three, and use the textbooks, and ask each other questions. Or, when I give them a project, students work in teams. And even though the splitting process is random, I try to provide some variety, and have students of different levels in each group, so that they can help each other.

Kostas

Kostas stressed that there is usually a significant discrepancy in the students' levels in Greek. He explained that his main strategy for helping less advanced students is to translate words or phrases into English. He also highlighted however, that each case is different, and that the strategies he employs depend on each student and what he wants them to learn. Finally, he noted that students change classes if they present great difficulty in keeping up with their peers, and referred to GCT's initiative to start a cram school for students with minimal knowledge of Greek.

Kostas: Ως προς τη γλώσσα, most times there is a huge discrepancy between what some kids know and what they don't, and that goes back to how much the parents are involved, whether they finish their homework, how present they are at school and in class. Η πρώτη στρατηγική είναι η μετάφραση. Υπάρχουν πάντως πάντα διαφορετικά επίπεδα στα παιδιά, αλλά ο χειρισμός έχει να κάνει με το κάθε παιδί. Και έχει να κάνει και με το τι είναι αυτό που θες να μάθει το παιδί στην τάξη. Αν θες να σου κάνει ανάγνωση, και δεν ξέρει το παιδί κάποιες λέξεις, τις βάζεις σαν ορθογραφία. Ή τις βάζεις και στα αγγλικά και στα ελληνικά για να το καταλάβουν. Αν το πρόβλημα είναι πιο μεγάλο, αν δηλαδή δεν καταλαβαίνει τίποτα το παιδί, τότε μιλάς στο γονέα και ή βάζεις το παιδί σε άλλη τάξη, πιο μικρή, αλλά δεν το κατεβάζεις πάνω από ένα grade γιατί μετά τα άλλα παιδιά θα είναι μικρά και socially δεν είναι σωστό για το παιδί, ή το βάζεις σε συγκεκριμένο σχολείο που είναι σαν φροντιστήριο. Και υπάρχουν τέτοια σχολεία στην Κοινότητα, σχολεία που είναι σαν φροντιστήρια. Και έχουν παιδιά grade

4 - grade 7, με διαφορετικά επίπεδα, αλλά είναι μέχρι έξι μαθητές στην τάξη, οπότε μπορεί ο δάσκαλος να είναι από πάνω.

Translation:

Kostas: In terms of the language, most times, there is a huge discrepancy between what some kids know and what they do not, and that goes back to how much the parents are involved, whether they finish their homework, how present they are at school and in class. The first strategy I use is translation. There are always different levels among students, but handling each case is dependent on each child. And it is also dependent on what you want the child to learn. If you want them to read, and there are some words they do not know, you assign these words as dictation. Or you provide both the English and the Greek word, so that they can understand. If the problem is greater, that is, if the child does not understand anything in class, then you talk to the parent, or you send the child to another, lower grade. But you must not downgrade a child more than one grade because then the other children will be too young and it is not right for the student's social development. Or, you can send it to a cram school. The Greek Community has schools like that, with students between grades 4 and 7. In that school, students have different levels, but there are only five or six students in each class, so the teacher can work closely with them.

Sofia

Sofia argued that having students of different levels in the same class is an obstruction that prevents both advanced and less advanced students from reaching their full potential in learning Greek. She explained that in order to deal with students' different levels, she follows her director's advice; that is, she separates less advanced students from the rest of the class, and gives them much easier activities to work on, while she then turns to the rest of the class and focuses on more complicated tasks. Sofia was not pleased from this strategy, as she sensed that it made less advanced students feel left out. She also felt that this strategy was unfair for advanced students too, as she could not offer them with her undivided attention. Sofia concluded that it is best for less advanced students to attend GCT's cram school, although she acknowledged this solution is not ideal either.

Sofia: Ναι, πιστεύω ότι αυτό είναι τροχοπέδη σε μία τάξη καλή. Για παράδειγμα, πέρσι είχα μία τάξη με τέσσερεις πολύ δυνατούς μαθητές και τρία παιδιά που δεν ήξεραν καθόλου ελληνικά. Ξέρανε μόνο να συλλαβίζουν. Κράτησα το ίδιο βιβλίο και ο διευθυντής μου πρότεινε σε αυτά τα παιδιά να βάζω μία πρόταση, ενώ στα άλλα ολόκληρο κείμενο. Έκανα μία βασική γραμματική και ένα speaking πάνω σε αυτή την πρόταση, και την ώρα που κάνουν εργασία τα παιδιά αυτά, δουλεύω με τα υπόλοιπα παιδιά σε κείμενο, κανονικά. Και έκανα αυτό το πράγμα, αλλά είναι πάρα πολύ δύσκολο, γιατί δεν έχουμε πολύ χρόνο. Από τη μία, φέτος κάποια από αυτά τα παιδάκια διαβάζουν και είναι σε πολύ καλύτερο επίπεδο, και χαίρομαι γι' αυτό. Αλλά πιστεύω ότι είναι τροχοπέδη για τα άλλα. Και σίγουρα τα πιο αδύναμα παιδιά νιώθουν

μειονεκτικά. Γιατί φαντάσου ότι όταν μιλάω με τα προχωρημένα παιδιά, βλέπουν τι δουλεύουμε και καταλαβαίνουν τη διαφορά. Εγώ πιστεύω ότι νιώθουν πάρα πολύ μειονεκτικά. Εδώ στην Κοινότητα έχουν κάνει μία τάξη που λέγεται ‘Φροντιστήριο’ και αυτό δεν είναι κάποια συγκεκριμένη τάξη. Είναι για τα παιδιά που έρχονται και δεν ξέρουν τίποτα. Μπαίνουν και μαθαίνουν τα γράμματα ας πούμε. Και τον επόμενο χρόνο τα παιδιά αυτά τα εντάσσουν σε κάποια τάξη, ανάλογα με το επίπεδό τους. Και πάλι έχουν μία απόκλιση από τους συμμαθητές τους. Καμιά φορά τα κρατάνε στο Φροντιστήριο άλλη μία χρονιά, είναι δύσκολο πολύ.

Translation:

Sofia: Yes. I believe this is an obstruction when you have a good class. For instance, I had a class last year with four very advanced students and three students who could not speak Greek at all. They only knew how to syllable. I kept the same textbook and the director recommended that I should assign a single sentence to these children, and an entire text to the advanced ones. So I taught some basic grammar and worked on their speaking based on this one sentence, and while these children were doing their assignment, I worked with the other children on an actual text. And I did this, but it is very hard because we do not have much time. On the one hand, this year some of these children can read and are at a good level, and I am glad for that. But I believe it is an obstruction for other children who are advanced. And, certainly, the less advanced students feel at a disadvantage. Because they see what we are working on with the others, and they realize the difference. I believe they feel at a great disadvantage. Here in the Community, they have created a class called “Frontistirio” and it is aimed at children with no knowledge of Greek. They come in and start learning the alphabet. In the following year, they are introduced in a proper class, according to their level. Even then, there is a difference between them and the other students. Sometimes they keep them at this cram school for an additional year, but when new children arrive, the alphabet must be taught all over again. So, it is very difficult.

Niki

Niki argued that such incidents occur frequently in the HL class and explained that her strategy for dealing with them is to follow the pace that fits the majority of the students. When a student is significantly more advanced than the others, she asks them to act as her assistant in class. According to her, this strategy works well. Niki also claimed that individual instruction is the only way to help students who struggle with the language, but noted that time constraints do not allow teachers to constantly offer one-to-one instruction.

Niki: Εντάξει, αυτό συμβαίνει. Στο σαββατιανό που είναι περισσότεροι εκείνοι που αντιμετωπίζουν δυσκολίες με τα ελληνικά, θα πάω με το ρυθμό που εξυπηρετεί τους περισσότερους. Θα πάω πιο σιγά, δεν θα διαβάσω ας πούμε ένα ολόκληρο κείμενο. Θα το κάνω λίγο-λίγο, κομμάτι-κομμάτι γιατί αλλιώς η πλειονότητα των παιδιών δεν θα μπορεί να ακολουθήσει. Πάω λοιπόν λίγο πιο σιγά, γιατί αλλιώς το μαθητή που είναι πιο αδύναμος θα τον απομακρύνω εντελώς από τα ελληνικά. Ενώ αν τον πάω πιο σταδιακά, θα κάνω καλό και σε αυτόν και σε εκείνον που είναι πιο προχωρημένος,

γιατί θα κάνει επανάληψη. Επίσης ένα πιο προχωρημένο παιδί, με βοηθάει και στο μάθημα. Είναι βοηθός μου και όταν ρωτάω κάτι απαντάει, ενθαρρύνει και τους άλλους... Είναι δύσκολο να κάνεις μάθημα και τα παιδιά να μην ξέρουν τίποτα. Γενικά, όταν υπάρχει αδυναμία πρέπει να ασχοληθείς ατομικά και να χαλάσεις πολύ από τον χρόνο σου. Να ετοιμάζεις άλλες ασκήσεις για το παιδί, να του δίνεις πιο πολλά πράγματα να κάνει, να το πας ένα βήμα παραπέρα. Κατά τη διάρκεια του μαθήματος όμως δεν γίνεται -ή θα πας με τους πολύ γρήγορους, ή με τους πολύ αργούς.

Translation:

Niki: OK, this does happen. In Saturday school, where we have more students with difficulty in Greek, I cannot push very much; I will follow the pace that suits most students. I will take it slow; I will not read out an entire text. I will do it little by little, piece by piece, because, otherwise, the majority of children will not be able to keep up. So, I take it slow, otherwise I will completely alienate weaker students from Greek. Besides, if I take it gradually, I will also help advanced students, because this will serve as a revision for them. Also, if I have a student who is more advanced, I ask them to act as my assistant. When I ask something they reply, they encourage others... It is difficult to teach a class of children who have no knowledge of the subject you are teaching. Generally speaking, when a student struggles you need to spend time with them personally, and that means spending a lot of your time. You need to prepare different activities, you need to give them more things to do, you need to help them progress. But you can't do that during class - you'll either follow the ones who pick up knowledge fast, or the ones who need more time.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented findings from the interviews with the eight participants. The findings were presented narratively, and the emphasis was placed on designating the uniqueness of each participant's experiences, views and practices. I divided the field texts into three categories, according to the type of information that was generated. The three categories were the following: field texts on identities, field texts on attitudes and field texts on practices. In the first category, I included findings from the participants' language portraits (self-portrait and student portrait) and their identity charts. In the second category, I included field texts on the participants' attitudes towards the different generations of Greeks in Canada, as well as the HL learners. This information was generated from the photo and video elicitation tasks. Finally, in the third section, I included findings that arose from the two written tasks participants had to complete. In the next chapter, I identify common themes that emerged from the field texts and use these to respond to the inquiry's guiding questions. I thus attempt to bring together the field texts that were presented in this chapter, by identifying common themes in the participants' perceptions and practices.

Chapter Five: Identification of major themes

Chapter Overview

After presenting important findings that arose from the interviews narratively in the previous chapter, I now turn to the identification of common themes that emerged from the field texts. My aim in this chapter is to bring together the findings and answer the questions that guided the inquiry. It must be stressed that by identifying common themes in the field texts, I am not seeking to make generalizations. However, some recurring themes did emerge and they are presented in this chapter. I start by answering the inquiry's five sub-questions, and I end the chapter by using common themes that emerged from the field texts to answer the overarching question of the study. The overarching question that guided the study was "How do Greek HL teachers in Montreal and Toronto understand and/or reflect upon their teacher identity, their perceptions about teaching, and their instructional practices?". The five sub-questions were the following:

- (1) What are the Greek HL teachers' perspectives about teaching Greek language and culture?
- (2) What are the Greek HL teachers' preferred instructional practices when teaching Greek language and culture?
- (3) How do interactions with Greek HL students affect Greek HL teachers' perspectives and practices?
- (4) How does the local educational context affect Greek HL teachers' perspectives and practices?
- (5) What similarities and differences can be identified between the responses to these various questions of teachers teaching in Montreal and teachers teaching in Toronto?

Addressing the guiding questions

First sub-question

1. What are the Greek HL teachers' perspectives about teaching Greek language and culture?

One of the areas I wanted to investigate was Greek HL teachers' perspectives about the teaching of Greek language and culture. I was interested in finding out whether the participants viewed the two as connected, as well as the strategies that they employ to familiarize HL learners with them. I also wanted to examine what strategies they use to bring HL learners closer to the Greek language and culture, especially in cases where students appear to be disengaged from the

learning process, and question the usefulness of learning their HL. In this section, I have included themes that emerged from the field texts, which answer the first guiding question of the inquiry.

The Greek language and culture are interrelated and must be taught together

The participants of the study were asked whether it is possible to teach the Greek language without referring to aspects of the Greek culture, that is, Greek history, customs, and traditions. All eight participants argued that the teaching of the Greek language cannot and should not be separated from the teaching of Greek culture. Six of the participants asserted that it is impossible to teach the Greek language and culture separately, as cultural aspects are embedded in the language. They saw the Greek language as a *phenomenon* and argued that unless a teacher focuses on both linguistic and cultural aspects, their teaching will be lacking. They even argued that the way Greek is being taught in Greece is sometimes problematic, exactly because it tends to be devoid of connections to the Greek culture. Anna stressed:

“Δε θεωρώ ότι μπορεί να διαχωριστούν αυτά τα δύο. Δηλαδή να εξετάσουμε τη γλώσσα χωρίς τα έθιμα. Και θεωρώ επίσης πως όταν τα διδάσκουμε μαζί δίνουμε την ολότητα του ελληνικού φαινομένου -γιατί πρόκειται για ένα φαινόμενο. Στην Ελλάδα καμιά φορά χάνουμε την ουσία. Επικεντρωνόμαστε ας πούμε σε γραμματικά φαινόμενα και χάνουμε το όλον. Είμαστε πιο στυγνοί στο να μάθουμε τη γλώσσα βάσει κανονισμών. Ο τρόπος που τα κάνουμε εδώ και τα συνδέουμε θεωρώ ότι είναι πιο flexible βγαίνει πιο πολύ νόημα.”

Translation:

“I don't think these two can be separated. We cannot teach the language without referring to customs. And I think when we teach those together, we provide a complete overview of the Greek phenomenon - because it is a phenomenon. In Greece, we sometimes miss the point. For instance, we focus on grammar and miss the wholeness [of the phenomenon]. We focus strictly on learning the language based on certain rules. The way we teach Greek here, by connecting everything, is more flexible; I think it makes more sense.”

Two participants (Lena, Sofia) had different reasons for supporting that the Greek language and culture should be taught together. They linked the teaching of both linguistic and cultural aspects of Greek to the preservation of the language in Canada, and argued that unless the emphasis is placed on both of them, Greeks will lose their contact with the HL. The participants even went as far as to argue that unless someone is aware of Greek customs they cannot be seen as Greek. Lena highlighted for instance:

“Εγώ πιστεύω αυτά πάνε μαζί. Όταν δεν έχεις τα έθιμα... Για να κρατηθείς ως Έλληνας πρέπει να κρατηθούν και τα έθιμα, και να γιορτάζεις τα ιστορικά επιτεύγματα, και να τα λες. Να τα λες. Χωρίς το ελληνικό έθιμο δεν είσαι Έλληνας, εγώ έτσι πιστεύω. Αφού μας ξεχωρίζουν τα έθιμά μας. Σαν τα έθιμα τα ελληνικά δεν υπάρχουν. Εγώ πιστεύω ότι πάνε πακέτο.”

Translation:

“I believe these two go hand in hand. When you don't teach the customs... To remain a Greek, you need to uphold the customs and celebrate your historical achievements, narrate them. You need to narrate them. Without Greek customs you can't be a Greek, that's what I think. Our customs make us who we are. There are no other customs like the Greek ones. I believe these go hand in hand.”

It must be noted that some participants also considered religion as an inextricable part of the Greek culture, and argued that an emphasis on the Greek Orthodox religion cannot and should not be absent from Greek programs. Kostas asserted:

“Δε μπορείς να ξεχωρίσεις τη γλώσσα από τον πολιτισμό. Γιατί είναι όλα μπλεγμένα και όλα έχουν historical connotations, traditional connotations, religious connotations. Εγώ λέω όχι. Αλλά υπάρχουν κάποιοι –λίγοι- γονείς στο σχολείο που λένε δεν θέλω να κοινωνήσει το παιδί. Δυο-τρεις είναι αυτοί, αλλά για μένα είναι πολλοί. Και σκέφτομαι εγώ ότι αν είναι έτσι αυτή η μάνα και το παιδί είναι grade 3, η πορεία του παιδιού ποια θα είναι; Γιατί πρώτα είναι το θρησκευτικό, μετά τι θα είναι; Νομίζω μετά δεν θα υπήρχε ουσία για τον Έλληνα -θα ήταν ανοιχτό για όλους. Αλλά νομίζω ότι έτσι θα γίνουν τα πράγματα σε πέντε γενιές.”

Translation:

“You cannot separate the language from the culture. Everything is interwoven together, and everything has historical, traditional, and religious connotations. I say you cannot do it. But there are some –just a few- parents who say ‘I do not want my child to participate in the Holy Communion’. They are not more than two or three, but to me even this number is big. Because I think that if the mother has this approach, and she has a grade 3 child, what will the child's course be? They start from religion, and then what? I think that if we took that away, the essence would be lost for Greeks; the school would be open to everyone. I think this is how things will be in five generations.”

Canadian-born Greeks are proud of their Greek origins

All participants shared the view that customs and traditions are an important part of Greek HLE, as they generate a feeling of pride among students. They stressed that all students are familiar with aspects of the Greek culture irrespective of their language skills in Greek. According to them, students' pride is reinforced by their participation in Greek cultural groups and by following Greek customs. Niki stressed that:

“Στο Τορόντο οι Έλληνες είναι πολύ δεμένοι. Εγώ μένω φαντάσου στη Greektown - έχει πολλά μαγαζιά, κάνουν πολλούς ελληνικούς χορούς, έχουν σωματεία, δηλαδή υπάρχει το ελληνικό στοιχείο. Είναι πολύ ενωμένοι και περήφανοι. Και πολλοί μαθητές μου πάνε στους χορούς. Όπως επίσης υπάρχουν και θεατρικές ομάδες που ανεβάζουν παραστάσεις. Σε επίπεδο πολιτιστικό, είναι λες και είσαι στην Ελλάδα.”

Translation:

“In Toronto, Greeks are very close. For instance, I live in Greektown - there are many shops, they hold Greek dances, they have unions, there is the Greek element around. They are united and very proud. Many of my students take Greek dance lessons. And there are also theater groups playing performances. On a cultural level, it feels like you're in Greece.”

The participants also referred to Greek customs and traditions when they were shown the video from the Greek parade in Toronto [Appendix E]. Seven out of eight participants referred to the lack of military march in the Greek parades in Montreal and Toronto, and explained that this differentiates them from the respective parades in Greece. However, only two participants considered this as a problem, and connected it to the students’ perceived indifference and lack of respect for the parade. The rest of the participants acknowledged the differences in the technique and organization of the parade, but placed more emphasis on the fact that students choose to attend the parade every year despite the harsh weather conditions, and appear to feel very proud while participating in it.

Interestingly, the two participants who viewed the way the parade is being held in Montreal and Toronto negatively are both Canadian-born (Stella and Kostas). It could be argued that things that impress Greek-born teachers, such as the fact that students attend the Greek parade under adverse conditions, are taken for granted by Canadian-born teachers, who feel that a parade that appears to be offhand can give off the impression of neglect and disrespect.

Greek HL learners must be reminded of the importance of the Greek language

When creating the average student’s language portrait, and when responding to the first written task, all participants agreed that the students’ first language is English. They described Greek and French as languages that are forced on the students for different reasons. In the case of Greek, the teachers unanimously explained that students do not fully realize its relevance to their current lives. The participants argued that when students appear to be disengaged from the educational process, the teacher needs to step in and remind them of the importance of maintaining a connection to the Greek language and culture. They also stressed that students have different

reasons for feeling disengaged from Greek, and that these reasons can range from frustration because Greek is a difficult language to learn, to fatigue from the schoolwork overload, or even inability to understand how Greek will be useful to them in the future. All teachers supported that incidents in which a student questions the usefulness of Greek need to be addressed on a class level and not individually. They explained that while a student's disengagement can appear to be an isolated behavioral issue, all students need to be reminded of the multiple benefits of learning Greek and they must be praised for their efforts. In Lena's words:

“Υπενθύμιση θέλουν. Τους λέω ξέρεις τι σημαίνει να είσαι Έλληνας; Και πόσοι πέθαναν για να είσαι εσύ Έλληνας; Τους εμψυχώνω, τους κάνω να νιώθουν τόσο περήφανοι που είναι Έλληνες... Ίσως να είναι λάθος, δεν συμφωνούν όλοι οι δάσκαλοι. Εγώ τους φανατίζω, γιατί το βλέπω ότι αλλιώς θα τα χάσουμε τα ελληνικά.”

Translation:

“They need to be reminded of all that. I tell them, do you know what it means to be a Greek? How many people had to die for you to be a Greek? I try to inspire them; I make them feel proud of being Greek... Perhaps it is a mistake, not all teachers agree with this. I try to make them zealous; otherwise, I am sure we will lose Greek.”

The majority of teachers appeared to be optimistic, and predicted that after graduation, students will realize all the social, emotional, as well as economic benefits of preserving their connection to Greek. Stella was the most pessimistic participant in this respect, and predicted that even as adults, the third generation will not realize the importance of Greek, and that their connection to Greek will be gradually lost.

Second sub-question

2. What are the Greek HL teachers' preferred instructional practices when teaching Greek language and culture?

A second area I was interested in exploring was the HL teachers' preferred instructional practices. In particular, I wanted to learn the types of activities and projects they prefer, the ways they use to assess their students, and the languages they utilize in the classroom. I was also interested in finding out whether teachers use the same practices at all times, as well as whether teachers have identified certain practices as unsuitable for their HL learners. In this section, I have included themes that emerged from the field texts, which answer the second guiding question of the inquiry.

Greek HL teachers use conventional methods, but when met with difficulties turn to unconventional ones

When asked to describe their teaching methods, all participants appeared to prioritize conventional methods, such as assigning dictation, focusing on grammatical rules, assigning comprehension and reading activities based on a text, assigning essays, and using revision activities. Interestingly, five participants explained that when conventional methods do not work and students appear to be disengaged, they turn to unconventional methods to win over the Greek HL learners and spark their interest in improving their Greek. Some of the methods they described using in such cases include games, karaoke, paired activities, music, board games, arts and crafts, and dancing. Sofia noted:

“Πρέπει να βρεις το κουμπί τους. Ας πούμε έχω βρει ότι σε κάποια παιδιά αρέσει η μουσική, οπότε τους κάνω τραγούδια στα ελληνικά. Τους εξηγώ τις λέξεις για να καταλαβαίνουν τι λέει το τραγούδι και τους αρέσει. Κάποια άλλα θέλουν τις χειροτεχνίες, οπότε τα βάζω και κάνουν χειροτεχνίες με τα γράμματα της αλφαβήτου ας πούμε. Με άλλα παιδιά παίζω παιχνίδια και τους αρέσει -παίζουμε φιδάκι ή μονόπολη, αλλά πρέπει να μιλάνε ελληνικά. Ή σε ένα άλλο παιδί που κάνουμε ιδιαίτερα, του βάζω караόκε. [...] Άρα, για να καταλήξω, δεν πρέπει να σκέφτεσαι ότι θα τους κάνουν απλά ελληνικά, αλλά πρέπει να δεις τι θα τους κερδίσει.”

Translation:

“You need to find what works for each of them. For instance, I have found that some children enjoy music so I teach them songs in Greek. I explain the words so that they understand what the song is about and they like this. Others prefer crafts, so I ask them to make something using the alphabet letters. With other children we play games and they like it - things like snakes and ladders or Monopoly, but they must speak Greek during the game. I offer private tuition to a child and I ask him to sing karaoke. [...] So, to sum up, you should not focus on just teaching them Greek, you need to find what will win them over.”

Greek HL teachers must use multiple strategies to engage students

As mentioned earlier, all teachers reported that they are often met with student disengagement, and they often have to remind students of the importance of their HL. All teachers explained that they have a variety of strategies in their arsenal, and each time they are faced with discouraged students, they employ several of these strategies to win over and motivate their students. The teachers elucidated that their choice of which strategies to employ depends on the students' age group and interests. The strategies that were listed by the participants for addressing cases of students who question the usefulness of Greek were the following:

- using personal stories to inspire students
- giving specific examples of job positions in which knowing Greek is an asset
- discussing the benefits of multilingualism in general
- discussing the specific benefits of knowing Greek (root words, terminology in sciences, connection to Greek values, connection to Greek history)
- explaining that Greek improves the students' employability
- suggesting that students use Greek as a secret language
- explaining that knowing Greek will bring students closer to their grandparents
- encouraging students to teach their parents Greek (in cases where the parents are not familiar with the language)
- making students feel guilty for not knowing Greek
- arguing that people may question their Greekness if they do not know Greek
- arguing that knowing Greek is a prerequisite for marrying a Greek person
- arguing that knowing Greek is a prerequisite for understanding others while in Greece
- identifying the students' interests (i.e.: drawing, singing, playing) and using them to win them over
- using photos from Greece to motivate students

Greek HL teachers prefer individual to group activities

In addition, when asked about the type of activities they use in class, six out of the eight participants noted that they prefer individual activities and projects to group ones. They found that group projects often lead to noisy classrooms and cause classroom management challenges. For instance, Niki commented:

“Ο καθένας δουλεύει μόνος του. Το χρησιμοποιώ πολύ σπάνια το γκρουπ, δεν μου αρέσει πολύ εμένα. Όσες φορές το έχω κάνει στο σαββατιανό, γίνεται πολλή φασαρία. Γίνεται πανικός. Ακόμα κι όταν παίζουμε παιχνίδια γίνεται χαμός. Στο άλλο το σχολείο, πιο εύκολα. Γιατί είναι καθημερινό και σε σέβονται διαφορετικά τα παιδιά.”

Translation:

“Each student works on their own. I rarely ask students to form groups; I do not really like this method. When I tried it out in the Saturday school, children were very noisy. Like, panic! Even when we play games, the same thing happens. It is easier in the other school. Because it is a day school and children tend to respect you more. “

An alternative reason for choosing individual over group projects was offered by Maria, who found that there is great emphasis on group projects in the Canadian educational system, and that HL learners benefit more from individual projects. According to her, individual projects can help teachers get a clearer image of the students' exact level, as students do not get the chance to hide behind their team. Maria noted:

“Γενικότερα τα αποφεύγω τα ομαδικά πρότζεκτ γιατί αυτή η ομαδικότητα γενικότερα ενισχύεται έντονα σε όλους τους εκπαιδευτικούς κύκλους εδώ στο Κεμπέκ. Ξέρουν να κάνουν ομαδικά πρότζεκτ, αλλά δεν ξέρουν καλά ελληνικά. Οπότε, προσπαθώ να κάνουν ατομική προσπάθεια και για να αξιολογώ το πού βρίσκονται και να μπορώ να τους βοηθήσω, αλλά και για να κάνουν πραγματική προσπάθεια. Να μην κρύβονται πίσω από κάποιον άλλο.”

Translation:

“Generally, I avoid group projects, because teamwork is already strongly supported in all educational levels here in Quebec. The students know how to do group projects - they do not know how to speak Greek well though. So, I try to reinforce their personal effort, rate their individual performance and assist them. I want them to make a real effort and not hide behind a team.”

Participants Anna and Stella explained that they use both individual and group projects, and prefer the latter for evaluation and revision purposes, respectively.

Use of other languages in the classroom helps HL learners

I also wanted to investigate whether participants use languages other than Greek when teaching in the Greek schools. Strikingly, all eight participants noted that they make use of other languages when teaching Greek. All four participants from the greater Montreal area explained that when they feel it is needed, they use both French and English, with a preference for the former. The three participants from greater Montreal area who work in day schools explained that when they feel that they must use a language other than Greek to communicate with students, they mainly opt for French, because of the day school's policy that prioritizes French over English. Participant George, who works at a Saturday school and is not limited by this policy, explained that he also prefers using French rather than English, because of his personal ease with the French language. The four participants from the greater Toronto area all noted that if they deem it necessary to use another language in the Greek class, they only opt for English.

When asked about the reasons why they may have to switch to other languages while teaching Greek, the eight participants offered three alternatives. The most cited reason for which

teachers use another language while teaching Greek was *vocabulary teaching*, with five teachers stressing that when students encounter unknown words, they often provide them with synonyms of these words in either French or English. The second reason was *instruction giving*, with four teachers arguing that using a language with which students are more familiar when providing instructions for an activity offers students a clearer understanding of what is expected of them. Finally, one teacher, Sofia, explained that she uses English solely when *teaching grammar*. She explained that she draws parallels between English and Greek grammar rules, to ensure that students understand new grammatical phenomena.

Four teachers also explained that aside from these three reasons, they also use multiple languages in the HL class when they want to help learners make connections between the languages they know. They explained that when they highlight similarities between Greek, English, and French, the students make connections that help them learn and remember new concepts. This is exceptionally well summarized in Anna's response:

“Εγώ αυτό που συνάντησα είναι ότι τα παιδιά είναι σε μία σύγχυση. Γιατί δε μπορούν να κάνουν τις αντίστοιχες συνδέσεις στο μυαλό τους με τις λέξεις. Μου έχει τύχει ας πούμε, να διδάσκω στην τρίτη δημοτικού, και τους μίλαγα για τον παράδεισο. Και δεν μπορούσαν να καταλάβουν τη λέξη παράδεισος στα ελληνικά, οπότε όταν τους είπα ‘paradise’ ήταν αναλαμπή γι’ αυτά. Και τους είπα και τη γαλλική ‘paradis’ και τις έγραψα και τις τρεις στον πίνακα. Και μου έκανε τρομερή εντύπωση.”

Translation:

“What I found is that now children are confused. Because they cannot make the necessary connections in their heads with words. For instance, I once taught a third grade class, and I talked to them about paradise. And they couldn't understand the word in Greek, so I said ‘paradise’ and it was like an epiphany for them. And I also mentioned the French word ‘paradis’ and wrote all three of them on the board. I was very impressed by this.”

Aside from their own use of various languages in the HL class, some participants also referred to the students' language mixing. They stressed that when they feel that they are allowed to use other languages too, they are encouraged to take more risks and produce more and longer utterances in Greek. The teachers explained that encouraging students to produce speech, even if they do not have the necessary vocabulary and need to draw words from their other languages, increases their confidence and motivation. George asserted:

“Είναι βασικό να νιώθουν τα παιδιά ότι δεν τα αποκλείεις από την υπόλοιπη ομάδα. Να ξέρουν πως έχεις απαιτήσεις από αυτά, και πως είναι σημαντικό να κάνουν

προσπάθεια. Ακόμα και αν οι προτάσεις τους είναι μισές στα ελληνικά και μισές στα αγγλικά. Ακόμα και αν η γραμματική είναι λάθος. Αν τους δείξεις πως δεν έγινε και κάτι αν κάνουν λάθη ή αν βάλουν μέσα και μερικά αγγλικά, τα παιδιά αμέσως θέλουν να σου αποδείξουν ότι μπορούν και βλέπεις ότι λύνονται στον προφορικό τους λόγο και βελτιώνονται.”

Translation:

“It is essential for students to feel that you do not exclude them from the rest. For them to know that you have expectations from them, and that they need to make an effort. Even if their phrases are half in Greek and half in English, even if their grammar is wrong. If you show them that it is ok if they make errors or if they have to use some English words too, they will want to show you that they can make it; you can see that they find it easier to produce oral speech and that they progress.”

Teachers must seek activities that encourage parent involvement in HLE

The participants also argued that parents play a vital role in the students’ learning, as their attitudes and habits can either inspire learners to invest in the learning of the HL or alienate them from it. Some teachers provided detailed accounts of strategies they use to encourage parent involvement in educational practice, and increase the students’ motivation to learn. Four participants noted that a strategy they had used to encourage parent participation in the HL learning was the use of projects, where students were asked to interview family members and then create a report or artifact based on the interview. The teachers explained that such projects can be focused on the family’s immigration stories, the parents’ memories from Greece, the parents’ knowledge of Greek customs, or some aspect of Greek history. The participants argued that assigning such projects to students can be beneficial, as working with family members can increase the students’ investment in the learning of Greek. However, Maria, one of the participants who had used such projects, identified potential limitations to this strategy, namely the parents’ alleged lack of interest, which can discourage students, and the parents’ reluctance to share personal information with the Greek school. Stella described a different strategy she uses to encourage the parents’ participation in the students’ learning. She explained that she has often suggested that parents who are not fluent in Greek learn the language alongside their children. Stella noted:

“Αμα ξέρει τη γλώσσα μπορούμε να ζητήσουμε να του μιλάει ελληνικά -να κρατήσουμε τουλάχιστον την προφορική επαφή. Αν δεν ξέρει, αλλά ενδιαφέρεται να μάθει τη γλώσσα, ο γονέας μπορεί να μάθει μαζί με το παιδί -όχι από το παιδί. Να πηγαίνουν σε μία παράλληλη πορεία εκμάθησης της γλώσσας, ειδικά σε χαμηλό επίπεδο. Πιστεύω αυτό θα κάνει τα παιδιά να ενδιαφερθούν πιο πολύ.”

Translation:

“If parents speak Greek, we can ask them to use the language with their children - to keep the oral communication. If they do not, but they are interested in learning the language, they can learn alongside their children - not *from* their children. And they can follow a parallel learning process, particularly at low levels. I think this can increase the students’ motivation.”

It needs to be stressed, however, that teachers also explained that meeting and communicating with the parents is not always easy. Three teachers (George, Sofia, Niki) appeared to be very challenged by the lack of communication with the parents, and argued that using newsletters or emails could perhaps be more effective in establishing a closer relationship with the parents than mere parent-teacher conferences.

There is no consensus among teachers in terms of classroom seating arrangements

All teachers agreed on the fact that there is great discrepancy among the levels of HL learners. The teachers were asked to describe the methods they use to manage their mixed-abilities classrooms, and more specifically, they were asked to describe the seating arrangements in the class. Four participants explained that they allow students to sit next to their friends and unless they disturb them during class, the students are allowed to sit there for the entire year. Two participants chose to separate the students into groups, according to their abilities (Stella, Sofia) and two (Maria, Anna) chose to place advanced and less advanced students together, so that the former can assist the latter. This discrepancy in the teachers’ preferences in terms of classroom seating arrangements is consistent with the relevant literature. Research has shown that there is no general consensus among teachers in relation to seating arrangements and that there is no such thing as a seating arrangement strategy suitable to all classrooms (Gest & Rodkin, 2011; McKeown, Stringer & Cairns, 2015; Wannarka & Ruhl, 2008). However, it has been shown that separating weaker students from their more advanced peers, or non-native speakers from native speakers, can make weaker or non-native students respectively feel stigmatized and isolated (Toohey, 2000).

Helping less advanced students in mixed abilities HL classes is hard

When faced with students who are not able to follow the activities carried out in class, five teachers explained that they try to offer them personalized instruction. That is, they try to make time to work closely with students who struggle, help them with words they do not understand,

and provide positive feedback to encourage and motivate them. They stressed, however, that they do not always have the time to focus on one student and suggested that in some cases where there is great difficulty, changing class is the best option for both the student who struggles and their peers.

Two teachers (Stella, Sofia) explained that they separate students into subgroups, based on their abilities, and use different sets of activities with each group. They explained that they assign a set of activities to one group, and while the students are working, they turn to the other group or groups and assign them different tasks. While teachers believed that this strategy works well for advanced students, they appeared to have second thoughts about it, as they also found that less advanced students feel isolated and stigmatized. Sofia noted:

“Και σίγουρα τα πιο αδύναμα παιδιά νιώθουν μειονεκτικά. Γιατί φαντάσου ότι όταν μιλάω με τα προχωρημένα παιδιά, βλέπουν τι δουλεύουμε και καταλαβαίνουν τη διαφορά. Εγώ πιστεύω ότι νιώθουν πάρα πολύ μειονεκτικά.”

Translation:

“And, certainly, the less advanced students feel at a disadvantage. Because they see what we are working on with the others, and they realize the difference. I believe they feel at a great disadvantage.”

Finally, one teacher (Maria) explained that she provides all students with the same set of activities, but she makes sure to include both easy and more challenging tasks, to accommodate everyone's needs. She explains to students that they will be graded based on their personal progress and that their grade will not be dependent on that of their classmates.

Exams are merely one of the factors teachers take into consideration to assess students

Finally, teachers were asked to describe the methods they use to assess their students. I was particularly interested in this, precisely because all teachers admitted that there is great discrepancy among the levels of the HL learners. The vast majority of teachers, seven out of eight, explained that they use individual exams based on the material that has been taught in class. They explained that while there is great discrepancy in the students' scores, the exam is merely one of the factors they take into consideration when assessing students. Other factors that help them assess students include the students' progress from one term to the next, their speaking abilities in Greek, their participation in class, their collaboration with their peers, and the number of their absences.

Anna was the only participant who had a different approach; she explained that like all other teachers, she had also used conventional exams to assess her students, but had found that in some cases these exams were very stressful for HL learners. She had thus decided to turn to paired exams in an attempt to create stress-free conditions and avoid student alienation and discouragement. To make sure that all students view this as a fair procedure, she clarified that the person who helped the most in each pair would get extra marks. She believed that this strategy was effective, as paired exams were less stressful for students and served the main goal of HLE, that is to help students learn the HL. She asserted:

“Γενικότερα, θεωρώ passé την ιδέα των διαγωνισμάτων. Ναι μεν είναι απαραίτητα για να έχεις κάποια σειρά, αλλά νομίζω ότι μπορείς να αξιολογήσεις και με άλλους τρόπους την εξέλιξη ενός παιδιού. Κι άλλωστε, δεν είναι αυτό το σχολείο που θα σε βάλει στο κολλέγιο. Απώτερος σκοπός είναι να μάθουν ελληνικά, όχι να γράψουν ένα διαγώνισμα.”

Translation:

“In general, I find the whole idea of tests outdated. They are necessary to have some information on their level, but I think there are other ways to evaluate a child's progress too. Besides, this school is not going to get you into college. The aim is to teach them Greek, not how to take a test.”

Third sub-question

3. How do interactions with Greek HL students affect Greek HL teachers' perspectives and practices?

People who work as Greek HL teachers are in frequent contact not only with the HL learners, but also with the learners' parents and other family members, as well as fellow teachers and school staff. The various tasks that the participants were asked to complete during the three sessions provided rich field texts regarding their perceptions and practices. While the main focus of this study was to investigate the teachers' attitudes towards HL learners, tasks such as the photo and video elicitation offered insights into the participants' perceptions of Greeks of different generations in general, and the written tasks revealed their perceptions about their students and fellow teachers. When analyzing the field texts, it became evident that many of these attitudes collectively affected the teachers' practices in the HL class. The teachers' attitudes, as well as the ways they act on them are presented in this section.

First-generation Greeks faced many difficulties and should be viewed as role models

When presented with the photo of the sculpture of the Greek immigrant, participants were asked to describe the conditions in which first-generation Greeks immigrated to Canada. All eight participants described the adverse conditions first-generation Greeks had to face, namely the language barrier, settlement to an unknown place, poverty, and unemployment. Seven of the eight participants viewed first-generation Greeks favorably, and four of them had a particularly high opinion of first-generation Greeks, and described them as role models for the entire community. For example, Lena commented:

“Νιώθω ότι αυτοί οι Έλληνες (δείχνει την φωτογραφία) ήταν πολύ δυνατοί. Φαντάζομαι τον εαυτό μου να έρθω εδώ με μία βαλίτσα, χωρίς να ξέρω τη γλώσσα, χωρίς να έχω κανένα συγγενή, τους βρίσκω πάρα πολύ δυνατούς. Ταξίδευαν εβδομάδες ολόκληρες με τα πλοία, χωρίς ένα δολάριο. Ερχόντουσαν για να αντικρύσουν έναν νέο κόσμο και δεν είχαν τίποτα. Οι Έλληνες εκείνοι πρέπει να είναι παράδειγμα.”

Translation:

“I feel that these Greeks (shows the photograph) were very strong. I imagine myself coming here with just one piece of luggage, not knowing how to speak the language, without any relatives - I think they were very strong. They would travel for weeks by ship, without a dollar on them. They would come to face a new world and they had nothing. Those Greeks should be role models for us.”

There was one participant however, Maria, who did not share this opinion. Even though she acknowledged that first-generation Greeks had to face many difficulties, she felt that in current times, this generation of Greeks was unwilling to help newcomers. She explained that from her interactions with first-generation Greeks, she often felt that there was a generation gap separating them, and that they kept their distance from her and other newcomers, because they viewed them as people who had it all very easy. Interestingly, this perception appeared to have an impact on Maria's teaching too. The same participant who viewed first-generation Greeks as distant and unwilling to help, reported that when she had assigned projects that involved the participation of the family, some students ended up being discouraged, because they had to face the alleged indifference of their family members. Her personal interactions with and perceptions about first-generation Greeks could perhaps explain why she interpreted the parents' reluctance to participate in the project as proof of their indifference. Had she not had this perception, perhaps she would

have tried to learn more about the parents' objections and find other ways to involve them in their children's education. Maria noted:

“Μου ‘χει τύχει παιδί να θέλει να κάνει το πρότζεκτ για τη μετανάστευση των παππούδων του ή των γονέων του –δεν θυμάμαι- και οι γονείς ή οι παππούδες είτε ήταν αδιάφοροι, είτε ήταν μακριά και το παιδί πληγωνόταν από αυτό και μου ζήτησε να κάνει παρεμφερές πρότζεκτ -να βρω κάτι άλλο για να κάνει. Και προσπάθησα να βρω κάτι που δεν θα επιβάλλει τη συμμετοχή των γονέων ή των παππούδων, ώστε το παιδί να μη νιώσει απομονωμένο.”

Translation:

“I once had a child who wanted to complete the project on his grandparents' or parents' immigration, I can't remember clearly, and his parents or grandparents were indifferent, they were very distant and this hurt the child. He asked me to assign him a different project, something else for him to do. I tried to find something that would not require his parents' or grandparents' participation, so that the child wouldn't feel isolated.”

Second-generation Greeks faced issues related not to their languages, but to their identities

When referring to second-generation Greeks, all teachers highlighted that unlike the first generation, they did not have to face the language barrier, that is, the inability to communicate in the language(s) of the host society. According to teachers, even if English (and, to a lesser extent, French) was not used at home, as soon as second-generation Greeks started school, they became fluent in it. The teachers highlighted that it was much easier for second-generation Greeks to learn the host society's language(s), because they were exposed to it from a young age. Indeed, this is corroborated by research on second language learning that has shown that even though age is by no means the only factor that can affect a learner's success in language learning, it is much easier for younger learners than older learners to acquire a second or foreign language. Research shows that this task becomes progressively more difficult after a critical period around the learner's adolescence (Asher & Garcia, 1969; DeKeyser, 2000; Krashen, Long & Scarcella, 1979; Kuhl, 2004; Muñoz, 2006; Muñoz 2010; Nikolov & Djigunovic, 2006; Patkowski, 1980; Singleton & Zsolt, 1995). Sofia described second-generation Greeks' learning of English:

“Μπήκαν στα daycare τα Καναδικά, μπήκαν μάλιστα κάποια παιδιά χωρίς να ξέρουν αγγλικά. Αλλά αυτό ξεπεράστηκε, γιατί αν ξεκινήσεις στο νήπιο τα μαθαίνεις αμέσως.”

Translation:

“They were sent to Canadian daycare, some of them without even speaking English. But they worked through this, because if you start as a very young child you catch on very quickly.”

Three participants also stressed that even though second-generation Greeks did not have to overcome the language barrier, they were however faced with what they described as identity issues. According to the three participants, second-generation Greeks realized they were different from other English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. The participants highlighted that in some cases second-generation Greeks attempted to hide their Greek origin, by investing in their learning of Canada’s two official languages and even changing their names, to avoid the so-called stigma of the immigrant. George stressed:

“Η δεύτερη γενιά δεν έχει το πρόβλημα της γλώσσας. Συγκρίνοντας όμως τον εαυτό τους με τα υπόλοιπα γαλλάκια ή αγγλάκια του Κεμπέκ, έβλεπαν και βλέπουν διαφορετικό στάτους. Βλέπουν ότι άλλη είναι η γλώσσα που μιλάνε στο σπίτι οι γονείς και άλλη είναι η γλώσσα του περιβάλλοντος. Άρα αυτομάτως υπάρχει ένας διχασμός μέσα τους -έχουν θέματα ταυτότητας.”

Translation:

“The second generation did not face the issue of learning the language. However, when comparing themselves with Quebec's French-speaking or English-speaking children, they saw and still see they had a different status. They see that they speak one language at home with their parents and another one when outside their home. So, there's a dissociation there - an identity issue.”

And Lena commented:

“Υπήρχαν και Έλληνες που επειδή ήταν αμόρφωτοι, ήρθαν εδώ και έκαναν ό,τι μπορούσαν για να μάθουν τα αγγλικά. [...] Εγώ έτσι το εξηγώ, νόμιζαν θα αφομοιωθούν. Ένιωθαν ότι θα ανέβουν ένα επίπεδο πιο ψηλό από τους άλλους. Πολλοί αλλάζουν και τα επίθετά τους για να μη φαίνεται ότι είναι immigrants. Δηλαδή κρύβουν την εθνικότητα και την ταυτότητά τους. Δηλαδή ντρέπονται για την Ελλάδα.”

Translation:

“When Greeks first immigrated here, they were illiterate. They did everything in their power to learn English. [...] They thought that by doing that they would assimilate, they would rise above all others. Many change their last names to hide that they are immigrants. That is, they hide their identity and nationality. That is, they are ashamed of Greece.”

Interestingly, the three participants (George, Lena, Sofia) who argued that second-generation Greeks faced identity issues and discrimination, were all Greek-born. It could be argued that these participants find it difficult to understand the unique culture of second-generation Greeks

that includes aspects from both the Greek and Canadian culture, simply because their own background is different. Canadian-born participants appeared to have a completely different opinion and explained that the second generation, and all the subsequent generations, view their identities as enriched and complete and not as divided. Kostas explained:

“Έχουμε αποκριάτικο χορό -πάλι εκεί έχουμε parent engagement. Το οργανώνουν οι γονείς και πάνε τα παιδιά και μαθαίνουν τι είναι οι Απόκριες, ακούνε ελληνικά τραγούδια, χορεύουν, όλα μαζί. Και πάνε και στην εκκλησία βέβαια. Πηγαίνουμε συχνά στην εκκλησία για να κοινωνήσουν τα παιδιά. Και τα περισσότερα παιδιά πάνε σε αυτή την εκκλησία κάθε Κυριακή ή τουλάχιστον στις μεγάλες γιορτές. Γενικά, γιορτάζουμε όλες τις ελληνικές γιορτές. Εκτός από τις ονομαστικές γιορτές, δεν τις γιορτάζουμε αυτές τόσο. Αλλά Χριστούγεννα, Πάσχα –το ελληνικό- εννοείται. Και παράλληλα γιορτάζουμε και το Halloween, ή θα φάμε μαζί με τους δικούς μας στο Thanksgiving.”

Translation:

“We throw a ball during the period of the Carnival, and there is parent engagement there too. The parents organize the event and students attend it and have the chance to learn what we celebrate during the Carnival, they listen to Greek songs, they dance, they do all that. And students go to the church too. We go there often so that the students can participate in the Holy Communion. And most students go to this church every Sunday or at least they go there on important celebrations. Generally, we celebrate all the Greek celebrations. Aside from namedays, we do not celebrate these as much. But Christmas and Easter –the Greek one- for sure. And, at the same time, we also celebrate Halloween, or we gather with our families and dine on Thanksgiving.”

Similarly, participant Stella, who is also Canadian-born, argued that second-generation Greeks were already fully integrated in the Canadian society, and never had to face discrimination. She noted:

“Οι δυσκολίες της δεύτερης γενιάς δε σχετίζονται με το θέμα της μετανάστευσης των γονιών τους. Θεωρώ ότι ήταν οι δυσκολίες που είχε ο μέσος Καναδός. Δεν υπήρχαν δηλαδή ρατσιστικές εκδηλώσεις. Δεν τους έλεγε κανένας ‘α εσύ είσαι Έλληνας’. Ή δεν έμειναν ποτέ άνεργοι επειδή ήταν Έλληνες. Είχαν αφομοιωθεί πλέον εντελώς από την κοινωνία.”

Translation:

“The difficulties the second generation met were not related to their parents’ immigration. I believe they were the same as the difficulties faced by an average Canadian. There was no racism, I mean. No one would tell them “oh, you’re a Greek”. Or, none of them was unemployed because they were Greek. They were fully integrated in the society.”

The parents are the ones primarily responsible for teaching their children Greek

According to the teachers, the most essential part in students' HL learning is none other than the use of the HL at home. The participants explained that learning Greek is much easier for students who use the language with other family members and do not rely solely on the few hours per week of Greek instruction they get in the Greek programs. In fact, six participants explained that when they meet with the students' parents they always encourage them to speak Greek to their children, as they find that they play the most crucial role in the children's HL learning. Not only did the teachers consider that parents are the ones primarily responsible for teaching their children to use and love Greek, they also associated the parents' attitudes towards Greek to the quality of their own teaching. The teachers noted that when parents use Greek with their children, the students' level increases, and consequently the teachers are encouraged to improve their own work. Niki commented:

“Όταν ο άλλος έχει απαιτήσεις από εσένα, προσπαθείς κι εσύ σαν δάσκαλος πιο σκληρά. Κι από την άλλη, αν ο γονιός έχει τέτοια αντιμετώπιση για τα ελληνικά, αν δεν νοιάζεται και πολύ, αυτό περνάει και στο παιδί και δεν σέβεται μετά. Και το επίπεδο του παιδιού και το επίπεδο της διδασκαλίας επηρεάζονται από τη στάση του γονιού. Πιστεύω ότι ο γονιός είναι ο πιο καθοριστικός παράγοντας. Όταν μιλάμε για τη διδασκαλία δεύτερης γλώσσας ο γονιός καθορίζει τα πάντα -και ο δάσκαλος, αλλά πολύ περισσότερο ο γονιός.”

Translation:

“When the parent has high expectations, you also try harder as a teacher. On the other hand, if a parent treats Greek like this, if they are not that interested, this is also passed down to children and they won't respect the language. The teacher's effort and teaching level are affected by parents' attitudes. I believe that parents are the most decisive factor. When we speak of teaching a second language, parents affect everything - teachers too, but parents more so.”

Both the learners' families and the Greek HL teachers find the students' socialization with other Greeks as a major advantage of Greek HL programs

The participants explained that Greek families send their children to Greek schools for two reasons. The first and obvious reason is to ensure that their children will be exposed to Greek. The HL teachers stressed that parents do not expect their children to excel in Greek, but they do expect that their children will have a basic knowledge of the language when they graduate from the Greek programs. The second and equally important reason for sending their children to the Greek school, according to the participants, is that parents want to ensure that their children will socialize with

other Greeks. Five teachers insisted on this, and elucidated that parents rightly feel that their children are safe when they interact with other Greek people. Anna commented:

“Πάντως, αυτό που έχω εισπράξει από τους γονείς είναι ότι θέλουν τα παιδιά τους να έχουν Έλληνες φίλους, για να νιώθουν ήρεμοι για την ασφάλεια του παιδιού τους. Και δικαίως το θέλουν αυτό. Επίσης τους ενδιαφέρει τα παιδιά να μιλάνε και να καταλαβαίνουν τα ελληνικά -δεν τους ενδιαφέρει να είναι άριστοι, απλά να μην χάσουν την επαφή. Που αυτό, βέβαια είναι αρκετά παγίδα για τον εκπαιδευτικό.”

Translation:

“What my experience with parents says is that they want their children to have Greek friends, because this makes them feel that their child is safe. And they rightly want that. Also, they want their children to speak and understand Greek - they don't want them to be excellent in it, they just want them to be familiar with the language. And, of course, this can become a trap for the teacher.”

And Sofia also noted:

“Και μετά, ο άλλος λόγος που πάνε τα παιδιά στο σχολείο, και είναι πολύ σημαντικό, γράψτο αυτό, είναι ότι θέλουν τα παιδιά τους να γνωρίσουν Έλληνες και να κάνουν παρέα με Έλληνες. Θέλουν τα παιδιά τους να είναι σε ελληνικό περιβάλλον και να γνωρίζονται.”

Translation:

“And then, another reason why they take children to Greek school, and this is very important, write it down, is that they want their children to meet other Greeks and hang out with them. They want their children to remain in a Greek setting with other Greeks they know.”

Some teachers believe that learning Greek can be more challenging for children from mixed unions

An issue that divided teachers' opinions was whether or not children from mixed unions had particular needs in terms of their HL learning. Three participants (Stella, Kostas, Sofia) were adamant that children from mixed unions have greater difficulties in learning the HL compared to students whose parents are both Greek. Kostas went as far as to argue that students from mixed unions are not fully Greeks, and asserted that they perceive the languages that make up their linguistic repertoires differently than the other students. This appeared to be a prejudice on the part of the three participants, especially since they also admitted that even in cases where both parents are Greek, the language that is spoken at home is in most cases English, exactly like in mixed-union families. Maria disagreed with the opinion that children from mixed unions are at a disadvantage, and argued that the family's attitude towards Greek affects the students' learning far more than whether both parents are Greek or not:

“Δε νομίζω ότι αλλάζει κάτι φοβερά πολύ όταν υπάρχει μεικτός γάμος. Στη θεωρία θα έλεγε κανείς ότι αλλάζει, αλλά πρακτικά έχω συναντήσει πολλές οικογένειες με μεικτούς γάμους που ενδιαφέρονται πολύ περισσότερο για την ελληνική εκπαίδευση των παιδιών τους. Και τα παιδιά τους έχουν πολύ περισσότερο σεβασμό, όπως και οι γονείς απέναντι στην όλη διαδικασία. Επίσης μου έχει τύχει να έχω μαθητή τελείως ξένο, νεαρό, ανήλικο, όπου και ο ίδιος και οι γονείς του αντιμετώπιζαν την όλη διαδικασία με πολύ περισσότερο σεβασμό απ’ ότι κάποιοι Έλληνες.”

Translation:

“I do not think that mixed marriages affect students’ learning that much. In theory, it could have an effect, but I have met several families where there is a mixed marriage, who are much more interested in the Greek education of their children. And their children show greater respect, similarly to their parents, to the whole process. I have also come across a foreign student, a minor, where both he and his parents treated the whole process with much greater respect than some Greeks.”

Some teachers believe that the discrepancy between Greek native speakers’ and HL learners’ level is irreconcilable

In addition to children from mixed unions, there was another category of students that was viewed differently by some teachers. Three teachers (Lena, Sofia, Niki) admitted that they found teaching Greek native speakers much easier than HL learners, and asserted that the discrepancy between their levels can never be negated. These three participants held the opinion that while their peers benefited from their presence in class, Greek native speakers did not have much to gain from HL classes. They explained that finding common ground between native speakers’ and HL learners’ level is not always feasible, and admitted that they sometimes feel they wrong students by focusing on one or the other group. Lena noted:

“Εγώ φέτος έχω δύο κοριτσάκια που είναι δυνατά στην ελληνική γλώσσα -δεν τους φεύγει τίποτα. Κι έχω και δύο αγοράκια που δεν καταλαβαίνουν γρι. Άμα σου πω ότι ώρες-ώρες ξεχνιέμαι και καταπιάνομαι με εκείνα τα κοριτσάκια; Και τα αγοράκια είναι παραμελημένα και κοιμούνται. Και πάω από πάνω τους. Αλλά θέλω να σου πω πού και πού ξεχνιέται ο δάσκαλος, είναι πολύ δύσκολο. Τι πρέπει να κάνει; Έλα εδώ παιδί μου να σου δείξω τι έχω πει, να του σημειώσεις, να του κάνεις ό,τι μπορείς για να καταλάβει. Αλλά δεν φτάνει ποτέ στο ίδιο επίπεδο.”

Translation:

“This year, I have two little girls who are very good in Greek, they are really excellent. And I have two little boys who can't speak a word. Sometimes I get distracted and I only work with the girls. And the boys are left aside and they fall asleep. And then I turn to them. I mean, sometimes teachers get distracted, it is very hard. What can you do? I show children what I have just said, I ask them to take notes, I try my best to help them understand. But they never reach the same level.”

Sofia commented:

“Ε βέβαια. Τα παιδάκια που έρχονται από την Ελλάδα χαραμίζονται στο σχολείο αυτό. Χαραμίζονται τα ελληνικά τους. Βέβαια βοηθάνε τα άλλα παιδιά, γιατί μιλάνε πολύ καλά ελληνικά, αλλά είναι κρίμα για τα ίδια.”

Translation:

“Well, sure. Children coming from Greece go to waste in this school. Their Greek goes to waste. Of course, they do help other children, because they speak Greek very well, but it’s a shame for them.”

And, similarly, Niki highlighted:

“Έχω ένα κοριτσάκι στο σαββατιανό που έχει έρθει από την Ελλάδα και φυσικά μιλάει ελληνικά. Είναι πάρα πολύ καλή. Έχω πει λοιπόν στη μαμά της ‘κοιτάξτε, το επίπεδο της κόρης σας είναι διαφορετικό από το επίπεδο των άλλων παιδιών. [...] Δε μπορώ να διδάσκω για το επίπεδο της κόρης σας γιατί θα χάσω όλους τους άλλους μαθητές’. Πηγαίνω λοιπόν με την πλειοψηφία.”

Translation:

“I have a girl at Saturday school who's just come from Greece and of course she speaks Greek. She is very good. I have told her mother, ‘Look, your daughter's level is very different than other children's. [...] I can't teach strictly on your daughter's level, because I will lose all other students’. So, I follow the majority.”

Greek native speakers are better suited for the position of a Greek HL teacher

Aside from the ways Greek HL teachers view and interact with the learners and their families, the study also shed light on the ways the participants view their colleagues. More specifically, the discussion about the use of different languages in the Greek HL class also led to the discussion about teachers’ language skills and the ways in which they can affect the students’ learning. Five out of the eight participants felt that having Greek native speakers teach in the Greek HL programs is essential. These participants believed strongly that Greek native speakers are better suited for the position of a Greek HL teacher, because their grammar, syntax and vocabulary are more likely to be appropriate. Most importantly, these participants argued that if the HL teacher is not a Greek native speaker, their accent is likely to be different from the standard one. According to them, this is crucial, as it can affect the students’ own accent. Maria argued for instance:

Emmanouela: Τι πιστεύεις ότι αλλάζει ποιοτικά στο μάθημα όταν δεν το κάνει κάποιος φυσικός ομιλητής;

Maria: Είναι η προφορά. Η προφορά. Η οποία είναι πολύ σημαντική, είναι κάτι το πολύ σημαντικό. Από την προσωπική μου εμπειρία, είχα φτάσει σε επίπεδο αγγλικά να γράφω καλύτερα από απόφοιτους πανεπιστημίων στο εξωτερικό και φυσικούς

ομιλητές και πάντα, όπως και τώρα, η προφορά μου είναι πολύ κακή. Δηλαδή, είναι αρκετά καθαρή, ποτέ δεν έχω πρόβλημα στο να με καταλάβουν –να μου ζητήσουν να πιο κάτι δεύτερη και τρίτη φορά- αλλά είναι εμφανέστατα λάθος.

Emmanouela: Λάθος προφορά;

Maria: Ναι. Επειδή οι καθηγητές μου δεν ήταν φυσικοί ομιλητές και δεν έμαθα τη σωστή.

Translation:

Emmanouela: What do you think changes in the quality of the lesson when the teacher is not a native speaker?

Maria: It is the accent. The accent. And it's very important, it's a very important aspect. From my personal experience, my written English was better than that of University graduates and English native speakers, but my accent has always been pretty bad, even now. I mean, it is clear enough, so others understand what I am saying, they never ask me to repeat something, but it is obviously wrong.

Emmanouela: A wrong accent?

Maria: Yes. Because my teachers were not native speakers and I did not learn the correct one.

A second reason why five of the participants supported that HL teachers must be native speakers in the HL was because they believed that a non-native speaker would eventually turn to the use of other languages while teaching Greek. In fact, participant Lena argued that the students' parents would prefer an inexperienced teacher who is a native speaker of Greek to a non-native speaker with extensive teaching experience. She noted:

“Είναι καλό που έρχονται νέες δασκάλες από την Ελλάδα. Είναι πολύ βοηθητικό για τα παιδιά να μιλάει μόνο ελληνικά η δασκάλα και να ξέρει και πώς να τα προσεγγίσει. Γιατί ξέρω και δασκάλες που έχουν γεννηθεί εδώ και μιλάνε αγγλικά στα παιδιά, και τους λένε και τραγούδια στα αγγλικά, γιατί αυτό τους βγαίνει πιο εύκολα. Παίζει ρόλο. Αν ρωτήσεις το γονιό ποια θέλεις την τάδε που είναι εικοσιπέντε χρόνια δασκάλα από εδώ ή την άλλη που είναι άπειρη και ήρθε τώρα από την Ελλάδα; Θα σου πουν την δεύτερη. Γιατί ξέρει πολύ καλά τα ελληνικά. Και στο καθημερινό σχολείο, οι δάσκαλοι εξ Ελλάδος κάνουν άλλη δουλειά. Οι δάσκαλοι λοιπόν, να διδάσκουν την φυσική τους γλώσσα.”

Translation:

“It is very good having new teachers coming in from Greece. It helps children when a teacher only speaks Greek and knows how to approach them. I know teachers who were born here and they speak English to children, they sing songs in English, because it comes easier to them. If you ask a parent which teacher they would prefer, one who was born here and has been working for twenty-five years as a teacher or an inexperienced teacher who has just arrived from Greece, they will choose the second. Because they have a very good command of Greek. And in the day school, teachers

from Greece perform better. So, I think that teachers should be teaching their mother tongue.”

Two participants (Anna and Niki) held a different opinion. They argued that teachers need to have an excellent command of Greek in order to be able to teach it, but noted that this is not necessarily equivalent to being a Greek native speaker. Niki used the example of a colleague of hers to show that non-native speakers who are fluent in the target language can indeed be successful teachers. She noted:

Emmanouela: Πιστεύεις ότι κάνει διαφορά αν ο δάσκαλος είναι φυσικός ομιλητής της ελληνικής;

Niki: Θα σου πω. Είναι μία δασκάλα στο σχολείο μου η οποία διδάσκει ελληνικά, είναι από τη Ρουμανία, αλλά έχει ζήσει και στην Ελλάδα. Η γυναίκα αυτή μιλάει άπταιστα τα ελληνικά. Έχει προφορά, ναι, αλλά μιλάει άπταιστα. Έτσι όπως με ρώτησες, σκέφτηκα κατευθείαν αυτή την κοπέλα. Δεν θεωρώ λοιπόν ότι κάνει διαφορά να είσαι native speaker. Σίγουρα πρέπει να ξέρεις να μιλάς καλά ελληνικά, αυτό είναι το θέμα. Να μην κάνεις συνέχεια λάθη και να μη λες κι εσύ το ‘κάρο’ και τέτοια.

Translation:

Emmanouela: Does it make a difference when the teacher is a Greek native speaker?

Niki: I will tell you what. There is a teacher at my school, who teaches Greek, and she is from Romania but she has lived in Greece for some time. This woman speaks fluent Greek. She does have an accent, but her command of the language is excellent. So, this question immediately made me think of this woman. Therefore, I do not think that you need to be a native speaker. You need to have an excellent command of Greek; that is what is important. You cannot be making mistakes all the time, or using words like “káro”⁴ and the like.

The participant’s reference to the idiomatic word ‘karo’ here reveals not only her perception of native and non-native speakers, but also her perception of language varieties. It is evident that she considers the standard variety of Greek as superior to other varieties of the language, such as the one used by Greeks in the diaspora. In the following excerpt, this ideology is further revealed, as Niki explains that she would not correct a student if they used the word ‘káro’ in an oral discussion, but she would correct them if they included it in their written report.

⁴ Idiomatic expression used by Greeks in the diaspora. Etymology connects the word ‘káro’ with the English word ‘car’ and the Greek noun suffix ‘-ο’. It is often used when Greeks in the diaspora translanguage using both Greek and English. Other such examples include the following words: ‘lakia’ (the lakes, from the English noun ‘lake’ and the Greek noun suffix ‘-ia’), ‘marketa’ (market, from the English word ‘market’ and the Greek noun suffix ‘-a’), ‘shipia’ (ships, from the English word ‘ship’ and the Greek noun suffix ‘-a’) (Alvanoudi, 2019).

In short, she considers such idiomatic expressions as appropriate for oral communication, but inappropriate for more formal contexts.

Niki: Μπορείς να δεις τις εργασίες για το σπίτι που τους βάζω, που τους τα κάνει η γιαγιά και ο παππούς. Βλέπεις κάτι *κάρο* αντί για *αυτοκίνητο*, κάτι εκφράσεις που χρησιμοποιεί η πρώτη γενιά.

Emmanouela: Εκεί τι κάνεις, το διορθώνεις;

Niki: Ναι. Όχι πάντα, όμως. Ειδικά αν μου το πει κάποιος προφορικά και δε το δω γραμμένο, δεν θέλω να τους προσβάλλω. Ή θα το πω έμμεσα -θα πω ‘μ’ αρέσει που εδώ στον Καναδά λέτε *κάρο* το *αυτοκίνητο*, από το αγγλικό *car*’.

Translation:

Niki: You can tell when their grandparents have done their homework for them. You see the word *káro* instead of *aftokinito* (car), you see some expressions used by the first generation.

Emmanouela: What do you do in such cases? Do you correct them?

Niki: Yes, but not always. If it comes up when I speak with someone, and I do not see it written somewhere, I do not want to insult them. I may use a more indirect approach, like saying, “I like how here in Canada you call *aftokinito* a *káro*, it comes from the English word *car*”.

Returning to the participants’ perspectives about native and non-native Greek HL teachers, it needs to be mentioned that one participant found it particularly challenging to take sides. Kostas, being Canadian-born himself, identified both advantages and disadvantages in being a non-native speaker who teaches Greek to HL learners. On the one hand, he admitted that he still has some insecurities about his Greek and he acknowledged that he sometimes gets stuck, unlike his Greek-born colleagues. On the other hand, he stressed that Canadian-born teachers find it easier to relate to students, as they understand their backgrounds better than their Greek-born counterparts. He also highlighted that some people who teach in the Greek schools are not necessarily teachers. They are simply people who are fluent in Greek and this is assumed to be enough for them to be allowed to teach. Kostas explained that a teacher’s language skills is only one of the aspects that make up a good teacher. He stressed:

Emmanouela: Πιστεύεις ότι είναι σημαντικό ο δάσκαλος να είναι φυσικός ομιλητής, να είναι Greek native speaker;

Kostas: Yes and no. Yes, because there is no hesitation like I have. No because usually αυτοί που δεν είναι native speakers μπορούν πιο πολύ να κάνουν relate. Από την άποψη των γονιών πιστεύω πάλι yes and no. Γιατί, οι γονείς θέλουν πάντα τα παιδιά τους να ξέρουν καλά τα ελληνικά, αλλά θέλουν και να πηγαίνουν στο ελληνικό σχολείο -να θέλουν να πηγαίνουν. Τα θέλουν και τα δύο και είναι δύσκολο να τα έχεις

και τα δύο. Επίσης, στα ελληνικά σχολεία, οι δάσκαλοι δεν είναι πάντα δάσκαλοι. Μερικές φορές διδάσκουν απλά γιατί ξέρουν ελληνικά. Αλλά για να είσαι δάσκαλος, πρέπει να ξέρεις να είσαι δάσκαλος. Υπάρχουν καλοί δάσκαλοι, και άσχετοι με το αντικείμενο δάσκαλοι. Υπάρχουν δάσκαλοι που ξέρουν καλά τη γλώσσα, και το αντίθετο. Οπότε το native speaker δεν είναι πάντα το σημαντικότερο. Είναι ένα mixture, κατάλαβες;

Translation:

Emmanouela: Do you think it is important for a teacher to be a Greek native speaker?

Kostas: Yes and no. Yes, because there is no hesitation like I have. No because usually those who are not native speakers can relate more to students. From the point of view of the parents, again, yes and no. Because parents always want their children to have a good command of Greek, but they also want them to go to school; that is, they want the children to want to go to school. They want both, and it is difficult to have both. Also, in Greek schools, teachers are not always teachers. Sometimes, people teach simply because they know the language. But in order to be a teacher, you must know how to be a teacher. There are both good teachers, and people who teach and know nothing about the job. And there are teachers who know the language well, and others who do not. So, being a native speaker is not always what is most important. It is a mixture, do you understand?

The different types of Greek HL teachers in Canada have been previously presented in a study conducted by Constantinides (2001). These types include (a) graduates of Greek universities with a degree in education or a similar field, (b) graduates of Canadian universities with a degree in education or a similar field, and (c) instructors who are fluent in Greek but have no background in pedagogic studies whatsoever (Constantinides, 2001, pp. 218-221). Aravossitas' study (2014) showed that Greek HL teachers believed that some standards of competence should be enforced, as they considered some of their colleagues as unsuitable for the position, either because of their lacking language skills, or because of their lack of teaching experience. The present study's participants asserted that not much has changed in terms of the types of Greek HL teachers in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas, and appeared to favor the first type of Greek HL teachers, who combine an excellent command of the Greek language and a background in pedagogic studies.

Fourth sub-question

4. How does the local educational context affect Greek HL teachers' perspectives and practices?

The Greek HL teachers' perspectives and practices were also shown to be largely affected by their local educational context. In this section, I present the particularities of the educational contexts in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas, and how these have affected the participants' practices and ways of understanding their roles as Greek HL teachers.

Not all Greek families in the greater Montreal area can afford sending their children to Greek day schools and those in need should be supported

In the greater Montreal area, Greek HLE is unique, as it is the only place in Canada with five K-9 Greek day schools founded by the HCGM. There are also numerous K-12 Saturday programs and afternoon programs for youth and adults, either supported by the HCGM or other private institutions. The HCGM Greek day schools follow the curriculum provided by the Ministry of Education, Leisure and Sports (MELS) and offer instruction in French (69%), Greek (23%), and English (8%). The trilingual day schools mainly serve the members of the Hellenic Community of Greater Montreal (Aravossitas, 2014). The teachers explained that students often start school at one of the five campuses of the Greek day school. Many of them also attend one of the numerous Saturday programs that cover both PreK-6 and 7-12 grades. When students reach grade 7 they switch to a French or English day school, and many of them choose to maintain their contact with the Greek language by going to the Saturday school.

However, as teachers also highlighted, today not all Greek families have access to these schools, as both the day and supplementary programs are now only partially funded by the Quebec government. This means that the students' families must pay higher tuition fees compared to past years, when the Greek programs were fully funded by the Quebec government, which can be a deterring factor for some. Lena explained that the Greek school administration tries its best to help students, but argued that the criteria based on which it is decided who should be supported should be needs-based and not merit-based:

“Η Κοινότητα υστερεί σε ό,τι έχει να κάνει με το χρήμα. Γιατί τώρα η χρηματοδότηση από το Κεμπέκ είναι μερική. Βοηθάνε κάποιους που είναι άριστοι βέβαια, αλλά δεν είναι όλοι έτσι -υπάρχουν παιδιά που χρειάζονται βοήθεια, παιδιά που έχουν και οικονομικά προβλήματα στην οικογένεια.”

Translation:

“The Community has a lot of shortcomings when it comes to financial issues. Because now the funding from Quebec is only partial. They (the Community) do help some excellent students, but not everyone is like that; there are children needing help, children whose families face financial challenges.”

In the greater Montreal area, the use of languages in the Greek day schools is affected by school policies

The HL teachers also described some policies that are common across all campuses of the HCGM day schools. First, the participants elucidated that language teachers working in the day

schools are encouraged to teach the three languages separately and refrain from mixing them in class. According to the participants, the reason provided by the school administration for this school policy is that mixing the languages might confuse the students. Anna commented:

Anna: Η πολιτική του σχολείου είναι να κρατάει χώρια τις γλώσσες για να μην μπερδεύονται τα παιδιά. Και δεν ξέρω αν τελικά είναι καλό αυτό. Νομίζω ότι τα παιδιά θα βοηθιόντουσαν αν μπορούσαν να δουν τις διάφορες συνδέσεις. Ειδικά με κάποιες βασικές έννοιες.

Emmanouela: Αυτή την ένστασή σου την έχεις μεταφέρει;

Anna: Δεν θυμάμαι να το έχω κάνει σε επίπεδο διοίκησης. Νομίζω το έχω συζητήσει με συναδέλφους. Και με τους συναδέλφους, μοιράστηκα την εμπειρία μου πιο πολύ, δεν το μετέφερα σαν ένσταση.

Emmanouela: Και τι σου είπαν εκείνοι;

Anna: Μου υπενθύμισαν τον κανονισμό. Δεν νομίζω ότι συμμερίστηκαν την άποψή μου.

Translation:

Anna: The school's policy is to keep the languages separated to avoid confusing the kids. And I'm not entirely sure this is good. I think it would be helpful for children if they could see the various connections. Especially in terms of certain basic concepts.

Emmanouela: Have you communicated this objection of yours?

Anna: I do not remember having this conversation with the administration. I think I have discussed it with colleagues. And with my colleagues, I simply shared my experience; it was not meant as an objection.

Emmanouela: And what did your colleagues say?

Anna: They reminded me of the regulation. I do not think they shared my view.

Interestingly, all participants admitted using or having used either French or English while teaching Greek, to ensure that their students can understand them. It appeared that teachers interpreted this policy as a reminder that they should not use other languages *extensively* while in class, but considered instruction giving, vocabulary teaching, and grammar teaching as instances where using other languages would be acceptable. They also found that by mixing languages and allowing students to mix them too, the students' receptive and productive skills in Greek improved. Indeed, using various languages shared by the students has been shown to be an effective strategy for helping students build on their prior knowledge and make new connections while learning an additional language (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Cummins, 2000; Cummins et al., 2005; García, 2009a; Palmer et al., 2014).

Another school policy that was described by the teachers working in the HCGM day schools was the encouragement of students to communicate in French while they are on the school's premises. The teachers explained that, to a great extent, students follow this regulation and mainly use French while at school. Nevertheless, the teachers also stressed that even though they mostly heard the students speak in French, it was clear that their preferred language is English. Maria noted:

“Στο καθημερινό σχολείο επιβάλλεται να μιλάνε γαλλικά τα παιδιά ακόμα και στο διάλειμμα –άρα, πολλές φορές έρχομαι σε επαφή με μαθητές που μιλούν γαλλικά μεταξύ τους. Αλλά νιώθω από τις πλάκες που κάνουν όταν είναι σε περιβάλλον εκτός σχολείου, και γενικότερα, όταν τους βλέπω με τους γονείς τους, όταν τους βλέπω άνετους, ότι τα αγγλικά τους είναι πολύ πιο μέσα στην κουλτούρα τους και τα shows-oi διάφορες σειρές που παρακολουθούν, οι ταινίες και όλα αυτά είναι πάρα πολύ αμερικανοποιημένα και υποθέτω ότι τα βλέπουν στα αγγλικά.”

Translation:

“In the day school, they are obliged to speak in French even when they are on their break; so, I often hear them speak in French. But, from the expressions they use when they banter, from when I see them outside of school, with their parents and relaxed, I have the feeling that they are way closer to English. It is in their culture; all the shows they watch, the movies, all that is very American-like and I assume they watch all that in English.”

A previous study (Panagiotopoulou, Rosen, & García, 2016) also examined the views of Greek HL teachers working in supplementary programs in Montreal in terms of the use of multiple languages in the Greek HL class. This study showed that teachers hold seemingly contradictory views, and that their perceptions are dependent not only on the school's policies, but also on the teachers' own linguistic backgrounds.

In the greater Montreal area, teachers in Saturday programs retaliate against those who question the quality of their work

Another issue that became evident was that teachers held different opinions of the day and supplementary programs. Teachers working in day schools seemed to hold the opinion that the work done in the day schools is superior to that in the Saturday schools, mainly because of the fact that students are more exposed to the Greek language in the day school. However, teachers working in Saturday programs retaliated by identifying a potential disadvantage of Greek day schools that is non-existent in Saturday programs. They noted that the fact that students have three language

teachers in the day school can be confusing, and that in this case students recognize their French instructor as their main teacher. Anna argued:

“Όταν ένα παιδί έχει τρεις γλώσσες, αναγνωρίζει το Γάλλο ως δάσκαλό του. Και μετά τα αγγλικά τα μιλάει πιο συχνά και τα ελληνικά έρχονται τελευταία -είναι το παιχνίδι. Όλα αυτά ισχύουν στο καθημερινό. Στο σαββατιανό ξέρει ότι είναι το ελληνικό σχολείο, τελεία. Είναι πιο ξεκάθαρο.”

Translation:

“When a child has three language teachers, they recognize the French one as their main teacher. And then there’s English, which they speak more often, and Greek comes last -they view it as the playtime. All that is true for the day school, where the three languages co-exist. In the Saturday school, children know they are in the Greek school and that is it. It is clearer.”

Another argument put forth in support of the work done in the Saturday schools was that the program’s flexibility allows teachers to customize their lessons according to the exact needs of the students, without having to worry about falling behind. The teachers explained that while they work with specific books and a certain syllabus, they also have the freedom to use supplementary material and deviate from the book’s chapters when they deem it necessary. That, according to the teachers, allows them to follow the pace of the students and create their own material to best address the students’ needs. Maria explained:

“Το γεγονός ότι έχουν διαφορετικά επίπεδα δεν έχει αποτελέσει ποτέ εμπόδιο πραγματικό μέσα στην τάξη, κάτι που να με προβληματίσει. Ίσως έχει να κάνει με το ότι φτιάχνω κάθε φορά, ακριβώς επειδή δεν υπάρχει περιορισμός στο τι μάθημα θα κάνεις, φτιάχνω εγώ το πλάνο του μαθήματος και τις ασκήσεις και προσέχω κάθε επίπεδο να είναι προσβάσιμο από τους μαθητές.”

Translation:

“The fact that there are students of different levels has never caused an actual problem in class, something that proved to be difficult. Maybe it is because, since there are no limitations on the way you teach, I always prepare the lesson plan and my own set of activities, and I make sure it is accessible on every level by all students.”

In the greater Toronto area, teachers in Saturday programs sometimes adopt the opinion of those who question their work

In the greater Toronto area, there is one private day school, and several afternoon and Saturday programs. The various Greek programs are either founded by the GCT or other institutions. The afternoon programs vary, and operate one, two or three times (intensive program) per week. Most of these schools offer K-8 programs, with the exception of a K-12 school that

offers courses either in the weekday afternoons or on Saturdays. The students who are not enrolled in the private Greek day school attend English schools (and in fewer cases French immersion schools) and rely on afternoon/intensive or Saturday programs for their Greek education.

A common theme that emerged from the sessions with Greek HL teachers teaching in the greater Toronto area was the questioning of the quality of Greek Saturday programs. The teachers provided several reasons to justify this questioning. First, they argued that having classes only once per week does not help in creating a strong bond between the teacher and the students. They also added that students are tired on Saturdays and cannot perform, as they would rather spend their Saturday playing as opposed to studying. Niki commented:

“Στο σαββατιανό θεωρώ ότι δεν γίνεται σωστή δουλειά για να μάθει το παιδί ελληνικά. Δε μπορείς με τις 4-5 ώρες που είμαστε εκεί - και κάνουμε και πολλά άλλα πράγματα όπως ας πούμε χορό, μουσική κλπ. Είναι πολύ κουραστικό για τα παιδιά, και δεν είναι το ίδιο να βλέπεις τα παιδιά καθημερινά και να τα βλέπεις μια φορά το Σάββατο. Η διδασκαλία δεν είναι η ίδια αν πας 3 φορές μέσα στην εβδομάδα και αν πας ένα Σάββατο για πέντε ώρες. Γιατί τότε τα παιδιά θα θέλουν να παίξουν.”

Translation:

“I do not think the work done in the Saturday school is what is necessary for a child to learn Greek. With the 4-5 hours we have there, it is difficult, because we also do many other things like Greek dance, music etc. It is very tiring for children and it is not the same seeing them on a daily basis and seeing them just once a week on Saturdays. Teaching is not the same when you work with the students three times per week and when you work with them merely on Saturdays for five hours. On Saturdays children want time to play.”

Surprisingly, some of the teachers teaching in both afternoon/intensive and Saturday programs appeared to share the opinion that the work done in the former is superior. They even associated this with the parents' expectations of them, stressing that their demands are higher in the afternoon/intensive programs, and thus the quality of their teaching increases in those contexts. The teachers explained that the reason why students' families have higher expectations of them in afternoon/intensive programs is because these programs are more expensive. Sofia noted:

“Εγώ πιστεύω ότι όταν αυτό που προσφέρεις το πληρώνουν οι άλλοι ακριβά το εκτιμούν κιόλας. Στα σχολεία που είμαι, το ένα δεν παίρνει τίποτα, και το άλλο είναι κανονικό σχολείο που παίρνει λεφτά. Κι εκεί βλέπω τη διαφορά. Πιστεύω ότι και τα δίδακτρα παίζουν ρόλο. Ας πούμε στο [απογευματινό σχολείο στην τοποθεσία 8], που είναι τρεις μέρες την εβδομάδα, εκεί τα παιδιά διαβάζουν πάρα πολύ. Γιατί είναι πιο ακριβό και πιο εντατικό σχολείο. Είναι και οι γονείς πώς το βλέπουν.”

Translation:

“I believe that when you offer something that others pay expensive amounts for, it gets appreciated. I see this from the schools where I work; one does not charge anything and the other one is a regular school charging money. I see the difference there. I believe that tuition fees play an important role. For instance, in [afternoon/intensive program in site 8], which operates three times per week, children study very hard. Because it is more expensive and more intensive. And this affects how parents view it too.”

Niki, a teacher working in both the private Greek day school and a Saturday program in the greater Toronto area also appeared to be convinced that the students’ level is higher in the former as a result of the overall better services that are offered. Niki commented:

Emmanouela: Υπάρχουν διαφορές ανάμεσα στους μαθητές του καθημερινού και του Σαββατιανού σχολείου;

Niki: Καμία σχέση. Το σχολείο παίζει ρόλο. Στο καθημερινό έχεις συχνότερη επαφή με τα παιδιά και είναι και όλο το κλίμα ελληνικό -τα φαγητά, οι περισσότεροι δάσκαλοι είναι Έλληνες, είναι όλο το κλίμα. Και υπάρχει πολύ μεγάλη διαφορά στο επίπεδο ελληνικών των παιδιών στο καθημερινό και στο σαββατιανό. Μπορεί ας πούμε παιδάκια νηπιαγωγείου στο καθημερινό σχολείο να ξέρουν πολλά παραπάνω από παιδιά πρώτης ή δευτέρας στο σαββατιανό.

Translation:

Emmanouela: Are there any differences between day school students and Saturday school students?

Niki: There is no comparison between them. School plays an important role. In the day school, you have more frequent contact with children and the whole ambience is Greek - the food, most of the teachers are Greek, it is the whole vibe. And there is substantial discrepancy between the students’ level of Greek in the day school and the Saturday school. For instance, a kindergarten child in the day school may speak better Greek than a first or second grade child in the Saturday school.

In Saturday programs in the greater Toronto area, teachers are expected to cover the same material as those in afternoon/intensive programs

Greek HL teachers teaching in supplementary programs in Toronto described an additional difficulty that they have to overcome, aside from people questioning their work. Unlike Saturday schools in Montreal, where teachers explained that the program’s flexibility allows them to follow the students’ pace and customize the lesson on the students’ needs, teachers teaching in Saturday schools in the greater Toronto area explained that they are assigned specific textbooks and syllabi which they are expected to complete by the end of the school year. The teachers found that the

books are designed for the intensive programs, and that the time they have to cover the material is insufficient. Sofia argued:

“Έχουμε ένα πάρα πολύ ωραίο βιβλίο, τα έχει όλα -έχει το κείμενο, άγνωστες λέξεις, έκθεση, κομμάτι για προφορικά, γραμματική... Δηλαδή το κάθε μάθημα είναι ολοκληρωμένο. Και μερικές φορές μας δείχνει ο διευθυντής πώς να το διδάσκουμε, γιατί το βιβλίο είναι εμ πυκνογραμμένο θα το πω. Μέσα το κάθε κεφάλαιο έχει πάρα πολλή, συσσωρευμένη γραμματική που δε μπορείς να τη βγάλεις σε ένα μάθημα και μας δείχνει πώς να το δουλέψουμε για να βγει σε αυτόν τον χρόνο. Γιατί αυτά τα βιβλία έχουν γίνει για το εντατικό σχολείο, ένα απογευματινό σχολείο με μάθημα τρεις φορές την εβδομάδα. Οπότε αυτοί παίρνουν ένα κεφάλαιο και το βγάζουν σε τρεις μέρες, ενώ εμείς με τα ίδια βιβλία στο Σαββατιανό πρέπει να το βγάλουμε σε μία μέρα.”

Translation:

“We have a very good textbook that has everything you need; the text, vocabulary, essays, oral part, grammar... It provides a complete lesson. Sometimes our director shows us how to teach it, because the book is rather dense. Each chapter has a lot of grammar that you cannot teach in a single session and the director shows us how to complete it within this amount of time. These textbooks have been created for the intensive school, an afternoon school holding classes three times a week. So, they take one chapter and complete it in three days, while we use the same textbooks in the Saturday school, and we only have one day to complete each chapter.”

In Toronto's Greek day school, teachers assume that students have no knowledge of Greek but make every effort to teach them

Finally, the day school that operates in the greater Toronto area is unique for several reasons. First, it is the only Greek day school in the area, and it is believed to offer excellent services. The teachers themselves characterize the work done in this school as excellent, and argue that the students' level is very high. A second reason why this school is unique, is the fact that it accepts students of ethnicities other than Greek. Even though students must be Orthodox Christians to attend this school, they do not need to have Greek origins. Therefore, many of this school's students identify as Orthodox Christians, but have Russian, Ukrainian, Romanian, or Bulgarian origins among others. The participants explained that Greek is a mandatory course for all students, even if their knowledge of the language is minimal, and that everyone in the school is expected to follow the Greek customs and traditions.

When asked whether having both HL learners and learners with no Greek background affects their teaching, the participants argued that the students' levels are in any case diverse in HL classes, and that their aim is to treat all their students as equals, irrespective of their

backgrounds. They explained that they assume that their students have no knowledge of Greek and make sure to encourage all students to participate in class. Stella noted for instance:

“Εγώ προσπαθώ να φέρομαι σε όλα τα παιδιά σαν να μην έχουν κάποια άλλη επαφή με τη γλώσσα. Σαν να είναι μία οποιαδήποτε ξένη γλώσσα. Βέβαια αυτοί που έχουν μία άνεση με τη γλώσσα, φαίνονται -στο πώς μιλάνε, πώς γράφουνε, θα τελειώσουν πιο γρήγορα τις ασκήσεις. Και τους δίνω το ρόλο να βοηθήσουν τους άλλους που δεν έχουν αυτή την ευκολία. Βέβαια τα άλλα παιδιά λένε «εγώ δεν ξέρω ελληνικά». Δεν έχουν καταλάβει ότι εδώ έρχονται για να μάθουν. Και πως ό,τι χρειάζονται για τις ανάγκες του μαθήματος, το ξέρουν ήδη. Αλλά στο μυαλό τους έχει μείνει ότι δεν ξέρουν ελληνικά και έτσι τους λέω τακτικά πως γι’ αυτό έρχονται και πως ήδη ξέρουν πολλά.”

Translation:

“I try to treat all children like they have had no other contact with the language. Like it is any other foreign language. Of course, you can tell which students are confident in the use of the language -you can tell by the way they talk, the way they write, how quickly they finish their exercises. And I assign them the role of helping others who don't find this as easy. Of course, the other children say: “I don't speak Greek”. They have not realized that they attend school to learn how to speak Greek. And that they already know what is necessary for the needs of the lesson. In their head, they are stuck on thinking they cannot speak Greek, and I have to remind them on a regular basis that this is the reason they are attending school and that they already know a lot..”

In Toronto's Greek day school, the teachers' strategies to engage students depend on the students' backgrounds

During the sessions with Stella and Niki, I was fascinated by their description of the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of their students in the day school. I assumed that having students with no Greek familial ties as well as Greek HL learners in the same class would perhaps have an impact on the class dynamics, as well as the teachers' strategies for engaging students. I therefore asked them how they would try to win over a student of different ethnicity in case they questioned the need to learn Greek. Niki responded:

Emmanouela: Όταν είσαι σε μία τάξη που δεν είναι μέσα μόνο Έλληνες, αν προκύψει μία ερώτηση που έχει να κάνει με τη χρησιμότητα των ελληνικών, το να τους εμπνεύσεις περηφάνια για την Ελλάδα, πιάνει σαν τακτική;

Niki: Όχι. Σε αυτή την περίπτωση τους λέω ‘είσαι σε ελληνικό σχολείο και πρέπει να το μάθεις’. Και με άλλους δασκάλους το λέγαμε αυτό - ότι εφόσον τα παιδιά είναι σε ελληνικό ορθόδοξο σχολείο, πρέπει να σέβονται τη γλώσσα, τα έθιμα και τις παραδόσεις μας. Και αυτό είναι κάτι που το ξέρουν και οι γονείς και τα παιδιά.

Translation:

Emmanouela: When you are in a class, where not all students are Greeks, if there is a question related to the usefulness of Greek, does generating a feeling of pride for Greece work as a method?

Niki: No. In this case, I tell them, “you are in a Greek school and you have to learn Greek”. We have discussed this with other teachers too, and we said that since the children attend a Greek Orthodox school, they should respect our language, customs, and traditions. Parents and children both know that.

The teachers who had seemed very understanding of the Greek HL learners’ hectic schedules and language insecurities, and had offered me a great variety of strategies for sparking Greek HL learners’ interest for Greek, appeared to forget all that and assume an authoritarian role when the same issue arose with a student with no Greek familial ties. In my Fieldnotes, I interpreted this as a sign of insecurity: “She has all these wonderful strategies for winning over her students, with all the photos that she shows them of Greece, and when it comes to students of other ethnicities, she feels she has to force Greek on them. I think she would benefit from seeing all the strategies that other participants described, where you do not need to leverage the students’ familial ties, but can focus on multilingualism in general, and its cognitive and social benefits” (Fieldnotes - translated, March 3, 2019).

Fifth sub-question

5. *What similarities and differences can be identified between the responses to these various questions of teachers teaching in Montreal and teachers teaching in Toronto?*

The reason for choosing to conduct this study with Greek HL teachers from the greater areas of Montreal and Toronto was twofold. First, choosing participants from these two locations seemed the logical thing to do, as there are about 250.000 people of Greek origin in Canada, 80% of whom reside in Quebec and Ontario, and more specifically in or close to the metropolises of Montreal and Toronto (Library and Archives Canada, 2016). Aside from that, I was interested in examining whether and how the tension between French and English in Quebec may affect Greek HLE and the perceptions and practices of HL teachers in Montreal, as opposed to Toronto, where the dominance of English renders this tension less evident.

In the previous sections of this chapter, I identified several similarities in the perceptions of Greek HL teachers teaching in Montreal and Toronto. More specifically, it has already been shown that Greek HL teachers in both locations share the opinion that Greek is not the students’

preferred language, even though it is a language they love. Also, Greek HL teachers in both locations are adamant about the fact that the Greek language and culture are interrelated and must be taught together. They explain that the HL class is in most cases a mixed-abilities class, and they highlight the fact that time and resources for personalized instruction are lacking in Greek schools. They also seem to prefer individual activities and projects to group ones, and elucidate that they use a variety of methods to motivate and assess students. Finally, Greek HL teachers in both locations admit using English or French while teaching Greek, but oppose their extensive use in the HL class.

In this section, I present some similarities that have not been addressed until this point, as well as the main differences in the perceptions and practices of the participants teaching in the two locations.

Similarities

Greek HL teachers in both locations believe that the efforts of the two Greek communities, and Canada's multiculturalism, facilitate the preservation of Greek

First and foremost, Greek HL teachers explained that the Greek communities in both locations are well organized and have significant resources that facilitate their job, especially when compared to other minority communities. The HL teachers felt that promoting and maintaining a strong bond with the Greek language and culture was made possible largely because of the efforts of the two communities. With numerous Greek schools and churches, as well as events organized by the respective Greek communities and their members, Greek HL teachers acknowledged that preserving Greek in Canada is made easier than other minority languages. Aside from the role of the Greek communities, the teachers also recognized Canada's multiculturalism as a crucial factor that has allowed Greeks to thrive in the host land without losing touch with Greek. George commented:

Emmanouela: Πώς αισθάνθηκες βλέποντας την παρέλαση των Ελλήνων στο Τορόντο;

George: Συγκίνηση, ρίγος, δέος, περηφάνια, τιμή μεγάλη. Γιατί, μέσα σε μία κοινωνία πολυφυλετική και πολυπολιτισμική, αποδέχονται και τη δική μου κουλτούρα και ταυτότητα χωρίς να την αποδοκιμάζουν ή να την κατακρίνουν. Όπως κι όταν βλέπω την παρέλαση εδώ, στο Μόντρεαλ, μου κάνει εντύπωση που βλέπω κόσμο από άλλες χώρες και πολιτισμούς, οι οποίοι ήταν στο πεζοδρόμιο, κοίταζαν, χειροκροτούσαν... μου αρέσει έτσι όπως γίνεται εδώ, είναι εντυπωσιακό. Αυτό με εντυπωσιάζει, ότι αυτό το μωσαϊκό των γλωσσών και πολιτισμών συνυπάρχει.

Translation:

Emmanouela: How did you feel watching the Greeks' parade in Toronto?

George: Emotional; chills, awe, pride, a great sense of honor. In a society that is multiracial and multicultural, people accept my own culture and identity, without denouncing or judging it. When I see the parade here in Montreal, I am impressed by the fact that there are people from other countries and cultures, standing on the sidewalk, looking, clapping their hands... I like the way parades are done here, it is very impressive. This mosaic of languages and cultures co-existing impresses me.

Greek HL teachers in both locations note that Greek programs acknowledge students' multiple identities

This appreciation for the host land was also evident in the way the participants spoke about Canada, clearly identifying it as an inextricable part of the learners' and their families' identities. They explained that even though first-generation Greeks were faced with adverse conditions when they immigrated to Canada, they soon managed to create better life conditions for them and their families. The participants elucidated that third-generation Greeks identify as both Canadian and Greek, and that the Greek programs celebrate both aspects of the students' identities. Lena commented:

“Στις γιορτές που κάνουμε στο σχολείο θα ακούσεις και τους δύο εθνικούς ύμνους. Και της Ελλάδας και του Καναδά. Και τα παιδιά λένε τα λόγια με την ίδια περηφάνια -είναι και οι δύο πατρίδες τους. Και δεν τους ζητάει κάποιος να τις ξεχωρίσουν, είναι και οι δύο κομμάτια της ταυτότητάς τους.”

Translation:

“In the school shows, you will hear both the Greek and the Canadian national anthems. And you will see that the kids sing along with the same pride; they see them both as their countries. And no one asks them to choose one over the other; they are both parts of their identities.”

Greek HL teachers in both locations support that the learners' language skills depend largely on their families' attitudes and habits

All teachers supported that the one key factor that can guarantee the HL learners' success in learning Greek is none other than using the language at home. They considered that parents are the ones primarily responsible for teaching their children to use and love Greek, and also associated the parents' attitudes towards Greek to the quality of their own teaching. They explained that in parent-teacher conferences, they always encourage parents who know the language to use it with their children, and added that they can tell whether a learner's family uses Greek at home simply by listening to the students speak Greek in class. They also elucidated that the great discrepancy

among the students' levels in Greek can be attributed to the different exposure that HL learners have to the language outside of school.

Greek HL teachers in both locations value parent involvement

The teachers in both locations found parental involvement to be essential for the learning process, and explained that they often use individual projects that invite each student to work with their parents or other family members. They explained that the parents' and other family members' attitudes towards Greek have a substantial impact on the students' own willingness to learn the language, and argued that their perceptions can either inspire learners to invest in the learning of the HL or alienate them from it. These claims are corroborated by research on HLs, which has also highlighted the great impact of the family in HL use and learning (Carreira & Kagan 2011, 2018; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Melo - Pfeifer, 2015). The teachers also added that communication with the learners' parents is not always easy, and estimated that alternative ways of contacting the parents, such as the use of newsletters or emails, could prove more effective in establishing a closer relationship with them than mere parent-teacher conferences.

Differences

While there were many similarities in the perceptions and practices of the Greek HL teachers in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas, some differences also emerged. These differences were linked mainly, but not exclusively, to the tension between French and English that is omnipresent in the Quebec province but less evident -if not nonexistent- in the province of Ontario.

In the greater Montreal area, Greek HL learners use French and realize its importance for their future

The Charter of French Language, or Bill 101, was brought into law in 1977 in the province of Quebec. This language law defines French as the province's only official language, and mandates immigrants' children to receive education in French, unless their parents are Canadian citizens and have received the majority of their elementary school education in English, either in Quebec or another province (Haque, 2012). As a result of this law, Greek HL learners are all largely exposed to the French language, and many of them attend French schools. Even though the language the learners are most comfortable using is English, the HL teachers estimate that all learners in the greater Montreal area understand the importance of French, as a language that can guarantee their future employability and social mobility.

The Greek day schools in the greater Montreal area have policies that prioritize the use of the French language, and according to the teachers, students follow this regulation and communicate with their peers and with their teachers in French while at school. Consequently, when there is communication failure in the Greek class, teachers use French (and to a lesser extent English) to make sure that students understand them. The teachers noted that students in all Greek programs in the greater Montreal area have opportunities to use the language either at school or in the broader society. They admitted that sometimes students feel that French is forced on them and react (for instance, they may not *invest* in learning the language in depth), but ultimately realize that knowing French is essential for their future.

In the greater Toronto area, Greek HL learners do not have opportunities to use French and question the need to learn any language other than English

The situation appeared to be very different in the greater Toronto area in this respect. The teachers argued that while all students know French to some extent, because it is a mandatory course in every school, they hardly ever use it outside the French classroom. The participants explained that students do not have opportunities to use French in their everyday lives outside of school, and stressed that their interactions are mainly in English. The teachers saw French as a useful tool for students, but stressed that students themselves feel that the only language they need to know how to use is English. The fact that English is now an international language that they can use in most places in Canada and around the world appeared to be a deterring factor not just for learning and using French, but also for taking up any language other than English.

Greek HL teachers in the greater Montreal area view French as an indispensable tool

Interestingly, the teachers in the greater Montreal area not only viewed French as important for students, but also considered it as an indispensable tool for their own life in Quebec. When asked to create their own language portrait, all four participants from Montreal included French in their portraits, and three of them argued that knowing French is necessary when living in Quebec. Two participants even argued that being trilingual (French, English, Greek) is necessary for a person of Greek origin who lives in Quebec.

Greek HL teachers in the greater Toronto area do not consider French as a language they would like to learn

In contrast, when creating their language portraits, three of the participants from the greater Toronto area did not include French as a language they knew or wished to learn, and the one person who did (Kostas), stressed that even though he knows the language, he does not have opportunities to use it in his everyday life in Toronto. In addition, the participants from the greater Toronto area noted that when there is communication failure in the Greek class, or when they want to make a comparison between Greek and another language, they always opt for English and not French.

While in both locations Greek HL teachers view English as a practical language, in the greater Toronto area teachers think effortlessly in it

Interestingly, there were also differences in the ways participants represented English in their language portraits. All four participants from the greater Montreal area associated English with their hands, explaining that they viewed it as a practical language for their communication with their students. Three of the teachers from the greater Toronto area associated English with their brain, and two participants also chose to associate it with their hands. It could be argued that teachers in the greater Montreal area consider English as a practical language that they can use to communicate with their students, but always keep in mind that they can rely for this purpose on French too. On the other hand, teachers from the greater Toronto area appear to rely solely on English when there is communication failure in the Greek class. English therefore becomes not merely a language that helps them practically, but also a language of which they have a subconscious understanding, and thus a language in which they think effortlessly.

Greek HL teachers teaching in Saturday programs in the two locations respond differently to those who question their work

Several of the participants in both locations shared the belief that Greek day schools or intensive afternoon programs offer better services than Saturday programs. As was mentioned above, they justified this opinion by arguing that having classes only once per week does not help in creating a strong bond between the teacher and the students, and that so few hours of instruction are not sufficient for successful language learning. They also stressed that the students' families have higher expectations of teachers in intensive or day programs, which in turn motivates them to improve the quality of their teaching. Indeed, the participants acknowledged that when the

learners and their families appear to be more engaged in the educational process, both their motivation and the quality of their teaching also increase. In both locations, Greek HL teachers in Saturday programs, who, unlike teachers in Greek day schools or intensive programs teach on a part-time basis, appeared to feel unappreciated by their fellow teachers. Previous studies on Greek HLE in Canada have also found that Greek HL teachers teaching in supplementary programs can feel unappreciated or marginalized (Aravossitas, 2016; Aravossitas & Oikonomakou, 2017).

Strikingly, the belief that the work done in Greek day schools or intensive programs is superior to that done in Saturday programs appeared to be so widespread that some participants working in Saturday programs in the greater area of Toronto appeared to adopt it themselves. However, that was not the case with Greek HL teachers working in Saturday programs in the greater Montreal area. These teachers retaliated against those who questioned them and put forth arguments in support of their work. The major advantage of Saturday programs according to these participants is that it offers them flexibility and the chance to try out different methods and strategies without having to worry about falling behind. This, in turn, allows them to target the students' weaknesses and customize the lessons around their specific needs.

Overarching question

How do Greek HL teachers in Montreal and Toronto understand and/or reflect upon their teacher identity, their perceptions about teaching, and their instructional practices?

Having used themes that emerged from the field texts to answer the five sub-questions that guided the inquiry, I now turn to the overarching question of the study. As with the previous questions, I answer the overarching question by using field texts that emerged from all the various methods that were used during the sessions with the participants.

Changes in the teachers' identities

When invited to create their identity charts and reflect on their identities before and after becoming language teachers, the vast majority of the participants were able to identify significant changes. They found that being a teacher had helped them become more organized, patient, and empathetic. They considered themselves as more understanding of others, and generally felt that they were now more mature and less self-involved. They explained that as HL teachers they often assume the role of the mediator, they feel that they must support their students, and that they rely on various attributes that they either had in advance or developed during their course as teachers.

When reflecting on the changes that were brought about in their identities after becoming teachers, the participants referred to their character traits, their various roles, their interests and their habits. They also discussed aspects of their personal lives, such as their family lives, immigration stories, and changes in occupation, and noted that all these aspects have played a role in their teaching today. In short, the participants appeared to come to the realization that their teacher identities are intertwined with and cannot be separated from their overall identities, and that their experiences, their education, their interactions with other people, and their life stories all had an impact on their role as Greek HL teachers.

Affirming the learners' identities

Apart from their understanding of their role as Greek HL teachers, the participants also expressed their views about the extent to which they can affect the students and their identity formation. The teachers recognized that people's identities change as a result of their experiences and their interactions with others. However, the majority of the teachers appeared to share the belief that unless a person is willing to change themselves and their worldview, their identities cannot be altered. Therefore, they believed that the love for Greek cannot be forced on HL learners. They did however feel that it is indispensable to share their own reasons for loving Greek with their students and they hope to inspire them and affirm their identities. The participants found that it was their responsibility to provide HL learners with arguments to both appreciate and defend their HL.

While the participants agreed that getting the learners to love Greek and facilitating their connection to the Greek language and culture was their responsibility, they also believed that this responsibility is shared between them and the HL learners' families. All participants highlighted that the attitudes of the learners' families towards Greek is the key factor that either encourages learners to take up Greek or alienates them from their HL. Teachers also added that the learners' attitudes towards Greek is in some cases affected by their families' potential dislike of the regional Greek community's administration. George commented:

“Υπάρχουν και γονείς που ναρκοθετούν. Με εμπρηστικές δηλώσεις, μεταφέρουν στα παιδιά ένα κλίμα άσχημο. Κι επειδή τα παιδιά είναι αυθόρμητα, λίγο αν συζητήσεις μαζί τους στο λένε μόνα τους. Αυτό είναι το μόνο στενάχωρο. Υπάρχει κάποιες φορές μία εμπάθεια και ορισμένες φορές μία επίθεση στο εκπαιδευτικό έργο, παρότι στέλνουν τα παιδιά τους στο ελληνικό σχολείο. Δε μπορώ να το καταλάβω αυτό. Ενδεχομένως να είναι προς την Κοινότητα αυτή η επίθεση και το υφιστάμεθα εμείς.

Εμείς απορροφάμε τους κραδασμούς. Πάντως τα παιδιά επηρεάζονται από αυτό και στο πώς βλέπουν το έργο μας αλλά και τα ελληνικά γενικότερα.”

Translation:

“There are also parents that undermine the entire process. They make inflammatory statements and create a negative atmosphere, and all this is passed on the children. And since children are spontaneous, if you pick up a conversation with them they will say so themselves. This is the only sad aspect. Sometimes there is hostility and an attack against the educational work, even though they send their children to the Greek school. I cannot understand this. Perhaps this is an attack addressed to the Community and we have to sustain it. We are the ones absorbing the shock. In any case, the children are affected by this, both in terms of how they see our work, and how they view Greek in general.”

Perceptions about teaching and their role as Greek HL teachers

Throughout the three sessions, the participants also provided details about the ways in which they understand their role as Greek HL teachers. They noted that the Greek HL teacher must have an excellent command of the Greek language and be an educator. They explained that these two requirements are not always fulfilled, and argued that the lack of either one of them can affect the quality of one’s teaching. According to the participants, the role of the Greek HL teacher is not merely to teach Greek, but most importantly to inspire students and share with them their passion for the Greek language and culture. George commented:

Emmanouela: Πιστεύεις ότι οι μαθητές που έρχονται στο ελληνικό σχολείο έχουν ενδιαφέρον για να μάθουν τη γλώσσα;

George: Θα είμαι ειλικρινής. Όχι όλοι. Εδώ είναι η κύρια ευθύνη του εκπαιδευτικού. Μπορεί να εμπνεύσεις κάποιον που αρχικά δεν ενδιαφέρεται να μάθει τη γλώσσα - εκεί στοχεύω εγώ. Αυτοί που έρχονται με ενδιαφέρον, συνήθως αυτό έχει να κάνει με το δικό τους το background, δηλαδή τα ερεθίσματα που έχουν. Αλλά δεν γίνεται να αρκεστείς σε αυτούς που έρχονται με ενδιαφέρον, πρέπει να βρεις τους τρόπους να κερδίσεις και τους υπόλοιπους. Γιατί έχουμε μία μοναδική γλώσσα, είμαστε πολύ τυχεροί, και οφείλουμε να το δείξουμε αυτό στα παιδιά. Να τους εμπνεύσουμε.

Translation:

Emmanouela: Do you believe that students attending Greek school are actually interested in learning the language?

George: I am going to be honest. Not everyone is. And this where the teacher’s main responsibility lies. You can inspire someone who lacks an interest for the language - and this is my goal. The students who already share an interest for the language are usually influenced by their family background, by all the stimuli that are offered to them. But you cannot just be content with that; you need to find ways to win over the others too. Because our language is unique, we are very fortunate, and we have the responsibility to show that to the children. To inspire them.

In addition, the participants also highlighted the importance of teachers staying up-to-date with developments in their professional field. They argued that learning is a lifelong process and that teachers must constantly strive to stay on top of developments in terms of pedagogical theories, approaches to teaching, educational material, and technological resources. Stella noted for instance:

“Για μένα, η στασιμότητα είναι θάνατος, σε οποιοδήποτε τομέα. Στην πορεία μου την επαγγελματική συνάντησα δηλαδή δασκάλους που τελείωσαν μία ακαδημία δύο χρόνια, και δεν τους ενδιέφερε τίποτε άλλο να μάθουν. Για μένα αυτό είναι εγκληματικό. Δε μπορείς να μένεις πίσω από την επιστήμη σου, πρέπει να παρακολουθείς τις εξελίξεις, πάντα βγαίνουν καινούργια πράγματα. Καινούργιες θεωρίες, καινούργιο εκπαιδευτικό υλικό, καινούργιος εξοπλισμός.”

Translation:

“To me, stagnation is death, in any sector. In my professional course, I have met teachers who finished a two-year academy and did not care about learning anything else. To me this is unacceptable. You must not fall behind with your field, you need to keep up with all the developments, as new things are constantly coming up. New theories, new material, new equipment.”

The participants also added that the Greek HL teacher must be prepared for students who may question the need to learn a HL and be ready to employ a multitude of strategies in order to win them over. They stressed that students can get discouraged or appear to be disengaged for many reasons, including not being able to understand how Greek is useful to them, finding Greek difficult to learn, being influenced by others’ attitudes towards the language, or being overwhelmed by all their other responsibilities at school. The participants argued therefore that identifying the exact cause of the students’ discouragement is essential in order to address it in a suitable manner. They argued that students sometimes need to be praised for their efforts and encouraged, while at other times they need to be reminded of the specific advantages of knowing Greek or any other language. They also found that using unconventional methods targeted to the students’ interests can prove effective in sparking students’ interest in the language.

However, while the participants appeared to be very understanding of the Greek HL learners’ hectic schedules and language insecurities, in cases where students of different ethnicities appeared to be disengaged from the learning of Greek, the teachers assumed more authoritarian roles, and tried to force Greek on the learners. While it is undeniable that having students from different backgrounds in the same class can alter the class dynamics, forcing Greek on students seems to be in stark contrast to the teachers’ overall understanding of their role and approach to

teaching. I therefore interpreted this change in behavior as an indication that teachers need training aimed at their interactions with various types of learners of Greek, as well as strategies that can motivate and engage them.

Finally, the teachers also described the role of the Greek HL teacher as that of a role model. They believed that the teacher ought to be responsible at all times, even outside the Greek school, as they have the responsibility to live up to the expectations of their students and their families. They also considered it essential to be involved in the Greek community of their region and find ways to inspire others to join in too. Kostas noted:

“I feel that I am always a role model now. For the students, but also for everybody else. Παράδειγμα. Πάω στον Καρρά και τα πίνω, γίνομαι λιώμα. I think I am not allowed to do that anymore, because now I am a teacher. Επίσης, τώρα νιώθω μεγαλύτερη ακόμα ανάγκη να είμαι involved στο Greek Community, και η σκέψη μου είναι τώρα how to inspire the youth of today. Πώς μπορείς να εμπνεύσεις κάποιον που δεν έχει σχέση με την κοινότητα, να ασχοληθεί με τον ελληνισμό; Από τα τόσα παιδιά που έχουν πάει στο ελληνικό σχολείο, μόνο δύο έχουν έρθει να διδάξουν. Τόσα παιδιά αποφοιτούν κάθε χρόνο, γιατί μόνο δύο; How can we get the youth να ασχοληθεί;”

Translation:

“I feel that I am always a role model now. For the students, but also for everybody else. Let us take the example of me going to the place where Karra [Greek singer] sings and I drink, I get very drunk. I think I am not allowed to do that anymore, because now I am a teacher. Also, as a teacher I feel an even greater urge to be involved in the Greek Community, and now my concern is how to inspire the youth of today. How can you inspire someone who is not involved in the Community to join in and concern themselves with Hellenism? From all those students that have attended the Greek school, only two have returned here to teach. So many students graduate each year, why have only two returned? How can we get the youth to get involved?”

The teachers' language ideologies

The participants also argued that a strict focus on language rules is unsuitable for the teaching of Greek, and stressed the need to teach aspects of the Greek culture too. They argued that cultural aspects are embedded in the language, and therefore attempting to separate the two is not feasible. They also asserted that Greek cultural aspects attract HL learners and play a crucial role in the maintenance of the language in Canada. According to the participants, another strategy that can attract HL learners and help them learn the language is to use various languages in the HL class. Despite some Greek schools' monolingual ideology and policies, that mandate teachers to keep the languages separate during Greek instruction, the teachers unanimously found that

language mixing actually facilitates the learning of Greek, as it strengthens the learners' receptive and productive skills in Greek by helping them make new connections based on languages they already know, such as English and French.

Interestingly, even though all participants acknowledged the merits of using all the languages that make up the students' repertoires while teaching Greek, many of them criticized HL teachers for using other languages extensively, or for their supposed lack of command of Greek. The participants appeared to share the view that Greek native speakers are better suited for the position of a Greek HL teacher than their non-native speaker counterparts. Similarly, several of the participants also found that students who are Greek native speakers do not have much to gain from Greek HL schools, as their language level is supposedly much higher than that of Greek HL learners, and the discrepancy between the two can never be reconciled. Another view shared by some of the participants was that children from mixed unions are less likely to succeed in learning Greek because of their limited exposure to the language at home. At the same time, however, these teachers also admitted that most HL learners whose parents are both Greek are no different in this respect, as they also do not use the language at home. Finally, local variations of Greek were seen as unacceptable and corrected by teachers who only recognized the standard variety of Greek. All these views are shaped by the teachers' language ideologies, which in many cases appear to be influenced by native speakerism. I examine this issue in more depth in Chapter Six.

Reflecting on instructional practices

The study also provided an opportunity for participants to reflect on their instructional practices. The majority of the participants asserted that their preferred practices involve conventional activities and exams, individual tasks and projects, and activities that invite the involvement of the learners' families. The teachers also seemed to appreciate Greek programs that offer them flexibility and the chance to try out different methods and strategies without having to worry about falling behind with their syllabi. They asserted that when they use a strategy they examine whether all their students benefit from it. Therefore, they elucidated that they have reconsidered practices that proved beneficial for advanced students, but made less advanced learners feel at a disadvantage. Examples of such practices included separating less advanced students from their more advanced peers and assigning different tasks to each group, or using conventional exams, which in some cases proved to be stressful for learners.

The participants also explained that they sometimes discuss their instructional practices with fellow teachers or the school administration, and acknowledged that despite their best intentions, they are not always in a position to accommodate all students' needs. Many of the participants referred to students who face great difficulties in their learning, and argued that the best solution for these students is personalized instruction. However, the teachers also noted that in Greek programs there is hardly ever time or resources for personalized instruction. They explained that while they want to help less advanced students, eventually they feel compelled to follow the pace of the majority.

Identifying aspects of Greek HLE that require improvement

The participants also identified some aspects of Greek HLE that require improvement. The first issue they identified was the fact that Greek programs do not offer resources for personalized instruction, and thus, despite their best intentions, Greek HL teachers cannot always accommodate the needs of students who find it particularly hard to learn Greek. They also highlighted that high tuition fees sometimes render Greek programs inaccessible to some Greek families, and argued that the Greek schools should take this into consideration and support low-income families instead of merely supporting excellent students. The teachers also argued that small-sized classes allow for more personalized instruction, and suggested that if the current classes were broken down into smaller ones, they would be able to address their students' needs in better ways. In addition, the teachers asserted that there is a great need for new teaching material. They identified two main problems with some of the materials they use currently, namely the fact that they are too dense and do not allow for flexibility in their teaching, and the fact that they are aimed at either native speakers or second language learners, both of whom have different needs from HL learners. Finally, the teachers argued that they need professional development training, and more specifically, they need training on familiarizing themselves with the local educational context, assisting students with learning difficulties, and learning how to use technological resources to improve their teaching. One participant also argued that teachers themselves should be trained on the particularities of Greek HLE in Canada, especially in cases where they are not familiar with the particular educational context. Stella asserted:

“Επίσης, εγώ δεν έχω λάβει καμία εκπαίδευση για τη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως γλώσσα κληρονομιάς. Κανένα σεμινάριο, κανένα workshop, τίποτα. Όταν βγήκε η απόσπασή μου, ρώτησα το υπουργείο αν θα υπάρξει κάποια εκπαίδευση και μου είπαν

‘όχι, έχει καταργηθεί χρόνια τώρα αυτό’. Οπότε άρχισα να ψάχνω μόνη μου. Και έτσι έφτασα στα βιβλία που προτείνει το υπουργείο και είχα προετοιμαστεί. Και τελικά ήταν μία άχρηστη προετοιμασία, γιατί βρήκα εδώ τελείως άλλα πράγματα. Εγώ δε λέω αν είναι σωστά ή λάθος τα βιβλία. Λέω ότι είναι διαφορετικά. Και θεωρώ ότι ένας δάσκαλος που έρχεται από την Ελλάδα να διδάξει εδώ, πρέπει να έχει μία εκπαίδευση.”

Translation:

“I have not received any training on teaching Greek as a HL. No seminar, no workshop, nothing. When I was seconded here from Greece, I asked the Ministry [of Education] whether any training would be provided and they said, “No, this hasn't happened in years”. So, I started looking at it myself. And I found the textbooks recommended by the Ministry and I started a preparation based on them. It turned out this preparation was useless, because things were different here. I am not saying that the textbooks used here are right or wrong. I am saying they are different. And I think that a teacher coming from Greece to teach here should be trained.”

The Greek HL teachers also stressed that they sometimes feel ill equipped to accommodate their students’ needs, either because of the lack of time and resources for personalized instruction, or because they have not had the training to identify and work with students with learning difficulties. The participants explained that when a student’s struggle to learn Greek is coupled with a learning difficulty, attending Greek school can seem overwhelming. They considered that teacher training about learning difficulties would empower them and render them better equipped to understand and assist their students. Finally, Greek HL teachers also felt that Greek schools could benefit from more resources, especially technological ones, and supported that relevant seminars would help them improve their teaching.

It must be highlighted that the aforementioned needs and problems that were identified by this study’s participants are largely consistent with the findings from a previous study conducted by Aravossitas and Oikonomou (2017). The Greek HL teachers’ suggestions and the Greek HL researchers’ observations were used as a starting point for improving Greek HLE in Ontario. The Hellenic Heritage Foundation (HHF), in collaboration with the Department of Continuing Education of York University, developed a “36-hour *Effective Teacher Training Course*, available in-class and online for Greek teachers living across Canada or outside of the Greater Toronto Area” (Hellenic Heritage Foundation, 2016). The *Effective Teaching* course consists of a series of professional development workshops that aim to help Greek HL teachers improve the quality of their work.

While several of the participants teaching in the greater Toronto area knew about or had participated in this course, that did not appear to be the case for participants from the greater Montreal area. The teachers from the greater Montreal area expressed the desire to attend such workshops to improve the quality of their work and considered such initiatives as a much-needed form of assistance. On the other hand, while some of the participants from the greater Toronto area had not had the opportunity to attend the Effective Teaching workshops, those who had, acknowledged that they had greatly benefited from them, and that they would be willing to participate in similar future initiatives. Niki commented:

“Τώρα έχει γίνει υποχρεωτικό για εμάς και ένα πρόγραμμα, Effective Teaching λέγεται, που είναι πολύ καλό. Είναι ουσιαστικά ένα διετές επιμορφωτικό πρόγραμμα, με διάφορα workshops, πολύ βοηθητικό. Και πρέπει να υπάρχει βοήθεια, όπως πρέπει να ακολουθείς και την εποχή. Ας πούμε με τους υπολογιστές και γενικά την τεχνολογία. Όλα αυτά είναι πολύ καλά.”

Translation:

“Now there is a compulsory program, it’s called “Effective Teaching” and it’s very good. It is essentially a two-year training program with lots of workshops and it helps a lot. And we need this support, just as we need to keep up with current trends. For instance, with computers and technology in general. All this is very good.”

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I identified major themes that emerged from the field texts, and used them to answer the questions that guided the present study. I started by answering the study’s five sub-questions, and ended the chapter by answering the inquiry’s overarching question. The aim of this chapter was not to make generalizations, but rather to bring together the field texts that were presented narratively in the previous chapter. In the next chapter, I turn to a discussion of the implications of this study’s findings, and I present theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical implications of the study.

Chapter Six: Discussion

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I discuss the study's findings. More specifically, I revisit Greek HL teachers' perceptions about teaching Greek language and culture, their preferred instructional practices, their attitudes towards learners, and the extent to which their local educational context affects their perspectives and practices. I focus on the teachers' ideologies and identification, connect their perceptions to research, and provide my interpretations of the findings. I close this chapter by discussing theoretical, methodological and pedagogical implications of the study.

Reflecting on the findings

Through the sessions with eight Greek HL teachers teaching in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas, I found that Greek HL teachers consider the Greek language and culture as interwoven, and argue that they cannot and should not be taught separately. The teachers believed that it is their responsibility to affirm Greek HL learners' identities by finding ways to remind them of the importance of their HL and culture when they appear to be disengaged. In terms of their instructional practices, I found that Greek HL teachers mainly use conventional methods and prefer individual to group activities. In fact, the class sequence described by many of the participants seemed to be aligned to the teaching of Greek as a Second Language (SL) and not as a HL. The teachers explained that they focus on grammar, writing, listening, and speaking, and to evaluate students on these modalities, they use activities that start with simple structures and move to more complex structures. Research suggests that such microbased approaches that begin from decontextualized information and move on to more complex knowledge are better suited for SL learners (Carreira, 2016). HL learners, who in most cases have an already developed aural competence in the HL, actually benefit more from macrobased approaches, where the learning is dictated by function or context as opposed to being decontextualized, and where it is easier to use authentic material (ibid, 2016). Interestingly, the participants explained that when they met with students' disengagement, they move away from their microbased approaches and opt for unconventional methods, such as drawing, singing, playing, or using visual means such as photos, to win over their students.

The teachers listed several teaching strategies that they found to be effective for HLE contexts. They appeared to value the use of personal narratives, they placed emphasis on root

words in order to help students draw connections between Greek and other languages, they opted for whole-class discussions, they encouraged the parents' and grandparents' involvement in the HL learning, and they stressed the cognitive, social, and financial benefits of multilingualism to increase students' motivation. Exam scores were shown to be merely one of their criteria for assessing HL learners, alongside the students' progress from one term to the next, their participation in class, their collaboration with their peers, and the number of their absences. The teachers also identified some strategies that they had used and had found inappropriate for HLE contexts; despite acknowledging that HL classes are usually mixed-abilities classes, they found that not maintaining the same standards for everyone and simplifying the material for some of the weaker students actually had a severe impact on these students' confidence and motivation. Most of the teachers felt that the safest strategy to teach HL learners is to find the pace that suits the majority of the students and plan the lessons accordingly. They admitted that this strategy is not ideal for two types of students; those who face particular difficulties with their HL learning, and those with much stronger language abilities than their peers. They tried to compensate for that by offering to help the former in their free time, and by assigning the latter as their assistants in class, or providing them with extra activities. The participants appeared to be particularly concerned about weaker students and felt that given the lack of time and resources for personalized instruction in the Greek schools, they could not help these students reach their full potential.

The study also revealed an interesting paradox. Even though the teachers explained that their schools adopt a monolingual ideology and mandate them not to mix Greek with English and French, all participants argued that using all the language resources that make up the learners' linguistic repertoires is beneficial both for their receptive and productive skills in Greek. They found that using all Greek, English, and French to teach vocabulary or grammar, and give instructions, allows learners to make new connections and see the similarities between their language resources. Just as Greek HL teachers trade in their conventional methods for unconventional ones when students appear to be disengaged, the participants appeared to intuitively realize that language separation does not help their students, and that language mixing actually has many merits. The fact that language mixing is in contrast with conventional methods of teaching that these participants seem to favor, led them to create some unwritten rules to justify and delimit this switch in methodology. They all agreed that language mixing is appropriate for the purposes of vocabulary teaching, grammar teaching, and instruction giving, because they saw

the value in improving the students' lexicon and ensuring they all understand the instructions that are given to them. However, they considered language mixing as inappropriate for other tasks, such as note keeping, and writing and speaking activities, and even criticized teachers for using languages other than Greek extensively in the HL class.

The teachers are not wrong in wanting to ensure that Greek HL learners receive sufficient exposure to Greek. Research has shown that being exposed to a target language plays a vital role in learning it (Collins & White, 2011; Krashen, 1985, 1989; Lightbown & Spada, 2013; Long 1981; Turnbull & Arnett, 2002). However, the one thing that Greek HL teachers fail to take into consideration is that allowing students to use all their linguistic resources can increase the students' confidence, motivation, and risk-taking, and thus make them feel more comfortable with producing speech, both oral and written, in Greek. Research has also shown that for effective language learning, getting students to *produce* speech (the students' *output*), is just as important as exposing them to the target language (input) (Ellis & He, 1999; Gass & Selinker, 2008; Mitchell & Myles, 2004; Nobuyoshi & Ellis, 1993; Swain, 1985, 1995, 2000; Tarone & Liu, 1995; Van den Branden, 1997). Aside from this benefit, mixing so-called languages, or *translanguaging*, has been associated with increased student confidence and engagement, as well as with the empowerment of students who feel at a disadvantage due to their limited language abilities (García, 2009a; García & Kleyn, 2016; Canagarajah, 2011b). Therefore, fully adopting translanguaging and translanguaging pedagogy in the HL class can contribute to the enhancement of HL learning. I return to this point later in this chapter.

The study also focused on the participants' perspectives about and attitudes towards students. Unfortunately, it was found that some Greek HL teachers treat students differently, based on their backgrounds. Most teachers considered the Greek native speaker as the most capable type of learner, whom they differentiated from HL learners, HL learners from mixed unions, and Greek foreign language learners of other ethnicities. Some of the participants shared the view that children from mixed unions or different ethnicities are less likely to succeed in Greek language learning than learners whose parents are both Greek. They justified this opinion by stating that these students' limited exposure to the target language at home meant that they were less likely to successfully learn the target language. As was discussed above, the teachers' fear that insufficient exposure to the target language may limit the learners' chances to succeed in learning is indeed corroborated by research. At the same time, however, all participants also recognized that in most

cases, second-generation Greeks also use English -and not Greek- at home with their children. Therefore, the learners' exposure to Greek cannot be assumed to be the only reason why Greek HL teachers consider Greek native speakers and HL learners as more likely to succeed in learning Greek than their peers. I believe that the teachers' ideologies, aligned with the notion of the native speaker as the ideal model for language learning, provide a more complete explanation of their views. While native speakerism has been criticized by researchers as unrealistic and irrelevant to the learning of additional languages, as was discussed in Chapter Two, it still remains a very potent notion that shapes language teachers' perspectives both overtly and covertly (Canagarajah, 1999; Cook, 1999; Corbett, 2003; Cummins et al., 2005; Holliday, 2008; Kramsch, 2011; Pennycook, 1994; Rampton, 1990; Trudgill & Hannah, 2008).

Through the sessions with each participant, it became apparent that their positionality was affected not only by their interactions with the students, but also by their attitudes towards the students' families. The participants who were negatively predisposed towards first-and-second-generation Greeks were the ones who also appeared to face difficulties in engaging the learners' families in the educational process. Some Greek-born teachers appeared not to understand the unique culture and identities of second-generation Greeks, and estimated that they would have had identity issues growing up in Canadian society. Canadian-born teachers on the other hand disagreed, and highlighted that second-generation Greeks felt welcome in Canadian society, were not discriminated against, and even identified as *full Canadians*. All participants agreed that third-and-fourth generation Greeks, all identify as *full Canadians*.

Another important finding was the teachers' perspective that the learners' parents are the ones primarily responsible for teaching their children Greek, and that not using the HL at home significantly affects the learners' language abilities. Indeed, research has suggested that early exposure to the HL at home plays an essential role in children's HL learning (Harrison, 2000; Houle, 2011). While the importance of HL speakers using the HL at home cannot be questioned, I feel that it is also significant to stress that HL teachers should not view that as a prerequisite for HLE. This study revealed that in Greek HL classes, the student population is made up of Greek native speakers, Greek HL learners, and Greek FL learners. It also became evident that students from the same category –for example, Greek HL learners- have different opportunities of exposure to the Greek language outside of the Greek school. Whether that is because the parents are involved in mixed unions and one of the parents is not familiar with the language, or because parents simply

find it easier to use English or French with their children, the fact is that not all students have the privilege of entering Greek HLE after having been exposed to Greek at home. While asking parents to use Greek with their children at home definitely has merit in cases where parents know the language, I believe that Greek HL teachers must assume their responsibility to teach Greek to all learners, irrespective of their backgrounds and familiarity with the language.

The perspectives and instructional practices of the Greek HL teachers were also shown to be affected by their local educational context. Participants teaching in the greater Montreal area stressed the need to support families that face financial challenges and cannot send their children to the Greek schools. Teachers working in one of the Greek day schools in the area explained that their use of languages is regulated by school policies that prioritize French over English. It was also found that teachers working in one of Montreal's Saturday schools sometimes feel unappreciated as their colleagues working in day schools question the quality of their work. However, the teachers working in Saturday programs in the greater Montreal area defended their work and stressed the benefits of having a flexible program.

In the greater Toronto area, the work of teachers in Greek Saturday schools also appeared to be questioned by their colleagues in more intensive programs. Unlike their counterparts in the greater Montreal area, these participants appeared to adopt their critics' views and question their own services. At the same time however, it was also revealed that they are sometimes expected to cover the same material as teachers in afternoon/intensive programs who meet their students up to three times weekly. In Toronto's Greek day school, the diversity in the students' backgrounds appeared to be challenging for teachers, who either assumed that their students had no knowledge of Greek, so taught it as a foreign language, or tried to force Greek on students when they could not leverage their familial ties to spark their interest for learning the language.

I was also able to identify many similarities in the responses of the participants from the two locations (greater Montreal area and greater Toronto area). Participants from both locations believed that the two Greek communities' efforts and Canada's multiculturalism facilitate the preservation of Greek in Canada. They noted that the Greek programs acknowledge the students' multiple identities and celebrate aspects of both the Greek and the Canadian culture. Teachers in both locations found that HL learners' language abilities in Greek are largely dependent on whether the language is used at home, and therefore argued that the responsibility for teaching Greek to the

new generations is shared between them and the learners' families. That was also one of the reasons why they appeared to value parent involvement in Greek HLE. Moreover, the teachers found that a major advantage of Greek schools is the learners' socialization with other Greeks, and agreed with the learners' families that this is essential for the learners' sense of belonging and safety. The teachers all agreed that Greek HL learners identify English as their first language. Most participants also believed that their students love Greek, but sometimes get discouraged or disengaged from the process of learning it, in which case they must be reminded of their HL's importance. They stressed the importance of HL learners following Greek customs and socializing with other Greeks, and explained that the Greek HL class is in most cases a mixed-abilities class. They believed that breaking down the classes into smaller ones would help improve the students' learning, and stressed the lack of time and resources for offering personalized instruction to students who cannot keep up with their peers. Finally, in both locations Greek HL teachers admitted using one of Canada's two official languages when teaching Greek. They found that using different languages to teach vocabulary or grammar, give instructions, and help learners make new connections is beneficial for the students' learning. At the same time, participants criticized those who use other languages extensively and argued that it is important for HL learners to get as much exposure to Greek as possible.

Aside from similarities, I was also able to identify differences in the responses of the participants teaching in the two locations. These differences were mainly related to the tension between French and English in Quebec that creates a unique linguistic landscape, different in many respects from the one in Ontario, where the dominance of English is undeniable. The teachers in the greater Montreal area all found French to be an indispensable tool for their everyday life in Quebec and described themselves as proficient in the language, or as beginners, willing to improve their language abilities. They explained that French is the dominant language and culture in Quebec, and one of them even argued that for Greeks in Quebec, being trilingual is a necessity. In contrast, Greek HL teachers working in the greater Toronto area did not consider French as a language they would like to learn. And while three of the participants simply did not list the French language among the ones they knew or wished to take up, the one participant who knew French elucidated that he did not use it outside the French classroom. The teachers' description of their students' relation to French was similar. The participants teaching in the greater Montreal area argued that Greek HL learners both realize the importance of French for their future and have

opportunities to use the language both in and out of school. They did mention that some students react to the fact that French is forced on them, but ultimately concluded that French generates a sense of belonging for students, and is now an indispensable part of their identities. In contrast, Greek HL teachers teaching in the greater Toronto area argued that even though all students know French, as it is a mandatory course, they have very few opportunities to use it, as it is always more convenient to use English for their interactions. Most importantly, the participants also explained that students question the need to learn any language other than English, since English is now an international language in which they can communicate both in the greater Toronto area where they live, and anywhere around the world.

Two more differences were identified, aside from the Greek HL teachers' and learners' relation with French. For Greek HL teachers teaching in the greater Montreal area, English appeared to be a practical language they can use when there is communication failure in the HL class. However, all teachers from this location explain that English is their second option, as their first option is to use French, either in order to comply with school policies or because they are generally more comfortable using French than English. In contrast, Greek HL teachers in the greater Toronto area explained that when there is a communication failure in the Greek class they rely solely on English. They explained that English is not merely a practical language for them, but rather a language in which they think effortlessly. Greek HL teachers in the greater Toronto area asserted that they use the language in the majority of their interactions, thus confirming the undeniable dominance of the English language in the area. A final difference between the views of participants from the two locations was the way teachers in Saturday schools react to being criticized for the quality of their work. As was mentioned above, while teachers in the greater Montreal area retaliate against their critics and put forth arguments in support of their work, teachers in the greater Toronto area appear to have internalized the views of those who question them, despite the fact that they have additional obstacles to overcome compared to other teachers.

Furthermore, the study also sheds light on how Greek HL teachers reflect on their identities. The vast majority of them asserted that becoming a teacher had made them more organized, patient, mature, and understanding. They compared themselves before and after becoming teachers, and found that they were now more tolerant and supportive, and less self-involved. They explained that being a teacher requires them to combine all the attributes that they previously possessed, and to assume the role of the mediator in order to address conflicts in the

class. Interestingly, many of the teachers stressed their empathy as well as their persistence and tolerance as important aspects of their teacher identities. This is aligned with literature on teacher identities that focuses increasingly on the importance of emotions and passion in teaching (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Day, 2004; Frenzel, 2014; Kelchtermans, 2005; Newberry, Gallant & Riley, 2013; Schutz. & Zembylas, 2009).

Moreover, when describing their teacher identity, all participants also referred to aspects of their personal lives, such as their marital status, their education, their immigration stories, and generally their experiences and life stories. It thus became apparent that their teacher identity could not be separated from their personal identities, and that all their experiences had shaped who they were as teachers. Once again, the teachers' reflections appeared to echo developments in the relevant literature that has highlighted this multiplicity of teacher identities. Akkerman and Meijer (2011, p. 316) note: "All that a teacher considers relevant to his profession, that he or she tries to achieve in work, is part of the whole 'personal' self. Vice versa, a teacher is not merely a professional regardless of all that he or she is otherwise; personal histories, patterned behavior, future concerns may all inform the position(s) of the teacher as professional."

The teachers also asserted that they consider it their responsibility to affirm the Greek HL learners' identities by providing them with multiple reasons to both appreciate and defend their HL when needed. The fact that Greek HL teachers consider that their role is not limited to teaching Greek to their students, but also strive to find ways to inspire the youth and affirm their identities is aligned with recent literature on language teachers' identity development. Research now stresses the importance of teachers' *reflexivity*, which is connected to the teachers' *criticality* and *awareness* (Aull Davies, 2010; Byrd Clark & Dervin, 2014; Byrd Clark, Mady & Vanthuyne, 2014). In short, language teachers, and especially those working in multilingual classes, are expected to critically reflect on their own ideologies and teaching strategies, be open to diversity, be aware and critical of social inequalities, and empower students for their transition from school to the real world. The participants of this study seemed to be particularly concerned about affirming the HL learners' identities and equipping them with tools to appreciate and protect their heritage. The teachers also appeared to be willing to reflect on their presuppositions and practices, with varying degrees of success. It must be noted that while the participants highlighted that their aim is to inspire and empower their students, they also recognized the students' agency, by noting that

unless the learners themselves are willing to change, their identities cannot be altered by anyone else.

As was previously discussed, the teachers also considered the learners' parents and other family members as crucial for strengthening the students' language learning, and even argued that the parents' influence in this regard is greater than their own. They found that the responsibility to inspire HL learners was shared among the parents and themselves, and stressed that using the HL at home can make a significant difference in the students' language learning. Indeed, many research studies have shown that parental attitudes and practices play an essential role in children's success in learning their HL (García, 2003; Guardado, 2002; Kouritzin, 2000; Lao, 2004; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010; Yan, 2003).

Research also suggests that parental attitudes towards HL maintenance often fall on a continuum, with assimilation-oriented attitudes on the one end and pluralism-oriented attitudes on the other (Jeon, 2008). Some parents value HL maintenance because they find that it fosters a sense of ethnic identity for their children, strengthens their children's relationship with other family members, and can help in their children's future employability (Cho, Cho & Tse, 1997; Guardado, 2010; Lao, 2004; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Yan, 2003;). On the other hand, other parents assume a more negative stance towards HL maintenance, because they are convinced, even though research has long refuted this fear (Cummins 2007; Hakuta, 2011; Krashen, 2000; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007), that it can negatively affect their children's ability to learn the host society's dominant language(s), their integration in the host society, and their future social mobility (Jeon, 2008; Ro & Cheatham, 2009). One of this study's participants referred to the first-generation-Greeks' fear of the 'stigma of the immigrant' to explain the fact that some Greeks still insist that their children acquire a native-like proficiency in one of Canada's two official languages at the expense of their HL. However, the majority of the Greek HL teachers appeared to believe that the HL learners' parents wanted their children to learn Greek, but were simply not proactive in this regard themselves, and assumed that HL teachers are the only ones responsible for their children's HL learning. This discrepancy between the parents' recognition of the importance of HL maintenance on the one hand, and their lack of action in this direction, on the other, has also been documented by research (Becker, 2013).

The HL teachers emphasized the fact that the parents' attitudes play a vital role in the ways HL learners view the Greek schools, the local Greek communities, and ultimately the Greek language and culture in general. They explained that some parents who appear to be predisposed against or have complaints from the administration of their local Greek community actually pass on to their children not only their views about the community itself, but also a negative attitude towards the Greek language and culture. Research has documented such tensions among Greeks and the local Greek communities (Panagiotopoulou et al., 2019). While exploring the cause of these tensions is beyond the scope of this research study, I agree with Greek HL teachers who warn parents about the potential consequences of openly and sometimes uncritically criticizing the local communities and schools in front of their children.

Moreover, the participants argued that Greek HL teachers must have an excellent command of Greek and a background in pedagogy, and stressed that their mission is not merely to teach the language, but rather to inspire their students. They also asserted that Greek HL teachers should stay on top of developments in their professional field. The teachers even described the role of the Greek HL teacher as that of a role model, and considered it essential to be involved in the Greek community of their region and persuade others to join in too. They argued that when students appear to be disengaged from learning their HL, it is essential to identify the exact reason that pushes them away from Greek, in order to address it in a suitable manner. They maintained that students sometimes need to be praised for their efforts, while at other times they must be reminded of the specific advantages of knowing Greek in particular, and any additional language in general. They even recognized that the students are sometimes overwhelmed by the workload from their day schools, and admitted that they are tolerant when students appear to be tired in the HL class. It must be noted, however, that while the participants appeared to be very understanding in these cases, when students of different ethnicities appeared to be disengaged from the learning of Greek, they assumed more authoritarian roles, and tried to force Greek on them. This attitude seemed to be in stark contrast to their overall approach to HL teaching, which involved empathy, tolerance, persistence, and great concern for weaker students and their needs. My interpretation of this shift in the teachers' pedagogical approach is that Greek HL teachers have learned to rely heavily on their ability to inspire students by emphasizing their heritage and familial ties, and when they cannot rely on elements common to their Greek heritage, they feel insecure and ill equipped to respond to students' disengagement. As I discuss in the following sections on the implications of

the study, I believe that Greek HL teachers need professional development that will provide them with the tools to help them accommodate the needs of all their students, irrespective of their backgrounds.

This study also revealed that Greek HL teachers' language ideologies shape their understanding of the ideal language teacher. As was discussed above, the participants found that Greek HL teachers must fulfill two criteria; they must be proficient in Greek and they must have a background in pedagogic studies. The teachers appeared to view Greek native speakers as an idealized homogeneous group of people who by definition all have an excellent command of Greek, and whose competence cannot ever be reached by non-native speakers. They therefore concluded that Greek native speakers are the ideal fit for the position of a Greek HL teacher. Native speakerism, that is, the idea that a native speaker is by definition the ultimate model towards which language education should strive, is of course not new. Many researchers have focused on language teachers (Chomsky, 1957; Katz & Fodor, 1962; Stern, 1983; Davies, 2003) and have articulated similar opinions, arguing that a native speaker is the person "who knows what the language is (...) and what the language isn't" (Davies, 1991, p.1).

In more recent times, however, researchers caution against such assumptions and argue that native speakers should not be regarded as "ipso facto knowledgeable, correct and infallible in their competence" (Nayar, 1994, p. 4). Researchers now argue that the native/non-native dichotomy should be abolished because it is not relevant to language teaching (Braine 1999, 2010; Llurda, 2005; Medgyes, 1994; Moussu & Llurda, 2008; Moussu & Braine, 2006; Phillipson, 1992; Rampton, 1990). Those who oppose this dichotomy stress that this perspective overlooks the fact that not all native speakers are equally competent in their mother tongue. They also explain that non-native teachers can be equally successful teachers through teacher training and exposure to the target language (Braine 1999, 2010; Canagarajah, 1999; Cook, 1999; Cummins et al., 2005; Holliday, 2008; Kramsch, 2011; Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997; Llurda, 2005; Medgyes, 1994; Phillipson, 1992). Setting native-like proficiency and more specifically native-like accent as the ultimate goal in language education is also criticized, because it is unattainable for non-native speakers and therefore irrelevant to people who have not acquired the language in their early years (Canagarajah, 1999; Cook, 1999; Corbett, 2003; Cummins et al., 2005; Holliday, 2008; Kramsch, 2011; Pennycook, 1994; Rampton, 1990). In short, researchers now assert that learners should not

be evaluated against an unattainable model and teachers should not be discriminated against merely for not being native speakers.

All this does not imply that Greek HL teachers should not have an excellent command of Greek. On the contrary, it is crucial to have Greek HL teachers who have both strong language skills and pedagogical knowledge. However, neither of these two criteria presupposes that the teachers be Greek native speakers. Non-native speakers can be excellent language teachers, if they know the target language well and receive proper training. Similarly, HL learners can turn into excellent speakers of Greek and thus their success in learning the HL should not be predetermined by the mere fact that they identify another language as their first language. Understanding the Greek HL teachers' language ideologies is essential in order to gain insights into their attitudes towards students (for example considering the difference between HL learners' and native speakers' levels as irreconcilable) and their practices (for example separating weaker students from their more advanced peers). Challenging such ideologies is indispensable in order to make all learners of Greek feel they belong and that they are treated in an equitable manner by their teachers.

Despite the fact that research has now deconstructed and refuted the idea that native speakers make better language teachers and learners, this assumption is still very potent and the basis for continuing discriminatory hiring practices and favoritism. A number of alternatives to the binary native/nonnative speaker has been provided by scholars who agree on the need to move beyond such dichotomies. Paikeday (1985) proposed using the term 'proficient user of the language'. Similarly, Rampton (1990) suggested replacing the term native speaker with 'language expert'. According to Rampton (1990), 'language expert' is a fairer notion, as competence is perceived as *acquired* and not inherited. This notion also implies that expertise is partial and relative, thus designating the fact that language proficiency varies across different speakers. Rampton (1990) and Leung, Harris, and Rampton (1997) also argue that when examining people's connection to language, emphasis should be placed on *language affiliation* (individuals' sense of identification with a language that is not necessarily associated with their social group) and *language inheritance* (the ways in which individuals are born into the language and culture of their social group to maintain this group's continuity).

Cook (1999) proposed a shift from the native speaker to the 'multicompetent speaker', that is the speaker who has multiple linguistic and cultural resources coexisting in their mind, all of

which should be affirmed and legitimized in language teaching. This term not only describes people who are multicompetent (as opposed to who people are not) but also what educators should aim to accomplish. More recently, scholars have emphasized the importance of *intercultural competence* and thus have proposed the *intercultural speaker* as an appropriate alternative model for language teaching and learning, which focuses on inclusion rather than exclusion. The intercultural speaker is understood as the person who is aware of the differences of distinct cultures and is able to act as a mediator between them, focusing on both designating the multiple ways in which they can be brought together, and bridging any gaps separating them (Cook, 1999; Byram, 2003; Corbett, 2003; Kramsch, 2011).

Most importantly, it needs to be stressed that people who have across time supported the notion of the native speaker and presented it as an appropriate model for language teaching and learning seem to share certain assumptions about language and language ownership. They consider language as a bounded entity, stable and unaltered by time, place, and human interaction. They thus hold the essentialist view that only native speakers are able to teach and maintain their language –and it is, indeed viewed as their language, their property- in its pure form. What such assumptions fail to take into account is the fact that language change occurs constantly, both among native speakers and among SL, FL, and HL speakers. In today’s globalized world, arguing that languages are fixed, unaltered, and bounded, and that native speakers constitute a homogeneous group of people, where everyone shares the same language competence and language variety, is simply unrealistic.

One of the repercussions of the ongoing Greek economic crisis is the fact that the number of seconded teachers from Greece to Canada has decreased, and there is now a growing number of Canadian-born Greek HL teachers (Aravossitas, 2016). I believe that instead of questioning them, on the grounds that they are not native speakers of Greek, the emphasis should be placed on training them and leveraging their assets. One of the Canadian-born teachers’ highly valuable assets is the fact that they have a deep understanding of HL learners’ backgrounds and realities, and can potentially understand their needs better, compared to their Greek-born colleagues.

The teachers’ language ideologies also affected the ways in which they viewed and interacted with their students. As mentioned earlier, some of the teachers considered that students who are Greek native speakers have not much to gain from Greek HL schools, because the

language ability of their peers is much lower than theirs. As the teachers explained, the discrepancy among the students' language abilities forces teachers to follow the pace of the majority and not that of the few students who excel in Greek. They even argued that the discrepancy between the language ability of the two types of learners can never be reconciled and that consequently their teaching will not match the levels of the native speakers. Interestingly, the teachers' perception that native speakers are by definition the ideal type of learners was so resilient that it completely sidelined major advantages of Greek schools that they had identified themselves. Impressively, the same teachers who stressed the importance of HL learners socializing with other Greeks, now completely ignored this major advantage of Greek schools, and focused exclusively on the learners' language abilities and how they are, so-called, *wasted* in classes with students from different backgrounds.

Finally, the teachers' language ideologies also appeared to affect the ways in which they view language varieties other than the standard variety of Greek. It became apparent that some teachers view non-standard varieties of Greek as unacceptable for formal contexts. They explained that they do not correct their students when they use idiomatic expressions or non-standard varieties in oral speech, but they do correct them when they use them in writing. This hierarchization of languages can be linked to the concept of *diglossia* that was presented in Chapter Two (page 28), a phenomenon according to which a speech community uses one 'high variety', appropriate for use in formal contexts, and one 'low variety', appropriate only for informal contexts (Coulmas, 2005; Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967). Diglossia is in turn associated with modernist sociolinguistics and the idea of nation-states (Anderson, 1983). Such understandings of language have now been largely criticized as they contribute to the marginalization and minoritization of both non-standard linguistic varieties and the communities who use them. Critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics now questions the need to categorize language varieties into languages and dialects, or standard and non-standard varieties, and focuses on the ways in which power is exercised through language to create and perpetuate inequalities (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005; García, Flores & Spotti, 2017; Heller 2007, 2008; Pennycook, 2010; Weber & Horner, 2017). Returning to this study and the teachers' ideologies, it becomes evident that since the perceived 'low varieties' are mainly used by first-generation Greeks, correcting the students and treating these varieties as invalid only manages to push the learners' families away rather than inviting them to participate in the educational process.

In addition, some other teachers emphasized the importance of a ‘correct Greek accent’ and argued that students need to be taught by native speakers because otherwise their accent will be ‘wrong’. Again, many researchers have highlighted the fact that unless a language learner is exposed to a target language from a very young age, acquiring a native-like accent is almost impossible. Therefore, they argue, acquiring a native-like accent is an irrelevant and unattainable goal for language learners (Munro & Derwing, 2011; Jenkins 2000, 2005; Seidlhofer, 2011). Researchers now suggest that the focus should not be on native-like accents, but rather on *intelligibility*, that is, the ability of speakers to be easily understood by their interlocutors (Bresnahan et al., 2002; Jenkins, 2000, 2005; Munro & Derwing, 1995; Seidlhofer, 2011; Trofimovich & Isaacs, 2012). Some other researchers argue that native-like accent can be achieved by some learners SL or FL learners, but that this presupposes a combination of factors, as it is clear that “decontextualized pronunciation instruction is not enough and that a combination of instruction, exposure, experience, and motivation is required” (Lightbown & Spada, 2013).

In terms of their instructional practices and strategies, the teachers explained that when they try out something new, they try to assess it by examining whether it benefits all their students. They elucidated, for instance, that they have tried and rejected strategies that benefit advanced students, but made weaker students feel at a disadvantage. The teachers appeared to be open to new ideas and suggestions, and explained that they often discuss problems that arise with their fellow teachers or the school administration. Indeed, research suggests that *teacher learning communities* are essential for teachers’ development and the improvement of their practice (Grossman, Wineburg, & Woolworth 1998, 2001; Little 1999, 2002; McLaughlin & Talbert, 2001; Westheimer, 1998). In teacher learning communities, teachers identify problems, reflect on solutions, discuss their considerations, and invite their colleagues’ feedback and support (Little 2002, 2003). The aim of these professional communities is to identify ways to improve student learning. At the same time, these communities are essential for teacher development, because in these communities the teachers assume the role of learners and improve their practice through their interactions with their colleagues (Grossman, Wineburg, & Woolworth, 2001).

Even though the teachers felt that they can rely on such networks of support to improve their practice and the students’ learning experience, they also identified some aspects of Greek HLE that go beyond their authority and control, and require improvement. First, they noted that high tuition fees can be a deterring factor for many, and stressed that not all Greek families can

afford to send their children to Greek programs, and more specifically to afternoon/intensive or day schools. Evidently, this is a crucial issue for Greeks as well as for other linguistic minorities in Canada that requires a substantive societal change. Better support for minority education both on federal and provincial level has been a request of ethnolinguistic minorities since the early 1990s, when the funds that were previously provided by the federal government to support heritage language programs were discontinued (Cummins, 2014b).

The Greek HL teachers also noted that while it is expected that there will be some discrepancy in the HL learners' levels, in many cases bridging the gap between their levels is not feasible. HL researchers have come to the same conclusion (Kagan & Dillon, 2009; Carreira, 2015). The participants argued that if the HL classes were broken down into smaller groups, based on the students' abilities, they would be able to address the students' needs in more targeted ways. The Greek HL teachers associated the decision not to break down the HL classes with financial limitations, and speculated that Greek programs would not be able to afford the extra teaching staff that would be required for the additional classes. They also estimated that if the Greek programs decided to break down the classes into smaller ones, the additional expenses would not be absorbed by the Greek schools, but would be passed on to the learners' families.

The participants also explained that there is a need for new teaching material. They noted that a common problem with teaching material is having too much content, which ultimately does not allow them the flexibility to follow the students' pace and focus on their weaknesses. They also argued that the new teaching material would have to be designed specifically for Greek HL learners. They elucidated that teaching Greek as a second language (SL) is not the same as teaching it as a HL, as HL learners have different needs from both SL learners and native speakers. This is also supported by the literature on language learning and learners' profiles (Kagan and Dillon, 2009; Montrul 2010, 2012; Valdés, 2001). As was mentioned in Chapter Five, the problems that were identified by this study's participants are consistent with the findings from a previous study conducted by Aravossitas and Oikonomou (2017). Fortunately, actions have been taken to address some of these issues. One can only hope that in the future such initiatives will be coupled with better support for minority education on provincial or even federal level.

Implications

In this section, I present methodological, theoretical and pedagogical implications of this study's findings, beginning with those relating to methodology.

Theoretical implications

In Chapter Two, I aligned myself with poststructuralist understandings of language, viewed as a dynamic social and ideological construct (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007), and identity, understood as a fluid and constantly evolving sociocultural phenomenon, affected by a multitude of factors that need to be examined in interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Such understandings of languages and identities view the two concepts as interwoven, and bring attention to the unique resources used by individuals to communicate with others. These resources are individuals' own ways of redefining themselves in relation to the social world (Norton, 2013; Vandergriff, 2016), and are largely shaped by language ideologies. Language ideologies refer to individuals' overt and covert beliefs about language, which influence their linguistic choices and their interpretations of others' linguistic and communicative practices. Language ideologies are closely linked to the societal power relations which lead to the validation of some languages (and their speakers), and the devaluation of others (Blommaert, 1999; Heller, 2007; McGroarty, 2010; Norton, 2010; O'Rourke et al. 2015; Woolard, 1998).

Evidently, issues related to individuals' language practices, identity negotiation, and ideologies are central in the field of HLE, since by definition HL learners constantly have to renegotiate their position both in relation to the HL and to the dominant language(s) and social networks. Critical research has focused on challenging dominant social hierarchies perpetuated through language, valuing HLs, and affirming HL speakers' and learners' identities (Blommaert, 2010; Heller, 2011; Martinez, 2003). Kanno (2003a) has focused particularly on language teachers, and has argued that it is essential to reflect on their ideologies, as these ultimately shape teachers' attitudes towards students and their instructional practices. Indeed, it is indispensable to examine teachers' ideologies, as these are sometimes subtle or even subconscious, and yet very powerful, as they inform practices that can either empower HL learners, affirm their identities, and strengthen their connection to the HL, or alienate them from the HL and the educational process (Pavlenko, 2003; Tsui, 2007; Varghese et al., 2005).

Focusing on the Greek HL teachers' identities, perceptions, and ideologies was indeed very revealing. The Greek HL teachers understood their role as that of a person who not only teaches the HL, but also aims to inspire HL learners and affirm their identities, by providing them with arguments to appreciate and defend their HL. However, a close examination of their attitudes towards different sub-groups of HL learners, and their practices, revealed that these were affected by the teachers' ideologies. I believe that bringing attention to these ideologies and challenging them can help Greek HL teachers understand the ways in which they may be discouraging or alienating some of their students. This is the first step for Greek HL teachers reconsidering such practices and affirming the identities of *all* HL learners. The hope is, of course, that Greek HL teachers will acknowledge all learners' backgrounds and resources and leverage them for learning, while recognizing and affirming their strong identities.

In the next section, I discuss methodological implications of the research findings.

Methodological implications

When designing this research study, I decided to use a narrative approach, fully understanding that narrative inquiry is often treated with disbelief because it does not adhere to positivistic norms (Butler-Kisber, 2010; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). While positivistic norms dominate quantitative research, their traces can also be found in qualitative research, in paradigms where researchers assume that they can 'bracket' their presuppositions altogether, and discover the alleged 'essence' of a phenomenon and its exhaustive description (Cohen et al., 2000; Creswell, 2018). However, I personally align myself with those who argue that a researcher cannot set aside their presuppositions, but they can reflect on them and evaluate the extent to which they affect a research study (Butler-Kisber, 2010; Coghlan & Bannick, 2005; Holmes et al., 2005). I trust that I managed to do so, by being transparent about the processes of collecting and analyzing field texts, and about instances when my role as a Greek HL teacher led me to either agree or disagree with the participants' opinions. In such cases, I kept fieldnotes where I communicated my thoughts and reminded myself that I should not impose my own biases on the field texts, but rather focus on the participants' voices and perceptions to the best of my abilities. I share the opinion that researchers bring their values and perspectives to the inquiry they undertake, and thus cannot be assumed to be neutral or objective observers (Watts, 2008). I truly believe in research studies where the researcher is both an insider and an outsider and wears many hats. Being explicit and

transparent about all the processes, decisions, and dilemmas enhances the study's trustworthiness. I hope that my work has highlighted the importance of transparency and reflexivity.

Adopting a narrative approach for the purposes of this study allowed me to gain insights into the participants' perspectives, as well as to give prominence to their unique voices. Meeting several times with each participant and listening to their narratives allowed me to create a personal relationship with them, and to understand their unique contexts and views. By choosing to use narratives not only to collect field texts, but also to present them, I hope I managed to do justice to their ideologies, attitudes, and practices. Greek HL teachers, school staff, HL learners and their families, policy makers, and other interested parties can now consult these narratives to see the realities of Greek HL teachers in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas, as well as the challenges they are faced with, and the solutions they find to overcome them. This work will also allow Greek HL teachers to see what strategies other teachers use to address frequent problematic occurrences in the HL class, and to compare and contrast different strategies for interacting with students from various backgrounds and improving their overall learning experience.

The narrative design of this study also provided the participants with opportunities to reflect on their ideologies, attitudes, and practices and to either reinforce their understandings of Greek HLE and their role in it, or reconsider some of their perceptions and strategies. The participants were not passive in this process; on the contrary, they were active co-constructors of knowledge, as they produced detailed accounts of their experiences and created artifacts from scratch, such as the language portraits and the identity charts. These arts-informed forms of representation engaged participants and allowed them to verbalize emotions and experiences in ways that would perhaps be impossible otherwise. Using multiple methods to generate field texts allowed for both breadth and depth, and the combined use of these field texts allowed for nuanced understandings of each participant's perspectives (Butler-Kisber, 2010; Butler-Kisber & Poldma, 2010; Kerwin-Boudreau & Butler-Kisber, 2016). I therefore believe that using multiple methods that invite participants to narrate their life stories, and create arts-informed forms of representation, allows for deeper and more accurate understandings of their views. Even though different types of field texts are starting to be understood as valid, and all qualitative inquiry is headed towards the use of novel methods (Butler-Kisber, 2010; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018), I believe that an emphasis on arts-informed ways to represent lived experience is particularly suited for narrative, ethnographic and action research studies. Such studies share the aim of understanding people's

realities, recording them, and finding strategic ways to transform these realities and support the individuals or communities involved (Butler-Kisber, 2010; Coghlan & Bannick, 2005; Creswell & Poth, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Gudmundsdottir, 2001; Levin & Greenwood, 2001; Pennycook, 1994; Riessman, 2008).

In the next section, I turn to pedagogical implications of the research findings.

Pedagogical implications

All the participants of the study considered the role of the HL teacher as crucial, and associated it with a moral obligation to ensure the intergenerational transmission of Greek and to enhance the learners' connection to the Greek language and culture. When reflecting on their instructional practices, the participants listed a plethora of strategies for winning over their students. Through this thesis, Greek HL teachers and other interested parties now have access to a list of strategies used by the participants, as well as their reflections on their effectiveness. All participants stressed the need to combine linguistic and cultural aspects of the HL when teaching, either because they believed that excluding cultural aspects from language teaching is infeasible altogether, or because they felt that pairing language and culture can inspire HL learners, and augment their willingness to learn the HL. The participants thus argued that HL programs should provide opportunities for students to follow the customs and traditions that are associated with the HL. They also stressed that HL teaching works best when it is not decontextualized, but rather when it is based on the learners' experiences. This is aligned with previous research on HL pedagogy, that has shown that macrobased approaches that start from the learners' experiences in the HL and then move on to teaching grammar and vocabulary are more appropriate than microbased approaches, that start from decontextualized information and then move on to more complex knowledge (Carreira, 2016; Kagan & Dillon, 2008; Wu & Chang, 2010). Therefore, contextualization and authenticity are found to be indispensable for HL instruction. Evidently, this applies to different pedagogies and not merely to HL instruction.

The common denominator of successful strategies used to engage Greek HL learners was that they were aimed at creating safe environments and leveraging the students' interests, prior knowledge, and linguistic resources to help them learn. Indeed, all participants agreed that using Greek, English, and French, that is, using the languages shared by all students and most teachers, allowed the HL learners to build on their prior knowledge and make new connections relating to

the learning of Greek. The practice of using one's full linguistic repertoire, and thus challenging the norms of monoglossia and the separation of named languages, is called translanguageing (García & Leiva, 2014). It has been suggested that a distinction can be made between natural and official translanguageing (Williams, 2012). *Natural translanguageing* occurs spontaneously when individuals draw from their full linguistic and communicative repertoires for their everyday interactions, whereas *official translanguageing* is connected to explicit strategies used by teachers to encourage and leverage the use of multiple languages in the classroom. Official translanguageing is therefore not spontaneous; it is strategically planned by the teachers in order to create translanguageing spaces, that is, spaces where students feel safe to use multiple languages to engage with academic material (García & Sylvan, 2011).

Many studies have examined translanguageing in bi/multilingual classrooms, and have presented its multiple advantages. It has been found that translanguageing pedagogy actively affirms the learners' identities (García, et al., 2016), challenges social and linguistic inequalities and leads to a more equitable education (García, 2009a; García & Kleyn, 2016), balances the power relations in classrooms (Canagarajah, 2011b), maximizes cognitive benefits and facilitates the learning of a target language (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Hornberger & Link 2012; Little & Kirwan, 2018; Palmer et al., 2014, Seltzer & Collins, 2016; Wei, 2011), and even transforms the learners' own views about multilingualism (García, et al., 2016).

However, there has been very little discussion about how translanguageing pedagogy can advance the field of HLE. The present study showed that there is room for translanguageing in the HL class, as even teachers influenced by monolingual ideologies recognized its advantages for the students. The Greek HL teachers explained that despite some Greek programs' policy that mandates them to keep the languages separated when teaching Greek, they often use English or French (or both) in the HL class for tasks such as instruction giving, vocabulary teaching, and grammar teaching. The teachers also listed the simultaneous use of various languages as a way to engage students in the HL learning and strengthen their connection to Greek. Aside from using translanguageing for the aforementioned tasks, the teachers explained that whenever they draw the learners' attention to similarities between Greek, English, and French, the students' engagement increases and they make connections that help them learn, organize, and consolidate new knowledge.

Aside from recognizing the merits of translanguaging in terms of the learners' receptive skills, the teachers also noted that translanguaging improves the students' productive skills in Greek. The teachers elucidated that when students feel that they are allowed to use Greek alongside their other languages, they take more risks and put more effort into producing more and longer phrases in their HL. Teachers thus felt that allowing HL learners to draw on all their linguistic resources to make meaning and communicate can increase the students' confidence in using their HL. These findings suggest that there is merit in *strategically* using translanguaging in the HL classroom. There are many strategies that teachers can use to create translanguaging spaces and affirm their students' identities. They can model translanguaging themselves, they can allow students to use all their linguistic resources, they can use culturally relevant and authentic material, and they can use activities that affirm linguistic pluralism, such as dual books, language biographies, language portraits, to name a few. A more complete guide for educators interested in translanguaging pedagogy has been created by Celic and Seltzer (2012/2013) in the context of the CUNY-NYSIEB project.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed the study's findings and provided my interpretations of them. I connected the participants' perceptions to their ideologies and realities. I closed this chapter by discussing theoretical, methodological and pedagogical implications of the study.

Chapter Seven: Concluding Reflections

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I start with a synopsis of the entire thesis. Following this, I identify limitations of the inquiry and I provide practical recommendations. I explain how I intend to disseminate the study's findings, I provide directions for future research and practice, and I close the thesis with some final remarks.

Thesis synopsis

In Chapter One, I opened the thesis by situating the study within Heritage Language Education (HLE) and providing its rationale. I stressed the need to enhance Greek HLE in Canada, to ensure the intergenerational transmission of the language, and to guard it against language loss. In the context of Greek HLE in Canada, strengthening the learners' connection to the HL is crucial as there are now many Greek HL learners who have minimal knowledge of Greek and whose only chance to practice it is in the Greek schools (Aravossitas, 2016; Constantinides, 2004; Damanakis, 2010). I explained that the reason why I focused on the greater areas of Montreal and Toronto was twofold; on the one hand, 80% of people with Greek origin reside in or close to these two metropolises (Library and Archives Canada, 2016). On the other hand, I wanted to examine whether Quebec's tension between French and English affects the perceptions and practices of HL teachers in Montreal, as opposed to Toronto, where the dominance of English is undeniable (Statistics Canada, 2016b). Finally, I introduced the guiding questions, I discussed the significance of the study, and I situated myself in it.

Chapter Two is divided into two sections. In the first section, I focused on HLs and HLE, and more specifically, I presented the historical context in which they emerged and focused on debates around HL terminology. I defined HL learners and HL speakers, and presented the differences between HL, Second Language (SL), and Foreign Language (FL) learners to highlight the unique characteristics and needs of the former. Next, I focused on language shift, language maintenance, and the fear of language loss, and finally, I turned to a presentation of Greek HLE in Canada. In the second section of this chapter, I presented my theoretical positioning; I provided a selective presentation of post-structural theories that address issues related to identity, language, and their interplay. I discussed issues related to language ideologies and language socialization

from a critical sociolinguistics perspective, and I focused on the HL teachers' role in affirming their students' identities.

In Chapter Three, I presented an account of historical developments in qualitative inquiry to justify my choice of using narrative inquiry for the purposes of this study. I explained the reasons why I did not opt for one of the other methodological approaches that have been used in similar studies in the past, such as ethnography or phenomenology. I then described the specific methods that I used throughout the sessions with the participants, and discussed issues related to ethics, transcription, and translation.

In Chapter Four, I presented significant findings from the field texts. The findings were presented narratively, as my aim was to stay as close to the words of the participants as possible, and to designate the uniqueness of each participant's voice and views. I separated the chapter into three sections according to the type of field texts that were generated: *field texts on identities*, *field texts on attitudes*, and *field texts on practices*.

In Chapter Five, I brought the field texts together by identifying major recurring themes. I used these themes to address the five sub-questions and the overarching question that guided this inquiry. The findings pertained to Greek HL teachers' perceptions about teaching Greek language and culture, their preferred instructional practices, their attitudes towards learners, and the extent to which their local educational context affects their perspectives and practices. I identified similarities and differences in the responses of the participants from the two locations (greater Montreal area and greater Toronto area), and I analyzed the Greek HL teachers' understanding of their identities and their role in affirming Greek HL learners' identities. I highlighted the influence of the teachers' language ideologies on their attitudes towards students and their instructional practices, and demonstrated how the methods used in this study provided them with an opportunity for reflection. I ended the chapter by presenting some aspects of Greek HLE that the participants identified as problematic in light of this study.

In Chapter Six, I reviewed and interpreted the main findings of the inquiry. I focused on what these findings reveal about the existing problems in Greek HLE in Canada, as well as the possibilities they open up for its future. Then, I discussed theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical implications of the study.

In Chapter Seven, I present a summary of the entire thesis, and I address limitations of the inquiry. I close the thesis by offering practical recommendations for further directions and by explaining how I plan to disseminate the findings of the inquiry.

Limitations of the study

While every effort was made to design, conduct, and document a rigorous and transparent study on Greek HL teachers teaching in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas, some limitations must be acknowledged. First, it must be recognized that not all contexts of Greek HLE are represented in this study. My aim was to recruit participants that had experience teaching in diverse Greek HLE contexts, but I also wanted to have a relatively small number of participants that would allow me to meet with them several times and gain deep insights into their perspectives. Indeed, the eight participants of the study have worked or are currently working in seventeen (17) different Greek schools or programs; eight (8) schools in the greater Montreal area, and nine (9) in the greater Toronto area. Thirteen (13) of these schools are founded by the respective Greek Community, whereas the remaining four (4) are founded by major Greek parishes, institutions, and organizations. Evidently, that excludes many Greek programs, as Aravossitas (2016, p. 242) estimated that in 2016 there were eighty Greek programs available in Ontario and twenty in Quebec. I tried to mitigate this limitation by making sure that the participants had had experience working in different programs and contexts. The seventeen schools where the participants had worked or were currently working when interviewed, included eight (8) Saturday programs, six (6) afternoon programs, and three (3) day programs.

A second limitation of the study is the fact that it did not include classroom observations, which would have allowed me to corroborate the teachers' descriptions of their attitudes towards students and their strategies. When designing the study, I concluded that adding classroom observations would perhaps intimidate some teachers, making them reluctant to participate in the study. Besides, the aim of the study was to provide Greek HL teachers with an opportunity to reflect on their identities, attitudes, and instructional practices. I wanted the teachers to actively participate in the reflecting process and be co-producers of knowledge as opposed to passive participants. I therefore considered it vital to build trusting relationships with each of the participants, and create safe environments, where they would not feel that they were being judged

or evaluated, but would rather feel that they were invited to self-reflect and be open about both their successes and their missteps.

Finally, while this study is centered on Greek HLE in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas, it does not include the voices of the most important stakeholders; the Greek HL learners themselves. In Chapter One, I explained that the reason why I chose to focus on Greek HL teachers is because I align myself with researchers who have argued that the teachers' attitudes and practices can either inspire learners or alienate them from the educational process (Blommaert, 2010; Pavlenko, 2003; Tsui, 2007; Varghese et al., 2005). I therefore believe that the first step in enhancing Greek HLE necessitates the teachers' self-reflection. I believe that by reflecting on their ideologies, their attitudes towards *all* their students, and their instructional practices, Greek HL teachers will be able to make informed decisions aimed at improving their teaching and the students' learning experiences. I also believe that by asking teachers to identify potential limitations of their teaching in particular, and Greek HLE in general, interested parties, such as other teachers, school administration, the Greek Communities, parishes, organizations, and policy makers, will be able to assist in this mission, in meaningful and targeted ways. At the same time, however, it must be acknowledged that the next logical step would be to design and conduct a similar study focused on Greek HL learners. Indeed, one cannot assume one has a complete picture of an educational context if one does not hear the perspectives of the students, who are at the core of HLE. Next, an emphasis on the perspective of the students' families and school administration would help create a more complete picture of Greek HLE in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas.

Further directions

In this section, I discuss future steps based on this research. First, I offer practical recommendations for initiatives that can help improve Greek HLE, based on the teachers' self-reflections. Next, I focus on future research that can further assist in the identification of challenges in Greek HLE and their potential solutions.

Practical recommendations

Not surprisingly, the main differences in the perceptions of Greek HL teachers teaching in the greater areas of Montreal and Toronto were found to be related to the different linguistic and political landscapes of the two locations. The officially established dominance of French in Quebec

has led to the creation of trilingual (French -Greek -English) day schools, where French is by and large the language that receives most hours of instruction. Both the teachers and the learners recognize French as a significant bulwark for them, and have opportunities to use the language along with English and Greek, in the Greek day and supplementary programs. Some tensions related to the separate use and teaching of the three languages were identified. On the other hand, the undeniable dominance of English in Ontario has led Greek HL teachers and learners to use English -and Greek- almost exclusively in the Greek schools. It has even led students to question the need to learn and use not only French, but also any language other than English. In short, it has affected their view of multilingualism.

The teachers from both locations admitted they find the use of multiple languages in the HL classroom beneficial for students and stressed that this practice helps learners make connections and consolidate knowledge. It also reduces their language anxiety, and thus increases their engagement and risk-taking in the HL class. Indeed, translanguaging has been associated with the aforementioned advantages, and it is also considered as a way to empower students who feel at a disadvantage due to their limited language abilities. I believe that Greek HL teachers would greatly benefit from receiving training targeted to the ways they and their students use languages in the HL class. Teacher training in translanguaging pedagogy would help them understand its full potential. Instead of using translanguaging merely for specific tasks such as instruction-giving or vocabulary and grammar teaching, the teachers would learn that leveraging the students' linguistic resources can help affirm their identities as HL learners and even transform their views about multilingualism in general. While listing the advantages of learning new languages can motivate some students, actively embracing this stance towards multilingualism and encouraging learners to use their languages as resources for their HL learning is more likely to affect the students' attitudes towards *all* the languages that make up their linguistic repertoires.

Greek HL teachers are not wrong in wanting to expose their students to as much Greek as possible. Indeed, Greek HL learners would benefit from more exposure to their HL, both at school and at home. The one thing that Greek HL teachers seem to neglect is that getting students to *produce* speech, both oral and written, is equally important to exposing them to the target language. In short, the learners' output is equally as important as the input they get (Swain, 2000). Therefore, I truly believe that all Greek HL teachers would benefit from seminars or workshops focused on

familiarizing them with the basic concepts of translanguaging, and giving them the opportunity to try out different translanguaging resources and adapt them for their HL classes.

Despite the different ways in which Canada's two official languages influence the participants and their teaching, it became apparent over the course of the study that Greek HL teachers in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas have similar perceptions about their role as HL teachers, and face similar challenges in their effort to enhance Greek HL learners' connection to their HL. All eight participants were adamant about the fact that their role is not limited to teaching Greek to HL learners. They all found that it was their moral responsibility to find ways to inspire their students and help them become passionate about learning and preserving their HL. They viewed themselves as role models for their students, and even set as their goal to inspire them to participate in communities, groups, and events that promote the Greek language and culture. In short, the Greek HL teachers in the two locations appeared to be driven by the same motives, and the similarities in their perspectives far outweighed the differences. Since research has shown that after the third generation, HL speakers tend to identify with and speak solely the dominant language(s) of the host country (Campbell & Christian, 2003; Valdés, 2001), bringing together the various Greek communities in Canada is now more important than ever. Co-organizing cultural events, using video conferencing to virtually travel to other Canadian regions where Greek HLE thrives, collaborating on projects that promote Greek language and culture, and making actual trips to other regions of Canada to experience how Greeks celebrate their heritage in different places are only a few of the possible initiatives that can unite HL teachers and learners, and enhance Greek HLE.

Equally important to the effort to combine the forces of the various Greek communities in Canada, is to invest in the professional development of every Greek HL teacher. Based on this study's findings, it becomes evident that different types of Greek HL teachers require different kinds of training. Greek-born HL teachers require training on the particularities of the educational context in Canada and the Greek schools' policies and operational models. They also need to be informed about potential differences in the Greek and Canadian educational systems, and they must be introduced to the educational material that is used in each program. Canadian-born teachers may benefit more from training focused on language. All Greek HL teachers, but particularly those who do not have a background in pedagogical studies, will benefit from training

on the various approaches to language teaching and on managing crises or potential conflicts in the HL class.

Similarly, all teachers must receive training on how to approach different types of Greek HL learners. As years progress, and we move from one generation of Greek-Canadians to the next, the profiles of Greek HL learners will undoubtedly become more diverse. Instead of fixating on the supposedly ideal native speaker, Greek HL teachers must receive training on interacting with students from different backgrounds and with different needs. Such seminars can be excellent supplements to the seminars on translanguaging, as teachers will realize that not only do they need to employ different strategies to win over all their students, but they can also help use the students' different experiences and knowledges as resources for their HL learning. It is important that such seminars/training programs be accessible to all Greek HL teachers, as they appeared to face similar challenges, and all stated that there is a great need for professional development and training programs.

Additionally, the Greek HL teachers raised some issues related to the teaching material they have at their disposal. They argued that the textbooks they use are sometimes aimed at Greek native speakers, sometimes they are aimed at learners who take up Greek as a Second or Foreign Language, sometimes they are outdated, and sometimes they are too dense and do not allow for much flexibility in the HL teaching. What became evident was that there is a need for textbooks and teaching material specifically aimed at the learners' realities, backgrounds, and pace. Aravossitas (2016) explained that steps in this direction are being taken, which is very fortunate, as materials that are more appropriate for the needs of HL learners will undoubtedly help both them and the Greek HL teachers. Similarly, online resources and teacher training on their use would further improve the quality of Greek HLE.

Furthermore, the teachers expressed a major concern; Greek programs do not have the resources to offer personalized instruction to students, and the teachers must make time from their own personal free time to assist Greek HL learners who struggle. They noted that when the already hard task of learning an HL is coupled with a type of learning difficulty, attending Greek school can seem overwhelming to HL learners. The participants themselves explained that the majority of Greek HL teachers do not have a background in special education, and argued that receiving training on identifying and assisting students with learning difficulties is of paramount importance.

This would indeed be very valuable for Greek HL teachers, and it would undoubtedly improve the learning experience of students with learning difficulties.

However, the teachers argued that learners with learning difficulties are not the only ones who would benefit from personalized assistance. They explained that some students have minimal knowledge of Greek when they enter the Greek programs, and placing them in the right class can be a challenge. On the one hand, their language abilities can be much more limited when compared to other same-aged learners, but on the other hand, if you place them in a class with students much younger than them, you run the risk of hurting their social life at school. The participants teaching in the greater Toronto area noted that the Greek Community of Toronto has created a cram school for students who have no knowledge of Greek whatsoever, which serves as a welcome class where students can spend a year learning the basics of Greek, before being placed in one of the regular Greek school's classes. The problem, as was identified by the teachers themselves, is that sometimes even this one-year period is not enough for students to reach a level close to that of other same-aged Greek HL learners.

Personally, I find the initiative of creating a cram school to introduce Greek HL learners to the basics of the language an excellent initiative, which can mitigate, at least to some extent, the discrepancy between the learners' levels. I argue that such an initiative could be optimized by combining it with Individual Education Planning (IEP). IEP is an educational tool used to assist in individualized ways students facing learning difficulties or handicaps, or requiring support in terms of their social, cognitive, or behavioral skills. This tool is co-created by teachers, parents, and the learners themselves, who all work together as a team to identify the student's specific needs, and come up with a plan to accommodate them. The individualized plan usually includes goals for specific subject areas (such as language arts, history etc.) or specific domains (such as behavioral, social, academic skills etc.) for the duration of the entire school year (Government of Ontario, 2004; Gouvernement du Québec, 2004). The student's progress is reviewed throughout the year based on the goals indicated in the IEP, interventions are agreed upon when necessary, and in the end of the year, a new IEP is developed for the subsequent year.

IEPs are largely used in schools across Canada, including schools in the greater Montreal and Toronto areas, but have not been introduced in the Greek HL programs. I find that this would be particularly beneficial for Greek HL learners changing classes or even programs, as it could

normalize the students' transition from one grade/program to the next, and inform the teachers early on about the students' particular needs, and what measures have been taken to address them. Evidently, IEPs also promote parent engagement in the educational process, which, according to all participants, can play a vital role in the learners' motivation to learn. I therefore believe that Greek HL teachers require training not only on identifying and working closely with students with learning difficulties, but also on how to co-create and assess IEPs to further help their students.

Dissemination of research findings

In the coming months and years, I intend to work hard on disseminating the findings of the present study, by presenting in academic conferences, publishing in academic journals, and eventually transforming my thesis into a book manuscript. I also intend to prepare and deliver workshops aimed at Greek HL teachers, on translanguaging pedagogy and how translanguaging materials can be utilized in HL classes to advance the students' learning. In addition, I look forward to working with community and academic partners to raise awareness about the challenges of Greek HLE in Canada, and identify and implement potential solutions.

I believe that it is essential to identify and document problem areas and propose specific, feasible, and targeted solutions for them. While the ever increasing number of HL speakers in Canada (Canada Statistics, 2016c) and the numerous studies on the sociocultural (Brinton et al., 2008; Cho, 2000; Cho & Krashen, 1998; Cho et al., 1997; Crawford, 2000; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007), psychological (Garcia, 1985; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Murillo & Smith, 2011; Tse, 1997; Wright et al., 2000), cognitive (Brecht & Ingold, 2002; Chu, 2011; Cummins, 2007; Cummins, 2014a; Hakuta, 2011; Mohanty, 1990; Nocus et al., 2012) and economic (Krashen, 1998; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Wang, 2009) benefits of learning one's HL currently strengthen the negotiating positions of minority communities in Canada, there is always the issue of who will get the extra funding, and based on what criteria (Cantle, 2013). I am convinced that having a plan based on the Greek communities' specific needs and suggesting targeted ways to accommodate these needs, will make a stronger case for the respective communities.

Future research

I believe that building on the foundation laid by this research study, numerous further research projects could be developed. Such inquiries can focus on the HL learners' perspectives, the views and expectations of the learners' families, as well as the views of school staff and

community leaders. Such projects will shed light on the expectations of each group from the other stakeholders, as well as their realities, needs, and concerns, and most importantly, on ways in which all these stakeholders can be brought together to preserve their heritage. Bridging potential gaps among the various stakeholders and getting everyone to work together for the enhancement of Greek HLE is essential. On the one hand, using the already existing community assets and combining the forces of all interested parties will undoubtedly help support the various Greek Communities and overcome some of their current challenges. On the other hand, documenting the Greek HL speakers' realities and identifying their specific needs that require targeted provincial and support will help create a stronger case for Greek communities in their push for more recognition and funding.

In addition, I find that the present study can lend itself to a longitudinal design. It would be interesting to examine whether the Greek HL teachers' ideologies, attitudes towards students, and instructional practices would be affected after receiving training on using translanguaging material in the HL class, identifying and working with learning difficulties, creating IEPs, learning how to use new technologies, as well as after receiving training aimed at the teachers' and learners' various profiles. Of course, such a design presupposes that Greek HL teachers across Canada will all have access to professional development programs aimed at improving Greek HLE. Steps towards this direction have already been taken by the Hellenic Heritage Foundation (HHF) and York University. One can only hope that more institutions will see the value of investing in Greek HLE in targeted ways.

It must be highlighted that other foundations and donors choose to provide their support in different ways, such as by helping graduate students of Greek residency and/or citizenship who study in Canada, and by promoting the collaboration of Greek and Canadian universities. In particular, the Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation supports students of Greek residency studying at McGill University, University of Ottawa, Simon Fraser University, York University, or l'Université de Montréal. These fellowships were created in celebration of the 70th anniversary of Canada-Greece Relations (SNF, 2013). Another foundation, the Hellenic Scholarships Foundation, supports students of Greek origin who study in one of Quebec's higher education institutions. Similarly, students in the Hellenic Studies Department of Simon Fraser University can receive support from the Hellenic Canadian Congress of British Columbia and other donors. There

are also partnerships between Canadian and Greek universities for summer study abroad programs. For example, York University has collaborated with College Year in Athens, the University of Calgary with the Technical University of Crete, and McGill University with the International Hellenic University in Thessaloniki (Government of Canada, 2019). All these initiatives are highly valuable, and essential for the preservation of excellent Greek-Canadian relations.

Closing Remarks

I began this thesis by making reference to Canada's multiculturalism and multilingualism, and I now want to come full circle and return to these two pillars of Canadian identity. Canada identifies as a multicultural country and officially recognizes the cultural contributions of diverse ethnic groups, while it also "recognize[s] and promote[s] the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage" (Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 3.1.a). Despite this official recognition, and in the absence of specific legislation regarding to funding, most HL programs largely depend on local communities and institutional interests. I believe that minority communities' claims for better financial support and recognition from the Canadian provinces constitute a legitimate and rightful purpose. The steep rise of non-official language native speakers in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016c) renders the investment in HL programs a necessity.

Similarly, even though the ongoing financial crisis in Greece limits the country's ability to financially support Greek HLE in Canada, I believe that the home country has a moral obligation to find ways to cater for the preservation of Greek language and culture in the diaspora. This support could take the form of the secondment of teachers from Greece to Canada, the provision of teaching materials, the financial support, and the coordination of exchange or study abroad programs. Finally, I want to end this thesis on a positive note. I remain optimistic for the future of Greek HLE in Canada, as the participants of this study and my own experiences as a Greek HL teacher in Canada attest to Greeks' deep love for their home country. With limited means, they have created well-organized Greek Communities and they are deeply concerned about the intergenerational transmission of their language and culture. While the goal of preserving the Greek language and culture in the diaspora after the third and fourth generations is undoubtedly

challenging, I believe that it can be achieved if the various Greek Communities come together and collaborate towards this goal. As the Greek Nobel prize laureate poet, Odysseus Elytis, states,

«Εάν αποσυνθέσεις την Ελλάδα, στο τέλος θα δεις να σου απομένουν μια ελιά, ένα
αμπέλι κι ένα καράβι. Που σημαίνει: με άλλα τόσα την ξαναφτιάχνεις»

“If you deconstruct Greece, you will in the end see an olive tree, a grapevine, and a boat
remain. That is, with as much, you reconstruct her.”

References

- Ajayi, L. (2011). How ESL teachers' sociocultural identities mediate their teacher role identities in a diverse urban school setting. *Urban Review*, 43(5), 654–680.
- Akkerman, S. F., & Meijer, P. C. (2011). A dialogical approach to conceptualizing teacher identity. *Teacher and Teacher Education*, 27(2), 308-319.
- Allen, D. (2006). Who's in and who's out? Language and the integration of new-immigrant youth in Quebec. *The International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 10(2/3), 251-263.
- Allen, D. (2007). Just who do you think I am? The name-calling and name-claiming of newcomer youth. *The Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 10(2), 165-175.
- Alvanoudi, A. (2019). Borrowing and Contact-Induced Change. In A. Alvanoudi (Ed.), *Modern Greek in Diaspora: An Australian Perspective* (pp. 37-58). Cham Switzerland: Palgrave Pivot.
- Anchimbe, E. A. (2007). *Linguistic Identity in Postcolonial Multilingual Spaces*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, J. T. M. (1918). *The education of the New Canadian*. Toronto: Dent.
- Aravossitas, T. (2014). Communities Taking the Lead: Mapping Heritage Language Education Assets. In Trifonas, P. & Aravossitas, T. (Eds.), *Rethinking Heritage Language Education*, (pp.141-166). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Aravossitas, T. (2016). *The Hidden Schools: Mapping Greek Heritage Language Education in Canada*. University of Toronto. Retrieved from: https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/71722/1/Aravossitas_Themistoklis_2016_03_PhD_thesis.pdf
- Aravossitas, T., & Oikonomakou, M. (2017). Professional Development of Heritage Language Instructors: Profiles, Needs and Course Evaluation. In Trifonas, P. & Aravossitas, T. (Eds) *Springer International Handbooks of Education. Handbook of Research and Practice in Heritage Language Education*, (pp. 263-284). New York, NY: Springer International Publishing

- Arborelius, E., & Timpka, T. (1990). General practitioners' comments on video-recorded consultations as an aid to understanding the doctor–patient relationship. *Family Practice*, 7, 84–90.
- Asan, O., & Montague, E. (2014). Using video-based observation research methods in primary care health encounters to evaluate complex interactions. *Informatics in Primary Care*, 21, 161.
- Asher, J., & Garcia, R. (1969). The optimal age to learn a foreign language. *Modern Language Journal*, 53(5), 34-41.
- Atkinson, D. (Ed.) (2011). *Alternative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Aull Davies, C. (2010). *Reflexive ethnography: A guide to researching selves and others* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Routledge.
- Ayers, W., & Schubert, W. H. (1994). Teacher Lore: Learning About Teaching From Teachers. In T. Shanahan (Ed.), *Teachers Thinking, Teachers Knowing: Reflections on Literacy and Language Education*, (pp. 105–121). Urbana, IL: National Council on Teachers of English (NCTE).
- Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. (5th ed.). Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C., & Jones, S. P. (1998). *Encyclopedia of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Barone, T., & Eisner, E. W. (1997). Arts-based educational research. In R. M. Jaeger (ed.), *Complementary methods for research in education*, (pp. 73-98). Washington, DC: AERA.
- Bayley, R., & Schecter, S.R. (eds.). (2003). *Language Socialization in Bilingual and Multilingual Societies*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Beauchamp, C., & Thomas, L. (2009). Understanding teacher identity: an overview of issues in the literature and implications for teacher education, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 39(2), 175-189.
- Beck, C.T., Keddy, B.A., & Cohen, M.Z. (1994). Reliability and validity issues in phenomenological research, *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 16(3), 254–67.

- Becker, D. J., (2013). Parents' Attitudes Toward Their Children's Heritage Language Maintenance: The Case of Korean Immigrant Parents in West Michigan. *Masters Theses*. 59. Retrieved from: <https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/theses/59>
- Bell, D. (1979). Bakke, minority admissions, and the usual price of racial remedies. *California Law Review*, 67(1), 3–19.
- Bezemer, J., & Mavers, D. (2011). Multimodal transcription as academic practice: a social semiotic perspective. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 14(3), 191–206.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Bialystok, E. (2001). *Bilingualism in Development: Language, Literacy and Cognition*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bigante, E. (2010). *The use of photo-elicitation in field research*. Retrieved from: <https://journals.openedition.org/echogeo/11622>
- Bilash, O. (2011). *Heritage Language Teaching*. Retrieved from: www.educ.ualberta.ca/staff/olenka.bilash/best%20of%20bilash/heritage.html
- Błachnio, A., Przepiórka, A., & Rudnicka, P. (2013). Psychological Determinants of Using Facebook: A Research Review. *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction*, 29(11), 775–787.
- Black, N.F. (1913). *English for the Non-English*. Regina: Regina Book Shop Limited.
- Blackledge, A. (2000). Monolingual ideologies in multilingual states: Language, hegemony and social justice in Western liberal democracies. *Estudios de sociolingüística*, 1(2), 25–45.
- Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (2010). *Multilingualism: A critical perspective*. London and New York: Continuum.
- Block, D. (2003). *The Social Turn in Second Language Acquisition*. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press.
- Blommaert, J. (1999). The debate is open. In J. Blommaert (ed.), *Language, power and social process: Language ideological debates*. (pp. 1–38). Berlin, Germany; Boston, MA: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Blommaert, J., Collins, J., & Slembrouck, S. (2005). Spaces of multilingualism. *Language & Communication*, 25(3), 197-216.
- Braine, G. (2010). *Nonnative Speaker English Teachers. Research, Pedagogy, and Professional Growth*. New York: Routledge.
- Braine, G. (ed.) (1999). *Nonnative Educators in English Language Teaching*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Brecht, R. D., & Ingold, C. W. (2002). *Tapping a National Resource: Heritage languages in the United States*. ERIC Digest. Retrieved from www.cal.org/ericell/digest/0202brecht.html
- Bresnahan, M. J., Ohashi, R., Nebashi, R., Liu, W. Y., & Morinaga Shearman, S. (2002). Attitudinal and affective response toward accented English. *Language and Communication*, 22(2), 171–185.
- Brinton, D., Kagan, O., & Bauckus, S. (Eds.) (2008). *Heritage Language Education: A New Field Emerging*. New York: Routledge.
- Brockmeier, J., & Harré, R. (2001). Narrative: Problems and promises of an alternative paradigm. In J. Brockmeier & D. Carbaugh (Eds.), *Narrative and identity: Studies in autobiography, self and culture* (pp. 39–58). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, 7(4-5), 585-614.
- Buckland, W. (2009). *Puzzle Films: Complex Storytelling in Contemporary Cinema*. Malden, MA: Willey-Blackwell.
- Busch, B. (2006). Language biographies for multilingual learning: linguistic and educational considerations. In B. Busch, A. Jardine, & A. Tjoutuku (eds.): *Language Biographies for multilingual learning*, No 24 (pp 5-17). Cape Town: PRAESA Occasional Papers.
- Busch, B. (2010). School language profiles: valorizing linguistic resources in heteroglossic situations in South Africa. *Language and Education*, 24(4), 283–294.
- Busch, B. (2012). The Linguistic Repertoire Revisited. *Applied Linguistics*, 33(5), 503–523.
- Busch, B. (2018). The language portrait in multilingualism research: Theoretical and methodological considerations. Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies. Retrieved from: https://www.academia.edu/35988562/WP236_Busch_2018_The_language_portrait_in_multilingualism_research_Theoretical_and_methodological_considerations

- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler-Kisber, L. (2007). Collage in qualitative inquiry. In G. Knowles & A. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in social science research* (pp. 265-278). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Butler-Kisber, L., & Poldma, T. (2010). The Power of Visual Approaches in Qualitative Inquiry: The Use of Collage Making and Concept Mapping in Experiential Research. *Journal of Research Practice*, 6(2), article M18, 1-17.
- Butler-Kisber, L. (2010). *Qualitative Inquiry - Thematic, Narrative and Arts-Informed Perspectives*. London: Sage Publications.
- Butler-Kisber, L. (2011). The art of poetic inquiry. In S. Thomas, A. L. Cole & S. Stewart (Eds.), *The arts of poetic inquiry*. Halifax, NS: Backalong Books.
- Byram, M. (2003). On Being 'Bicultural' and 'Intercultural'. In G. Alred, M. Byram & M. Fleming (Eds.), *Intercultural Experience and Education*. (pp. 50-66). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Byrd Clark, J. (2010). *Multilingualism, citizenship and identity: Voices of youth and symbolic investments in an urban, globalized world*. London and New York: Continuum.
- Byrd Clark, J., & Dervin, F. (2014). Introduction. In J. Byrd Clark & F. Dervin (Eds.), *Reflexivity and multimodality in Language Education: Rethinking multilingualism and interculturality in accelerating, complex and transnational spaces* (pp. 1-62). London, UK: Routledge.
- Byrd Clark, J., Haque, E., & Lamoureux, S. A. (2012). The role of language in processes of internationalization: Considering linguistic heterogeneity and voices from within and out in two diverse contexts in Ontario. *Canadian and International Education / Education canadienne et internationale*, 41(3), Article 5.
- Byrd Clark, J., Mady, C. & Vanthuyne, A. (2014). Exploring Reflexivity and Multilingualism in Three French Language Teacher Education Programs. *The Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 17(1), 129-155
- Campbell, R.N., & Christian, D. (2003). Directions in research: Intergenerational transmission of heritage languages. *Heritage language journal*. Retrieved from: http://international.ucla.edu/media/files/russ_and_donna.pdf

- Canadian Multiculturalism Act, RSC 1985, c 24 (4th Supp). (2014). Retrieved from: <http://canlii.ca/t/527pf>
- Canagarajah, A. S. (1999). Interrogating the “native speaker fallacy”: Non-linguistic roots, nonpedagogical results. In G. Braine (Ed.), *Non-native educators in English language teaching* (pp. 145-158). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Canagarajah, S. (2004). Subversive identities, pedagogical safe houses, and critical learning. In B. Norton & K. Toohey (Eds.), *Critical pedagogies and language learning* (pp. 116–137). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Canagarajah, S. (2009). The plurilingual tradition and the English language in South Asia. *AILA Review*, 22, 5–22.
- Canagarajah, S. (2011). Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 2, 1-28.
- Canagarajah, S. (2013) *Translingual practice: Global Englishes and cosmopolitan relations*. London: Routledge.
- Canagarajah, S. (2018). Translingual practice as spatial repertoires: Expanding the paradigm beyond structuralist orientations. *Applied Linguistics*, 39(1), 31–54.
- Cantle, T. (2013). The case for Interculturalism, Plural Identities and Cohesion. In N. Meer, T. Modood, & R. Zapata-Barrero (Eds.), *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Debating the Dividing Lines* (pp. 133-157). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Carreira, M. (2004). Seeking Explanatory Adequacy: A Dual Approach to Understanding the Term Heritage Language Learner. *Heritage Language Journal*, 2(1), 1-25.
- Carreira, M. (2015). A general framework and supporting strategies for teaching mixed classes. Retrieved from: <http://www.international.ucla.edu/media/files/Carreira-General-Framework.docx>
- Carreira, M. (2016). Supporting HL learners through Macrobased Teaching. In M. Fairclough & S. M. Beaudrie (eds.), *Innovative Strategies for Heritage Language Teaching: A Practical Guide for the Classroom* (pp. 123-142). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Carreira, M., & Kagan, O. (2011). The results of the National Heritage Language Survey: Implications for teaching, curriculum design, and professional development. *Foreign Language Annals*, 44(1), 40-64.

- Carreira, M., & Kagan, O. (2018). Heritage language education: A proposal for the next 50 years. *Foreign Language Annals*, 51(1), 152-168.
- Carter, K. (1993). The place of story in the study of teaching and teacher education. *Educational Researcher*, 22(1), 5-12.
- Celic, C., & Seltzer K. (2012/2013). *Translanguaging: A CUNY-NYSIEB guide for educators*. New York: CUNY-NYSIEB. The Graduate Center, The City University of New York. Retrieved from: <http://www.nysieb.ws.gc.cuny.edu/files/2013/03/Translanguaging-Guide-March-2013.pdf>
- Cenoz, J. (2013). Defining multilingualism. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 33, 3–18.
- Cenoz, J., & Genesee, F. (Eds.). (1998). *Beyond bilingualism: Multilingualism and multilingual education*. Clevedon, UK. : Multilingual Matters.
- Chad S. G., & Witcher, M. A. (2010). Negotiating Transcription as a Relative Insider: Implications for Rigor. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 9(2), 122-132.
- Chandra, P. (2012). Marxism, Homi Bhabha and the Omissions of Postcolonial Theory. *Critique Journal of Socialist Theory*, 40(2), 199-214.
- Chase, S. (2005). Narrative Inquiry: Multiple lenses, approaches, voices. In N.K Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed), (pp. 651-679). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Chase, S. (2011). Narrative Inquiry: Still a field in the making. In N.K Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed), (pp. 421-434). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Cho, G. (2000). The Role of Heritage Language in Social Interactions and Relationships: Reflections from a Language Minority Group, *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24(4), 369-384.
- Cho, G., & Krashen, S. (1998). The negative consequences of heritage language loss and why we should care. In S. D. Krashen, L. Tse, & J. Mc-Quillan (Eds.), *Heritage Language Development* (pp. 31–40). Culver City, CA: Language Education Associates.
- Cho, G., Cho, K.-S., & Tse, L. (1997). Why ethnic minorities want to develop their heritage language: The case of Korean-Americans. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 10(2), 106-112.

- Cho, H. (2014). 'It's very complicated' exploring heritage language identity with heritage language teachers in a teacher preparation program. *Language and Education*, 28(2), 181-195.
- Chomsky, N. (1957). *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Chu, S. Y. (2011). Perspectives in understanding the schooling and achievement of students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. *Journal of Instructional Psychology*, 38(3), 201-209.
- Ciepiela, K. (2011). *Lodz Studies in Language: Identity through a Language Lens*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Clandinin, D. J. (2006). Narrative inquiry: A methodology for studying lived experience. *Research Studies in Music Education*, 27, 44-54.
- Clandinin, D. J. (2007). Preface. In D. J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry* (pp. ix–xvii). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Clandinin, D. J., & Rosiek, J. (2007). Mapping a landscape of narrative inquiry: Borderland spaces and tensions. In D. J. Clandinin. (ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology* (pp 35-75). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (1995). *Teachers' professional knowledge landscapes*. Teachers College Press: Columbia University Press.
- Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. San Fransisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Coghlan, D., & Brannick, T. (2005). *Doing Action research in your organization*. (2nd ed.) London: Sage Publications.
- Cohen, M. Z., Kahn, D. L., & Steeves, R. H. (2000). *Hermeneutic Phenomenological Research: A Practical Guide for Nurse Researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Collins, L., & White, J. (2011). An Intensive Look at Intensity and Language Learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 45, 106-133.
- Conle, C. (1996). Resonance in pre-service teacher inquiry. *American Educational Research Journal*, 33, 297-325.
- Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J., (2006). Narrative inquiry. In J. Green, G., Camilli, & P. Elmore (eds.), *Handbook of complementary methods in education research* (pp. 375-385). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Constantinides, S. (2001). *Greek Language Education in Canada* (In Greek: *Η ελληνόγλωσση εκπαίδευση στον Καναδά*), Rethymno, Greece: University of Crete, CIMSUC/ΕΔΙΑΜΜΕ.
- Constantinides, S. (2004). *The presence of Greeks in Canada* (In Greek: *Η παρουσία των Ελλήνων στον Καναδά*). Rethymno, Greece: University of Crete, CIMSUC/ΕΔΙΑΜΜΕ.
- Cook, V. J. (1991). The poverty-of-the-stimulus argument and multi-competence. *Second Language Research*, 7(2), 103-117.
- Cook, V. J. (1992). Evidence for multicompetence. *Language Learning*, 42, 557-591.
- Cook, V. J. (1999). Going beyond the native speaker in language teaching, *TESOL Quarterly*, 33(2), 85-209.
- Corbett, J. (2003). *An intercultural approach to English language teaching*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Coulmas, F. (2013). *Sociolinguistics: The Study of Speaker's Choices* (2nd ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Council of Europe (2005). Rapport du groupe d'experts: Grand-Duché de Luxembourg. Profil des politiques linguistiques éducatives. Strasbourg: Division des politiques linguistiques. Retrieved from: <https://rm.coe.int/profil-de-la-politique-linguistique-educative-luxembourg/16807b3c28>
- Crawford, J. (2000). *At war with diversity: US language policy in an age of anxiety*. Tonawanda, NY: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching?. *The Modern Language Journal*, 94, 103–115.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*. (4th ed). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. (3rd ed.) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. (4th ed.) London: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J.W., & Miller, D.L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, 39(3), 124-131.

- Cru, J. (2015). Language revitalisation from the ground up: Promoting Yucatec Maya on Facebook. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 36(3), 284-296.
- Crump, A. (2014). Introducing LangCrit: Critical Language and Race Theory. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 11(3), 207–224.
- Cummins, J. (1992). Heritage language teaching in Canadian schools. In C. Baker & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *An introductory reader to the writings of Jim Cummins* (pp. 252-257). Clevedon, U.K.: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, Power and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire*. Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (2005). A proposal for action: Strategies for recognizing heritage language competence as a learning resource within the mainstream classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, 89(3), 585-592.
- Cummins, J. (2006). Identity texts: The imaginative construction of self through multiliteracies pedagogy. In O. Garcia, T. Skutnabb-Kangas, & M. E. Torres Guzman (Eds.), *Imagining multilingual schools: Language in education and glocalization* (pp. 51-68). Toronto, Canada: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (2007). Rethinking monolingual instructional strategies in multilingual classrooms. *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 10(2), 221-240.
- Cummins, J. (2014a). Mainstreaming Plurilingualism: Restructuring Heritage language provision in Schools. In P. P. Trifonas & T. Aravossitas (Eds.), *Rethinking Heritage Language Education*, (pp.1-19). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Cummins, J. (2014b). To what extent are Canadian second language policies evidence-based? Reflections on the intersections of research and policy. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 5, (article 358), 1-10.
- Cummins, J. (2017). Teaching for transfer in multilingual school contexts (pp. 103–115). In O. García, A. Lin, & S. May (Eds.), *Bilingual and multilingual education*, Encyclopedia of Language and Education. New York, NY: Springer.
- Cummins, J., & Danesi, M. (1990). *Heritage Languages. The development and denial of Canada's linguistic resources*. Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves and Garamond Press.

- Cummins, J., & Early, M. (2011). Introduction. In J. Cummins & M. Early (Eds.) *Identity texts: the collaborative creation of power in multilingual schools*. London: Institute of Education Press.
- Cummins, J., & Swain, M. (1986). *Bilingualism in Education: Aspects of Theory, Research and Practice*. London: Longman.
- Cummins, J., & Troper, H. (1985). Multiculturalism and language policy in Canada. In J. Cobarrubias (ed.), *Language policy in Canada: Current issues*. Quebec: CIRB/ICRB.
- Cummins, J., Bismilla, V., Chow, P., Cohen, S., Giampapa, F., Leoni, L., Sandhu, P. & Sastri, P. (2005). Affirming Identity in Multilingual Classrooms. *Educational Leadership*, 63(1), 38-43.
- Damanakis, M. (2005). The Metropolitan Centre, the Diaspora and Education. *Hellenic Studies/Greek education in the diaspora*, 13(2), 27-62.
- Damanakis, M. (2010). Identities in the Greek Diaspora. In M. J. Osborne (Ed.), *Philathenaios*, (pp. 281-297). Athens: Greek Epigraphic Society.
- Davidson, C. (2009). Transcription: Imperatives for qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(2), 34–52.
- Davies, A. (1991). *The native speaker in Applied Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Davies, A. (2003). *The Native Speaker: Myth and Reality*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Day, C. (2004). *A Passion for Teaching*. London/New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Day, R. (2000). *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- De Saussure, F. (1966) [1916]. *Course in General Linguistics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- DeKeyser, R. M. (2000). The robustness of critical period effects in second language acquisition. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 22(4), 499-533.
- Delgado, R. (1989). Storytelling for oppositionists and others: A plea for narrative. *Michigan Law Review*, 87, 2411–2441.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (1993). Critical race theory: An annotated bibliography. *Virginia Law Review*, 79(2), 461–516.
- Denscombe, M. (1998). *The good research guide for small-scale social research projects*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. (4th ed.) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2018). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. (5th ed.) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Dixon, L. Q., Liew, J., Daraghmeh, A. & Smith, D. (2016). Pre-Service Teacher Attitudes Toward English Language Learners, *NABE Journal of Research and Practice*, 7(1). Retrieved from: <file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/97-915-1-PB.pdf>
- Donmoyer, R. (2008). Generalizability. In L. M. Givens (ed.), *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative inquiry*, vol. 1 (pp. 371-372). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Dressler, R. (2010). “There is no space for being German”: portraits of willing and reluctant heritage language learners of German. *Heritage Language Journal*, 7(2), 1-21.
- Duff, P. (2007) Second language socialization as sociocultural theory: Insights and issues. *Language Teaching*, 40, 309–319.
- Duff, P. (2008). Heritage language education in Canada. In D. Brinton, O. Kagan, & S. Bauckus (Eds.), *Heritage language: A new field emerging* (pp. 71-90). New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis.
- Duff, P., & Talmy, S. (2011) Language Socialization Approaches to Second Language Acquisition: Social, cultural, and linguistic development in additional languages. In D. Atkinson (ed.), *Alternative approaches to SLA* (pp. 95-116). New York: Routledge.
- Ellis, R., & He, X. (1999). The roles of modified input and output in the incidental acquisition of word meaning. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 21, 285-301.
- Ehrhart, S. (2010). Pourquoi intégrer la diversité linguistique et culturelle dans la formation des enseignants au Luxembourg. In S. Ehrhart, Ch. Hélot & A. Nevez (Eds.), *Plurilinguisme et formation des enseignants* (pp. 221-237). Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang.
- Entee, K., Burkholder, C., & Schwab-Cartas, J. (Eds.). (2016). *What’s a cellphilm?: Integrating mobile phone technology into participatory arts based research and activism*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Errington, J. (2001). Colonial linguistics. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30, 19-39.
- Etherington-Wright, C., & Doughty, R. (2011). *Understanding Film Theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Extra, G., & Yagmur, K. (2002). Language diversity in multicultural Europe: Comparative perspectives on immigrant minority languages at home and at school. *Management of Social Transformations (MOST)*. Discussion Paper 63. Paris: UNESCO.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and Power* (2nd ed). London: Longman.
- Ferguson, C. (1959). Diglossia. *Word*, 15(2), 325-340.
- Fetterman, D. M. (1998). *Ethnography: Step by step*. (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Feuerverger, G. (1997). "On the Edges of the Map": A study of Heritage Language teachers in Toronto. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 13(1), 39-53.
- Finlay, L., & Evans, K. (2009). *Relational-centred Research for Psychotherapists: Exploring Meanings and Experience*. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell
- Fishman, J. (1967). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 23(2), 29-38.
- Fishman, J. (1972). *The Sociology of Language*. Rowley, MA: Newbury.
- Fishman, J. (1991). *Reversing language shift*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved?* Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. (2006). Acquisition, maintenance and recovery of heritage languages. In G. Valdes, J. Fishman, R. Chavez, & W. Perez (Eds.), *Developing minority language resources: The case of Spanish in California* (pp. 12–22). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J., & Garcia, O. (2010). *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*. N.Y.: Oxford University Press.
- Flick, U. (2014). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Foucault, M. (1970) [1966]. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. (C. Gordon, ed.). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Frenzel, A. C. (2014). Teacher emotions. In R. Pekrun, & L. Linnenbrink-Garcia (Eds.), *Educational psychology handbook series. International handbook of emotions in education* (pp. 494-518). New York, NY, US: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

- Friese, S. (2011). *Qualitative Data Analysis with ATLAS.ti*. London: Sage Publications.
- Gal, S. (2011). Polyglot nationalism. Alternative perspectives on language in 19th century Hungary. *Langage et Société*, 136(2), 31–54.
- Gao, F. (2012). Teacher identity, teaching vision and Chinese language education for South Asian students in Hong Kong. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* 18(1), 89–99.
- García, H. (1985). Family and offspring language maintenance and their effects on Chicano college students' confidence and grades. In E. Garcia, & R. Padilla (Eds.), *Advances in bilingual education research* (pp. 226-243). Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- García, M. (2003). Recent research on language maintenance. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 23, 22-43.
- García, O. (2007). Foreword: Intervening discourses, representations and conceptualizations of language. In S. Makoni & A. Pennycook (Eds.), *Disinventing and reconstituting languages* (pp. xi–xv). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- García, O. (2009a). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell/Wiley.
- García, O. (2009b). Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the 21st century. In A. Mohanty, M. Panda, R. Phillipson, & T. Skutnabb-Kangas (Eds.), *Multilingual education for social justice: Globalising the local* (pp. 140–158). New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- García, O., & Kleyn, T. (2016). *Translanguaging with multilingual students: Learning from classroom moments*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- García, O., & Leiva, C. (2014). Theorizing and enacting translanguaging for social justice. In A. Creese, & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy* (pp. 199–216). New York, NY: Springer.
- García, O., & Sylvan, C.E. (2011). Pedagogies and practices in multilingual classrooms: Singularities in pluralities. *The Modern Language Journal*, 95, 385–400.
- García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- García, O., Flores, N., & Spotti, M. (eds.) (2017). *Handbook of Language and Society*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- García, O., Johnson, S., & Seltzer, K. (2016). *The Translanguaging classroom. Leveraging student bilingualism for learning*. Philadelphia, PA: Caslon.

- Gass, S. M., & Selinker, L. (2008). *Second language Acquisition: An introductory course* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Genesee, F. (2008). Early Dual Language Learning, *Zero to Three*, 29(1), 17-23.
- Georgiou, T. (2008). *The Contribution of Socrates School to the Identity Formation and Academic-Professional Evolution of its Graduates*. Rethymno: University of Crete.
- Gérin-Lajoie, D. (2011). *Youth, Language and Identity. Portraits of Students from English-language High Schools in the Montreal Area*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Gerstenblatt, P. (2013). Collage portraits as a method of analysis in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 12, 294-308.
- Gest, S. D., & Rodkin, P. C. (2011). Teaching practices and elementary classroom peer ecologies. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 32(5), 288-296.
- Gilje, O. (2009). *Mode, Mediation and Moving Images: An Inquiry of Digital Editing Practices in Media Education*, Published PhD. Faculty of Education, University of Oslo, Norway.
- Given, L. M. (2008). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.
- Gogolin, I. (1994). *Der monolinguale Habitus der multilingualen Schule*. Münster: Waxmann.
- Gogolin, I. (2002). Linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe. A challenge for educational research and practice. *European Educational Research Journal*, 1(1), 123–138.
- Gogolin, I. (2015): Die Karriere einer Kontur-Sprachenportraits. In I. Dirim, I. Gogolin, D. Knorr, M. Krüger-Potratz, D. Lengyel, H.H. Reich, & W. Weiße (eds.): *Impulse für die Migrationsgesellschaft. Bildung, Politik und Religion*. Münster, New York: Waxmann, pp. 294–304.
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 8(4), 597-607.
- Goodson, I. (Ed.) (1991). *Teachers' lives and educational research. Biography, identity and schooling: Episodes in educational research*. London: Falmer Press.
- Gordon, A. (2013). Identity Chart: Who Am I? Teachers Pay Teachers. Retrieved from: <https://www.teacherspayteachers.com/Product/Identity-Chart-Who-Am-I-54964>
- Gouvernement du Québec. Ministère de l'Éducation et Enseignement supérieure. (2004) *Individualized Education Plans: Helping Students Achieve Success*. Retrieved from:

http://www.education.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/site_web/documents/dpse/adaptation_serv_compl/19-7053A.pdf

Government of Canada (2019). Canada and Greece relations. Retrieved from: <https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/greece-grece/relations.aspx?lang=eng>

Government of Ontario. Ministry of Education. (2004). *The Individual Education Plan. (IEP) A Resource Guide*. Retrieved from: <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/general/elemsec/speced/guide/resource/iepresguid.pdf>

Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Grosjean, F. (2010). *Bilingual: Life and Reality*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Grosjean, F., & Li, P. (2013). *The psycholinguistics of bilingualism*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Grossman, P. L., Wineburg, S., & Woolworth, S. (1998). The formation of teacher community: Standards for evaluating change. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, CA.

Grossman, P. L., Wineburg, S., & Woolworth, S. (2001). Toward a Theory of Teacher Community. *The Teachers College Record*, 103, 942-1012.

Guardado, M. (2002). Loss and maintenance of first language skills: Case studies of Hispanic families in Vancouver. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 58(3), 341-363.

Guardado, M. (2010). Heritage language development: Preserving a mythic past or envisioning the future of Canadian identity? *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 9(5), 329-346.

Gudmundsdottir, S. (2001). Narrative research on school practice. In V. Richardson (ed.), *Fourth handbook for research on teaching*, (pp. 226-240). New York: Mac Millan.

Guttek, G. (2014). *Philosophical, Ideological and Theoretical Perspectives On Education*. New Jersey: Pearson.

Hakuta, K. (2011). Educating language minority students and affirming their equal rights: Research and practical perspectives. *Educational Researcher*, 40(4), 163-174.

Hall, S. (1995). New Cultures for Old. In D. Massey & P. Jess (eds.), *A Place in the World?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage.

- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography: principles in practice*. (2nd ed.) London: Routledge.
- Hammond, M., & Wellington, J. (2013). *Research Methods: The Key Concepts*. New York: Routledge.
- Haque, E. (2012). *Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada*. Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press.
- Harney, R., & Troper, H. (1975). *Immigrants: A portrait of urban experience 1890-1930*. Toronto: Van Nostrand Rheinhold.
- Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies*, 17, 13–26.
- Harrison, B. (2000). Passing on the language: Heritage language diversity in Canada. *Canadian Social Trends*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-008. Vol. 58, 14-19
- Hatch, J. A., & Wisniewski, R. (1995). Life history and narrative: questions, issues, and exemplary works. In J. A. Hatch & R. Wisniewski (Eds.), *Life history and narrative* (pp. 113-135). Bristol, PA: The Falmer Press
- Heath, C. (2012). *The Dynamics of Auction*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Heath, C., Hindmarsh, J., & Luff, P. (2010). *Video in qualitative research: Analysing social interaction in everyday life*. London: Sage.
- Heidegger, M. (1962). *Being and time*. (J. MacQuarrie & E. Robinson, Trans). New York: Harper & Row.
- Heidegger, M. (1972). *On time and being*. (J. Stambaugh, Trans.). New York: Harper & Row.
- Hellenic Heritage Foundation. (2016). Language & education/teacher training. Retrieved from: <http://hhf.ca/primary-education-2/>
- Heller, M. (2007). Bilingualism as ideology and practice. In M. Heller (Ed.), *Bilingualism: A social approach* (pp. 1–22). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Heller, M. (2008). Doing ethnography. In L. Wei & M. G. Moyer (Eds.), *The Blackwell guide to research methods in bilingualism and multilingualism* (pp. 249–262). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Heller, M. (2011). *Paths to Post-Nationalism: A Critical Ethnography of Language and Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Henn, M., Weinstein, M., & Foard, N. (2009). *A critical introduction to Social Research*. (2nd ed.) London: Sage Publications.

- Henry, S. G., & Fethers, M. D. (2012). Video elicitation interviews: A qualitative research method for investigating physician-patient interactions. *The Annals of Family Medicine*, 10, 118–125.
- Hindmarsh, J., & Tutt, D. (2012). Video in analytic practice. In S. Pink (ed.), *Advances in Visual Methodology* (pp. 183-200). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Holliday, A. (2008). Standards of English and Politics of Inclusion. *Language Teaching*, 41(1), 119-130.
- Holmes, E., Roberts, M., Verivaki, M., & Aipolo, A. (1993). Language maintenance and shift in three New Zealand speech communities. *Applied Linguistics* 14(1), 1-24.
- Holmes, P., Cockburn-Wooten, C., Motion, J., Zorn, E.T., & Roper, J. (2005). Critical reflexive practice in teaching management communication. *Business Communication Quarterly*, 68 (2), 247-257.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2005). Heritage/community language education: US and Australian perspectives. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8(2, 3), 101-108.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Wang, S. C. (2008). Who are our heritage language learners?: Identity and biliteracy in heritage language education in the United States. In D. M. Brinton, O. Kagan, & S. Bauckus (Eds), *Heritage language education: A new field emerging* (pp. 3-38). New York: Routledge.
- Hornberger, N., & Link, H. (2012). Translanguaging and transnational literacies in multilingual classrooms: a biliteracy lens. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 15, 261-278.
- Houle, R. (2011). *Recent evolution of immigrant-language transmission in Canada*. Statistics Canada Publications. Statistics Canada Website. Retrieved from: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-008-x/2011002/article/11453-eng.htm#a4>
- Huberman, M., & Miles, M. B. (2002). *The Qualitative Researcher's Companion*. London: Sage Publications.
- Husserl, E. (1931). *Ideas: general introduction to pure phenomenology* (D. Carr, Trans.). Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Husserl, E. (1970). *The crisis of European sciences and transcendental phenomenology* (D. Carr, Trans). Evanston, IL: Northwest University Press.

- Hymes, D.H. (1974). *Foundations of sociolinguistics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Irvine, J. (1989). When talk isn't cheap: language and political economy. *American Ethnologist*, 16(2), 248-267.
- Jenkins, J. (2000). *The Phonology of English as an International Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jenkins, J. (2005). Implementing an international approach to English pronunciation: the role of teacher attitudes and identity. *TESOL Quarterly*, 39(3), 535-543.
- Jeon, M. (2008). Korean Heritage Language Maintenance and Language Ideology. *Heritage Language Journal*, 6(2), 54-71.
- Jewitt, C. (2012). An Introduction to Using Video for Research. National Centre for Research Methods Working Paper 03/12. London, National Centre for Research Methods. Retrieved from: http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/2259/4/NCRM_workingpaper_0312.pdf
- Jørgensen, J. N. (2008). Polylingual Languageing Around and Among Children and Adolescents. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5(3), 161-176.
- Josselson, R. (2013). *Interviewing for Qualitative Inquiry: A Relational Approach*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Kagan, O. E., & Dillon, K.E. (2008). Issues in heritage language learning in the United States. In N. Van Deusen-Scholl & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (2nd Ed), Volume 4: Second and foreign language education (pp. 143-156). Springer Science+Business Media LLC.
- Kagan, O.E., & Dillon, K.E. (2009). The professional development of teachers of heritage learners: A matrix. In M. Anderson & A. Lazaraton (Eds.), *Building contexts, making connections: Selected papers from the Fifth International Conference on Language Teacher Education* (pp. 155-175). Minneapolis, MN: Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition.
- Kalman, B. (2010). *Canada: The Culture*. Crabtree Publishing Company.
- Kanno, Y. (2000). Bilingualism and identity: the stories of Japanese returnees. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and bilingualism*, 3(1), 1-18.
- Kanno, Y. (2003). *Negotiating bilingual and bicultural identities: Japanese returnees betwixt two worlds*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Kanno, Y. (2003a). Imagined communities, school visions, and the education of bilingual students in Japan. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 2, 241–249
- Katz, J., & Fodor, J. (1962). What's wrong with the philosophy of Language? *Inquiry -An Interdisciplinary Journal of Philosophy*, 5, 1-4.
- Kelchtermans, G. (2005). Teachers' emotions in educational reforms: self-understanding, vulnerable commitment and micropolitical literacy. *Teacher and Teacher Education*, 21, 995-1006
- Kelleher, A. (2010). What is a Heritage Language? Center for Applied Linguistics. Retrieved from: <http://www.cal.org/heritage/pdfs/briefs/What-is-a-Heritage-Language.pdf>
- Kelman, A. Y. (2010). Rethinking the soundscape: a critical genealogy of a key term in sound studies, *The Senses and Society*, 5(2), 212-234.
- Kerwin-Boudreau, S., & Butler-Kisber, L. (2016). Deepening Understanding in Qualitative Inquiry. *The Qualitative Report*, 21(5), 956-971.
- Kim, J. I., & Kim, M. (2016) Three Korean Heritage Language Teachers' Identities, Their Identification of Their Students, and Their Instructional Practices. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 15(6), 361-375.
- Knoblauch, H., & Schnettler, B. (2009). *Video Analysis Methodology and Methods: Qualitative Audiovisual Data Analysis in Sociology*. Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Knowles, J.G., & Cole, A.L. (Eds.). (2008). *Handbook of the ARTS in qualitative research: Perspectives, methodologies, examples and issues*. London, United Kingdom: Sage.
- Kouritzin, S. G. (2000). A mother's tongue. *TESOL Quarterly*, 34(2), 311-324.
- Kramsch, C. (2011). The Symbolic Dimension of the Intercultural. *Language Teaching*, 44(3), 354-367.
- Krashen S., Long, M., & Scarcella, R. (1979). Age, rate and eventual attainment in second language acquisition. *TESOL Quarterly*, 13, 573–82.
- Krashen, S. (1985). *The Input Hypothesis: Issues and Implications*. Beverly Hills, CA: Laredo Publishing Company.
- Krashen, S. (1989). We acquire vocabulary and spelling by reading: Additional evidence for the input hypothesis. *Modern Language Journal*, 73, 440-464.

- Krashen, S. (1998). Heritage language development: Some practical arguments. In S. Krashen, L. Tse, & J. McQuillan (Eds.), *Heritage language development* (pp.3-13). Culver City, CA: Language Education Associates.
- Krashen, S. (2000). Bilingual education, the acquisition of English, and the retention and loss of Spanish. In A. Roca (Ed.), *Research on Spanish in the U.S.* (pp. 432-444). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Krumm, H-J. (2008). Plurilinguisme et subjectivité: «portraits de langues», par les enfants plurilingues (A. Hu & D. Vandystadt, Trans.). In G. Zarate, D. Lévy, & C. Kramsch (Eds.), *Précis du plurilinguisme et du pluriculturalisme* (pp. 109-112). Paris, France: Éditions des archives contemporaines.
- Krumm, H-J., & Jenkins, E-M. (2001): *Kinder und ihre Sprachen-lebendige Mehrsprachigkeit: Sprachenportraits gesammelt und kommentiert von Hans-Jürgen Krumm*. Wien: Eviva.
- Kuhl, P. K. (2004). Early language acquisition: Cracking the speech code. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, 5(11), 831-843.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. London: Sage.
- Labov, W., & Waletzky, J. (1997[1967]). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. *Journal of Narrative Life History*, 7, 3-38.
- Lamarre, P. (2001). Plurilingualism and pluriculturalism: an approach from the Canadian perspective. *Kolor: Journal on Moving Communities*, 1(1), 33-45.
- Lamarre, P. (2013). Catching “Montréal on the move” and challenging the discourse of unilingualism in Quebec. *Anthropologica*, 55(1), 41-56.
- Lamarre, P. (2014). Bilingual winks and bilingual word play in Montreal’s linguistic landscape. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 288, 131-152.
- Lamarre, P., & Dagenais, D. (2003). Linguistic representations of trilingual youth in two Canadian cities. In C. Hoffmann & J. Ytsma (eds), *Trilingualism in Family, School and Community* (pp.53-74). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Lamarre, P., & Dagenais, D. (2004). Language socialization in bilingual and multilingual societies. In C. Hoffman & J. Ytsma (Eds.), *Trilingualism in family, school and community* (pp. 53-74). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Langellier, K. (2001). 'You're Marked': Breast Cancer, Tattoo and the Narrative Performance of Identity." In J. Brockmeier & D. Carbaugh (eds.), *Narrative and Identity: Studies in Autobiography, Self, and Culture*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Lao, C. (2004). Parents' attitudes toward Chinese-English bilingual education and Chinese-language use. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 28(1), 99-121.
- Lapadat, J. C. (2000). Problematizing transcription: Purpose, paradigm and quality. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 3, 203-219.
- Lapenta, F. (2011). Some theoretical and methodological views on photo-elicitation. In E. Margolis & L. Pauwels (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of visual research methods* (pp. 201-213). London: SAGE Publications.
- Lather, P. (1986). Research as praxis, *Harvard Educational Review*, 56(3), 257-278.
- Lather, P. (1991). *Getting Smart*. New York: Routledge.
- Le Roux, L. (2006). Qualitative research: where we come from, how we judge. A reflection on positivist trappings, paper at 15th EDAMBA Summer Academy, Soreze, France.
- Lee, J. S. & Bucholtz, M. (2015). Language socialization across learning spaces. In N. Markee (ed.), *Handbook of classroom discourse and interaction* (pp. 319-336). Malden MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Lee, J. S. (2002). The Korean Language in America: The Role of Cultural Identity and Heritage Language. *Language, Culture, and Curriculum*, 15(2), 117-133.
- Lee, J. S., & Oxelson, E. (2006). "It's not my job": K-12 teacher attitudes towards students' heritage language maintenance. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 30(2), 453-477.
- Lee, J. S., & Y. Bang. (2011). Listening to Teacher Lore: The Challenges and Resources of Korean Heritage Language Teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 27, 387-394.
- Leeman, J., Rabin, L., & Roman-Mendoza, E. (2011). Identity and Activism in Heritage Language Education, *Modern Language Journal*, 95(4), 481-495.
- Leung, C., Harris, R., & Rampton, B. (1997). The idealised native speaker: Reified ethnicities and classroom realities. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31, 543-560.
- Levin, M., & Greenwood, D. (2001). Pragmatic action research and the struggle to transform universities into learning communities. In P. Reason & H. Bradbury (Eds.) *Handbook of Action Research: Participative Inquiry and Practice*. London: Sage.

- Library and Archives Canada. (2016). Greek - Genealogy and Family History. Retrieved from : <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/immigration/history-ethnic-cultural/Pages/greek.aspx>
- Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach, R., & Zilber, T. (1998). *Narrative research: Reading, analysis, and interpretation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lightbown, P. M., & Spada, N. (2013). *How Languages are Learned*. (4th ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Little, D., & Kirwan, D. (2018). *Translanguaging as a key to educational success: The experience of one Irish primary school*. In P. Van Avermaet, S. Slembrouck, K. Van Gorp, S. Sierens, & K. Maryns (Eds.), *The multilingual edge of education* (pp. 313–339). London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Little, J. W. (1999). Teachers' professional development in the context of secondary school reform: Findings from a three-year study of restructuring schools. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Montreal, Canada.
- Little, J. W. (2002). Locating learning in teachers' communities of practice: Opening up problems of analysis in records of everyday work. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 18(8), 917-946.
- Little, J. W. (2003). Inside teacher community: representations of classroom practice. *Teachers College Record*, 105(6), 913-945.
- Llurda, E. (ed.) (2005). *Non-native Language Teachers. Perceptions, challenges and contributions to the profession*. New York: Springer
- Long, M. (1981). Input, interaction, and second-language acquisition. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 379, 259-278.
- Lynn, M. (2002). Critical race theory and the perspectives of black men teachers in the Los Angeles public schools. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 35(2), 119–130.
- Lyons, E., & Coyle, A. (2007). *Analysis of qualitative data in psychology*. London: Sage.
- Makarova, E. (2014). Courses in the Language and Culture of Origin and their Impact on Youth Development in Cultural Transition: A Study Amongst Immigrant and Dual-Heritage Youth in Switzerland. In P. P. Trifonas, & T. Aravossitas, (Eds.), *Rethinking Heritage Language Education* (pp. 89-114). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Makoni, S., & Pennycook, A. (2007). Disinventing and reconstituting languages. In S. Makoni & A. Pennycook (Eds.), *Disinventing and reconstituting languages* (pp. 1–41). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Marsh, J.A. (2004). *Popular Culture, Media and Digital Literacies in Early Childhood*. London: Routledge.
- Martinez, G. (2003). Classroom based dialect awareness in heritage language instruction: A critical applied linguistic approach. *Heritage Language Journal*, 1(1), 1-14.
- Matsuda, M. (1996). *Where is your body? And other essays on race, gender and the law*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- McAndrew, M. (2012). *Fragile Majorities and Education: Belgium, Catalonia, Northern Ireland, and Quebec*. [original in French (2010) translated by Michael O’Hearn]. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- McGroarty, M. E. (2010). Language and ideologies. In N. H. Hornberger, & S. L. McKay (eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language education* (pp. 3-39). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- McKeown, S., Stringer, M., & Cairns, E. (2015). Classroom Segregation: Where Do Students Sit and How is This Related to Group Relations?, *British Educational Research Journal*, 42(1), 40–55.
- McLaughlin, M. W., & Talbert, J. E. (2001). *Professional communities and the work of high school teaching*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McNay, L. (2008). *Against Recognition*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Medgyes, P. (1994). *The Non-Native Teacher*. London: Macmillan
- Melo-Pfeifer, S. (2015). The role of the family in heritage language use and learning: impact on heritage language policies. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 18(1), 26-44.
- Menard-Warwick, J. (2008). The cultural and intercultural identities of transnational English teachers: Two case studies from the Americas. *TESOL Quarterly*, 42(4), 617–640.
- Mishler, E. G. (2000). Validation in inquiry-guided research: The role of exemplars in narrative studies. In B. M. Brizuela, J. P. Stewart, R. G. Carrillo, & J. G. Berger (Eds.), *Acts of inquiry in qualitative research* (pp. 119-146). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review.
- Mitchell, R., & Myles, R. (2004). *Second language learning theories* (2nd ed.). London: Arnold.

- Mohanty, A. K. (1990). Psychological consequences of mother-tongue maintenance and the language of literacy for linguistic minorities in India. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, 2(1), 31-50.
- Møller, J. S. (2008). Polylingual Performance among Turkish-Danes in late-modern Copenhagen. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5(3), 217-236.
- Montrul, S. (2010). Current issues in heritage language acquisition. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 30, 3-23.
- Montrul, S. A. (2012). Is the heritage language like a second language? *Eurosla Yearbook*, 12(1), 1-29.
- Moon, C., Lagercrantz, H., & Kuhl, P. K. (2013). Language experienced in utero affects vowel perception after birth: A two-country study, *Acta Paediatrica*, 102(2), 156-160.
- Moussu, L., & Braine, G. (2006). The Attitudes of ESL Students towards Nonnative English Language Teachers. *TESL Reporter*, 39, 33-47.
- Moussu, L., & Llurda, E. (2008). Non-native English-speaking English language teachers: History and research. *Language Teaching*, 41, 315-348.
- Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Muñoz, C. (2006). *Age and the rate of foreign language learning*. Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
- Muñoz, C. (2010). On how age affects foreign language learning. *14th International Conference of Applied Linguistics. Advances in Research on Language Acquisition and Teaching: Selected Papers*, 39-49.
- Munro, M. J., & Derwing, T. M. (1995). Foreign Accent, Comprehensibility, and Intelligibility in the Speech of Second Language Learners. *Language Learning*, 45(1), 73-97.
- Munro, M. J., & Derwing, T. M. (2011). The foundations of accent and intelligibility in pronunciation research. *Language Teaching*, 44(3), 316-327.
- Murillo, L. A., & Smith, P. H. (2011). "I will never forget that": Lasting effects of language discrimination on language-minority children in Colombia and the U.S.-Mexico border. *Childhood Education*, 87(3), 147-153.
- Nayar, P. B. (1994). Whose English is it? *TESL-EJ*, 1(1). Retrieved from: <http://www.tesl-ej.org/wordpress/issues/volume1/ej01/ej01f1/>

- Newberry, M., Gallant, A., & Riley, P. (Eds.) (2013). *Emotion and school: understanding how the hidden curriculum influences relationships, leadership, teaching, and learning*. UK: Emerald Publishing Group.
- Nikolov, M., & Djigunovic, J. M. (2006). Recent research on age, second language acquisition and early foreign language learning. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 26, 234-260.
- Nobuyoshi, J., & Ellis, R. (1993). Focused communication tasks and second language acquisition. *ELT Journal*, 47, 203-210.
- Nocus, I., Guimard, P., Vernaudeau, J., Paia, M., Cosnefroy, O., & Florin, A. (2012). Effectiveness of a heritage educational program for the acquisition of oral and written French and Tahitian in French Polynesia. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 28, 21-31.
- Norton, B. (2010). Language and Identity. In N. Hornberger & S. McKay (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language education* (pp. 349-352). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation*. (2nd ed.). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2011). Identity, language learning, and social change. *Language Teaching*, 44(4), 412-446.
- Ochs, E. (1988). *Culture and language development: Language acquisition and language socialization in a Samoan village*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B.B. (1995). The impact of language socialization on grammatical development. In P. Fletcher, & B. MacWhinney (eds.), *The handbook of child language* (pp. 73-94). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B.B. (2011). The theory of language socialization. In A. Duranti, E., Ochs, & B.B. Schieffelin (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Socialization*, (pp. 1-21), Malden MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- O'Rourke, B., Pujolar, J., & Ramallo, F. (2015). New speakers of minority languages: The challenging opportunity - foreword. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 231, 1-20.
- Ortega, L. (2009). *Understanding second language acquisition*. London, United Kingdom: Hodder.

- Ortega, L. (2011). SLA after the Social Turn. Where cognitivism and its alternatives stand. In D. Atkinson (Ed), *Alternative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition* (pp. 73-94). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Otheguy, R., García, O., & Reid, W. (2015). Clarifying translanguaging and deconstructing named languages: A perspective from linguistics. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 6(3), 281-307.
- Paikeday, T. M. (1985). *The native speaker is dead*. Toronto: Paikeday Publishing Inc.
- Palmer, D. K., Martínez, R. A., Mateus, S. G., & Henderson, K. (2014). Reframing the debate on language separation: Toward a vision for translanguaging pedagogies in the dual language classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, 98(3), 757–772.
- Panagiotopoulou, A., Rosen, L., & García, O. (2016). Language Teachers' Ideologies in a Complementary Greek School in Montreal: Heteroglossia and Teaching. In P.P. Trifonas & T. Aravossitas (Eds.), *Handbook of Research and Practice in Heritage Language Education*, (pp. 285-300). Springer International Publishing A.G.
- Panagiotopoulou, A., Rosen, L., Kirsch, C., Chatzidaki, A. (Eds.). (2019). *'New' Migration of Families from Greece to Europe and Canada. A 'New' Challenge for Education?* Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.
- Park, S. M., & Sarkar, M. (2007). Parents' attitudes toward heritage language maintenance for their children and their efforts to help their children maintain the heritage language: A case study of Korean-Canadian immigrants. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 20(3), 223-235.
- Parry, B. (1994). Signs of Our Times: Discussion of Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture*, *Third Text*, 28/29 Autumn/Winter, 5-24.
- Paskins, Z., Sanders, T., Croft, P. R., & Hassell, A. B. (2017). Exploring the added value of video-stimulated recall in researching the primary care doctor–patient consultation: A process evaluation. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16, 1-11.
- Patkowski, M. (1980). The Sensitive Period for the Acquisition of Learning in a Second Language. *Language and Learning*, 30, 449-472.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Pavlenko, A. (2003). "I never knew I was a bilingual": Reimagining teacher identities in TESOL. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 2(4), 251–268.

- Pavlenko, A. (2014). *The Bilingual Mind and what it tells us about language and thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pavlenko, A., & Norton, B. (2007). Imagined communities, identity, and English language learning. In J. Cummins; C. Davidson (Eds.). *International handbook of English language teaching* (pp. 669–680). New York: Springer.
- Pennycook, A. (1994). *The cultural politics of English as an international language*. London: Longman.
- Pennycook, A. (2001). *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*. London: Routledge.
- Pennycook, A. (2010). *Language as local practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Pennycook, A., & Makoni, S. (2019). *Innovations and Challenges in Applied Linguistics from the Global South* (Eds.). London: Routledge.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Piccardo, E. (2013). Plurilingualism and curriculum design: Towards a synergic vision. *TESOL Quarterly*, 47(3), 600–614.
- Piccardo, E. (2018). Plurilingualism: Vision, conceptualization, and practice. In P. P. Trifonas & T. Aravossitas (Eds.), *International handbook on research and practice in heritage language education* (pp. 207–226). Toronto: Springer.
- Pink, S. (2003). Representing the sensory home: ethnographic experience and ethnographic hypermedia. *Social Analysis*, 4(3), 46–63.
- Pink, S. (2012). *Advances in Visual Methodology* (ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Pinnegar, S., & Daynes, J. G. (2007). Locating narrative inquiry historically: Thematics in the turn to narrative. In D.J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology* (pp. 3–34). London: Sage Publications.
- Poland, B. D. (1995). Transcription quality as an aspect of rigor in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 1, 290–310.
- Poland, B. D. (2001). Transcription quality. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 629–649). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Polinsky, M., & Kagan, O. (2007). Heritage languages: In the ‘wild’ and in the classroom. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 1(5), 368–395.

- Polkinghorne, D. E. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (2005). Language and meaning: Data collection in qualitative research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(2), 137-145.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (2007). Validity issues in narrative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 13(4), 471-486.
- Porter, J. (1965). *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Prasad, G. (2014). Portraits of Plurilingualism in a French International School in Toronto: Exploring the Role of Visual Methods to Access Students' Representations of their Linguistically Diverse Identities. *The Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 17(1), 51-77.
- Prosser, J. (2011). Visual Methodology: Toward a more seeing research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.) *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed.), (pp. 479-495). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Radzinski, J. M. (1959). The American melting pot: its meaning to us. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 115(10), 873-86.
- Rampton, B. (1990). Displacing the "native speaker": Expertise, affiliation and inheritance. *ELT Journal*, 44, 97-101.
- Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity among Adolescents*. London: Longman.
- Rampton, B. (1998). Language Crossing and the Redefinition of Reality. In P. Auer (ed.), *Code-switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity* (pp. 290-317). London: Routledge.
- Riches, C., & Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2010). A tale of two Montréal communities: Parents' perspectives on their children's language and literacy development in a multilingual context. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 66(4), 525-555.
- Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Riessman, C.K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ro, Y. E., & Cheatham, G. A. (2009). Biliteracy and Bilingual Development in a Second-Generation Korean Child: A Case Study. *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, 23(3), 290-308.

- Robson, C. (2011). *Real world research. A resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers* (3rd ed.). Chichester: Wiley.
- Rose, G. (2012). *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*. (3rd ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Ross, J. (2010). Was that Infinity or Affinity? Applying Insights from Translation Studies to Qualitative Research Transcription. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 11(2). Retrieved from: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1357>
- Roth, W.M. (2009). Epistemic mediation: Video data as filters for the objectification of teaching by teachers. In R. Goldman, R. Pea, B. Barron, & S.J. Derry (2006) *Video Research in the learning sciences* (pp. 367-382). New York: Routledge.
- Rumsey, A. (1990). Wording, Meaning and Linguistic Ideology. *American Anthropologist*, 92(2), 346-361.
- Russell, B. D., & Kuriscak, L. M. (2015). High School Spanish Teachers' Attitudes and Practices Toward Spanish Heritage Language Learners, *Foreign Language Annals*, 48(3), 413-433.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Salkind, N. J. (1997). *Exploring Research*. (3rd ed.). New Jersey, Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall Inc.
- Sandelowski, M., & Barroso, J. (2002). Finding the findings in qualitative studies. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 34(3), 213-220.
- San José State University (2016). *The Red Pony - Identity Charts*. Retrieved from: <http://sits.sjsu.edu/teacher-support/lesson-plans/the-red-pony/trp-downloadable-plans/identity-charts/index.html>
- Schechter, S.R., & Bayley, R. (2004). Language socialization in theory and practice. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 17, 606-625.
- Schieffelin, B. B. (1990). *The give and take of everyday life: Language socialization of Kaluli children*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Schieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (1986). Language Socialization. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15, 163-191.
- Schutz, P. A., & Zembylas, M. (2009). *Advances in teacher emotion research: the impact on teachers' lives*. NY: Springer Publishing.

- Seale, C. (1999). Quality in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 5(4), 465-478.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2011). *Understanding English as a lingua franca*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Seltzer, K., & Collins, B. A. (2016). Navigating Turbulent Waters: Translanguaging to Support Academic and Socioemotional Well-Being. In O. García, & T. Kleyn (Eds.), *Translanguaging with multilingual students: Learning from classroom moments* (pp. 140–159). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Shannon, S. M. (1999). The debate on bilingual education in the U.S.: Language ideology as reflected in the practice of bilingual teachers. In J. Blommaert (ed.), *Language, power and social process: Language ideological debates* (pp. 171-199). Berlin/New York: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Shin, J. (2009). *Critical ethnography of a multilingual and multicultural Korean language classroom: Discourses on identity, investment and Korean-ness*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, Canada.
- Shin, S.J. (2010). What About me? I'm not Like Chinese but I'm not Like American: Heritage-Language Learning and Identity of Mixed-Heritage Adults. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 9(3), 203–219.
- Shinbo, Y. (2004). *Challenges, needs, and contributions of heritage language students in foreign language classrooms*. M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, Canada.
- Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Silver, C., & Lewins, A. (2014). *Using Software in Qualitative Research: A Step-By-Step Guide* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Silverstein, M. (1979). Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology. In P. Clyne, W. Hanks, & C. Hofbauer (eds.), *The Elements* (pp. 193-248). Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Singleton, D., & Zsolt, L. (1995). *The Age Factor in Second Language Acquisition*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Snape, D., & Spencer, L. (2003). The foundations of qualitative research. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 1-23). London: Sage Publications.
- Stacey, J. (1988). Can There Be a Feminist Ethnography? *Women's Studies International Forum* 11(1), 21–27.

- Stake, R. E. (1994). Case studies. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, (pp. 236–247). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Statistics Canada (2001). *Canada's ethnocultural portrait: The changing mosaic*. Retrieved from: <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/etoimm/canada.cfm>
- Statistics Canada (2016a). Census profile: Canada. Retrieved from: <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=PR&Code1=01&Geo2=PR&Code2=01&SearchText=Canada&SearchType=Begin&SearchPR=01&B1=Immigration%20and%20citizenship&TABID=1&type=0>
- Statistics Canada (2016b). Census profile: Ontario. Retrieved from: <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=PR&Code1=35&Geo2=PR&Code2=01&SearchText=Ontario&SearchType=Begin&SearchPR=01&B1=Language&TABID=1&type=0>
- Statistics Canada (2016c). *National Household Survey*. Retrieved from: <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/98-200-x/2016010/98-200-x2016010-eng.cfm>
- Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation (2013). \$1.1 million gift from the Stavros Niarchos Foundation to McGill fortifies support for graduate students. Retrieved from: [https://www.snf.org/en/newsroom/news/2013/06/\\$11-million-gift-from-the-stavros-niarchos-foundation-to-mcgill-fortifies-support-for-graduate-students/](https://www.snf.org/en/newsroom/news/2013/06/$11-million-gift-from-the-stavros-niarchos-foundation-to-mcgill-fortifies-support-for-graduate-students/)
- Stenbacka, C. (2001). Qualitative research requires quality concepts of its own. *Management Decision*, 39(7), 551-555.
- Stern, H. (1983). *Fundamental concepts of language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sullivan, A. M. (2009). Defining poetic occasion in inquiry: Concreteness, voice, ambiguity, tension and associative logic. In M. Prendergast (ed.), *Poetic Inquiry: Vibrant Voices in the social sciences* (pp. 111-126). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Swain, M. (1985). Communicative competence: Some roles of comprehensible input and comprehensible output in its development. In S. Gass, & C. Madden (Eds.), *Input in Second Language Acquisition* (pp. 235-256). New York: Newbury House.

- Swain, M. (1995). Three functions of output in second language learning. In G. Cook & B. Seidlhofer (Eds.), *Principle and practice in applied linguistics* (pp. 125-144). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Swain, M. (2000). The Output Hypothesis and beyond Mediating Acquisition through Collaborative Dialogue. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural Theory and Second Language Learning* (pp. 97-114). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tarone, E., & Liu, G-Q. (1995) Situational context, variation, and second language acquisition theory. In G. Cook, & B. Seidelhofer (Eds.) *Principle and Practice in Applied Linguistics: Studies in Honor of H.G. Widdowson* (pp. 107-124). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Taylor, C. (1989). *Sources of the Self. The Making of Modern Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Taylor, C. (1992). The Politics of Recognition. In A. Gutmann (Ed.), *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition* (pp. 25-74). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Taylor, C. (2006). Practising Reflexivity: narrative, reflection and the moral order. In S. White, J. Fook, & F. Gardner (Eds.) *Critical Reflection in Health and Social Care* (pp. 73-88). Maidenhead, England: Open University Press.
- Thomas, G. (2013). *How to do your Research Project*. (2nd ed.) London: Sage Publications.
- Thomas, M. E. (2009). *Auto-photography*. Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University.
- Thompson, J. B. (1984). *Studies in the theory of ideology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Toohy, K. (2000). *Learning English at school: Identity, social relations, and classroom practice*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Trifonas, P. P., & Aravossitas, T. (2014). Introduction. In P. P. Trifonas, P. & T. Aravossitas (Eds.), *Rethinking Heritage Language Education*, (pp.1-19). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Trofimovich, P., & Isaacs, T. (2012). Disentangling accent from comprehensibility. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 15(4), 905–916.
- Trudgill, P., & Hannah, J. (2008). *International English. A guide to the varieties of Standard English* (5th ed.). London: Hodder Education.
- Tse, L. (1997). Affecting affect: The impact of ethnic language programs on student attitudes. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 53(4), 705-728.
- Tse, L. (2001). *Why don't they learn English?* New York: Teachers College Press.

- Tsui, A. B. (2007). Complexities of identity formation: A narrative inquiry of an EFL teacher. *TESOL Quarterly*, 41(4), 657–680.
- Turnbull, M., & Arnett, K. (2002). Teachers' uses of the target and first languages in second and foreign language classrooms. *Annual review of applied linguistics*, 22, 204–218.
- Unger, J. W., Krzyzanowski, M., & Wodak, R. (2009). *Multilingual encounters in Europe's institutional spaces*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Valdés, G. (2000). The Teaching of Heritage Languages: An Introduction for Slavic-teaching Professionals. In O., Kagan, & B. Rifkin (Eds.), *The Learning and Teaching of Slavic Languages and Cultures*, (pp. 375–403). Bloomington, IN: Slavica.
- Valdés, G. (2001). Heritage Language Students: Profiles and Possibilities. In J.K. Peyton, D.A. Ranard, & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage Languages in America: Preserving a national resource* (pp. 37–80). McHenry, IL: The Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Valdés, G. (2005). Bilingualism, heritage language learners, and SLA research: opportunities lost or seized? *The Modern Language Journal*, 89(3), 410–426.
- Van den Branden, K. (1997) Effects of negotiation on language learners' output. *Language Learning*, 47, 589–636.
- Van Deusen-Scholl, N. (2003). Toward a definition of heritage language: Sociopolitical and pedagogical considerations. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 2(3), 211–30.
- Van Maanen, J. (1988). *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Van Maanen, M. (1990). *Researching lived experience*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Vandergriff, I. (2016). *Second-language Discourse in the Digital World: Linguistic and social practices in and beyond the networked classroom*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Varghese, M., Morgan, B., Johnston, B., & Johnson, K. A. (2005). Theorizing language teacher identity: Three perspectives and beyond. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 4(1), 21–44.
- Vlassis, G. (1953). *The Greeks in Canada*. Ottawa: Leclerc Printers Ltd.
- Vorachek, I. (2000). "The instrument of the century": The piano as an icon of female sexuality in the nineteenth century. *George Eliot - George Henry Lewes studies*, 38/39, 26–43.

- Wang, Y. (2009). Language, parents' involvement, and social justice: The fight for maintaining minority home language: A Chinese-language case study. *Multicultural Education*, 16(4), 13-18.
- Wannarka, R., & Ruhl, K. (2008). Seating arrangements that promote positive academic and behavioural outcomes: A review of empirical research. *Support for Learning*, 23, 89-93.
- Watts, J. (2008). Integrity in qualitative research. In L. M. Given (ed.), *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, Volume 1 (pp. 440-441). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Weber, J., & Horner, K. (2017). *Introducing Multilingualism: A Social Approach*. (2nd ed.) London: Routledge.
- Weedon, C. (1997). *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*. (2nd ed.) London: Blackwell.
- Wei, L. (2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(5), 1222-1235.
- Westheimer, J. (1998). *Among schoolteachers: Community, autonomy and ideology in teachers' work*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Wiley, T. G. (2001). On defining heritage languages and their speakers. In J. K. Peyton, D. A. Ranard, & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource* (pp. 29-36). Washington, DC & McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics & Delta Systems.
- Wiley, T. G. (2005). *Literacy and language diversity in the United States*. (2nd ed.). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Wiley, T.G. (2008). 'Dialect Speakers as Heritage Language Learners: A Chinese Case Study'. In D. Brinton & O. Kagan (Eds.), *Heritage Language: A New Field Emerging* (pp. 91-105). London: Routledge.
- Williams, C. (1994). *Arfarniad o ddulliau dysgu ac addysgu yng nghyd-destun addysg uwchradd ddwyieithog*. [An evaluation of teaching and learning methods in the context of bilingual secondary education]. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wales, Bangor.
- Williams, C. (2012). *The national immersion scheme guidance for teachers on subject language threshold: Accelerating the process of reaching the threshold*. Bangor: The Welsh Language Board.

- Woolard, K. A. (1998). Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. In B. B. Schieffelin, K. A. Woolard, & P. V. Kroskrity (Eds.), *Language ideologies: practice and theory* (pp. 317-332). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wright, S. C., & Taylor, D. M. (1995). Identity and the language of the classroom: Investigating the impact of heritage versus second language instruction on personal and collective self-esteem. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 87(2), 241-252.
- Wright, S. C., Taylor, D. M., & Macarthur, J. (2000). Subtractive bilingualism and the survival of the Inuit language: Heritage- versus second-language education. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 92(1), 63-84.
- Wu, H., D. Palmer, & S.L. Field. (2011). Understanding Teachers' Professional Identity and Beliefs in the Chinese Heritage Language School in the USA. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 24(1), 47-60.
- Wu, M., & Chang, Z. (2010). Heritage Language Teaching and Learning through a Macro Approach, *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, 25(2), 23-33.
- Wurm, S. (2002). Strategies for language maintenance and revival. In D. Bradley & M. Bradley (eds.), *Language endangerment and language maintenance*, (pp. 11-23). New York: Routledge Courzon.
- Yan, R. L. (2003). Parental perceptions on maintaining heritage languages of CLD students. *Bilingual Review*, 27(2), 99-113.
- Yang, C.I., Lee, L.H., & Tzeng, W.C. (2008). The relationship between qualitative research and positivism. *The journal of nursing*, 55(5), 64-68.
- Yeung, Y. S., Marsh, H. W., & Suliman, R. (2000). Can two tongues live in harmony: Analysis of the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS88) longitudinal data on the maintenance of home language. *American Educational Research Journal*, 37(4), 1001-1026.
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: design and methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Young, R. (1990). *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*. London: Routledge.
- Young, R. (1995). *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London: Routledge.

Appendices

Appendix A - Letter to gatekeepers

Subject: Assistance in recruiting Greek language teachers for a research study

Dear _____,

My name is Emmanouela Tisizi and I am a PhD candidate at McGill University (Department of Integrated Studies in Education). With the present letter, I would like to request your assistance in recruiting Greek language teachers for a research study. The title of the study is *Exploring Heritage Language (HL) teachers' identities and their perceptions about HL pedagogy: a narrative study of Greek HL teachers in Montreal and Toronto*. The study examines how Greek teachers teaching in the greater Montreal or Toronto areas self-identify, what pedagogical strategies they use, and which is their relationship with their students.

Should you agree to help me recruit research participants, all you have to do is forward the two attached documents to the Greek teachers working at your school. The first document is a recruitment flyer that describes the research study and the second document is an Information Sheet that teachers who wish to participate in the study are requested to fill out and send to my email address - emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca.

Once the teachers have expressed an interest in participating in the study, I will contact them and schedule three meetings with them. The research will NOT take place on school grounds or during school hours. Data will be collected during participants' own free time at specified locations away from schools. **Participation will be confidential**. A 50\$ honorarium will be given to participants for their contribution and time.

Please contact me if you would like further details.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
Emmanouela Tisizi

Appendix A1 - Letter to gatekeepers (Greek translation)

Θέμα: Αναζήτηση δασκάλων ελληνικών για συμμετοχή σε έρευνα

Αγαπητέ/ή _____,

Ονομάζομαι Emmanouela Τισίζη και είμαι υποψήφια διδάκτωρ στο πανεπιστήμιο McGill (Department of Integrated Studies in Education). Με το παρόν μήνυμα θα ήθελα να ζητήσω την βοήθειά σας στην ανεύρεση δασκάλων ελληνικών για μία έρευνα. Ο τίτλος της έρευνας είναι ο εξής: *(Εξ)ερευνώντας τις ταυτότητες των εκπαιδευτικών και τις αντιλήψεις τους για την γλωσσική κληρονομιά: μία μελέτη αφηγήσεων δασκάλων ελληνικών στο Μόντρεαλ και το Τορόντο*. Η μελέτη αυτή εξετάζει τους τρόπους με τους οποίους εκπαιδευτικοί που διδάσκουν ελληνικά στις ευρύτερες περιοχές γύρω από το Μόντρεαλ και το Τορόντο αυτοπροσδιορίζονται, καθώς επίσης και τις μεθόδους και στρατηγικές που χρησιμοποιούν, και τις σχέσεις εμπιστοσύνης που αναπτύσσουν με τους μαθητές.

Εάν θελήσετε να βοηθήσετε στην ανεύρεση δασκάλων που θα μπορούσαν να λάβουν μέρος στην έρευνα, το μόνο που χρειάζεται να κάνετε είναι να προωθήσετε τα δύο επισυναπτόμενα έγγραφα στους δασκάλους με τους οποίους συνεργάζεστε. Το πρώτο έγγραφο είναι μία αγγελία που περιγράφει λεπτομερώς την έρευνα και το δεύτερο έγγραφο είναι ένα σύντομο ερωτηματολόγιο το οποίο οι δάσκαλοι που επιθυμούν να συμμετέχουν στην έρευνα καλούνται να συμπληρώσουν και να στείλουν στην εξής ηλεκτρονική διεύθυνση: emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca.

Μόλις οι δάσκαλοι εκφράσουν την επιθυμία τους να λάβουν μέρος στην έρευνα, θα επικοινωνήσω μαζί τους και θα ορίσουμε τρεις συναντήσεις με τον καθένα. Η έρευνα ΔΕΝ θα λάβει χώρα στις εγκαταστάσεις του σχολείου και ΔΕΝ θα λάβει χώρα κατά τις ώρες λειτουργίας του σχολείου. **Η συμμετοχή των δασκάλων θα είναι εμπιστευτική** και η ταυτότητά τους δεν θα αποκαλυφθεί. Στο τέλος της τρίτης συνάντησης, ο κάθε συμμετέχων θα λάβει τιμητική αμοιβή 50\$ για τον χρόνο και τη συμμετοχή του.

Εάν επιθυμείτε να μάθετε περισσότερες πληροφορίες για την έρευνα, παρακαλώ μη διστάσετε να επικοινωνήσετε μαζί μου.

Σας ευχαριστώ πολύ,

Emmanouela Τισίζη

Appendix B - Recruitment Flyer



McGill University

RECRUITMENT FLYER

FOR THE RESEARCH PROJECT ENTITLED:

Exploring Heritage Language (HL) teachers' identities and their perceptions about HL pedagogy: a narrative study of Greek HL teachers in Montreal and Toronto.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Emmanouela Tisizi

PhD Candidate

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

(514) 812-4408

emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca

CO-SUPERVISORS:

Dr. Caroline Riches

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Education

McGill University

caroline.riches@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Dr. Mela Sarkar

Department of Integrated Studies in

McGill University

mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527

RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR A STUDY ON GREEK TEACHERS TEACHING IN MONTREAL AND TORONTO

Emmanouela Tisizi, a PhD Candidate at McGill University (Department of Integrated Studies in Education), is seeking research participants for a study that examines how Greek teachers teaching in Montreal or Toronto, self-identify, what pedagogical strategies they use, and which is their relationship with their students.

This project is timely and greatly needed. As the population of Greeks in Montreal and Toronto is ever increasing, Greek teachers teaching in these two areas must be aware of the unique needs and realities of the new generations of Greeks. This study seeks to examine the strategies that teachers use to make all students feel they belong. How do teachers help students develop a sense of identity? How do teachers help students develop a connection to the Greek language and culture? How do teachers position themselves towards students? Finally, how do teachers' attitudes impact students?

Eight (8) participants are needed; four (4) from the Greater Montreal area and four (4) from the Greater Toronto area. The participants must be Greek teachers teaching in one of Montreal or Toronto's Greek schools, either mainstream or supplementary.

If you wish to participate in the study please fill out the attached Information Sheet and send it to the following email address: emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca. The information that you will provide will help the principal investigator ensure that teachers working in various settings (daily classes, Saturday classes, afternoon programs, other supplementary programs etc.) are all represented in the study. If you are not selected for the main study, your data will be destroyed and not used at all. If you are selected for the main study, I will contact you and schedule three meetings with you. Each session will involve a commitment of about 1.20-2 hours, during which you will be asked to participate in an oral interview, complete two written tasks and create some artwork. No background in art is required.

Your feedback and time are greatly valued and you will be compensated with a \$50 honorarium.

Important: In accordance with McGill University's research ethics guidelines, participants will sign a consent form **guaranteeing their anonymity and confidentiality of the data**.

For further information, please contact Emmanouela Tisizi, the research project's principal investigator. Please send her an email at emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca. You can also reach her by phone at 5148124408.

Appendix B1 - Recruitment Flyer (Greek translation)



McGill University

ΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΜΕ ΤΙΤΛΟ:

(Εξ)ερευνώντας τις ταυτότητες των εκπαιδευτικών και τις αντιλήψεις τους για την γλωσσική κληρονομιά: μία μελέτη αφηγήσεων δασκάλων ελληνικών στο Μόντρεαλ και το Τορόντο

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Emmanouela Tisizi

PhD Candidate

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

(514) 812-4408

emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca

CO-SUPERVISORS:

Dr. Caroline Riches

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Education

McGill University

caroline.riches@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Dr. Mela Sarkar

Department of Integrated Studies in

McGill University

mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527

ΖΗΤΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΟΥΝ ΣΤΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΟΧΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΟΝΤΡΕΑΛ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΡΟΝΤΟ ΓΙΑ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ ΣΕ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ

Η υποψήφια διδάκτωρ Emmanouela Τισίζη (πανεπιστήμιο McGill - Department of Integrated Studies in Education) αναζητά συμμετέχοντες για την έρευνά της. Η έρευνα αυτή εξετάζει τους τρόπους με τους οποίους εκπαιδευτικοί που διδάσκουν ελληνικά στις ευρύτερες περιοχές γύρω από το Μόντρεαλ και το Τορόντο αυτοπροσδιορίζονται, καθώς επίσης και τις μεθόδους και στρατηγικές που χρησιμοποιούν, και τις σχέσεις εμπιστοσύνης που αναπτύσσουν με τους μαθητές τους.

Πρόκειται για μία έρευνα που μπορεί να βοηθήσει ιδιαίτερα, αφού ο πληθυσμός των Ελλήνων τόσο στο Μόντρεαλ όσο και στο Τορόντο είναι συνεχώς αυξανόμενος, και οι δάσκαλοι ελληνικών καλούνται να λάβουν υπόψη τους τις ανάγκες των νέων γενιών Ελλήνων. Η έρευνα αυτή ψάχνει απαντήσεις σε καίρια ερωτήματα. Πώς βοηθούν οι δάσκαλοι ελληνικών τους μαθητές τους να

αναπτύξουν την αίσθηση της ταυτότητας; Πώς βοηθούν οι δάσκαλοι ελληνικών τους μαθητές τους να αναπτύξουν έναν ισχυρό δεσμό με την ελληνική γλώσσα και τον ελληνικό πολιτισμό; Ποιος είναι ο ρόλος των δασκάλων απέναντι στους μαθητές τους; Και τέλος, τι αντίκτυπο μπορεί να έχουν οι επιλογές των δασκάλων στους μαθητές;

Για τις ανάγκες της έρευνας, αναζητούνται οκτώ (8) δάσκαλοι ελληνικών -τέσσερεις (4) από την ευρύτερη περιοχή του Μόντρεαλ και τέσσερεις (4) από την ευρύτερη περιοχή του Τορόντο. Οι συμμετέχοντες πρέπει να είναι δάσκαλοι ελληνικών και να διδάσκουν σε ένα από τα ελληνικά καθημερινά σχολεία ή σε ένα από τα ελληνικά προγράμματα συμπληρωματικής εκπαίδευσης.

Εάν είστε δάσκαλος ελληνικών και επιθυμείτε να συμμετέχετε στην έρευνα, παρακαλώ συμπληρώστε το επισυναπτόμενο ερωτηματολόγιο και στείλτε το στην εξής ηλεκτρονική διεύθυνση: emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca. Οι πληροφορίες που θα μοιραστείτε θα βοηθήσουν την κύρια ερευνήτρια να βεβαιωθεί πως υπάρχουν συμμετέχοντες από διαφορετικές περιοχές και διαφορετικά προγράμματα διδασκαλίας ελληνικών. Εάν δεν επιλεγείτε για συμμετοχή στην κύρια έρευνα, τα δεδομένα σας θα καταστραφούν και δεν θα χρησιμοποιηθούν καθόλου. Εάν επιλεγείτε για συμμετοχή στην κύρια έρευνα, θα επικοινωνήσω μαζί σας και θα ορίσουμε τρεις συναντήσεις, διάρκειας 1.30-2 ωρών. Στις συναντήσεις αυτές, θα σας ζητηθεί να συμμετέχετε σε μία προφορική συνέντευξη, να συντάξετε δυο γραπτά κείμενα, και να φτιάξετε κάποια δημιουργικά πορτραίτα και διαγράμματα. Στην έρευνα μπορεί να συμμετέχει κάθε δάσκαλος - δεν χρειάζεται να έχετε κάποιο υπόβαθρο στις τέχνες.

Η άποψη και η συμμετοχή σας εκτιμώνται ιδιαίτερα, και για αυτό το λόγο ο κάθε συμμετέχων θα λάβει τιμητική αμοιβή \$50.

Προσοχή! Σύμφωνα με τους κανονισμούς του πανεπιστημίου McGill, οι συμμετέχοντες θα υπογράψουν μία φόρμα που θα εγγυάται την ανωνυμία τους, καθώς και την εμπιστευτικότητα όσων μοιραστούν.

Εάν επιθυμείτε να μάθετε περισσότερες πληροφορίες για την έρευνα, παρακαλώ μη διστάσετε να επικοινωνήσετε με την κύρια ερευνήτρια στην ηλεκτρονική διεύθυνση emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca ή στο τηλέφωνο 5148124408.

Appendix C - Information Sheet



McGill University

INFORMATION SHEET

FOR THE RESEARCH PROJECT ENTITLED:

Exploring Heritage Language (HL) teachers' identities and their perceptions about HL pedagogy: a narrative study of Greek HL teachers in Montreal and Toronto.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Emmanouela Tisizi
 PhD Candidate
 Department of Integrated Studies in Education
 McGill University
 (514) 812-4408
emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca

CO-SUPERVISORS:

Dr. Caroline Riches
 Department of Integrated Studies in Education
 Education
 McGill University
caroline.riches@mcgill.ca
 (514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Dr. Mela Sarkar
 Department of Integrated Studies in
 Education
 McGill University
mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca
 (514) 398-4527

Information sheet

Age:

Gender:

Place of Birth:

Number of years in Canada:

Number of years teaching at Greek schools in Canada:

Name of the Greek school you work at:

Mother tongue:

Official language (English/French) spoken best:

Language most spoken at home:

Language most spoken at work:

Degree:

Certified or non-certified to teach in Canada (either in Ontario or Quebec)? :

If you wish to be contacted in order to participate in the next part of the research please provide your email address:

IMPORTANT: If you wish to participate in the research study, please fill out this Information Sheet and send it via email to the following address: emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca.

Appendix C1 - Information Sheet (Greek translation)



McGill University

ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΟ

ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΜΕ ΤΙΤΛΟ:

(Εξ)ερευνώντας τις ταυτότητες των εκπαιδευτικών και τις αντιλήψεις τους για την γλωσσική κληρονομιά: μία μελέτη αφηγήσεων δασκάλων ελληνικών στο Μόντρεαλ και το Τορόντο

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Emmanouela Tisizi

PhD Candidate

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

(514) 812-4408

emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca

CO-SUPERVISORS:

Dr. Caroline Riches

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Education

McGill University

caroline.riches@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Dr. Mela Sarkar

Department of Integrated Studies in

McGill University

mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527

ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΟ

Ηλικία:

Φύλο:

Τόπος Γέννησης:

Αριθμός ετών στον Καναδά:

Εμπειρία στα ελληνικά σχολεία του Καναδά (έτη):

Όνομα σχολείου που εργάζεσθε:

Μητρική γλώσσα:

Επίσημη γλώσσα που ομιλείτε με μεγαλύτερη άνεση (Αγγλικά/Γαλλικά):

Γλώσσα που χρησιμοποιείτε στο σπίτι:

Γλώσσα που χρησιμοποιείτε στο χώρο εργασίας σας:

Πτυχίο:

Έχετε πιστοποίηση διδασκαλίας (για εργασία στο Οντάριο ή το Κεμπέκ);

Εάν επιθυμείτε να επικοινωνήσετε μαζί σας η κύρια ερευνήτρια, ώστε να συμμετέχετε στο επόμενο μέρος της έρευνας, παρακαλώ σημειώστε την ηλεκτρονική σας διεύθυνση:

ΠΡΟΣΟΧΗ: Εάν επιθυμείτε να συμμετέχετε στο επόμενο μέρος της έρευνας, παρακαλώ συμπληρώστε το ερωτηματολόγιο και στείλτε το στην ηλεκτρονική διεύθυνση: emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca.

Appendix D - Data Research Sheet, Session 1



McGill University

DATA RESEARCH SHEET

FOR THE RESEARCH PROJECT ENTITLED:

Exploring Heritage Language (HL) teachers' identities and their perceptions about HL pedagogy: a narrative study of Greek HL teachers in Montreal and Toronto.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Emmanouela Tisizi

PhD Candidate

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

(514) 812-4408

emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca

CO-SUPERVISORS:

Dr. Caroline Riches

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Education

McGill University

caroline.riches@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Dr. Mela Sarkar

Department of Integrated Studies in

McGill University

mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527

Session 1

Task I - Create your Language Portrait

Instructions:

1. Draw an outline of yourself.
2. Fill in the picture of yourself with different color markers to represent the languages you speak (or want to speak).
3. When you're done, you'll share your picture and reflect on why you placed certain languages in certain parts of your body.

Task II - Create your Students' Language Portrait

Instructions:

1. Draw an outline of the average Greek student (do not refer to a specific student -do NOT name the student).
2. Fill in the picture of the student with different color markers to represent the languages they speak.
3. When you're done, you'll share your picture and reflect on why you placed certain languages in certain parts of the student's body.

Task III -Written task / Scenario

Instructions: Try to answer the following question as fully as possible. Extra paper has also been provided so that you may structure your thoughts on them, if you so choose to, before writing your answer.

Scenario: One of your students refuses to participate in class, does not do the assigned homework, and generally appears to be disengaged. When confronted about their behavior, the student states that they only attend Greek school because they are forced to do so by their parents, and after they finish school, Greek will not be useful to them as opposed to English or French. How do you react?

Task IV -Oral Discussion

Draft Interview Guides

1. How would you react to the aforementioned scenario?
2. Do you think that students are generally motivated to learn Greek?
3. Are there any courses that students appear to prefer? Why do you think they prefer these courses?
4. Compared to the other languages they speak, how strong is the students' Greek?
5. Do you think that so-called weaker students can feel marginalized?
6. How do you feel about using multiple languages in the classroom?
7. Are there any circumstances under which using multiple languages in the classroom is not appropriate?
8. Do you think that the students will use Greek after they graduate?
9. Do you think that Greek will be useful to them in the future?
10. Do you think that it is necessary for Greek Canadians to learn Greek? Why/Why not?

Appendix D1 - Data Research Sheet, Session 1 (Greek translation)



McGill University

ΦΥΛΛΟ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ

ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΜΕ ΤΙΤΛΟ:

(Εξ)ερευνώντας τις ταυτότητες των εκπαιδευτικών και τις αντιλήψεις τους για την γλωσσική κληρονομιά: μία μελέτη αφηγήσεων δασκάλων ελληνικών στο Μόντρεαλ και το Τορόντο

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Emmanouela Tisizi

PhD Candidate

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

(514) 812-4408

emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca

CO-SUPERVISORS:

Dr. Caroline Riches

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Education

McGill University

caroline.riches@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Dr. Mela Sarkar

Department of Integrated Studies in

McGill University

mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527

Πρώτη Συνάντηση

Άσκηση 1 -Δημιούργησε το Γλωσσικό Πορτραίτο σου

Οδηγίες:

1. Ζωγράφισε το περίγραμμα του εαυτού σου.
2. Χρωμάτισε την εικόνα σου με τους μαρκαδόρους. Στόχος είναι να αναπαραστήσεις τις γλώσσες που μιλάς (ή εκείνες που θα ήθελες να μάθεις)
3. Μόλις τελειώσεις, μοιράσου το πορτραίτο σου και αναλογίσου με ποιο σκεπτικό έβαλες συγκεκριμένες γλώσσες σε συγκεκριμένα σημεία του σώματός σου.

Άσκηση 2 - Δημιούργησε το Γλωσσικό Πορτραίτο ενός μαθητή σου

Οδηγίες:

1. Ζωγράφισε το περίγραμμα του μέσου μαθητή ελληνικών (μην αναφερθείς σε συγκεκριμένο μαθητή και ΜΗΝ αναφέρεις όνομα συγκεκριμένου μαθητή).
2. Χρωμάτισε την εικόνα με τους μαρκαδόρους. Στόχος είναι να αναπαραστήσεις τις γλώσσες που μιλάει ο μαθητής .
3. Μόλις τελειώσεις, μοιράσου το πορτραίτο που έφτιαξες, και αναλογίσου με ποιο σκεπτικό έβαλες συγκεκριμένες γλώσσες σε συγκεκριμένα σημεία του σώματος του μαθητή.

Άσκηση 3 -Γραπτή απάντηση σε υποθετικό σενάριο

Οδηγίες: Προσπάθησε να απαντήσεις την ακόλουθη ερώτηση όσο πιο λεπτομερώς γίνεται. Μπορείς να ζητήσεις παραπάνω κόλλες, ώστε να κρατήσεις σημειώσεις, εάν το επιθυμείς, πριν γράψεις την απάντησή σου.

Υποθετικό σενάριο: Ένας μαθητής σου αρνείται να συμμετέχει στην τάξη, δεν κάνει τις εργασίες του, και γενικά, εμφανίζεται αδιάφορος. Όταν του ζητάς εξηγήσεις για τη συμπεριφορά του, ο μαθητής απαντά πως πηγαίνει στο ελληνικό σχολείο διότι τον πιέζουν οι γονείς του και ότι μετά την αποφοίτησή του, τα ελληνικά δεν θα του χρησιμεύσουν, σε αντίθεση με τα αγγλικά και τα γαλλικά. Πώς αντιδράς;

Άσκηση 4 -Προφορική Συζήτηση

Προσχέδιο Ερωτήσεων

1. Ποια θα ήταν η αντίδρασή σου στο παραπάνω σενάριο;
2. Πιστεύεις ότι οι μαθητές ενδιαφέρονται να μάθουν ελληνικά;
3. Υπάρχουν κάποια μαθήματα που προσφέρονται στην ελληνική γλώσσα και τα οποία τα παιδιά φαίνεται να προτιμούν; Γιατί πιστεύεις ότι τα παιδιά προτιμούν αυτά τα μαθήματα;
4. Σε σύγκριση με τις άλλες γλώσσες που μιλούν, πόσο καλά είναι τα ελληνικά των μαθητών;
5. Ποια είναι η άποψή σου για τη χρήση διαφόρων γλωσσών μέσα στην τάξη;
6. Υπάρχουν κάποιες δραστηριότητες στις οποίες οι μαθητές δεν πρέπει να χρησιμοποιούν διάφορες γλώσσες, αλλά πρέπει να μένουν στην χρήση μόνο μίας;
7. Πιστεύεις πως οι μαθητές θα συνεχίσουν να χρησιμοποιούν τα ελληνικά μετά την αποφοίτησή τους;
8. Πιστεύεις ότι τα ελληνικά θα είναι χρήσιμα για το μέλλον των μαθητών;
9. Πιστεύεις πως είναι απαραίτητο για τους Έλληνες του Καναδά να μαθαίνουν ελληνικά; Γιατί; Γιατί όχι;

Appendix E - Data Research Sheet, Session 2



McGill University

DATA RESEARCH SHEET

FOR THE RESEARCH PROJECT ENTITLED:

Exploring Heritage Language (HL) teachers' identities and their perceptions about HL pedagogy: a narrative study of Greek HL teachers in Montreal and Toronto.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Emmanouela Tisizi

PhD Candidate

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

(514) 812-4408

emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca

CO-SUPERVISORS:

Dr. Caroline Riches

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

caroline.riches@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Dr. Mela Sarkar

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527

Session 2

Task I -Response to Photo (The sculpture of the Greek immigrant)



This photo (taken by the Principal Investigator of this study) shows the Sculpture of the Greek immigrant. The sculpture can be found in Montreal, at the intersection of Park Avenue and Jean-Talon Street as a tribute of Greek Canadians to the City for its 375th anniversary.

Draft Interview Guides

1. What do you think of when you look at this photo?
2. How does this photo make you feel?
3. According to its creator, the sculpture represents the Greek family “where the members lean on each other as they pass a gate symbolizing the passage to the New World.” What do you think are the challenges that the first generation of Greeks in Canada had to face?
4. What are the challenges that the second and third generations of Greeks have to face?
5. As a teacher, do you think it is the same to teach first generation Greek Canadians and second or third generation Greek Canadians? What strategies do you use?
6. Is it important to involve the students’ families in the students’ learning experience?
7. What activities can you think of that can help involve the families in the students’ learning?
8. Have you used such activities? Are there any challenges that you have faced when trying to get the students’ families involved?

Task II -Video Response

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zBbtvccZO4>

Video of Greek Independence Day Parade in Toronto (2018).

Draft Interview Guides

1. How did this video make you feel?
2. Do you think that young Greek Canadians feel proud of their Greek Heritage?
3. Do you think that teaching Greek language can be separated from teaching Greek customs and traditions?
4. Do students socialize using Greek outside school?
5. What is the Greek school’s role in the preservation of Greek language and culture?
6. What is the Greek HL teachers’ role?
7. How important is the support that Greek HL teachers receive from the schools, the Greek Church and the Hellenic Community?
8. What are the challenges that Greek HL teachers need to overcome?

Appendix E1 - Data Research Sheet, Session 2 (Greek translation)



McGill University

ΦΥΛΛΟ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ

ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΜΕ ΤΙΤΛΟ:

(Εξ)ερευνώντας τις ταυτότητες των εκπαιδευτικών και τις αντιλήψεις τους για την γλωσσική κληρονομιά: μία μελέτη αφηγήσεων δασκάλων ελληνικών στο Μόντρεαλ και το Τορόντο

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Emmanouela Tisizi

PhD Candidate

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

(514) 812-4408

emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca

CO-SUPERVISORS:

Dr. Caroline Riches

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

caroline.riches@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Dr. Mela Sarkar

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527

Δεύτερη Συνάντηση

Άσκηση 1 -Αντίδραση σε φωτογραφία (Το γλυπτό του Έλληνα μετανάστη)



Αυτή είναι μία φωτογραφία του «γλυπτού του Έλληνα μετανάστη» (λήψη από την κύρια ερευνήτρια). Το γλυπτό βρίσκεται στο Μόντρεαλ, στις οδούς Park Avenue και Jean-Talon. Δόθηκε τιμητικά από τους Έλληνες στην πόλη του Μόντρεαλ για τον εορτασμό των 375 ετών της.

Προσχέδιο Ερωτήσεων

1. Τι σκέφτεσαι όταν βλέπεις αυτή τη φωτογραφία;
2. Πώς σε κάνει να νιώθεις αυτή η φωτογραφία;
3. Σύμφωνα με το δημιουργό του, το έργο «αναπαριστά την ελληνική οικογένεια, όπου τα μέλη της προσεγγίζουν το ένα το άλλο ενώ περνούν από μία πύλη που συμβολίζει το πέρασμα στο Νέο Κόσμο». Ποιες πιστεύεις πως ήταν οι δυσκολίες που έπρεπε να αντιμετωπίσει η πρώτη γενιά Ελλήνων στον Καναδά;
4. Ποιες δυσκολίες καλούνται να αντιμετωπίσουν οι Έλληνες δεύτερης και τρίτης γενιάς;
5. Σαν δάσκαλος, πιστεύεις ότι είναι το ίδιο να διδάσκεις Έλληνες πρώτης γενιάς με το να διδάσκεις Έλληνες δεύτερης ή τρίτης γενιάς; Ποιες είναι οι μέθοδοι που χρησιμοποιείς;
6. Είναι σημαντικό να συμμετέχει και η οικογένεια στην εκπαίδευση των μαθητών;
7. Τι δραστηριότητες μπορείς να σκεφτείς που μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν ώστε να έχουν συμμετοχή και οι γονείς στην εκπαίδευση των παιδιών τους;
8. Έχεις χρησιμοποιήσει τέτοιες δραστηριότητες; Υπάρχουν δυσκολίες όταν προσπαθείς να παρακινήσεις την οικογένεια να συμμετέχει στην εκπαίδευση των μαθητών σου; Ποιες είναι αυτές;

Άσκηση 2 -Αντίδραση σε βίντεο

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zBbtvccZO4>

Βίντεο από την παρέλαση για την 25^η Μαρτίου (Τορόντο, 2018)

Προσχέδιο Ερωτήσεων

1. Πώς σε έκανε να αισθανθείς το βίντεο;
2. Πιστεύεις ότι οι Ελληνοκαναδοί νιώθουν περήφανοι για τις ελληνικές ρίζες τους;
3. Πιστεύεις πως η διδασκαλία της ελληνικής γλώσσας μπορεί να διαχωριστεί από τη διδασκαλία των ελληνικών παραδόσεων και εθίμων;
4. Χρησιμοποιούν οι μαθητές τα ελληνικά σε άλλες δραστηριότητες και χώρους, εκτός του σχολείου;
5. Ποιος είναι ο ρόλος του ελληνικού σχολείου για τη διατήρηση της ελληνικής γλώσσας και του ελληνικού πολιτισμού;
6. Ποιος είναι ο ρόλος των καθηγητών;
7. Πόσο σημαντική είναι η στήριξη που λαμβάνουν οι καθηγητές ελληνικών από την Εκκλησία και την Ελληνική Κοινότητα;
8. Ποια εμπόδια καλούνται να ξεπεράσουν οι καθηγητές ελληνικών;

Appendix F - Data Research Sheet, Session 3



McGill University

DATA RESEARCH SHEET

FOR THE RESEARCH PROJECT ENTITLED:

Exploring Heritage Language (HL) teachers' identities and their perceptions about HL pedagogy: a narrative study of Greek HL teachers in Montreal and Toronto.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Emmanouela Tisizi

PhD Candidate

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

(514) 812-4408

emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca

CO-SUPERVISORS:

Dr. Caroline Riches

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Education

McGill University

caroline.riches@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Dr. Mela Sarkar

Department of Integrated Studies in

McGill University

mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527

Session 3

Task I -Written Task

Instructions: Try to answer the following question as fully as possible. Extra paper has also been provided so that you may structure your thoughts on them, if you so choose to, before writing your answer.

Question: In Heritage Language classrooms, it is often observed that there are students of different levels in the same class. Try to think of an incident where the students' different levels of familiarity with the Heritage Language (Greek) became an obstacle that you had to face in the classroom. Describe the incident and how you resolved it.

Task II -Oral Discussion

Draft of Follow-up questions

1. Going back to this incident, would you act in the same way?
2. How do you manage to teach students of different levels? What strategies do you use?
3. Can you think of any alternative strategies?
4. What are the differences between Greek-born and Canadian-born students?
5. How can a teacher accommodate the needs of all students?

Task III -Identity Charts**Instructions:**

1. Construct an identity chart for yourself in the present. Brainstorm categories such as family role, professional life, hobbies, background, physical characteristics etc.
2. Construct a second identity chart for yourself before you started working as an HL teacher.
3. Discuss the following questions:
 - What has changed?
 - What has stayed the same?
 - Why do identities change over time?
 - What role do other people have in shaping our identities?
 - Does each of us have one fixed identity, or are they multiple?
 - Do students have multiple identities?
 - How can teachers help students form their identities?

Appendix F1 - Data Research Sheet, Session 3 (Greek translation)



McGill University

ΦΥΛΛΟ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ

ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΜΕ ΤΙΤΛΟ:

(Εξ)ερευνώντας τις ταυτότητες των εκπαιδευτικών και τις αντιλήψεις τους για την γλωσσική κληρονομιά: μία μελέτη αφηγήσεων δασκάλων ελληνικών στο Μόντρεαλ και το Τorόντο

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Emmanouela Tisizi

PhD Candidate

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

(514) 812-4408

emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca

CO-SUPERVISORS:

Dr. Caroline Riches

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Education

McGill University

caroline.riches@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Dr. Mela Sarkar

Department of Integrated Studies in

McGill University

mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527

Τρίτη Συνάντηση

Άσκηση 1 -Γραπτή Απάντηση

Οδηγίες: Προσπάθησε να απαντήσεις την ακόλουθη ερώτηση όσο πιο λεπτομερώς γίνεται. Μπορείς να ζητήσεις παραπάνω κόλλες, ώστε να κρατήσεις σημειώσεις, εάν το επιθυμείς, πριν γράψεις την απάντησή σου.

Θέμα: Σε τάξεις όπου διδάσκονται γλώσσες μειονοτήτων, συχνά παρατηρείται ότι οι μαθητές έχουν διαφορετικά επίπεδα. Προσπάθησε να σκεφτείς ένα περιστατικό, στο οποίο η διαφορετική εξοικείωση των μαθητών με την ελληνική γλώσσα σε δυσκόλεψε, κι αποτέλεσε εμπόδιο που έπρεπε να ξεπεράσεις. Περίγραψε το περιστατικό και τον τρόπο με τον οποίο το χειρίστηκες.

Άσκηση 2 -Προφορική Συζήτηση

Προσχέδιο Ερωτήσεων

1. Σκεπτόμενος/η το περιστατικό, τώρα θα αντιδρούσες με τον ίδιο τρόπο;
2. Πώς καταφέρνεις να διδάσκεις μαθητές με διαφορετικό επίπεδο εξοικείωσης με τα ελληνικά; Τι μεθόδους υιοθετείς;
3. Μπορείς να σκεφτείς εναλλακτικές μεθόδους;
4. Τι διαφορές παρουσιάζουν οι μαθητές που έχουν γεννηθεί στην Ελλάδα κι εκείνοι που έχουν γεννηθεί στον Καναδά;
5. Μπορεί ένας δάσκαλος να καλύψει τις ανάγκες όλων των μαθητών του;

Άσκηση 3 -Διαγράμματα Ταυτότητας

Οδηγίες:

1. Φτιάξε ένα διάγραμμα της τωρινής ταυτότητάς σου. Σκέψου ιδέες για τις κατηγορίες που θα μπορούσες να χρησιμοποιήσεις (για παράδειγμα: οικογενειακός ρόλος, επαγγελματικός ρόλος, αγαπημένες δραστηριότητες, φυσικά χαρακτηριστικά κλπ)
2. Φτιάξε ένα δεύτερο διάγραμμα για τον εαυτό σου πριν αρχίσεις να εργάζεσαι ως δάσκαλος ελληνικών.
3. Ας συζητήσουμε βάσει των δυο αυτών διαγραμμάτων.
 - Τι έχει αλλάξει από το παρελθόν στο σήμερα;
 - Τι έχει παραμείνει ίδιο;
 - Γιατί αλλάζουν οι ταυτότητες μέσα στον χρόνο;
 - Τι ρόλο παίζουν οι άλλοι άνθρωποι στο σχηματισμό της ταυτότητάς μας;
 - Καθένας από μας έχει μία ταυτότητα, ή πολλές;
 - Οι μαθητές έχουν πολλές ταυτότητες;
 - Πώς μπορούν οι δάσκαλοι να βοηθήσουν τους μαθητές στο σχηματισμό ταυτότητας;

Appendix G - Consent Form



McGill University

CONSENT FORM

FOR THE RESEARCH PROJECT ENTITLED:

Exploring Heritage Language (HL) teachers' identities and their perceptions about HL pedagogy: a narrative study of Greek HL teachers in Montreal and Toronto.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Emmanouela Tisizi

PhD Candidate

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

(514) 812-4408

emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca

CO-SUPERVISORS:

Dr. Caroline Riches

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Education

McGill University

caroline.riches@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Dr. Mela Sarkar

Department of Integrated Studies in

McGill University

mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT ENTITLED:

Exploring Heritage Language (HL) teachers' identities and their perceptions about HL pedagogy: a narrative study of Greek HL teachers in Montreal and Toronto

A. PURPOSE

You are invited to participate in a research study on Greek Heritage Language. The purpose of the study is as follows:

- To better understand how Greek Heritage Language (HL) teachers teaching in Montreal or Toronto self-identify, what pedagogical practices they use, and which is their relationship with their students.

B. PROCEDURES

The research will involve gathering different information and there is no right or wrong answer. It is simply providing thoughts on the topics that are discussed, such as the following:

1. Participate in Oral Discussions about your identity as a Greek Canadian, your professional identity, the Greek language and culture, and issues related to the teaching of Greek.
2. Complete two Written Tasks; answer a hypothetical scenario and write a piece about a real past experience from your teaching career.

3. Observe and Respond to a photo.
4. Watch and Respond to a video.
5. Create artwork -language portraits and identity charts. No background in art is required.

Your artwork, your two writing exercises, and the transcripts from the interviews **will be confidential**. **YOU will NOT write your name** on any of these documents and you will place them inside an unmarked envelope that I will provide along with this signed consent form.

I (the principal investigator of this study) will be the only person who will open the envelopes and handle their contents once all the data have been gathered. I will attribute a code to all your texts, and only I will know which are your artworks, your written responses and the transcripts from your interviews. Although I will assign the same code to your artwork, your two writing exercises, and the transcripts from your interviews, I will **SEPARATE** your consent form and information sheet, as these two documents will contain your personal information. The aim is to acquire your consent and keep your participation confidential.

Your signed consent and the information sheet will be **under lock and key** in my locked desk drawer in my office in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education. The original copies of your artwork, your two writing exercises, and the transcripts from your interviews will also specifically be located in my office in my filing cabinet, **under lock and key**. I will also store password-protected electronic copies of the transcripts from your interviews in my password-protected computer for archival purposes. All data will be safely stored for at least 7 years and then securely destroyed.

You can discontinue your participation in the study at any given time without any penalties by simply letting me know that you would like to cease being part of the study. Your consent form will be sent back to you and the data you have provided for the study will be destroyed and not used at all.

The data from this study will be published. When I will disseminate the findings of the research (for example in conferences, seminars, publications, workshops etc.) you will be given either a number or a pseudonym **in order to keep your identity confidential**. I will also refrain from using the name of the school you work at.

COMPENSATION: You will be compensated by an honorarium of \$50 for your time and participation.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

There are no foreseeable risks that you, as a research participant, can incur from being part of the study.

Participation in the study holds the following benefits for you:

- You will be able to contribute to research on Greek Heritage Language Education in Canada.
- You will be contributing to the advancement of knowledge on how Greek Heritage Language Teachers self-identify, what strategies they use when teaching, and what relationship they build with their students.
- You will be able to critically reflect on your own identities (personal, professional etc.) and pedagogical practices.

D. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

- You are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue your participation at any point during the data collection without negative consequences.
- Your participation in this study is confidential (I will be the only one who will know, but will not disclose, your identity)
- We will meet three times. The three sessions will be tape-recorded and the transcripts will be safely stored and accessible only to me (the principal investigator).
- The data from this study will be published.

You have carefully studied the above and understand this agreement. You freely consent and voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

NAME (please print) _____

SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____

If at any time you have questions about the proposed research, please contact the study's Principal Investigator:

Emmanouela Tisizi,
PhD Candidate
Department of Integrated Studies in Education
McGill University
(514) 812-4408
emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights or welfare as a participant in this research study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-398-6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca.

Appendix G1 - Consent Form (Greek translation)



McGill University

ΕΝΤΥΠΟ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ

ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΜΕ ΤΙΤΛΟ:

(Εξ)ερευνώντας τις ταυτότητες των εκπαιδευτικών και τις αντιλήψεις τους για την γλωσσική κληρονομιά: μία μελέτη αφηγήσεων δασκάλων ελληνικών στο Μόντρεαλ και το Τορόντο

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Emmanouela Tisizi

PhD Candidate

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

(514) 812-4408

emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca

CO-SUPERVISORS:

Dr. Caroline Riches

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Education

McGill University

caroline.riches@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Dr. Mela Sarkar

Department of Integrated Studies in

McGill University

mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

(514) 398-4527

ΕΝΤΥΠΟ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΜΕ ΤΙΤΛΟ:

(Εξ)ερευνώντας τις ταυτότητες των εκπαιδευτικών και τις αντιλήψεις τους για την γλωσσική κληρονομιά: μία μελέτη αφηγήσεων δασκάλων ελληνικών στο Μόντρεαλ και το Τορόντο

A. ΣΚΟΠΟΣ

Καλείστε να συμμετάσχετε σε μία έρευνα για τη γλωσσική κληρονομιά. Ο σκοπός της έρευνας είναι ο εξής:

- Να εξεταστεί πώς αυτοπροσδιορίζονται οι καθηγητές ελληνικών που διδάσκουν στο Μόντρεαλ και το Τορόντο, ποιες παιδαγωγικές μεθόδους χρησιμοποιούν, και ποια είναι η σχέση τους με τους μαθητές τους.

B. ΔΙΑΔΙΚΑΣΙΕΣ

Για την έρευνα θα συλλεχθούν διαφόρων ειδών στοιχεία και δεν υπάρχουν σωστές και λανθασμένες απαντήσεις. Το μόνο που χρειάζεται είναι να μοιραστείτε τις σκέψεις σας για διάφορα θέματα όπως αυτά που ακολουθούν:

1. Συμμετοχή σε προφορικές συζητήσεις για την ταυτότητά σας ως Έλληνας που ζει στον Καναδά, την επαγγελματική σας ταυτότητα, την ελληνική γλώσσα και τον ελληνικό πολιτισμό, και ζητήματα που αφορούν στη διδασκαλία των ελληνικών.
2. Σύνταξη δύο γραπτών κειμένων -στο πρώτο θα κληθείτε να απαντήσετε σε ένα υποθετικό σενάριο και στο δεύτερο να περιγράψετε ένα αληθινό περιστατικό από την διδακτική εμπειρία σας.
3. Παρατήρηση και αντίδραση σε μία φωτογραφία.
4. Παρατήρηση και αντίδραση σε ένα βίντεο.
5. Δημιουργία γλωσσικών πορτραίτων και διαγραμμάτων. Δεν χρειάζεται να έχετε κάποιο υπόβαθρο στις τέχνες.

Οι καλλιτεχνίες σας, οι δύο γραπτές απαντήσεις σας, και η απομαγνητοφώνηση των συνεντεύξεών σας, δίνονται **εμπιστευτικά**. **ΔΕΝ θα γράψετε το όνομά σας** σε κανένα έγγραφο και θα τα τοποθετήσετε όλα σε έναν φάκελο χωρίς διακριτικά που θα σας δώσω μαζί με το παρόν έγγραφο συγκατάθεσης, το οποίο και θα υπογράψετε.

Εγώ (η κύρια ερευνήτρια αυτής της μελέτης), είμαι το μόνο πρόσωπο που θα ανοίξει τους φακέλους και θα διαχειριστεί τα περιεχόμενά τους μετά τη διαδικασία συλλογής δεδομένων. Θα δώσω έναν κωδικό σε όλα τα έγγραφα που σχετίζονται με εσάς και έτσι μόνο εγώ θα γνωρίζω ποιες καλλιτεχνίες, γραπτά κείμενα και απομαγνητοφωνήσεις αντιστοιχούν σε εσάς. Θα δώσω τον ίδιο κωδικό στις καλλιτεχνίες, τα γραπτά κείμενα και τις απομαγνητοφωνήσεις των συνεντεύξεών σας, και θα τα φυλάξω **ΞΕΧΩΡΙΣΤΑ** από το παρόν έντυπο συγκατάθεσης και το ερωτηματολόγιο, καθώς στα δύο αυτά έγγραφα θα περιλαμβάνονται προσωπικά δεδομένα σας. Σκοπός είναι να δοθεί η συγκατάθεσή σας και η συμμετοχή σας να παραμείνει εμπιστευτική.

Το παρόν έντυπο συγκατάθεσης και το ερωτηματολόγιο με τις απαντήσεις σας **θα φυλάσσονται κλειδωμένα** στο γραφείο μου στο πανεπιστήμιο McGill, στο κτίριο των Παιδαγωγικών (Department of Integrated Studies in Education), και συγκεκριμένα στο συρτάρι του γραφείου μου. Τα πρωτότυπα κείμενά σας, οι καλλιτεχνίες σας και οι απομαγνητοφωνήσεις των συνεντεύξεών σας **θα φυλάσσονται κι αυτά κλειδωμένα** στο γραφείο μου στο πανεπιστήμιο McGill, στο κτίριο των Παιδαγωγικών (Department of Integrated Studies in Education), στο ερμάριό μου. Θα έχω επίσης και ηλεκτρονικά αντίγραφα από τις απομαγνητοφωνήσεις των συνεντεύξεών σας, τα οποία θα φυλάξω σε ηλεκτρονικό υπολογιστή με κωδικό πρόσβασης, ως αρχειακό υλικό. Τα ίδια τα αρχεία θα προστατεύονται κι αυτά με κωδικό πρόσβασης. Όλα τα δεδομένα θα φυλαχθούν με ασφάλεια τουλάχιστον για 7 χρόνια, και ύστερα θα καταστραφούν προσεκτικά.

Μπορείτε να σταματήσετε τη συμμετοχή σας στην έρευνα ανά πάσα στιγμή χωρίς να υπάρξουν οποιεσδήποτε αρνητικές συνέπειες για εσάς. Θα πρέπει απλώς να με ενημερώσετε ότι πλέον δεν επιθυμείτε να συμμετάσχετε στην έρευνα. Το έντυπο συγκατάθεσης θα σας επιστραφεί και όσα δεδομένα έχετε συνεισφέρει θα καταστραφούν και δεν θα χρησιμοποιηθούν πουθενά.

Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας θα δημοσιοποιηθούν. Όταν κοινοποιήσω τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας (για παράδειγμα σε συνέδρια, σεμινάρια, ερευνητικά περιοδικά κλπ) θα σας δοθεί ένα

ψευδώνυμο **ώστε να μην αποκαλυφθεί η ταυτότητά σας**. Επίσης, δεν θα κατονομάσω το σχολείο στο οποίο εργάζεσθε.

ΑΠΟΖΗΜΙΩΣΗ: Θα αποζημιωθείτε με τιμητική αμοιβή \$50 για τον χρόνο και τη συμμετοχή σας.

Γ. ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΦΕΛΗ

Δεν υπάρχουν προβλεπόμενοι κίνδυνοι στους οποίους μπορεί να εκτεθείτε ως συμμετέχων/ουσα σε αυτή την έρευνα.

Η συμμετοχή σας σε αυτή την έρευνα επιφέρει τα παρακάτω οφέλη:

- Θα μπορέσετε να συνεισφέρετε στην έρευνα για τη διδασκαλία μειονοτικών γλωσσών στον Καναδά.
- Θα μπορέσετε να συνεισφέρετε στην εξέλιξη της γνώσης για τους δασκάλους ελληνικών στον Καναδά, και πιο συγκεκριμένα για τους τρόπους με τους οποίους αυτοπροσδιορίζονται, τις μεθόδους και στρατηγικές που χρησιμοποιούν, και τις σχέσεις που αναπτύσσουν με τους μαθητές τους.
- Θα μπορέσετε ακόμα να εξετάσετε κριτικά τη δική σας ταυτότητα (προσωπική, επαγγελματική κλπ) αλλά και τις παιδαγωγικές μεθόδους που χρησιμοποιείτε.

Δ. ΟΡΟΙ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗΣ

- Μπορείτε να αποσύρετε την συγκατάθεσή σας και να σταματήσετε τη συμμετοχή σας στην έρευνα οποιαδήποτε στιγμή κατά τη διάρκεια της συλλογής δεδομένων, χωρίς καμία αρνητική συνέπεια.
- Η συμμετοχή σας σε αυτή την έρευνα είναι εμπιστευτική (είμαι η μόνη που θα γνωρίζει, αλλά δεν θα αποκαλύψει, την ταυτότητά σας).
- Για τις ανάγκες της έρευνας, θα βρεθούμε τρεις φορές. Οι τρεις συνεδρίες θα ηχογραφηθούν και οι απομαγνητοφωνήσεις θα φυλαχθούν με ασφάλεια και θα είναι προσβάσιμες μόνο από εμένα (την κύρια ερευνήτρια).
- Δεδομένα από αυτή την έρευνα θα δημοσιοποιηθούν.

Έχω διαβάσει προσεκτικά τα παραπάνω και κατανοώ τους όρους της συμφωνίας. Δίνω πρόθυμα τη συγκατάθεσή μου και δέχομαι να συμμετάσχω σε αυτή την έρευνα.

ΟΝΟΜΑ (ολογράφως) : _____

ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ: _____

ΗΜΕΡΟΜΗΝΙΑ: _____

Εάν οποιαδήποτε στιγμή έχετε απορίες σχετικά με την έρευνα, παρακαλώ επικοινωνήστε με την κύρια ερευνήτρια:

Emmanouela Tisizi
Υποψήφια Διδάκτωρ
Πανεπιστήμιο McGill
Department of Integrated Studies in Education
emmanouela.tisizi@mail.mcgill.ca
(514) 812-4408

Εάν έχετε απορίες σχετικά με τα δικαιώματά σας ή την ψυχική υγεία σας ως συμμετέχων σε αυτή την έρευνα, σας παρακαλώ επικοινωνήστε με το McGill Ethics Office στο τηλέφωνο 514-398-6831 ή στην ηλεκτρονική διεύθυνση lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca.