

LINGUISTIC PRACTICES AND GENDER DYNAMICS IN BILINGUAL METSOVO (GREECE)

Andromahi Koufogiorgou

UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX

Περίληψη

Αυτό το άρθρο μελετά την αλληλεπίδραση γλώσσας και κοινωνικού φύλου στο Μέτσοβο, ένα δίγλωσσο χωριό όπου ομιλούνται τα Ελληνικά και τα Βλάχικα. Τα δεδομένα συγκεντρώθηκαν κατά τη διάρκεια μιας εκτεταμένης κοινωνιογλωσσολογικής έρευνας (328 ομιλητές) στο Μέτσοβο και έγινε ποσοτική (SPSS) και ποιοτική ανάλυση. Υιοθετώ μια προσέγγιση «looking locally» (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992)) στην τοπική κοινότητα έτσι ώστε τα δεδομένα να ερμηνευθούν και να έχουν αναφορά στο συγκεκριμένο περιβάλλον στο οποίο υπάρχουν και από το οποίο αντλούν σημασίες. Το κοινωνικό φύλο δεν θεωρείται ότι λειτουργεί ανεξάρτητα από άλλες διαστάσεις της κοινωνικής ταυτότητας ούτε ότι είναι στατικό, αλλά ότι δομείται και επαναδομείται κοινωνικά. Μελετώ επίσης και προσπαθώ να ερμηνεύσω τη διαφοροποίηση μέσα σε κάθε κατηγορία κοινωνικού φύλου (αναφορικά με τέσσερις διαφορετικές ηλικιακές ομάδες). Τα αποτελέσματα δείχνουν ότι η διαφοροποίηση στον κοινωνικό προσανατολισμό των δύο φύλων αντικατοπτρίζεται στις γλωσσικές τους συνήθειες. Ο τρόπος με τον οποίο οι γυναίκες ορίζουν την κοινωνική τους ταυτότητα λειτουργεί ως έμμεση απόρριψη συγκεκριμένων τοπικών παραδοσιακών δομών που τις τοποθετούν αυτόματα σε μια θέση κατώτερη του άνδρα.

1. Introduction

This paper is based on part of a large-scale research in the village of Metsovo in Greece. Metsovo has a population of about 3.000 people, the vast majority of whom are of Vlach origin. The population of Metsovo is largely bilingual in Vlach/ Aromanian and Greek. Vlach/ Aromanian is a Romance language of the Balkans and one of the lesser-used languages in Greece. It is an oral language and has no institutional support in Greece. In Metsovo we witness a linguistic scene in transition. Vlach/ Aromanian gradually loses ground to Greek and is recorded as an endangered language (Greek Helsinki Monitor *Report* (1995), Trudgill (1992a), Trudgill (1992b), Trudgill (2000), Siguan (1990), Kramer (1987), Katsanis (1977), Kentro Erevnon Meionotikon Omadon (2001), Dahmen (1997)). The paper investigates the interaction of language and gender in Metsovo.

The data were collected through questionnaires and ethnographic methods of data collection, i.e. interviews, observation and participant observation, during an extended stay in Metsovo. Due to space limitations I only present part of the results of quantitative and qualitative data. I discuss statistically significant results from the reports on the proficiency in Vlach and Greek and on the frequency of use of Vlach by men and women, indicative of the general trend of gender differentiation found in Metsovo. I also discuss within gender variation found with regard to age. Quantitative findings and correlations point us towards areas where ethnographically collected data can shed light on the linguistic practices that enter into gender dynamics in the community. The understanding/interpretation of the findings are placed in the specific context that has bred them, and from which they acquire meaning.

2. The data and data analysis

Significantly less ($p = .003 < .05$) women than men answered that they speak Vlach (Table 1).

Table 1: Sex-Do you speak Vlach?

Sex		Male	Female
Do you Speak Vlach?	Yes	96%	84%
	No	4%	16%
(Fisher's Exact Test. Exact Sig.) $p = .003 < .05$			

In Table 2 we see that the age group of females reporting the least positive answers (68%) on whether they speak Vlach is the 21-35. It is also in this group that we witness the most marked difference with the males of the same age group (100%). This is in line with the social orientations of males and females of the youngest age groups as shown later in the paper- that male adolescents and 21-35 years old appear to be more locally oriented while female adolescents and 21-35 year olds appear to function on a more individualistic basis and not so much in accordance with the local mentality and its requirements. It is also shown that differentiation in social orientation is reflected in differentiation in the linguistic habits of the males and females.

Table 2: Crosstabulation: Sex/Age-Do you speak Vlach?

Sex		Age group					<i>p value</i>
		Under 20	21-35	36-50	over 51		
male	do you speak Vlach?	Yes	87.0%	100.0%	95.7%	100.0%	.058 \approx .05
		No	0%	0%	4.3%	0%	
female	do you speak Vlach?	Yes	0%	68.3%	96.2%	100.0%	.001 < .05
		No	20%	31.7%	3.8%	0%	

As shown in Figure 1 males reported higher proficiency in Vlach than females. The difference is statistically significant (Independent Samples T-Test : $F = 9.188$, Sig. (2-tailed) $p = .000 < .05$).

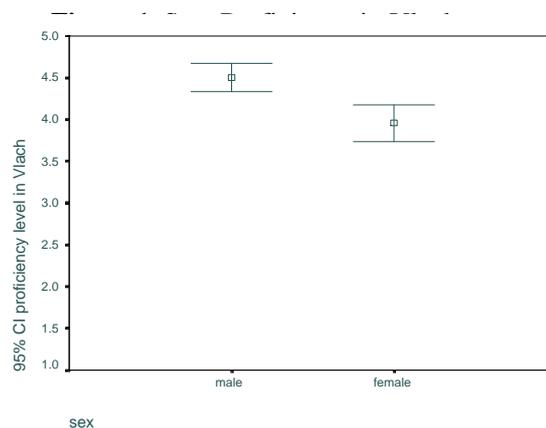
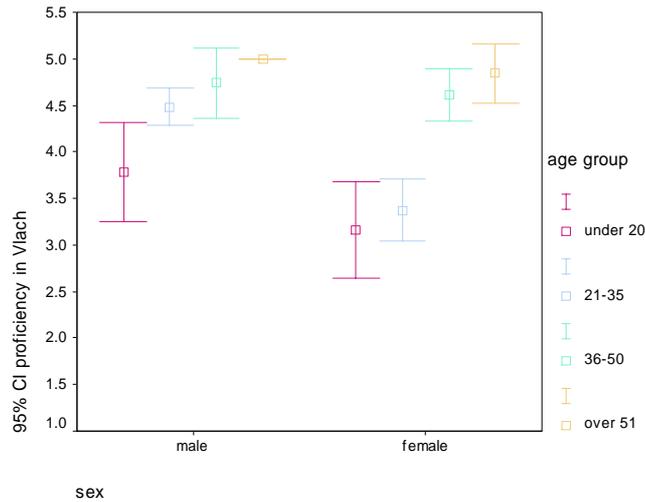


Figure 2 illustrates the mean reported proficiency in Vlach of males and females of different age groups. Again the biggest difference between the genders occurs in the 21-35 years old age group (one-way ANOVA, males: $F = 10.434$, $p = .000 < .05$, females: $F = 21.926$, $p = .000 < .05$).

Figure 2: Sex/Age- Proficiency in Vlach



In reports on proficiency in Greek, there are no significant gender differences (Independent Samples T-Test: $F = 1.374$, Sig. (2-tailed) $p = .426 > .05$)

Figure 3: Sex-Proficiency in Greek

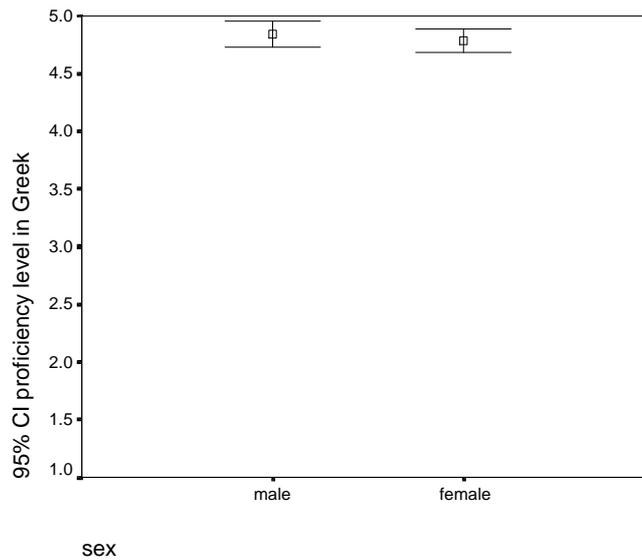
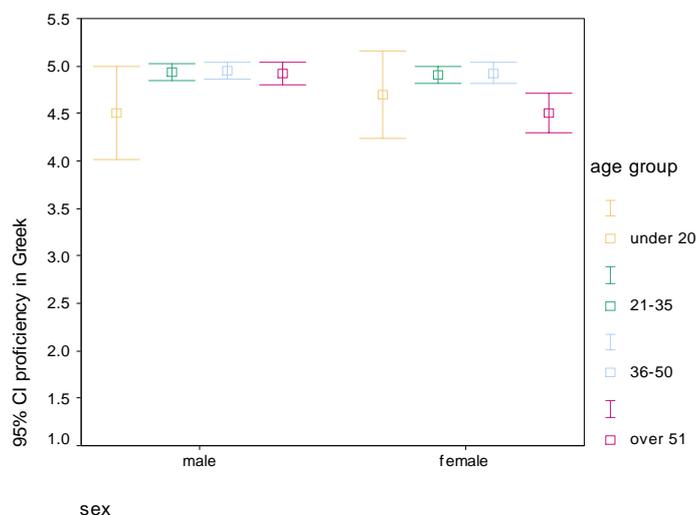


Figure 4: Sex/Age - Proficiency in Greek



Females of the oldest age group (over 51) report the lowest proficiency in Greek and the difference between the two sexes of the same age group is quite marked (Figure 4). The oldest females also report lower proficiency in Vlach than men, but in that case the difference is very small -96% vs. 100% reported "very good" level of Vlach. This result is expected and verifies the hypothesis based on ethnographic data that due to lack of geographical and social mobility, their life in the sphere of the home and their lack of contact with Greek, women of this age group would not be so proficient in Greek. There are still cases of old women who can hardly speak or understand any Greek.

The answers to "which language do you use at home?" differ significantly between males and females ($p = .056 \approx .05$). The majority of females (54%) and significantly more females than males (38%) appear to speak only Greek at home.

The crosstabulation with age groups yields results which support my observations and the hypotheses based on the ethnographically collected data. Older women speak more Vlach at home in comparison to other female age groups and also compared to males of the same age group. At that period it was men who initiated Greek at the home.

Table 3 : Crosstabulation: Sex/ Age -Language(s) used at home

sex		age group					<i>p value</i>
		Under 20	21-35	36-50	over 51		
male	which language(s) do you use at home?	Vlach	4.3%	30%	8.7%	16.7%	.032 < .05
		Greek	43.5%	24.2%	60.9%	29.2%	
		both Vlach and Greek	52.2%	72.7%	30.4%	54.2%	
female	which language(s) do you use at home?	Vlach	5%	2.3%	7.7%	34.6%	.000 < .05
		Greek	80.0%	67.4%	46.2%	19.2%	
		both Vlach and Greek	15.0%	30.2%	46.2%	46.2%	

The general findings on the linguistic behaviour of males and females are supported by the results from the reports on the frequency of use of Vlach in Metsovo (Figure 7.9) (Independent Samples T-Test: $F = 2.211$, Sig. (2-tailed) $p = .011 < .05$). Age clearly plays a role for both males and females with respect to the frequency of use of Vlach (one way ANOVA, males: $F = 6.913$, $p = .000 < .05$, females: $F = 15.691$, $p = .000 < .05$). Females of all age groups except the oldest one, report lower frequency of use of Vlach. My observations tally with this result, namely that females, especially those of the two youngest age groups, use Vlach considerably less than males of the same ages, although the difference is statistically significant only for the “21-35 years old” age group (one-way ANOVA, “under 20”: $F = 1.563$, $p = .218 > .05$, “21-35”: $F = 5.521$, $p = .021 < .05$, “36-50”: $F = 3.184$, $p = .081 > .05$, “over 51”: $F = .560$, $p = .458 > .05$).

Figure 5: Sex-Frequency of Use of Vlach in Metsovo

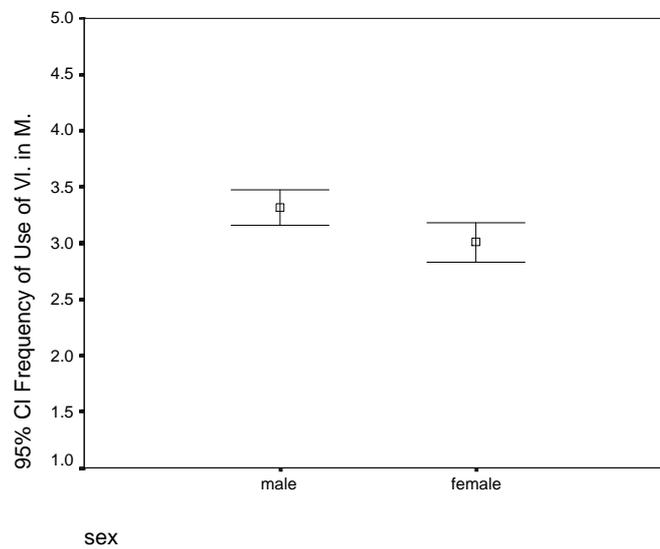
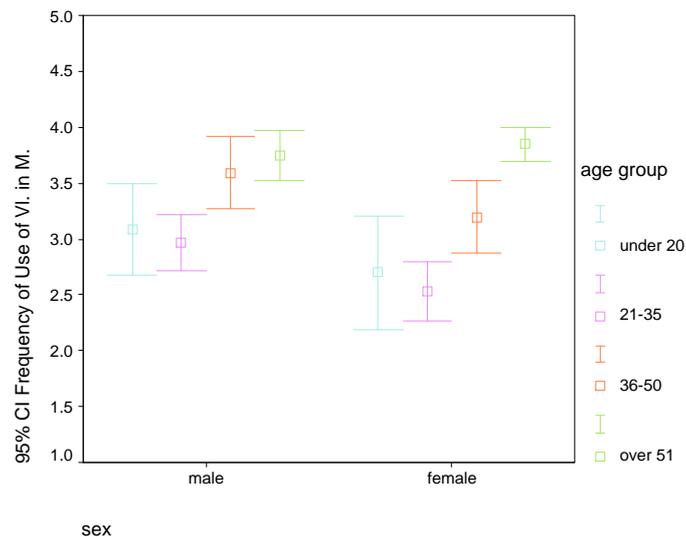


Figure 6: Sex/Age-Frequency of Use of Vlach in Metsovo



The results, both quantitative and qualitative point to the direction that women appear to be leading the shift from Vlach to Greek or at least to keep more distance from Vlach than men. The results also suggest that there is within-gender differentiation with regard to age.

Research in the field of gender has shown that no single explanation can be imposed on such a complex issue. Questions can only be answered with knowledge of the lives of the speakers. Interpretations of the relationship between language and gender are sought through understanding gender roles in Metsovo in the sense that gender is not viewed as working independently of other aspects of social identity and relations, nor is it viewed as fixed, but as constructed and reconstructed socially.

I proceed with the local realities of Metsovo in order to place the results in their context. I try to account for within-gender differentiation on the basis of local social organization, collective experience and values and subjective attitudes. The exploration of local lives is based on my ethnographic data collection.

2.1 Traditional gender roles and the lives of men and women over 50 years old

Men had to work outside the home and earn the living for the family. Traditionally, the majority were herdsmen or shepherds and led a transhumant life. Others worked in the woods, and others were craftsmen. With the advent of capitalist economic relations (18th century) some men engaged in trade. The women of the family did not work outside the home. They helped in the family jobs. In the Metsovitan community of the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries the woman was confined into the home. A woman represented and lived in the “inside” world of the house(hold) (Averof, 1999: 66-67). She represented a refuge of intimacy but was cut off from public life. In this context the opposition “inside/ outside” becomes almost synonymous with an opposition of man/woman or male/female.

Marriage was the central concern of a woman’s life since childhood. The woman was identified with the home, not only because she was basically responsible for the reproduction of life at the biological level but also at the social level as a creator of tradition that had to respect and perpetuate the local values and structures that maintained the balances of the community. This involved a life full of deprivation and compromises, underestimation of her speech and action, a position of complete dependence, with heavy responsibilities and minimum rights (Averof, 1999: 87-88). Only in rare cases would women have access to education; not only because it was considered unnecessary for women to be educated, but also because the difficulties of the subsistence required the female children to help in the housekeeping.

Women’s socialization took place in the home, in the neighbourhood, in the company of other women. Women would neither go out in the central square (*plateia*) alone for leisure nor with their husbands. It was only appropriate to do so on special occasions, such as on religious and national celebrations.

The centre of *male socialization* in Metsovo is the coffee-shop- *kafeneio*- and the central square -*plateia*-. In recent years the number of coffee-shops and entertainment places has increased, due mainly to the increase of tourism in the area. However, the *kafeneio* is a core institution in Greek social life (Photiades, 1965; Papataxiarchis, 1988; Loizos & Papataxiarchis,

1991). It becomes a metaphor of activity and socialisation that takes place *outside*, and contrasts with the *inside* space available to women (Loizos & Papataxiarchis, 1991: 18).

Time brought changes. The road built in the early 1940s made transportation easier to and from Metsovo. Influences came easier and faster from the surrounding cities. Changes at the socio-political level and influences, which came with tourism affected local lives, slowly but steadily. One of the changes brought about with the beginning of the capitalist economic structures and the blooming of trade (Rokou, 1994) and later with tourism was that the traditional weaving which was in the hands of the women of Metsovo and originally functioned to cover family needs, started to become part of the commercial process. Less men engaged in work with animals. Hotels, restaurants, folk-art shops and ski-slopes saw their heyday. Tourist family businesses opened, where women had the secondary role of helping out their husbands.

2.2 Men and Women 36-50 years old

The traditional value system is traceable nowadays. It is vivid in their collective memory and generally respected by the community. Traditional values and social rules still govern the social behaviour of many of the men and women in our second oldest age group, i.e. those in their 40s or 50s, because they grew up in families that lived according to the system described above and also because the values of a community are collectively defined by the community (culturally characteristic of the Greek countryside) (Papataxiarchis, 1991).

Women of the younger age groups have had easier access to education, some have studied in Universities, many work "outside" home. They have had more extended contacts with people outside Metsovo. They are not strictly confined in the home. Women younger than 50 hardly have knowledge of how to weave, and those that do, almost never engage in weaving any more. Still, however, one does not often see a group of women over 35 hanging out in the village square for leisure, nor in a *kafeneio*. It is not considered decent. They usually visit each other at home especially when the men are out. In many cases the neighbourhood still constitutes a place of socialization for these women, though not to the degree it used to be. For women of this age group (40s and 50s) the city life style becomes a pole of attraction, a sign of disengagement from the backwardness that may be entailed by traditional ways. Women younger than 50 no more wear the traditional Metsovo costume. Only on special occasions, like local celebrations, traditional weddings etc. would one see a woman of this age group in the traditional costume. If an old woman starts wearing "European" clothes (as the locals call them) other women will make fun of them, or criticise them. The local evaluation that Metsovo women have of one another suggests a complex of values to which women are subject.

Men's gathering places are still the *plateia* and *kafeneio*. Traditional occupations are generally not pursued. Although men of this age group engage in different occupations, their social roles do not seem to have significantly changed compared to the previous generation. Both men and women of this age group have regular contacts and visits to Ioannina and Trikala - nearby cities- either because they have relatives there or for business.

2.3 Men and Women 21-35 years old

The situation for men and women of 21-35 is quite different. Nevertheless, they are influenced by traditional values, concerning what is good, bad or decent. The relationships between men and women are more openly and freely established. Women of these ages have all received education at least up to *Gymnasio*. Many of them have received high school (*Lykeio*) education and many have studied in Universities. The vast majority work or are pursuing a job. Work for women of the younger generations is considered a normal thing, because new economic and social conditions require that women work as well. At the same time, it is considered normal and "good" that one of the woman's main aims, if not the main aim, is to find a good husband and have children. Still, the household is principally the woman's domain even if she also works elsewhere. Generally in Metsovo women tend to get married quite young, or at least they get engaged in their early twenties. There are only a few men of this age who professionally engage in traditional occupations. Many are oriented towards tourism, trade or work at the winery (οινοποιείο), and the dairy (τυροκομείο). Others are teachers or clerks in banks or public services.

Socialization of men of this age takes place in the *kafeneio* but also in the other cafes, bars, clubs/ discos etc. in Metsovo, different from the traditional *kafeneio*. The kafeterias manifest a Western profile (also in Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991: 15, 18). Men of these ages socialize both with older local men in the *kafeneio*, and with the younger ones in other entertainment places, where adolescents mainly hang out.

Women of this age group also spend time out in the same places. The presence of cafeterias and bars in small towns, like Metsovo, enlarges the scope of intersex friendship and courtship, promotes new ideas about the sexes and incorporates the "outside" into women's identity (Loizos & Papataxiarchis, 1991: 18). This is an important ideological transformation for women. This emerging ideology represents a challenge to the domestic model. However, this is a slow process and in general, women who hold views antithetical to householding can hardly avoid critique from the judgemental community of Metsovo. It is the urban cosmopolitan environment that gives refuge to their desire for autonomy (Loizos & Papataxiarchis, 1991: 22).

2.4 Male and Female Adolescents

Male *adolescents* in Metsovo have opportunities to play sports. Metsovo has a gym, ski-slopes as well as basketball courts in the schoolyards. Visiting amusement arcades is a male hobby. Some male and female adolescents and children participate in the local folk dance group. From a young age they start attending foreign language private schools, and as soon as they enter high school they also attend *frontistiria* for the preparation for the exams to enter University. The vast majority of adolescents meet each other, as well as many other young people in bars, kafeterias or clubs, especially on Friday and Saturday nights. Many young children and adolescents spend time in the Children's Library. Adolescents and children also develop social interaction with their relatives and neighbours. Boys and male adolescents spend a lot of time outside, and at the grandparents' homes. Girls and female adolescents on the other hand, spend more time

at home, with their mothers. It is also characteristic of most female adolescents to form close friendship groups, and they spend much of their free time with their close friends, mainly visiting each other at home.

Many adolescent girls date local boys or they are related to males who are either work in big towns of the area, or are university graduates. Flirting and establishing sexual relations is considered by parents unacceptable for females especially of this age. It is often the case that boys and male adolescents go and help their fathers with manual jobs. Girls and female adolescents do not, and although they do spend time at home, the vast majority of them are repelled by the idea of learning to weave, an activity representative of the traditional way of life and the local social structures. Girls and female adolescents are seen as more mature and grown-up compared to their male counterparts by the community. The social behaviour of girls is somewhat understood individually rather than as collective action by the community. They object to and criticize aspects of the local mentality, although most of them do value traditional elements. Both males and females need the acceptance of the community they live in. More so, because in Metsovo, the notion of the village community, the collective mentality and strong ties with the tradition, still prevail in a surprising way. They want the acceptance of the community, but at the same time their aim is not necessarily to fully identify with it. These younger generations are experiencing a life in the "leaky" boundaries" (Tsitsipis, 1998) of two worlds; that of the traditional world of Metsovo, and that of Greek society in general, or maybe the universal globalized lifestyle which is being promoted by all means. Again the impression about female adolescents is that, socially speaking, they do not aim at full integration in the local society. Male adolescents appear to have stronger social connections with other local men. The boys have chances to become important in the community, to have a respected position by what they do. This may constitute a good reason for them to establish social links with older male members of the community and aim at integrating in the local community in order to hold a dominant, independent position. For women it is still difficult to be valued and respected for what they accomplish outside the home. This may explain why female adolescents engage in social practices and behaviours, which reveal an estrangement tendency from the local mentality and structures, which they are not fond of.

The two genders develop different strategies that coincide with their social identities and their social orientation in their community. Consequently, they adopt different social behaviours, in their effort to accomplish their social identities.

3. Concluding Remarks

My aim has been to unravel the local intricacies of the relationships between Vlach and gender and concluding I would like to make some more points based on ethnographic observations.

Women have been summoned by the local population, metaphorically and practically to being the repositories and transmitters of culture and language, the moral and spiritual guardians of the Metsovo world. They have been allotted the prime role of wife and mother, the moral and educative force. They are held responsible by many for the future of Vlach. They should take

care of transmitting Vlach to the children in addition to ensuring that they learn Greek. Women are criticized of not speaking Vlach to the children and of not wanting them to learn it. Although there was a period -its echo being still traceable- when both parents consciously avoided speaking Vlach to children, the weight of the responsibility is transposed wholly onto women. At the same time women of the older generations who spoke and still speak mainly or exclusively Vlach have been accused of stupidity and ignorance and their speech has been denigrated to the level of gossip. For younger women it is fine to speak Vlach but only provided their Greek is very good. For small girls, "it is not very nice to hear a small girl speak only Vlach" as some reported. If old women start speaking Greek with people of their age it is considered as showing off, a sign of betrayal. The same pressure is exerted on them by other old women and the rest of the community.

Women are caught in a complex of contrasting values, expectations and pressures. It is not surprising that old women were more acutely aware of their inability to integrate in a world outside the confines of Metsovo, due to their lack of knowledge in Greek. Women, because of their subordinate position in the local society are sensitive to issues of power, which would include the "language power", and the power struggle of languages (MacDonald 1987 (in MacDonald, 1994)) (Constantinidou, 1994: 119). It seems reasonable to propose that the Vlach women/s stance towards Vlach is not an attitude peculiar to their being Vlach speakers or to the language as such. Rather, it is an offspring of the women's attitude towards the relationship between the life of a woman who spoke Vlach exclusively and a context which puts her in an inferior position by default. It is reasonable that males integrate more collectively into the community and are more favourable towards the language of the community in which they play the dominant role. It is the subordinate position of the woman and the denial of opportunities for upward mobility which are associated with a certain era and lifestyle that are projected onto the local language, the local costume and local traditional activities. This may explain why the distancing of women does not find a collective expression.

The results of this study show that differentiation in social orientation of the genders is reflected in their language habits and attitudes. Choice of language functions as a social statement. The findings agree with the methodological propositions of Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992) on "looking locally" and with studies like those by Nichols (1983), Thomas (1988). Also differentiation within gender categories exists, and the two genders do not necessarily form compact and homogeneous groups that behave invariably. Gender interacts with other sorts of identity. Thus, it cannot be considered in isolation. In the case of Metsovo, my study proposes a close relationship of gender with the negotiation of a local identity in terms somehow different from the traditional notion. The new local identity combines elements of the traditional local mentality, but also accepts more readily being Vlach without a necessary prerequisite to speak the local language. It combines elements of the two types of social contexts that are offered in Metsovo; the social context of the local community as it is realized in the everyday life of its people, and the social context of the middle class in the capital and the urban centers as it is promoted by all means.

This study confirms the necessity of ethnographic methods of data collection.

Quantitative results would be deprived of the rich meanings that ethnographic observations and interviews unveil.

References

- Averoff, G. (1999). *Eisagogi sti Meleti ton Yfanton tou Metsovou*. Archeio Paraleipomenon Ellinikis kai Europaikis Istorias: Athina
- Constantinidou, E. (1994) The 'Death' of East Sutherland Gaelic: Death by Women? In Burton, P., Kushari Dyson, K. & S. Ardener (eds.) *Bilingual Women: Anthropological Approaches to Second Language Use*. Oxford: Berg.
- Dahmen, W. (1997) Griechisch-Aromunisch. In Hans Goebel et al. (eds.) *Kontaktlinguistik: ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*. 2. Halbband. Berlin, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 1532-1539
- Eckert, P. (1989). The Whole Woman: Sex and Gender Differences in Variation. In *Language Variation and Change* 1: 245-267.
- Eckert, P. & S. McConnell-Ginet (1992). Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-Based Practice. In: *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21: 461-490
- Eckert, P. (2000). *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice*. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford, Massachusetts.
- Gal, S. (1979) *Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria*. New York Academic Press.
- Greek Helsinki Monitor. (1995) *Report. The Vlachs.*, <http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/english/reports/vlachs.html>, Web Site administered by the Greek Helsinki Monitor and Minority Rights Group. Greece. Published in *Greek Monitor of Human & Minority Rights*. Vol.1 No.3 December 1995.
- Katsanis, N. (1977) *Hellenikes Epidraseis sta Koutsovlachika. Phonologia-Morphologia (Greek Influence on Koutsovlach. Phonology-Morphology)* PhD Dissertation, Thessaloniki
- Kentro Erevnon Meionotikon Omadon (2001). *Glossiki Eterotita stin Ellada. Arvanitika, Vlachika, Glosses tis Meionothtas tis D. Thrakis, Slavikes Dialektoi tis Makedonias* Athens: Ekdoseis Alexandraia.
- Kramer, J. (1987) Soziolinguistische Eindrücke bei Sprachaufnahmen bei den Aromunen Griechenlands und Gedanken zu einer Aromunischen Schriftsprache. In Rohr, R. (ed.) *Balkan Archiv. Band 5. Die Aromunen. Sprache, Geschichte, Geographie*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Loizos, P. & E. Papataxiarchis (1991). *Contested identities: gender and kinship in modern Greece*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- McDonald, M. (1994). Women and Linguistic Innovation in Brittany. In In Burton, P., Kushari Dyson, K. & S. Ardener (eds.) *Bilingual Women: Anthropological Approaches to Second Language Use*. Oxford: Berg.
- Nichols, P. C. (1983) Linguistic Options and Choices for Black Women in the rural south: Conservative and Innovative. In Thorne, B., Kramarae, C. & N. Henley (eds.) *Language, Gender and Society*. Rowley: Newbury House, pp. 54-68

- Papataxiarchis, E. (1988) *Kinship, Friendship and Gender Relations in Two East Aegean Village Communities (Lesbos, Greece)*. PhD thesis. University of London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) Dept. of Anthropology.
- Rokou, V. (1994) *Yfantiki Oikiaki Viotexnia. Metsovo 18 ai. 20ai*. Athina. Kentro Ereunon Paradosis kai Politismou Ionnina.
- Siguan, M. (1990) *Linguistic Minorities in the European Economic Community: Spain, Portugal, Greece. Summary of the Report*. Luxembourg: Commission of the European Community
- Schlosser, (1985) *Historische Lautlehre des Aromunischen vom Metsovon*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Thomas, B. (1988) Differences of sex and sects: linguistic variation and social networks in a Welsh mining village. In Coates, J. & D. Cameron (eds.) *Women in Their Speech Communities*. London: Longman, pp. 51-60.
- Trudgill, P. (1992a) The Ausbau Sociolinguistics of Minority Languages in Western and Central Europe. In *Plurilinguistics*, 4, pp.167-191.
- Trudgill, P. (1992b) The Ausbau Sociolinguistics of Greek as a Minority and Majority Language. In Makri-Tsilipakou (1992) (ed.) *Proceedings of the 6th International Symposium on the Description and/or Comparison of English and Greek*. Thessaloniki: Aristotle University.
- Trudgill, P. (1992c) Ausbau sociolinguistics and the perception of language status in contemporary Europe. In *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 2 (2): 167-177
- Trudgill, P. (2000) Greece and European Turkey: from Religious to Linguistic Identity. In *Language and Nationalism in Europe*. Oxford, OUP.
- Tsitsipis, L. (1998) *A Linguistic Anthropology of Praxis and Language Shift. Arvanitika (Albanian) and Greek in Contact*. Oxford:Clarendon Press.

This document was created with Win2PDF available at <http://www.daneprairie.com>.
The unregistered version of Win2PDF is for evaluation or non-commercial use only.