

LINGUISTIC STRUCTURES CONVEYING SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY (1945–1990) IN SCHOOLBOOKS FOR THE GREEK ETHNIC MINORITY IN ALBANIA

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Abstract

This study explores how ideological control in education shaped individuals and examines its long-term impact on identity formation and critical thinking. In Albania, political power from 1945 to 1990 used textbooks and school life as tools to transmit the dominant ideology, ensuring its continued control. The study identifies linguistic features that, beyond their grammatical function, convey implicit or explicit ideological content. Students, teachers, and parents were required to conform to an imposed system of ideas, perceptions, and deceptions. The school functioned as an ideological mechanism, shaping students into compliant citizens who lacked independent thought and creative expression. For 50 years, the primary goal of education was loyalty to the Labour Party and its leader, often at the expense of students' genuine interests. As a result, generations of students learned to conform, accept exaggeration and flattery, and suppress critical thinking. Furthermore, the Greek ethnic minority faced additional challenges, as their education failed to provide opportunities for self-identification, cultural expression, and a connection to Greek values.

Received: 12 August 2025

Revised: 15 October 2025

Accepted: 9 November 2025

Published: 15 December 2025

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Keywords: Greek ethnic minority; Socialist ideology; School textbooks; Second language learning.

1 Introduction

The research aims to study the ideological function of linguistic structures and elements in schoolbooks in the Greek language for the Greek ethnic minority. It focuses specifically on mother tongue and literary reading textbooks during the period 1945-1990, after the establishment of the communist system in Albania. Textbooks, in addition to their primary function, of transmitting knowledge, also constitute key instruments through which socio-political systems influence the formation and education of students. Thus, textbooks become carriers of

ideological messages and instruments for advancing consciousness-raising goals of these systems.

The paper first aims to identify those linguistic elements and structures that directly or indirectly function as ideological indicators. In our case, although we are dealing with a language that is cultivated across all types and uses, and with a language that is standardised and consolidated at all levels, we nevertheless find a sufficient number of elements and structures that fulfil our research objectives. They are found both in the theoretical part and in exercises or illustrative texts related to grammatical or syntactic phenomena.

Our corpus consists mainly of elementary school grammar textbooks, where it is even more challenging to locate the elements that we intend to address, as well as some literary readings in which ideological aims are primary rather than secondary. This paper seeks to highlight how language was deliberately employed as a tool to instil socialist-communist ideals, shaping students into individuals who would serve the system with unwavering loyalty.

The research questions addressed in this study are as follows:

- 1) Which linguistic elements and discursive mechanisms were employed by the socialist–communist regime of Albania as tools for the ideological formation of the “new man”, who would serve the political system with devotion?
- 2) Which political knowledge, values, and attitudes did the Albanian political system seek to transmit to the younger generation, and how are these reflected in the school textbooks of the period?
- 3) Which national stereotypes were constructed and reproduced through official discourse in relation to other peoples and nations, how is the relationship between the Greek national minority and Greece represented, and which linguistic means were employed in the formation of these representations?

2 Theoretical Framework

Language textbooks are not only repositories of linguistic content but also ideological instruments that shape learners’ worldviews. This instrumental role of discourse is not limited to educational materials but can also be observed in literary systems shaped by political regimes; for instance, in Maoist China, literature was explicitly designed to educate the masses and promote socialist values through ideologically aligned narratives (Florea, 2024). In this sense, textbooks serve as primary resources through which students acquire essential knowledge and skills, influencing their understanding of other subjects. The content of these textbooks is interconnected with the broader curriculum, reflecting the socio-political and cultural realities of a country. Inevitably, textbooks embody values, principles, and worldviews, functioning as intellectual products of their time.

Analytical approaches to textbooks must therefore go beyond grammatical and lexical considerations to uncover how cognitive and

pedagogical-formative goals intersect with ideological positioning. In this regard, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) offers a robust methodological framework for examining the relationship between language, power, and ideology (Fairclough, 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approaches school textbooks as institutional texts through which language functions as a tool for ideological shaping. Central concepts of CDA, such as ideology, power, and the naturalisation of discourse, become apparent through linguistic choices and representations that portray the party, the leader, and the model of the “new socialist person” as self-evident and indisputable values (Fairclough, 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). At the same time, the representation of social subjects and the silencing of alternative discourses contribute to legitimising the political system and constructing the students’ collective political identity. Within this framework, textbooks function as mechanisms of hegemony and socialisation, incorporating official state discourse into educational practice.

The analysis focuses on the dialectical relationship between discourse and power, examining how specific linguistic and textual choices—such as the dominance of collective subjects (“the people,” “workers,” “comrades”), the frequent use of modal expressions of obligation (“must,” “ought to”), evaluatively charged lexical choices, and nominalisations that obscure the agent of an action—operate as mechanisms for the naturalisation of the dominant ideology. At the same time, the use of binary oppositions (us/enemies, progress/backwardness) contributes to the construction of an ideologically homogeneous collective subject, reinforcing conformity to the dominant worldview and marginalising alternative perspectives.

CDA investigates how discourse both reflects and reproduces social structures and hierarchies, enabling the identification of linguistic and visual patterns that encode implicit or explicit ideological meanings. As Sitio, Sinar, and Rangkuti (2023) demonstrate, even ostensibly neutral English as Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks embed moral and cultural values through carefully constructed narratives and imagery.

The distinction between *ideologies about language* and *ideologies within language* is well established in scholarship. Language ideologies encompass processes such as standardisation, the regulation of variety use, bilingualism, diglossia, and attitudes toward linguistic borrowing. In this sense, linguistic ideology is often self-referential language speaking about language, either explicitly or implicitly (Μοσχονάς, 2005). These ideologies are materialised through linguistic structures and choices, as seen in syntax, lexis, and genre conventions. As Φραγκουδάκη (1999) notes, language is never neutral; social and ideological messages are embedded in every linguistic decision.

Following the victory of anti-fascist forces, Albania’s education system was modelled on the Soviet paradigm, embedding pedagogy within the wider ideological apparatus of the state. Schools were not solely tasked with imparting literacy but with shaping students’ character and instilling the ideological ideals of the proletarian dictatorship. Beqja (1985) emphasises that socialist pedagogy was framed through the lens of class struggle, revolutionary consciousness, and

Marxist–Leninist partisanship. Λέβν (1988) similarly underscored the need to cultivate pedagogical personnel aligned with the Party, ensuring the perpetuation of communist ideals through education.

CDA proves especially valuable in analysing how such ideological positioning was discursively constructed in textbooks. Fairclough’s (2015) three-dimensional framework—encompassing textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice—enables a systematic study of how socialist values were normalised through recurring lexical patterns (e.g., collectivist terminology), syntactic structures (e.g., agentless passives to obscure agency in political events), and thematic framing (e.g., glorification of labour, vilification of capitalist systems). Contemporary CDA studies of textbooks (Al Kayed, Al-Khawaldah & Alzu’bi, 2020; Noor, Kodriyah & Angrum, 2024) reveal that ideological content persists in different forms today, including gender bias, selective cultural representation, and the strategic omission of politically sensitive topics. These findings affirm the continued relevance of CDA for both historical and present-day textbook analysis.

3 Methodology

In this study, the most appropriate research methods are qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis.

In the communist ideological discourse, for almost one hundred and fifty years in a row, the semasiological load of those words that express the basic notions of the communist ideology, of the ideological principles of those states that tried to implement them in practice, has been strictly defined. The communist ideological discourse affected not only the semasiological load of words (lexicological level) but also other linguistic levels: morphological and syntactic. This becomes more visible, measurable, and understandable in the case of Greek, where the diglossic situation became a determinant of social-political developments throughout the last century. Words, different pronunciations, different syntactic uses, neologisms, etc. became “weapons” in the arsenal of different camps, in the social and power struggles of the Greek ethnic minority in Albania.

In our analysis, in addition to quantitative-statistical methods, the theory of qualitative content analysis (Qualitative Content Analysis), proposed by Mayring (2014) was adopted. This model of analysis, while maintaining the positive elements of the quantitative-statistical method, highlights the importance of in-depth examination of the material through qualitative and interpretive evaluation. According to Mayring (2014), qualitative content analysis is an empirical and rule-guided method for the systematic analysis of texts within their communicative context, without excessive reliance on statistical procedures.

Critical discourse analysis is also helpful, a method that is mainly used to find and identify ideological elements. The basic principle of this method is that language and society are in a continuous dialectical relationship (Stubbs, 1983) and interaction, and that language is analysed as a social semiotic system (Halliday, 1978). This method can still be described as “over-linguistic” or “metalinguistic”, since the researchers who apply it are more concerned with the discourse context and with the meanings behind the grammatical and syntactic structures. Such an analysis requires more attention to the form and organisation of a text on phonological, morphological, and lexical levels.

3.1 Criteria for the selection of examples

The selection of textual examples in the present study was based on a combination of empirical, analytical, and reflexive criteria, aiming at a systematic and well-documented representation of dominant linguistic practices. Priority was given to linguistic items and discursive patterns that occur with high frequency across the examined school textbooks, as frequency of occurrence is indicative of their normative and naturalised status within educational discourse. Emphasis was also placed on words, expressions, and grammatical constructions carrying a strong ideological load, namely those that functioned as evaluative markers or ideological signifiers within the socialist–communist framework.

This reflexive perspective enabled the identification of expressions whose ideological significance extends beyond their textual presence and into their lived pedagogical use, classroom circulation, and social interpretation. The combination of frequency, ideological salience, and experiential insight ensured that the selected examples are not isolated instances, but representative manifestations of the dominant ideological discourse reproduced through school textbooks. The books that we have researched are:

1. Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού. (1952). *Γραμματική της ελληνικής γλώσσας για την Τέταρτη τάξη των δημοτικών σχολείων* [*Grammar of the Greek Language for the Fourth Grade of Primary Schools*]. Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού.
2. Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού. (1955). *Αναγνωστικό για τη δεύτερη τάξη των δημοτικών σχολείων* [*Reader for the Second Grade of Primary Schools*]. Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού.
3. 2. Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού. (1964). *Γραμματική της ελληνικής γλώσσας για την Τέταρτη τάξη των δημοτικών σχολείων* [*Grammar of the Greek Language for the Fourth Grade of Primary Schools*]. Διεύθυνση Σχολικών Εκδόσεων.
4. Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού. (1969). *Αναγνωστικό για την τρίτη τάξη των δημοτικών σχολείων* [*Reader for the Third Grade of Primary Schools*]. Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού.
5. Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού. (1970). *Γραμματική της ελληνικής γλώσσας για την τρίτη τάξη των δημοτικών σχολείων* [*Grammar of the Greek Language for the Third Grade of Primary Schools*]. Εκδόσεις Σχολικών Εγχειριδίων.
6. Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού. (1970). *Αναγνωστικό για την τρίτη τάξη των δημοτικών σχολείων* [*Reader for the Third Grade of Primary Schools*]. Τυπογραφείο «ΦΙΛΙΑ».

7. Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού. (1972). *Αναγνωστικό για την τρίτη τάξη των δημοτικών σχολείων* [Reader for the Third Grade of Primary Schools]. Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού

4 Results and Discussion

4.1 Language and power

Textbooks function as carriers of social and political relations, conveying through language the positions of institutional authorities as authentic and objective. A systematic analysis of grammatical and syntactic structures makes it possible to highlight the mechanisms through which responsibility and authority are revealed or concealed, uncovering the power relations inherent in educational discourse.

The textbooks used by the Greek minority in post-war Albania were written in Greek by minority authors and were “adapted” to follow the structure and content of Albanian-language textbooks. These materials were approved by the Ministry of Education and Culture. After 1970, Greek-language textbooks for the minority—such as Readings (grades 1 to 4), Literary Readings, and grammar books for all primary school levels—were largely translated versions of the corresponding Albanian textbooks.

The linguistic structures that express communist ideology as presented in school textbooks are more easily identified in Literary Readings and Anthologies, where a significant portion of the texts is devoted to *socialist solidarity*, presented as a commitment to the general interest of society and as a means of ensuring social stability; *socialist emulation*, understood as an incentive for collective achievement and continuous improvement of the living conditions of the Albanian people through healthy competition within the collective; *collective work*, portrayed as essential for realising the socialist development of the country and achieving common goals; *the cultivation of communist consciousness*, which implies the formation of a responsible and committed attitude toward socialist ideological principles; and *care for collective property and the common good*, emphasising the priority of collective interest over individual interest.

(1) *In workshops, factories, and everywhere where many workers work together, that is where the workers' collective exists. When people work together, we say: 'They work collectively.'*” (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1955, p. 15, authors' translation)

(2) *The new Albania is being built for our youth, for future generations; therefore, it must play the leading role in the construction of the Fatherland, which is at the same time the construction of its happy life.*” (Hoxha, 1946, as cited in Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1972, p. 3, authors' translation)

(3) *We must work with all our hearts, because we work for ourselves and for the people. I say that in order for our work to go well, we must join our pairs, sow together, and cultivate one another's fields in turn.*

(Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1970b, p. 28, authors' translation)

These ideological markers are also evident in school grammar books, which mirror the structure and content of Albanian grammar curricula, particularly in exercise sections and explanatory texts.

Within the broader sociopolitical and moral context of the time, grammatical categories—such as nouns, adjectives, verbs, and interjections—functioned as vehicles for promoting communist ideology, shaping the sociopolitical behaviour of younger generations. The political leadership recognised language as a strategic tool for disseminating ideological values throughout the population. As a result, words become tools with expanded semantic content or semantically distorted meanings for ideological purposes. The terms “*kombinat*”, “*mine*”, “*plant*”, “*factory*”, “*collective*”, “*cooperative*”, did not merely denote production units that provided material goods for people's livelihoods. At the same time, they expressed *social solidarity*, reflecting commitment to the general interest of society; *socialist rivalry*, understood as an incentive for achievement and continuous improvement within the collective framework; and served as indicators of *economic and industrial development*, highlighting the country's progress and the importance of collective labour in achieving socialist objectives.

Such rigid, formulaic, and ideologically standardised language was combined with other neutral expressions to produce sentences, noun groups, phrases, or clichés that everyone was expected to use and reinforce. Many words lost their meaning because of the distortion of semantic content in ideological language.

Although it was a dictatorship, the communist regime described itself as “democracy” in the sense of “People's Democracy”. This phenomenon can be seen also in nations which are officially called the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, etc. For example:

(4) *The partisans were so brave because this is how the Communist Party taught them, instructing them to fight to the death for the freedom of Albania, for true Democracy.* (Hoxha, 1955, as cited in Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1955, p. 63, authors' translation)

This also applies to the terms “freedom”, “party”, “dictatorship” (in the context of the proletariat's dictatorship), and “people”. Those who disagree with and oppose the prevailing ideology are labelled “enemies of the people”. To bridge the gap between political leaders and the populace, verbal symbolism is also employed for the Albanian head of state, who is referred to as “uncle or Comrade

Enver”. Enver Hoxha was mentioned to honour the leader’s supernatural abilities and infallibility. Youngsters had to be taught to adjust, submit to, and tolerate any future authoritarian rule. For example:

(4) *In the mountains of Albania
songs of bravery resound,
from the mouths of young and old alike,
praising the Party,
Enver the faithful,
the steel-like leader...
Long live Enver, our guide;
may he take years from our lives.*

(Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1955, p. 13, authors’ translation)

Almost all textbooks use names that convey dogmatic and obvious truths. Because no one challenges the role of the leader and his power, terms like “workers”, “peasants”, “building socialism”, “leader”, and “people’s power” are frequently used in many contexts and have entrenched meanings. Furthermore, terms like “homeland”, “socialism”, and “party” that were employed in textbook ideological discourse were powerful and their meanings could not be questioned. For example:

(5) *People’s Power liberated the peasant and ensured the people’s bread.
The Party and the Government stand by the peasant, guide him, and assist
him at every step.* (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1964, pp. 12, 30,
authors’ translation)

Building on the analysis of language as a vehicle of power and authority in educational discourse, the following section shifts the focus to the process of ideological naturalisation. It examines how specific ideological meanings are presented as self-evident and unquestionable through the thematic organisation and discursive framing of school textbook content.

4.2 Ideology and naturalisation

The selection of topics, events, and vocabulary in school textbooks is not neutral but embodies specific ideological positions. Through the process of *naturalisation*, these ideologies are presented as self-evident and inevitable, contributing to the normalisation of particular social relations and value systems. Most of the textbook texts examined revolve around a limited number of thematic axes, with dominant concepts being the “homeland” and the “socialist construction” of the country.

Within this framework, *socialist solidarity* is presented as a fundamental prerequisite for safeguarding the collective interests of society, for example: “*The school is a large family, where students and teachers work and strive for the good of the homeland*” (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1955, p. 4, authors’ translation).

At the same time, *socialist emulation* is presented as a necessary mechanism for improving the living conditions of the Albanian people, for example: “*In the factories, plants, and mines, socialist emulation is implemented*” (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1964, p. 14, authors’ translation).

(6) All over Albania, work is thriving. Our entire people works tirelessly: the workers in the factories, the farmers in the fields. (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1970a, p. 15, authors’ translation)

The interests and developmental needs of children do not appear to be a priority in the content of school textbooks, as the regime’s main concern is the imposition of the official ideology and the cultivation of attitudes of loyalty in the new generation toward the “Party” and its “Leader.” Through this process, the aim is to shape politically disciplined and ideologically aligned subjects.

It thus becomes evident that one of the primary functions of the school was the shaping of socialist behaviour and the cultivation of a socialist character among students, with the ultimate aim of legitimising the regime and its leadership. Through educational discourse, curricula, and school textbooks, the school functioned as an institutional tool of socialisation, where education and ideological guidance were closely linked to the promotion of political values and the dominant ideology.

One of the most prominent thematic categories emerging in school textbooks concerns the school and its ideological function within the socialist regime. The school is presented not only as a space for knowledge transmission but primarily as a mechanism of ideological indoctrination, aimed at shaping the human personality and forming the “Albanian socialist citizen.” The educational process is embedded within a climate of obedience and discipline, where conformity to the dominant values of the regime is actively promoted.

Within this framework, the school makes systematic efforts to ensure that students adopt standardised behavioural patterns, either through the fear of punishment or through the expectation of reward for “proper” conduct. The characteristics of the ideal citizen promoted in the texts are summarised as obedience, docility, and unquestioning acceptance of authority.

At the same time, the textbooks convey another ideologically charged message: the support of Albanian society by certain powerful states, such as China, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia. These references function to reinforce the legitimacy of the regime, portraying its international position as stable and ideologically justified. For example:

(7) We wholeheartedly thank the People’s China, which generously helps us as we build socialism. (School Textbooks Directorate, 1964, p. 30).
With the generous and invaluable assistance of the Soviet Union, the people will advance from victory to victory in the implementation of the Five-Year Plan. (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1964, p. 30, authors’ translation)

The family is presented in school textbooks as a key mechanism of ideological reproduction, complementary to the role of the school. Albanian parents are depicted as functioning within the family setting as agents and representatives of the political system, transmitting to their children specific models of social behaviour, value systems, political knowledge, and life attitudes that the communist regime seeks to cultivate.

Through this process, the family becomes a space of early ideological socialisation, where the official ideology is internalised and presented as natural and self-evident, reinforcing the cohesion and stability of the dominant political discourse. For example:

(8) *Little pioneers, young pioneers,
we go to school,
as if we were all brothers,
we learn, we work...* *Here is socialism,
brought to us by our parents,
and communism
we will all build together.*
(Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1970a, p. 6, authors' translation)

4.3 The nationalist ideology

From the analysis of school texts, the perception is systematically promoted that the Albanian state is founded upon the glorious historical past of the nation. Emphasis is placed on glorifying the national liberation struggle of the Albanian people, as well as the actions of the partisans in liberating Albania. Within this context, the figure of Enver Hoxha occupies a central position, being presented as a charismatic leader and guiding figure of the struggle.

The textbook authors focus on the heroism, patriotism, and selflessness of both Enver Hoxha and the other partisans, who are elevated as models of national dedication and sacrifice. This presentation is accompanied by the rhetoric that the existence of such a leader and “worthy defenders of the nation” constitutes a historical fortune for the Albanian people. For example: “*In the liberation struggle, we triumphed because we were guided by the Party of Labour of Albania, led by Comrade Enver*” (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1970b, p. 81, authors' translation).

At the same time, a strong nationalist discourse is promoted, as the role models are not only national heroes but also the “heroes of socialist labour.” The connection of the national narrative with productive and political activity within the framework of socialism reveals the nationalist orientation of the educational policy of the period, in which patriotism and loyalty to the regime are presented as interlinked values. For example:

(9) *Our army and people are ready to defend our beloved homeland. Our people have many heroes. Our slogan is: With one hand the pickaxe and with the other the weapon*”. (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1970b, p. 17, authors' translation).

4.4 The relationship of the Greek ethnic minority with Greece

The examination of school textbooks reveals that references to Greece and Hellenism are limited and, in most cases, expressed with a negative or cautious tone. During the early postwar years, Greek-Albanian relations were influenced by a series of historical and political developments, which were also reflected in the content of textbooks designed for the Greek national minority.

The texts identified are mainly restricted to references to Greek mythology, selected folk songs, and a few literary excerpts by minority authors. This fragmentary presentation of Greek cultural heritage, largely detached from contemporary Greek realities, suggests a controlled and ideologically filtered approach to Hellenism, serving the broader political and ideological objectives of the regime. For example:

(10) *The construction of major projects is a solid blow to the imperialists, the Trotskyists of Belgrade, the monarcho-fascists of Athens, the fascists of Rome, and their local henchmen.* (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1952, p. 21, authors' translation)

Through these representations, the school textbooks for the Greek minority contribute to the formation of a controlled identity, in which class and political affiliation take precedence over ethnic identity, reinforcing the naturalisation of the dominant ideology and limiting cultural distinctiveness. As another textbook passage asserts:

(11) *The people of the minority, under the prudent guidance of the heroic Party and its leader, fought with true heroism alongside the Albanian people and won their rights. Today, again willing and deserving of their freedom, they are building their new, perfect, and everlasting life. For this reason, they consciously love the brave Party and Enver, and they stand unyielding and ready at every moment to strike at the dark and sinister plans of the imperialists and to defend all that they have gained.* (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1952, p. 94, authors' translation)

4.5 Linguistic strategies and mechanisms

At the linguistic level, ideological positioning is not only conveyed through thematic content, but it is systematically constructed through specific grammatical categories and lexical choices. A sizeable portion of grammatical information is occupied by categories of the noun, the adjective and the verb, which serve as the fundamental tools for instructing students and spreading communist doctrine.

4.5.1 Nouns

Minority pupils of that era with a particular cultural and cognitive level were the target audience for the textbooks. For them, the textbooks and grammar exercises

provided more than just grammatical knowledge; they also provided a window into Albanian reality and recent socio-political developments, as their cultural level was somewhat higher than the general population's, while their knowledge of historical and social realities was relatively low. Among the most frequently used resources were literary readings and grammar books, which extended beyond pedagogical tools to embody a nation's socio-political and educational ideology.

The inclusion of illustrative texts to accompany grammatical concepts was not coincidental; rather, these texts were strategically selected to support comprehension while reinforcing ideological narratives. In the theoretical section of grammars on proper nouns, names such as *Qemal Stafa*, *Gjergji Kastrioti*, *Vojo Kushi*, and *Enver Hoxha* are mentioned, who are Albanian heroes and historical figures, each active in their respective historical period and connected to momentous events in the country. Indirectly, the linguistic structures become carriers of a historical, political, or ideological message, which is further reinforced by teachers' comments and references, as they play an important role in indoctrinating students into the prevailing ideology. Moreover, proper names with a strong ideological charge, such as *Karl Marx* and *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin* (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1964, p. 49), appear with high frequency in school textbooks. These figures function as symbolic embodiments of the ideological platform of socialist realism and are presented as authoritative personalities, carriers of the doctrine's allegedly infallible ideas. In many texts, their lives and political views are foregrounded and presented in an affirmative and normative manner, thereby contributing to the legitimisation of the dominant ideological discourse.

Teachers employed linguistic structures not only to meet didactic objectives but also to fulfil ideological purposes. Through both explicit commentary and implicit linguistic patterns, educators played a key role in promoting the dominant ideology.

The transmission of ideological messages is also achieved using general nouns with a clear evaluative orientation, either positive or negative, such as *comrade*, *power*, *norm*, and *socialism*. (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1964, pp. 26, 94; Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1970b, p. 12). The term *comrade* functions as a marker of collective identity and equality, replacing individual social distinctions and reinforcing a sense of ideological unity. The concept of *power* is typically presented as legitimate and necessary for safeguarding social order and progress, detached from notions of coercion or arbitrariness. At the same time, the *norm* is framed as a self-evident and naturalised standard of behaviour to which individuals are expected to conform for the sake of the collective good. Finally, *socialism* is linguistically constructed as a superior and inevitable socio-political reality, carrying positive semantic associations such as justice, solidarity, and progress. Through these lexical choices, language functions as a fundamental instrument for the normalisation and reproduction of the socialist worldview.

4.5.2 Adjectives

The autocratic political system in Albania systematically employed the adjective as a particularly effective ideological instrument, a function that derives from its inherently evaluative nature. The syntagmatic structures *adjective + noun* in Greek and *noun + adjective* in Albanian, in many cases, are stripped of their original descriptive meaning and acquire a normative and ideologically charged character. Through language, a version of reality is constructed that incorporates subjective—and often imaginary—elements aligned with the aims and perspectives of textbook authors, who are institutionally identified with political power. The adjectives selected to accompany specific nouns are largely predictable and allow for limited alternation, indicating the naturalisation of evaluative patterns. For instance, the noun *partisan* is exclusively accompanied by adjectives such as *brave*, *worthy*, *fearless*, *proud*, and *unyielding*, (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1952, p. 50; Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1969, p. 72), while the heroism and patriotism of Enver Hoxha and his fellow combatants are emphasised, presenting the existence of such a courageous and worthy leader as a historical fortune for the Albanian people.

At the same time, the cult of personality surrounding the leader is reinforced through adjectives such as *faithful guide*, *steely*, *wise*, *unwavering*, and *fiery*, which function in a hymnic manner, glorifying both his achievements and his personality. (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1972, p. 3).

Similarly, in textbooks for the Greek minority, the Party is praised as an omnipresent and omnipotent collective entity that cares for every aspect of social life—the homeland, socialist construction, living conditions, education, and healthcare—through adjectives such as *brave*, *heroic*, *precious*, *beloved*, and *wise*. (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1952, pp. 50, 78; Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1955, pp. 79, 82; Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1970a, p. 34).

Adjectives occurring in school textbooks are not evaluatively neutral but carry a positive, negative, or neutral orientation, depending on the thematic context of the text and the referent. Positively charged adjectives are systematically employed to describe “our side,” contributing to the construction of a dichotomous worldview. More specifically, they are attributed to the political leadership (*wise guidance*), the political system (*people’s democracy*), the people’s struggles for liberation (*true heroism*, *patriotic duty*, *heroic resistance*), as well as to socialist construction (*collective labour*, *major projects*, *tireless workers*, *strong homeland*). Through these lexical choices, adjectives function as mechanisms of evaluative reinforcement and ideological legitimation, naturalising the superiority of institutions, practices, and subjects aligned with the dominant socialist ideology. (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1952, pp. 50, 86; Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1970b, pp. 15, 122; Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1955, pp. 27, 71).

Negatively charged adjectives are systematically attributed to any actor or group positioned outside the socialist ideological framework and constructed as an opponent or threat to the regime. In particular, *imperialists* and *revisionists* are classified as “enemies of the people” and are accompanied by adjectives such as *criminal*, *bloodthirsty*, and *hostile*, reinforcing a demonised representation of the “Other.” These references function normatively, as children are expected to adopt attitudes of rejection and hatred toward subjects and ideas about which they are provided no substantial knowledge or theoretical understanding. At the same time, the Albanian citizen—including members of the Greek minority—is depicted as situated within a context of constant imperialist encirclement by external powers, such as American and British imperialists, as well as “bad neighbours” and “dangerous compatriots,” from whom one must maintain distance. Through these linguistic choices, negative adjectives contribute to creating an atmosphere of fear, suspicion, and ideological cohesion around the dominant authority. (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1952, pp. 62–90; Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1970a, pp. 15–134; Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1955, pp. 62–90).

4.5.3 Verbs

Verbs in specific discursive and social contexts are also subject to processes of idealisation, functioning as powerful instruments of influence within ideological language. In the language of school textbooks, verbs that could provide clarity or “generate movement in thought” are systematically avoided, as their use might encourage critical thinking or challenge dominant narratives. Instead, verbs that appear with high frequency are directly linked to the myth of socialist construction, emphasising building, defending, and guiding, such as *projects are built*, *work is thriving*, *apartment blocks are constructed*, *sacrificed for the homeland*, *leads the people*, and *guards the borders*. Such expressions are largely fictive and fantastical in nature, aiming to maintain an atmosphere of optimism and to project an idealised, almost “absolute” social world. Furthermore, verbs related to moral and political guidance—such as *teaches*, *cares for*, *educates*, *defends the homeland*, *the people*, and *democracy*—are employed to reinforce a sense of revolutionary duty, combativeness, and collective enthusiasm.

Future-oriented statements, such as *We rejoice today because the future is bright, happy, splendid, secure, and promising*, further strengthen the ideological narrative, constructing the impression of continuous progress and an inevitably luminous future. Through this strategy, verbs and expressions serve as mechanisms for legitimising the regime’s ideological goals, while simultaneously contributing to a worldview in which actions and reality are interpreted exclusively through the lens of the dominant socialist ideology. (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1970a, pp. 15–118, 65; Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1955, pp. 50–90, 55, 97).

4.5.4 Anthroponyms

Only in the first grades of primary school are found anthroponyms (Chrysanthi, Pyrrhos, Eleni) familiar to the pupils that are related to their social and cultural background. In contrast, later, in the higher grades, we also encounter names of Albanian origin (Skënder, Agim, Marushe). Names directly associated with religion are avoided, and this avoidance is not accidental but forms part of the broader policy of the communist regime in Albania, which in 1967 officially declared the country the world's first atheist state.

Within this framework, all names referring to Christian saints or religious figures were eliminated, and any references to holidays or traditions of a religious character were absent. At the same time, there is no mention of churches, priests, or religious practices, and religion—when indirectly referenced—is presented as a remnant of the past.

4.5.5 Interjections and slogans

Slogans and rallying cries, as they appear in school textbooks and the broader ideological discourse, were employed by the totalitarian system as tools to connect with the people and to facilitate comprehension and internalisation of state ideology. Through these short and direct expressions, the revolutionary agenda, anti-foreign stance, and vigilance against “enemies” are immediately reinforced. For example, slogans such as *URAA!*, *Long live the Labour Party!*, *Long live the Government!*, *Long live the Soviet Union!*, *Long live Albania!*, *Long live the People's Army!*, *Long live May 1st!*, *Death to the invaders!*, and *Always ready!* function both as instruments of collective mobilisation and normative guidance.

These slogans do more than express support; they reproduce an ideologically charged worldview, cultivate feelings of loyalty, pride, and alertness, and integrate the individual into a broader network of collective identity and political allegiance. In this way, such brief expressions become powerful instruments for the socialisation and legitimisation of the dominant ideology (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1955, p. 88).

5 Conclusions

This study has demonstrated that school textbooks used among the Greek ethnic minority in post-war Albania functioned not merely as pedagogical tools but as central instruments of ideological transmission and political socialisation. Through carefully selected linguistic structures, thematic priorities, and discursive strategies, the Albanian socialist–communist regime systematically employed education as a mechanism for shaping compliant, ideologically aligned subjects and ensuring loyalty to the Party and its leader.

The findings confirm that language played a decisive role in the naturalisation of socialist ideology. Lexical choices, grammatical patterns, and

evaluative constructions were strategically mobilised to embed ideological meanings within seemingly neutral educational content. Nouns, adjectives, and verbs did not operate solely as grammatical categories but as vehicles of political messaging, contributing to the normalisation of collectivism, obedience, and devotion to socialist values. Slogans and interjections further reinforced ideological cohesion by promoting emotional identification with the regime and fostering a sense of permanent vigilance against perceived enemies.

The analysis also reveals a systematic control over semantic content, whereby words and expressions were stripped of their descriptive function and redefined as ideological axioms. This manipulation of meaning limited interpretative plurality and discouraged critical engagement, presenting the dominant worldview as self-evident, inevitable, and morally superior. As a result, linguistic structures functioned as instruments of symbolic power, shaping students' perceptions of reality and constraining alternative forms of thought.

Particularly significant is the finding that textbooks for the Greek ethnic minority reproduced the structure and content of Albanian-language textbooks, often through direct adaptation or translation. This practice contributed to the marginalisation of ethnocultural distinctiveness and reinforced the primacy of class and political identity over ethnic affiliation. References to Greece and Hellenism were minimal, fragmented, and ideologically filtered, reflecting the regime's broader strategy of controlling minority identities within the framework of socialist nationalism.

Overall, the study underscores the effectiveness of combining Critical Discourse Analysis with qualitative content analysis for uncovering the ideological dimensions of educational discourse. By examining language at both thematic and grammatical levels, the research highlights how schooling under authoritarian regimes extends beyond knowledge transmission to become a site of ideological discipline and identity formation. The findings contribute to a deeper understanding of how language, power, and education intersect in minority contexts, offering insights relevant to both historical inquiry and contemporary discussions on ideology in educational materials.

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