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**Language Attitudes and Ethnic Identity in a Diglossic Setting: The Case of  
Greek-Cypriot Students**

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**A thesis submitted to the University of Sussex for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics  
School of English**

**April 2015**

**Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:.....

## **Abstract**

University of Sussex

Marianna Kyriakou

Doctor of Philosophy

### **Language Attitudes and Ethnic Identity in a Diglossic Setting: The Case of Greek-Cypriot Students**

This thesis investigates the linguistic situation of the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus and the language attitudes and perception of ethnic identity of Greek-Cypriot students aged between 12 and 18 years old, an under-researched age group. The research examines the assumption that the linguistic situation of Cyprus is diglossic. The attitudes of Greek-Cypriot students towards Standard Modern Greek, the official language of Cyprus, and the Greek-Cypriot dialect, the native variety, are analysed through qualitative and quantitative methods. The study uses a mixed methods approach and data are collected by means of classroom observations, interviews, questionnaires and an experiment similar to the matched guise technique. A social constructionist approach is used for the analysis of ethnic identity construction.

The results of this research indicate that Cyprus is experiencing a different kind of diglossia than Ferguson's (1996a) original description of diglossia. The 'contextual diglossia' proposed in this study suggests that the functional distribution of the high and low varieties is based both on the speaker's judgements of appropriateness (speaker's context) and on the context of communication (local context). The study also reveals that students generally have favourable attitudes towards Standard Modern Greek and display both favourable and negative attitudes towards the Greek-Cypriot dialect. These attitudes are explained through the presence of stereotypes attached to each variety and the political ideologies in Cyprus. Students embrace all three ethnic identities, Cypriot, Greek and Greek-Cypriot, although their Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot identities emerge as strongest. They construct their identities through the use of pronouns and nationalistic expressions. The language attitudes and ethnic identities of Greek-Cypriots are formed and constructed against the backdrop of the socio-political and historical context of Cyprus and are shaped by the existence of diglossia and language ideologies.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<b>Page</b>
Transliteration	11
 <b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b>	
Introduction	14
 <b>Chapter 2: The historical, political and linguistic context of Cyprus</b>	
2.1 Definition of terms	18
2.2 The historical and political context of Cyprus	19
2.2.1 The languages of Cyprus	20
2.2.2 Language policy and education in Cyprus	23
2.3 The linguistic context of Cyprus	25
2.4 Concluding remarks	39
 <b>Chapter 3: Multilingualism and diglossia</b>	
3.1 Multilingualism and language choice	40
3.2 Ferguson's diglossia	44
3.2.1 Fishman's diglossia and further extensions of the concept	45
3.2.2 Critiques on diglossia and the current state of the theory of diglossia	48
3.3 Concluding remarks	51
 <b>Chapter 4: Language attitudes and ethnic identity</b>	
4.1 Attitudes	52
4.1.1 Definitions and approaches to 'attitude'	53
4.1.2 Language attitudes	55
4.1.3 Research on language attitudes in Cyprus	63
4.2 Ethnic identity	67
4.2.1 Theorising identity	68
4.2.2 Language and ethnic identity	73
4.2.3 Research on ethnic identity in Cyprus	78
4.3 Concluding remarks	83

## **Chapter 5: Research questions and methodology**

5.1	Research methods	85
5.1.1	The participants of this study	89
5.2	Qualitative data	90
5.2.1	Classroom observations	90
5.2.1.1	Aim of classroom observations	90
5.2.1.2	Gatekeepers, type of lessons and kinds of data collected	91
5.2.2	Interviews	94
5.2.2.1	Design and conduct of the interview	94
5.2.3	Strengths and weaknesses of observational data and interviews	96
5.3	Quantitative data	97
5.3.1	Questionnaires	97
5.3.1.1	Distribution and collection of questionnaires	98
5.3.1.2	Design of the questionnaire	99
5.3.2	Matched guise technique	101
5.3.3	Strengths and weaknesses of questionnaires and MGT	104
5.4	The role of the researcher and limitations of the study	104
5.5	Concluding remarks	106

## **Chapter 6: Data analysis and discussion of results: classroom observations and interviews**

6.1	Classroom observation analysis	107
6.1.1	Analysing classroom talk: History lessons	109
6.1.2	Analysing classroom talk: Modern Greek lessons	112
6.1.3	Analysing classroom talk: Maths lessons	117
6.1.4	Discussion of results	120
6.2	Interview analysis	127
6.2.1	Language and ethnic identity	128
6.2.2	Self-categorisation and definition of ethnic labels	133
6.2.3	Attitudes towards GC and SMG and their speakers	137
6.2.4	Domains of use of GC and SMG, appropriateness of use and implications	145
6.3	Concluding remarks	151

## **Chapter 7: Data analysis and discussion of results: MGT and questionnaires**

7.1	MGT analysis	153
7.1.1	MGT overall quantitative results	153
7.1.2	MGT qualitative data	158
7.1.3	MGT results by the age of the participants	159
7.2	Questionnaire analysis	162
7.2.1	The use of SMG and GC in the Greek-Cypriot community	163
7.2.2	Overall results: language attitudes and ethnic identity	168
7.2.3	Qualitative data: language attitudes and ethnic identity	174
7.3	Concluding remarks	180

## **Chapter 8: Discussion of results**

8.1	The linguistic situation of Cyprus	182
8.2	The age variable	187
8.3	Relationship between diglossia, language attitudes and ethnic identity	189
8.4	Concluding remarks	195

## **Chapter 9: Conclusion**

Conclusion	196
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<b>Bibliography</b>	203
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<b>Appendices</b>	222
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## LIST OF TABLES

	<b>Page</b>
<b>Chapter 2</b>	
Table 2.1      Distribution of H and L in possible domains	28
<b>Chapter 5</b>	
Table 5.1      Seven-point scale in MGT questionnaire	103
<b>Chapter 6</b>	
Table 6.1      Classroom observation analysis conventions	109
Table 6.2      Students' use of GC in History lessons	110
Table 6.3      Students' use of GC in Modern Greek lessons	114
Table 6.4      Teachers' use of GC in Maths lessons	117
Table 6.5      Students' use of GC in Maths lessons	118
Table 6.6      Interview transcription conventions	128
Table 6.7      Students' definitions of ethnic labels	135
<b>Chapter 7</b>	
Table 7.1a      Mean and standard deviation for SMG	154
Table 7.1b      Mean and standard deviation for GC	155
Table 7.2      Questionnaire results for Question 1	163
Table 7.3      Questionnaire results for Question 6	167
Table 7.4a      Questionnaire results for Question 2: students' attitudes to SMG	169
Table 7.4b      Questionnaire results for Question 2: students' attitudes to GC	169
Table 7.5      Questionnaire results for Question 4	170
Table 7.6      Questionnaire results for Question 3	172
<b>Chapter 8</b>	
Table 8.1      Discursive construction of ethnic identity	193

## LIST OF FIGURES

	<b>Page</b>
<b>Chapter 8</b>	
Figure 1      Ethnic identity continuum	192

## LIST OF GRAPHS

### Chapter 7

Graph 1      MGT results: students' attitudes to the SMG and GC speakers	154
Graph 2a      Attitudes to SMG and GC: 12-year-old students	160
Graph 2b      Attitudes to SMG and GC: 15-year-old students	160
Graph 2c      Attitudes to SMG and GC: 18-year-old students	161

**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>SMG</b>	Standard Modern Greek
<b>GC</b>	Greek-Cypriot (dialect)
<b>IPA</b>	International Phonetic Alphabet
<b>MGT</b>	Matched Guise Technique
<b>H</b>	High (variety)
<b>L</b>	Low (variety)
<b>CAT</b>	Communication Accommodation Theory
<b>MOEC</b>	Ministry of Education and Culture
<b>Pre-WW1</b>	Pre- World-War 1

## Transliteration

The Greek alphabet is used in this study for the writing of the Greek-Cypriot dialect. The following transliteration of the Greek alphabet to Latin characters also contains four IPA sounds which exist in the Greek-Cypriot dialect but are not part of the Greek phonology. Combining the transliteration of the Greek alphabet with the IPA sounds aims to describe the Greek-Cypriot orthography more accurately, and for this reason, the following table is created by the author of this thesis.

Greek Alphabet	Transliteration
Α α	A a
Β β	V v
Γ γ	G g
Δ δ	D d
Ε ε	E e
Ζ ζ	Z z
Η η	I i
Θ θ	Th th
Ι ι	I i
Κ κ	K k
Λ λ	L l
Μ μ	M m
Ν ν	N n
Ξ ξ	X x
Ο ο	O o
Π π	P p
Ρ ρ	R r

Σ σ /ς (final)	S s
T τ	T t
Y υ	Y y
Φ φ	F f
X χ	H h
Ψ ψ	PS ps
Ω ω	O o
<b>Diphthongs</b>	
OY ου	OU ou
AI αι	E e
EI ει	I i
YI υι	I i
OI οι	I i
<b>Diaresis</b>	
AĬ αϊ and Aÿ αϋ	AI ai
EĬ εϊ and Eÿ εϋ	EI ei
YĬ υϊ	Ii ii
OĬ οϊ	OI oi
<b>Digraphs</b>	
MP μπ	B b
NT ντ	D d
ΓΓ γγ / ΓΚ γκ	NG ng
AY αυ	AV av or AF af

EY ευ	EY ev and EF ef
HY ηυ	IV iv
<b>Greek-Cypriot sounds that do not exist in Standard Modern Greek (Papapavlou, 2001)</b>	
/dʒ/	endʒe ‘not’
/ʒ/	ʒaketa ‘cardigan’
/ʃ/	ʃeri ‘hand’
/tʃ/	tʃeros ‘weather’

## Chapter 1: Introduction

The present study explores the sociolinguistic situation of the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus, where two forms of the same language are spoken: Standard Modern Greek (henceforth SMG), the official variety of Cyprus, and Greek-Cypriot (henceforth GC), the non-standard native variety of Greek-Cypriots. The island's political and linguistic landscape is complex: Cyprus is divided into two distinct communities, the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot, as a result of the 1974 war. A close relationship exists between Cyprus and Greece, and SMG is spoken in the Greek-Cypriot part. The prevailing language ideology in Cyprus is that GC is a dialect of SMG. This ideology is mainly transmitted by the educational system of Cyprus, in addition to the ideology that Greek-Cypriots are ethnically Greek. These ideologies emerge in the data of this study.

This thesis seeks to investigate the attitudes of Greek-Cypriot students aged 12 to 18 towards SMG and GC and how they perceive and construct their ethnic identities in discourse in this complex Cypriot context. This thesis also explores and defines the linguistic situation of Cyprus which is characterised by language variation in order to find out how students use SMG and GC in the modern Greek-Cypriot society. The research questions of this study are:

- a. Is age a significant variable in the formation of language attitudes and construction of ethnic identities in Cyprus?*

This research is different to other sociolinguistic studies in Cyprus because it investigates the language attitudes and ethnic identities of an under-studied group of Greek-Cypriot students, aged 12 to 18, and how they use SMG and GC in the modernised and technologically advanced Cypriot society of the 21<sup>st</sup> century as opposed to the diglossic situation that followed Cypriot Independence in 1960. On the contrary, previous studies (Papapavlou, 1998; Spyrou, 2006) in Cyprus failed to focus on the language attitudes and construction of ethnic identities of students between 12 and 18 years old as they were mainly interested in children's and adults' attitudes to the linguistic varieties of Cyprus and their ethnic identity. Students aged 12 to 18 constitute the young generation of Cyprus and their attitudes to SMG and GC and the way they use the two varieties are crucial for the future status and vitality of SMG and GC in Cyprus. In spite of the fact that this age group of students is under-researched, examining ethnic identity in relation to language use and attitudes is essential as the prevailing ideology in Cyprus is that SMG is a dialect

of GC and that Greek-Cypriots are ethnically Greek and define their ethnic identity through the use of SMG (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 25). The focus on the age variable also aims to discover whether there are any differences in the students' language attitudes and ethnic identity construction as they grow up and if differences exist, how they are reflected in the data and what the possible reasons for these differences are.

*b. What are the attitudes of Greek-Cypriot students towards SMG and GC?*

Previous studies (such as Papapavlou, 1998, 2001) on the language attitudes of Greek-Cypriot preschool children, primary school children, university students, adults and to a lesser extent, high school and lyceum students have shown that these groups of Greek-Cypriot speakers have mixed attitudes (positive and negative) towards the GC variety and generally positive attitudes towards SMG. This study aims to investigate the existing work on language attitudes in Cyprus further by focusing specifically on the attitudes of Greek-Cypriot students between 12 and 18 years old, in and outside the school setting. Finding out the attitudes of the young generation of Cyprus is crucial for the future status and vitality of SMG and GC in Cyprus; in other words, students' attitudes towards SMG and GC are important for the maintenance of each variety and the possible future development of GC.

*c. How do students perceive and construct their ethnic identities?*

This research also investigates how Greek-Cypriot students at the ages of 12 to 18 perceive themselves in terms of ethnic identity, for example, the extent to which they feel they are Cypriots, Greek-Cypriots, or Greeks, and how they construct their ethnic identities in spoken and written discourse. This age group of speakers has not been the focus of sociolinguistic research in Cyprus in terms of ethnic identity, as most studies in Cyprus focus on how Greek-Cypriots (particularly children and adults) perceive their ethnic identity in relation to the 'others', Turks, and how they construct the image of the 'Turk' (such as Spyrou (2002, 2006) among others). This study does not focus on the Turkish-Cypriot community of Cyprus and the perception of the 'Turk' by Greek-Cypriots, but on the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus and how Greek-Cypriots construct their ethnic identities. While adults, being generationally closer to the end of the war, may have strong political motivations with regard to the use of GC and SMG, it was hypothesised that young children have a fresher perception.



*d. Is the linguistic situation of Cyprus a case of classic diglossia?*

This research aims to describe and understand the linguistic situation of Cyprus and identify the role of the two linguistic varieties used in Cyprus, SMG and GC. The scope of this study is to reflect the current use of SMG and GC in Cyprus by the young population, that is, how students aged 12 to 18 use the two varieties in the classroom and how they report using each variety in various contexts in order to provide a specific description of the present Cypriot linguistic context in contrast to the previous dichotomous definitions of Cyprus between diglossic and bidialectal. The hypothesis of this investigation is that the linguistic setting of Cyprus presents a different form of diglossia (a less rigid form), in comparison to Ferguson's (1996a) original definition of classic diglossia. This hypothesis resides in the fact that function, one of the most important features of classic diglossia, is applied differently in the case of Cyprus. This research examines the existing literature on the linguistic situation of Cyprus and re-visits the definitions and classifications of diglossia and other language contact phenomena.

This project seeks to contribute to the research on diglossia by focusing on Cyprus and for this reason, it modifies Ferguson's (1996a) original definition. Ascertaining how the young generation of Cyprus, that is, students 12 to 18, use SMG and GC, how they feel about the two varieties spoken in Cyprus, and how they construct their ethnic identities was thought crucial. Defining the linguistic situation of Cyprus positions and interprets Greek-Cypriots' language attitudes and ethnic identity within a specific linguistic framework and in the general socio-political and historical context of Cyprus and shows how the tripartite relationship between linguistic context, language attitudes and ethnic identity functions in Cyprus.

Also, as the participants of this research are school students, this study also discusses about the language policy and education of Cyprus; these two factors may influence the students' language use, their attitudes towards SMG and GC as well as their perception of ethnic identity. As noted later in this thesis, in Cyprus, language policy has, until recently, put SMG at the centre of education and promoted the Greek ethnic identity, while the use of GC in the classroom is normally limited. Nevertheless, the new language curriculum in Cyprus is currently changing towards the introduction of the explicit distinction between SMG and GC in the Modern Greek lesson in state education so that the students recognise patterns of the SMG variation. As the introduction of GC is a very

new project, this research examines how the two varieties are used and negotiated in the classroom and the factors influencing the teachers' and students' choice of one variety over the other. These teachers and students are already in high school (school for students aged 12 to 15) and lyceum (school for students aged 15 to 18) and have been taught under the traditional system of education in Cyprus.

To answer the research questions of this thesis, a mixed methods approach is used, and data are collected by using four tools: classroom observations, interviews, questionnaires, and an experiment similar to the matched guise technique, henceforth MGT-like experiment. The findings suggest that students evaluate SMG more favourably than GC while some differences are found in the attitudes of the three age groups. This study also indicates the flexible form of identity, as Greek-Cypriot students' construction of ethnic identity is context-bound. The findings on students' use of SMG and GC suggest that Ferguson's (1996a) model of classic diglossia does not fully apply to the case of Cyprus; this study modifies Ferguson's description of diglossia and proposes a new conceptualisation of diglossia, 'contextual diglossia' that applies specifically to the case of Cyprus.

Chapter 2 aims to locate the thesis in the historical and political context of Cyprus, provide a general account of its linguistic situation, and propose a definition of the linguistic situation of Cyprus. There is no established definition of the linguistic context of Cyprus; therefore, this research proposes a specific characterisation based on previous studies and the data results of this study. As this study suggests that the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus is diglossic, Chapter 3 presents an outline of the theory of multilingualism and diglossia. Chapter 4 discusses the concepts of attitude and identity, and presents previous studies specifically on language attitudes and ethnic identity in Cyprus. The four research tools used to answer the research questions of this thesis are described in Chapter 5. The results from the classroom observations and interviews are analysed and discussed in Chapter 6, and those from the questionnaires and the MGT-like experiment in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 outlines the main findings of the study and draws the final conclusions.

## **Chapter 2: The historical, political and linguistic context of Cyprus**

This chapter focuses on the context of Cyprus. The first part of the chapter begins with the definition of terms relevant to this study (language, dialect and variety) and describes the historical and political background of Cyprus. It proceeds with the description of the linguistic context of the island where two varieties are currently used, Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Greek-Cypriot (GC), and the investigation of the language policy of Cyprus. The second part of the chapter examines relevant studies and the various differing views between scholars concerning the description of Cyprus (such as diglossia, bidialectism and register continuum) and argues that the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus is diglossic. Nevertheless, diglossia in Cyprus seems to differ from Ferguson's (1996a) classic concept of diglossia in some respects, which can be the result of modernity and technological development.

### **2.1 Definition of terms**

It is essential to establish from the beginning how the terms language, dialect and variety are used within the framework of this study. These terms have been widely employed, meaning that to agree on a general definition, which distinguishes one from the other, is rather problematic (Hudson, 1990, p. 30). Specifically, it is difficult to delimit one type of variety from another of the same type (one language from the other or one dialect from the other) as well as delimiting one type of variety from the other (such as language from dialect; Hudson, 1990, p. 71). A dialect is commonly considered as a substandard and often rustic form of language, lacking in prestige and status which deviates from the norm, and has no written form (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980, p. 3). For Chambers and Trudgill (1980, p. 3), 'all speakers are speakers of at least one dialect' in the sense that dialect can also include standard language, and therefore, one dialect is not linguistically superior to the other.

With regard to the term language, this is the result of the process of standardisation (that is, the transition from dialect to language, from vernacular to standard) which, according to Haugen (1966, p. 933), involves four stages: selection of norm, codification of form, elaboration of function, and acceptance by the community. The term *language* is used in this study to denote a variety which has been standardised; that is, a standard language as opposed to a *dialect* which is used in this study as a non-standard form of a language, a variety which is not standardised. The use of language and dialect in this study is a

distinction between standard and non-standard as SMG is the official and standardised language of Cyprus, whereas GC is a dialect of SMG and is not standardised. These terms are not used in this study to denote that language is a superior linguistic form to dialect. Chambers and Trudgill (1980, p. 5) suggest that *variety* can be ‘a neutral term to apply to any particular kind of language which we wish, for some purpose, to consider as a single entity’. For this reason, the use of variety in this investigation will encompass any kind of language form, whether this is a language or a dialect. Although the neutral term variety will be predominantly used in this study, language and dialect are also used particularly to describe the relationship between SMG and GC (GC is a dialect of SMG or SMG is the official language of Cyprus). To avoid confusion in terminology and therefore inconsistencies, the term code is not used in this study; only the terms code switching and code mixing are used, entailing variety switching and mixing (alternation of speech between two different grammatical systems within the same conversation; Gumperz, 1977, pp. 1-2).

## **2.2 The historical and political context of Cyprus**

As the focus of this study is the understanding of the sociolinguistic context of Cyprus, it is essential to begin with a description of the historical background of Cyprus. The reason for this is that the historical information allows us to frame the variation that characterises the linguistic setting of Cyprus. To begin with, Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean (Richter, 2010, p. 14) and has a population of 1,172,458 people<sup>1</sup>. With reference to history, Cyprus has undergone many anticolonial struggles, invasions, war and finally, territorial division (Papadakis, Peristianis, and Welz, 2006, p. 1). Because of its strategic position, Cyprus has been occupied throughout its history by the Franks, Arabs, Venetians and Ottomans (Pollis, 1996, pp. 69-70). Specifically, Cyprus was under the Ottoman Empire for three centuries (1571-1878) until Britain took control of the island in 1925, when it became a British colony (Goutsos and Karyolemou, 2004, p. 3). In 1960, Cyprus became an independent state and three countries, the United Kingdom, Turkey and Greece, became the foreign powers of Cyprus (Papadakis, Peristianis, and Welz, 2006, p. 2); that is to say, these countries had the right to intervene and protect the

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<sup>1</sup>Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (2014) ‘Cyprus’. *The World Factbook*. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cy.html> (Accessed 18/02/2015).

island in case of national emergencies such as war. As an independent state, Cyprus became a member of the European Union in 2004 (Goutsos and Karyolemou, 2004, p. 4).

Nevertheless, many Greek-Cypriots were reluctant for Cyprus to become an independent state and wished for *enosis* ('union') with Greece, while the Turkish-Cypriot minority living in Cyprus asked for *taksim*, namely, the division of the island (Constantinou and Papadakis, 2001, p. 127). These conflicting positions between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities led to a coup by a group of Greek-Cypriot nationalists and subsequently, to the military invasion by Turkey which took place in 1974 (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 26). The Turkish invasion has marked Greek-Cypriot history as today, 37% of the island is under Turkish military occupation (the northern part of Cyprus; Richter, 2010, p. 194), which the Turkish government considers the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', a separate and independent state from the rest of Cyprus. This Republic, however, is a state recognised only by Turkey (Pollis, 1996, p. 72). As a result, 200,000 Greek-Cypriots were forced to abandon their properties in Northern Cyprus and were turned into refugees (Richter, 2010, p. 196). The Turkish occupation of the Northern part of Cyprus is the so-called 'Cyprus Problem' (Papadakis, Peristianis, and Welz, 2006, p. 1).

### **2.2.1 The languages of Cyprus**

With Cypriot independence in 1960, Greek and Turkish were selected and adopted as the official languages of the Cypriot Republic (Goutsos and Karyolemou, 2004, p. 5). Standard Modern Greek is also the official language of Greece and Standard Turkish is also the official language of Turkey (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou, and Kappler, 2011, pp. 506-507). The existence of these two official varieties in Cyprus has not led to the creation of a bilingual community, but to the development of two distinctly isolated linguistic communities with separate educational and administrative systems; the Turkish-speaking and the Greek-speaking communities. As there is no contact between the two, Turkish has no communicative purpose within the Greek-Cypriot community (Karyolemou, 2001, p. 27) and is spoken natively only by the Turkish-Cypriots living in Northern Cyprus. As the official languages of Cyprus, both SMG and Standard Turkish are used in formal government documents such as passports, government-issued identification cards, currency bills, and government-issued forms (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou, and Kappler, 2011, p. 526).

The Greek language or SMG is spoken in Greece and in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus as well as in other countries where there are Greek communities (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou, and Kappler, 2011, p. 506). Greece was a diglossic community before 1976; *katharevousa* was the high variety and *demotic* was the low variety (katharevousa and demotic were two forms of the Greek language). When Greek became one of the two official languages of Cyprus in 1960, katharevousa was selected as the official language of Cyprus. The Greek diglossia was abolished in 1976 and the demotic was established as the official language of Greece and therefore the official language of Cyprus (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 27). The use of SMG in Cyprus is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Although SMG and Turkish are the official languages of Cyprus, neither is the native variety of Greek-Cypriots. Greek-Cypriots are native speakers of the GC variety (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 27). Written texts in GC date back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Contosopoulos, 2001, pp. 20-21). GC is considered the only essentially living dialect of SMG at present and the only dialect to preserve the Medieval Greek grammar to a greater extent than other Greek dialects (Contosopoulos, 2001, pp. 20-21). GC is spoken natively in Cyprus and by Greek-Cypriots living abroad, particularly Greek-Cypriots living in the Greek-Cypriot community of London (Contosopoulos, 2001, p. 21). GC has adopted many loanwords from French and Italian which are adapted to the GC pronunciation as well as influences from Turkish and English (Contosopoulos, 2001, pp. 26-27). Although GC is a dialect of SMG, there is not always mutual intelligibility between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots (Arvaniti, 2006a, p. 4). That is, Greek-Cypriots are generally familiar with SMG as this is the official language of Cyprus, while it is unlikely that Greeks will be familiar with GC unless they are in contact with Greek-Cypriots.

Some of the main differences between SMG and GC are the following:

In syntax (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou, and Kappler, 2011, p. 569):

- clitic-second effects (the position of clitics) in GC such as είδες το [ides to] (clitics follow the verb) while in SMG το είδες [to ides] (clitics precede the verb) ‘you saw it’.

In lexicon (Contosopoulos, 2001, p. 25):

- the Cypriot lexicon is very rich in local words and expressions, from which many are ancient and different from SMG; for example, αθάσιν [athasin] in GC and αμύδαλο

[amygdalo] in SMG ‘almond’, πατίχα [patiha] in GC and καρπούζι [karpouzi] in SMG ‘watermelon’.

In pronunciation (Papapavlou, 2001, p. 499):

- the Cypriot pronunciation has four sounds which do not exist in SMG: /dʒ/ as in dʒe ‘and’, /z/ as in pyzames ‘pyjamas’, /ʃ/ as in eʃi ‘he/she has’, /tʃ/ as in tʃame ‘there’.

As Cyprus is a multilingual and a multicultural place, this study employs the term ‘Greek-Cypriot’ to refer to all Cypriots living in the Greek-speaking community of Cyprus because the term ‘Cypriot’ may also include ‘Turkish-Cypriots’, the citizens of the Turkish-Cypriot community of Cyprus. In addition, the term ‘Cyprus’ used throughout in this study denotes the Greek-Cypriot part of Cyprus which is the focus of this study and not the Turkish-Cypriot part of Cyprus. Traditionally, the term ‘speech community’ has been used to denote a group of people sharing linguistic behaviour or attitudes to language:

any human aggregate characterised by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage (Gumperz, 1990, p. 219)

and

the speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage (Labov, 1972, pp. 120-121).

The more recent term ‘Community of Practice’ has been proposed by Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998). In sociolinguistics, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet consider that the community of practice ‘is an aggregate of people who, united by a common enterprise, develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, and values – in short, practices’ (1999, p. 186). A community of practice is a group of people who share not only attitudes (beliefs and values), but also everyday behaviour (‘ways of doing things’) and linguistic behaviour (‘ways of talking’). An individual participates in various communities of practice such as family, sports team, church group and not only in communities of a common language practice, and negotiates identity by his/her participation in them (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1999, p. 188). Therefore, in this study, the term community of practice or Greek-Cypriot community will denote the group

of Greek-Cypriots who share attitudes, everyday behaviour, linguistic behaviour (speakers of SMG and GC) and practise and construct common linguistic and ethnic identities.

### **2.2.2 Language policy and education in Cyprus**

The educational system of Cyprus has certainly been influenced by the intense political and historical events that Cyprus has experienced (such as colonisation, independence, Turkish invasion and partition of the island; see section 2.2). During British colonisation (1878-1959), the Church of Cyprus followed the language education model of Greece as there was no formal education in Cyprus (Ioannidou, 2009a, p. 114). Since Cypriot Independence in 1960, SMG is the only language of state education in Cyprus and its use is considered as connecting Greek-Cypriots to their motherland Greece and the Greek ethnic identity, whereas GC has not been included in education either as a medium of communication or as a school topic for study (Ioannidou, 2009a, pp. 112-115 and 127). In other words, education in Cyprus promotes the use of SMG and the Greek ethnic identity. Nevertheless, when *katharevousa* was replaced by *demotic* in Greece in 1976, *demotic* also replaced *katharevousa* in Cyprus. With this replacement, the study of literary texts in Cypriot schools written in GC was introduced for the first time; however, the GC literary texts were viewed as pieces of national literary heritage and not as a means for *bidialectal* literacy (the teaching of both SMG and GC). In fact, no formal effort was ever made to introduce GC as a medium for school literacy (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou, and Kappler, 2011, pp. 529-530). The educational system of Cyprus has been almost identical to the one in Greece by adopting curricula and textbooks from Greece (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou, and Kappler, 2011, p. 529).

With reference to Cypriot education, the concepts of language planning and language policy need to be defined. Language planning is viewed ‘as deliberate, institutionally organised attempts at affecting the linguistic or sociolinguistic status or development of language’ (Nahir, 2003, p. 423) while language policy ‘refers to the more general linguistic, political and social goals underlying the actual language planning process’ (Deumert, 2004, p. 371). Language planners and policy makers (who adopt a top-down approach) define the status and development of a language to accomplish linguistic, political and social objectives. The most important feature of language policy and planning in Cyprus is the absence of official policy makers or related organisations;



therefore, issues associated with language policy and planning are generally consigned to the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC), to the Parliament, to political pressure groups and more rarely to the courts of law (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou, and Kappler, 2011, p. 520). According to the 2004 Language Education Policy Profile of Cyprus:

the language policy in Cyprus can be characterised as a covert policy because it has never been clearly articulated in an official declaration or decree nor is it presented in one specific, official, governmental document [...] Since the language policy in Cyprus is not overtly stated, the *role* and *use* [emphasis in original] of the Cypriot dialect to a large degree remains unclear (MOEC, 2004, p. 31).

Although language policy in Cyprus is covert and the status of GC has been overlooked, one circular from the Ministry of Education and Culture of Cyprus in 2002 referred to the teaching of SMG and to the existence of SMG variation, and specifically to GC, stating that GC can be used at school because it facilitates and enhances communication, particularly among very young students (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2005, pp. 167-168). In other words, that ministerial circular acknowledged GC as the students' mother tongue and officialised its use at school to facilitate learning (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2005, pp. 167-168). Even though language policy in Cyprus advises teachers to use SMG during the lessons, this is not always the case as SMG is not the students' mother tongue and GC features are present in the students' speech, as shown in this study and other studies such as Ioannidou (2009b) and Sophocleous (2011).

With the establishment of the University of Cyprus in the 1990s, the study of GC and its sociolinguistic status, particularly in the Cypriot classroom, has gained momentum (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou, and Kappler, 2011, p. 532). Specifically, an increasing number of linguistic studies have investigated the potential effects and benefits of the introduction of a bidialectal programme in Cyprus (Yiakoumetti, 2006, 2007; Tsiplakou, 2007; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2007; Papapavlou, 2010). In particular, Yiakoumetti (2007) studied the potentialities of bidialectal education (the use of both SMG and GC) in primary schools in Cyprus. The results of this study propose that the inclusion of GC in the classroom and the explicit instruction of the differences between SMG and GC help students separate the two varieties more effectively and, consequently, reduce the presence of dialectal features in the written performance of the standard (Yiakoumetti, 2007, pp. 62-63). Also, Papapavlou (2010, p. 135) points out that the introduction of bidialectal education in Cyprus where both SMG and GC are taught can elevate the status

of GC, enhance the students' linguistic abilities and enrich the students' self-esteem and confidence.

After Cyprus joined the European Union in 2004, the emergent changes in Cypriot society (such as the need for an intercultural education which accepts diversity, see Hajisoteriou and Angelides (2013)) called for a reform in the Cypriot educational system (MOEC, 2011, p. 346). Within the framework of this reform, changes are currently taking place which involve innovations to the conditions of school life, the learning procedures, the introduction of new courses, revision of the school curriculum and generally, the modernisation and upgrade of the educational system (MOEC, 2011, p. 346). Working groups of educationalists are currently creating teaching materials and textbooks for primary and secondary education in Cyprus (MOEC, 2013, p. 406), whereas before 2011, Cypriot schools adopted textbooks from Greece for free (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou, and Kappler, 2011, p. 529).

The new national curriculum for the Modern Greek language lesson introduces the study of GC in Cypriot schools as part of the SMG variation (MOEC, 2010, p. 11). According to Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou and Kappler (2011, p. 532), this is the first Greek language curriculum to adopt a clear and explicit stance towards standard language and dialect variation (although literary texts in GC are taught in Cypriot schools). The aim of the new language curriculum is for students to acquire a full structural overview of SMG and GC (phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon) to understand the similarities and differences between SMG and GC, to view GC as a variety with structure and systematicity in phonology, syntax, morphology and lexicon, and to be able to analyse mixed or multilingual texts and detect elements from other varieties (MOEC, 2010, p. 11). However, the absence of teaching materials in GC and a standardised GC orthography are some of the concerns of this new government project currently taking place in the Greek part of Cyprus (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou, and Kappler, 2011, p. 533).

### **2.3 The linguistic context of Cyprus**

The definition of the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus has been discussed at length and has been the subject of much debate as issues of ethnic identity and political ideology influence its definition. Some researchers consider the relationship between SMG and GC as diglossic (Arvaniti, 2006b; Tsiplakou, 2004, 2007; Themistocleous, 2005; Rowe and

Grohmann, 2013); for others it is bidialectal (Papapavlou, 1998; Yiakoumetti, 2006), while others consider it as bidialectal and diglossic without making the distinction between the two terms (McEntee-Atalianis and Pouloukas, 2001). Others consider the relationship between SMG and GC as a dialect continuum (Newton, 1972), and more recently as a register continuum (Tsiplakou *et al.*, 2006). In spite of the dichotomy between diglossia and bidialectism, the current dominant view, as found in the literature, is that the linguistic situation of Cyprus is bidialectal. These terms which are defined below are used by scholars to describe the linguistic situation of Cyprus.

To begin with, some researchers argue that the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus can be described as diglossic with SMG as the high variety (henceforth H) and GC as the low variety (henceforth L; Tsiplakou, 2007, p. 468), assuming that it has the features of classic diglossia as originally defined by Ferguson (1996a; the theory of diglossia is evaluated in Chapter 3). According to Ferguson's original definition:

*DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation* (1996a, pp. 34-35; italics in the original).

This study argues that the linguistic setting of Cyprus is diglossic (in agreement with Arvaniti, 2006b; Tsiplakou, 2004, 2007; Themistocleous, 2005; Rowe and Grohmann, 2013). For this reason, I examine first Ferguson's (1996a) description of diglossia before investigating the definitions given by other researchers on the linguistic context of Cyprus. The features of classic diglossia proposed by Ferguson (1996a), namely, acquisition, function, prestige, standardisation, stability, literary heritage, grammar, lexicon, and phonology as well as other features are presented below as they apply to the case of Cyprus.

#### *a) Acquisition*

In a diglossic situation, L is acquired natively by the speakers of the diglossic community, whereas H is learned by formal education and therefore, 'the speaker is at home in L to a degree he almost never achieves in H' (Ferguson, 1996a, p. 30). In the case of Cyprus,

GC is the native variety of Greek-Cypriots, whereas SMG is formally acquired through schooling (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 27). SMG is not known or used actively by Greek-Cypriots before they start school, that is, before the age of six; they do not feel that SMG is their own natural way of communicating and they view SMG as the variety used by ‘other’ Greeks, namely, mainland Greeks (Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004, p. 250). Therefore, the only contact that Greek-Cypriot children have with SMG before entering the educational system is normally through the media (such as television), kindergarten school, and with Greek family members or friends. Ferguson (1996a, p. 30) argues that any change toward full use of the H is unlikely to occur without any change in the pattern of acquisition. In other words, the Greek-Cypriots who wish to replace L with H must be willing to speak H to their children; otherwise, it is unlikely for such replacement to take place.

*b) Function*

According to Ferguson (1996a, pp. 27-28), function is one of the most essential features of diglossia. There is functional distribution between the H and L varieties; H is appropriate for one set of situations (formal situations such as education, religion, media, and politics) and L for another set of situations (informal situations such as family, friends, and poetry). In the case of Cyprus, SMG, the H variety, is used in formal domains and GC, the L variety, is used in informal domains. GC is not codified or standardised (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 27) and consequently, SMG is the variety used in writing. However, function applies differently in Cyprus as this study reveals (see Chapters 6 and 7) that GC may be used in a Romanised version (Latin characters) in informal text messaging and in informal e-chat and e-mail writing between Greek-Cypriots (the latter is also suggested by Themistocleous, 2005, p. 4).

The distribution of functions does not, however, entail that the two sets of situations never overlap (Ferguson, 1996a, pp. 27-28). Speakers may sometimes use H in situations where L would be required and vice-versa and for this reason, they may be criticised by their interlocutors; in other words, the use of H in an informal activity and the use of L in formal speech is ‘an object of ridicule’ (Ferguson, 1996a, p. 28). In the Greek-Cypriot community, speakers react negatively to unusual and inappropriate uses of the two varieties, and when Greek-Cypriots use SMG in situations which call for the use of GC, they describe this linguistic behaviour as *kalamarizo* which means ‘speak like a person from Greece’ (Arvaniti, 2006b, pp. 27-28; this also emerged in the interview data of this

study in Chapter 6). Table 2.1 below presents the domains of use for the H and L varieties in a diglossic situation according to Ferguson's (1996a, p. 28) list of functional distribution.

**Table 2.1 Distribution of H and L in possible domains**

<b>Domains</b>	<b>H</b>	<b>L</b>
Sermon in church or mosque	x	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		x
Personal letter	x	
Speech in parliament, political speech	x	
University lecture	x	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		x
News broadcast	x	
Radio 'soap opera'		x
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	X	
Caption on political cartoon		x
Poetry	X	
Folk literature (such as songs, proverbs, dramas which are transmitted by word of mouth)		x

Source: Ferguson (1996a, p. 28)

*c) Prestige*

When looking at prestige, diglossic speakers often view the H variety as superior to the L variety in several respects (Ferguson, 1996a, p. 29). That is, they often consider that H is in some way more beautiful, logical or expressive than L (Ferguson, 1996a, p. 29). In fact, previous studies on language attitudes in Cyprus show similar tendencies. Specifically, Greek-Cypriots tend to evaluate SMG and its speakers more favourably than GC in terms of ambition, education, attractiveness and so forth (Papapavlou, 1998, p. 22). Therefore, the H variety, in this case SMG, has a prestigious status, whereas GC, the L variety, lacks prestige.

*d) Standardisation*

Regarding standardisation, H varieties have traditionally been described in terms of grammars and dictionaries and have a well-established orthography and pronunciation (Ferguson, 1996a, pp. 30-31). Conversely, L varieties vary extensively in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, while descriptive and normative studies on L varieties either do not exist or are relatively recent and limited (Ferguson, 1996a, pp. 30-31). Likewise, SMG (the H variety) is standardised and codified, while GC (the L variety) is not (codified or standardised) to any extent (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 27), although it has been described by several linguists (such as Newton (1972) who described the phonetics and phonology of GC). There are also several etymological and semantic dictionaries of GC such as Yiagoullis (2005). As noted in section 2.2.2, the interest in the study of GC has increased over the last two decades due to the establishment of state and private universities in Cyprus. Also, the current changes in the educational curriculum of Cyprus, which for the first time includes GC in education, may yield the creation of more grammars and dictionaries of GC; in fact, a grammar of contemporary GC is being written by Tsiplakou, Coutsougera, and Pavlou (forthcoming).

*e) Stability*

Diglossia is a rather stable situation as it has been in place for at least several centuries (Ferguson, 1996a, p. 31). Nevertheless, diglossia may result in adopting either the H or the L as the single standard language of the community. For example, if trends appear in the community such as people desiring for more widespread literacy, wider communication among regional and social sections of the community, and for a full-grown standard national language, then diglossia may result in the adoption of either the H or the L and to a lesser extent, a mixed variety (Ferguson, 1996a, pp. 36-37). In the case of Greece, for example, the decline of diglossia resulted in the abolition of katharevousa as the high variety and the adoption of demotic, the L variety as the only standard language of Greece (see Alexiou (1982) on Greek diglossia).

With reference to the diglossic situation in Cyprus, it is claimed that it has been stable for over a century (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 27) since SMG was already the variety used in education in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Karoulla-Vrikki, 2004, p. 22). According to Ferguson (1996a, p. 31), communicative tensions are created between the H and L varieties which are reduced with the development and use of intermediate forms of the language and

borrowing of vocabulary from the H into the L variety. In Cyprus, research claims that there is a shift from a dialect continuum to a register continuum where various styles between GC and SMG exist (see below). In the case of diglossia in Cyprus, if indeed it is so, these GC registers could be the intermediate forms that Ferguson (1996a) refers to in his definition.

*f) Literary heritage*

With reference to literary heritage, a significant amount of written work usually exists in H which has been either produced in the history of the community or continues to be produced in another speech community in which H is the standard variety of the language (Ferguson, 1996a, pp. 29-30). In the case of Cyprus, written work in the H variety, SMG, is mainly produced in Greece, where SMG is also the official and standard language; this literature is taught in Cypriot schools. Nowadays, written work in SMG created by Greek-Cypriots is also growing gradually (there are also literary texts in GC which are taught in Cypriot schools; see section 2.2.2).

*g) Grammar, lexicon and phonology*

There are extensive differences in the grammatical structures of H and L varieties although they are forms of the same language. The grammar of L is normally simpler than the grammar of H, and certain grammatical categories of H are not present in L. With regard to lexicon, most of the vocabulary of H and L is shared with variations in form, use and meaning; technical terms exist only in H, while the popular expressions in L do not exist in H. There are paired items (lexical doublets) with one word in H and the other word in L (Ferguson, 1996a, pp. 33-34). Ferguson (1996a, p. 34) does not provide a general description for the phonology of H and L varieties in diglossia as the phonology systems of the two varieties may be quite similar, quite different, or very different. The differences between SMG and GC in grammar, lexicon and pronunciation are presented in section 2.2.1.

A condition of diglossia posited by Ferguson (1996b, p. 57) is that the H and L varieties have to be varieties of the same language and that speakers should always consider them as such. This applies to the case of Cyprus as GC is a dialect of SMG (GC is not codified or standardised to any extent) and Greek-Cypriot students consider GC to be a dialect of SMG (see Chapters 6 and 7); this is why other theories of diglossia such as Fishman's (1980;

see Chapter 3), in which unrelated languages can also be in a diglossic relationship, cannot be considered applicable to this study. I propose that Cyprus cannot be described as a bilingual society as the Cypriot linguistic context involves the use of two varieties of the same language (GC is a dialect of SMG) and not the use of two different varieties.

Despite the definition of the linguistic situation of Cyprus as diglossic, research suggests that there is a reluctance to characterise the Greek-Cypriot community as diglossic. Specifically, Arvaniti (2006b, pp. 29-31) claims that the diglossic situation in Cyprus seems to be stable because it is not officially recognised. Specifically, Arvaniti (2006b, pp. 29-31) argues that because of the socio-economic and socio-political conditions of Cyprus (such as modernisation, high literacy, and prosperity), diglossia should have been resolved either in favour of SMG or more possibly in favour of GC. Arvaniti (2006b, p. 31) states that there is a reluctance in Cyprus in both the press and other publications such as scholarly articles to characterise the linguistic situation as diglossic (such as in Papapavlou's 1998 or Yiakoumetti's 2006 articles). The denial of diglossia is often found in newspaper articles highlighting the 'bad' use of SMG by Greek-Cypriot speakers, their 'mistakes', and the 'correct' use of SMG; these authors appear not to acknowledge that GC can affect the use of SMG in Cyprus, a phenomenon expected in a diglossic situation (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 31). If the community of Cyprus were recognised as diglossic, the presence of GC features in SMG would possibly not be perceived as mistakes, but as influence from the mother tongue, GC, in the production of the standard, SMG.

This study suggests (also in agreement with Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 32) that the reluctance to define the community of Cyprus as diglossic may be due to the misinterpretation of the term itself and its implications for Greek-Cypriots' ethnic identity. In particular, the reluctance of some scholars to describe Cyprus as a diglossic community may be due to the translation of the term diglossia in SMG. The term *diglossia* is translated in SMG as 'διμορφία' [dimorfia], namely, two forms of the same language, while the term *bilingualism*, namely, two different languages, is translated as 'διγλωσσία' [diglosia] (which sounds exactly as the English term diglossia; Babiniotis, 2008, p. 500). According to Babiniotis (2008, p. 500), the Greek term διγλωσσία [diglosia] 'bilingualism' was erroneously used to describe the relationship between katharevousa and demotic in Greece (diglossia abolished in 1976), which were two forms of the same language, that is, διμορφία [dimorfia] ('diglossia').



A similar confusion of the two terms (the translation of diglossia and bilingualism in SMG) may also be the case in Cyprus. In other words, diglossia is not recognised by the Greek-Cypriot community as its translation in SMG may inaccurately indicate bilingualism and therefore, any implication that SMG and GC are different languages could have a negative impact on Greek-Cypriots in terms of ethnic identity; that is, it could imply that Greeks and Greek-Cypriots are ethnically distinct (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 25). The significance of this is that language and ethnicity are greatly connected in the Greek-Cypriot community as Greek-Cypriots generally define their ethnic identity mainly through the use of SMG (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 25). Ethnic identity can be defined as a 'construct or set of self-ideas about one's own ethnic group membership' (Bernal *et al.*, 1990, p. 4). As a result, the reluctance to officially recognise the existence of diglossia in Cyprus (which is translated as bilingualism, entailing SMG and GC being different languages and, consequently, a different ethnicity between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots) could be the reason why such diglossia is stable. Otherwise, the aforementioned socio-economic and political conditions of Cyprus could have led to its demise and the use of either SMG or GC, as suggested by Arvaniti (2006b).

Reluctance to recognise diglossia in Cyprus is also found in articles stressing that the Greek-Cypriot community is bidialectal (Papapavlou, 1998, 2004, 2010; Pavlou and Christodoulou, 2001; Yiakoumetti, 2006, 2007; Pavlou, 2007) and not diglossic, whereas the justification for this claim is often contradictory as shown below. Bidialectalism or bidialectism is 'a term which refers to proficiency in the use by a person or a community of two dialects of a language, whether regional or social' (Crystal, 2003, p. 50). Papapavlou (1998, p. 18) for example, claims that the linguistic situation of Cyprus is bidialectal and not diglossic, and explains that Greek-Cypriots are able to express themselves in the two varieties, SMG and GC, with some difficulties in the formal variety, SMG. To support this characterisation, Papapavlou (1998, p. 18) stresses that there is neither a distinction between H and L variety in Cyprus nor between a classical and a colloquial form of SMG as Greek-Cypriots use GC in their everyday activities and switch to SMG in certain situations such as when they want to appear sophisticated or when speaking with mainland Greeks. In fact, this does not show that Cyprus is not diglossic as Greek-Cypriots may switch to SMG when speaking to mainland Greeks for effective communication (see accommodation theory in Chapter 3) as there is not always mutual

intelligibility if the Greek speaker has not been in contact with GC (Arvaniti, 2006a, p. 4).

Papapavlou (1998, p. 18) further argues that the Greek-Cypriot community cannot be diglossic because there is no group of speakers exclusively using SMG and another group of speakers exclusively using GC. However, this is not a convincing argument to demonstrate that the Greek-Cypriot community is not diglossic because restriction of literacy to a small elite is a condition, which can give rise to diglossia, but it is not a defining feature of diglossia (Ferguson, 1996a, p. 36). In a diglossic situation, H is learned through formal education (Ferguson, 1996a, p. 30) and, consequently, people with no access to education will possibly not be competent in the H variety. According to Karoulla-Vrikki (2004), Cyprus was diglossic or *triglossic* (use of three linguistic varieties) during the period of British colonisation (1878-1959) as the H varieties were both *katharevousa* and *demotic* (this was gradually gaining ground) and ‘competence among Greek-Cypriots in the mainland Greek varieties depended on the limited opportunities of education and contacts with Greece’ (Karoulla-Vrikki, 2004, p. 22). This suggests that in the past, diglossia in Cyprus was different to today as education was limited to certain people (possibly to a small elite) and knowledge of the H variety was therefore limited. This condition possibly gave rise to the Cypriot diglossia.

Nevertheless, as everybody has the right to formal education today (schooling is obligatory from the age of six<sup>2</sup> in Cyprus), restriction of literacy is a characteristic of diglossia no longer found in Cyprus (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 28). There is no group of speakers exclusively using SMG and another group using GC because literacy in Cyprus is high (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 28). Besides learning SMG at school, many Greek-Cypriots have contact with SMG through the media (such as the press, television, radio and the Internet) or through interactions with native Greek people. This is a case of what Ferguson (1996b, p. 61) calls an ‘idealised’ case of diglossia where everybody speaks both varieties.

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<sup>2</sup> MOEC (no date) *Department of Primary Education*. Available at: <http://www.moec.gov.cy/dde/en/> (Accessed on 20/01/2015).

Similar reluctance to define the community of Cyprus as diglossic is found in Yiakoumetti's (2006) study which describes the linguistic situation of Cyprus as bidialectal. Yiakoumetti (2006) argues that bidialectalism can be related to diglossia and explains that SMG and GC are linguistically related varieties. In her view, diglossia describes the use of 'two distinct language varieties based on functional separation' in a society (Yiakoumetti, 2006, p. 298); therefore, diglossia is not the case of Cyprus because SMG and GC are linguistically related and not distinct varieties. However, Yiakoumetti's description of diglossia is not accurate because in Ferguson's (1996a, pp. 25-36) original formulation of diglossia, the term *diglossia* is restricted to the use of two or more varieties of the same language. Yiakoumetti (2006, p. 298), in agreement with Papapavlou (1998), further states that in contrast to 'other diglossic situations' Greek-Cypriot speakers use both varieties and there is no evident tendency for one social group to use a certain variety more than another social group. By using 'other diglossic situations', Yiakoumetti (2006, p. 298) contradicts herself as she acknowledges that the linguistic situation of Cyprus may be diglossic. Likewise, in her description, Yiakoumetti (2006, p. 298) notes that SMG and GC 'occupy different domains of usage'; that is, GC is mainly used for oral communication, whereas SMG is used for written production and for the oral production of written material. In other words, this scholar's view is that there is functional differentiation between the two varieties. In Ferguson's (1996a, pp. 27-28) description of diglossia, functional differentiation is an important feature of diglossia.

Although the Greek-Cypriot community is often described as bidialectal (and not as diglossic), the concepts of diglossia and bidialectalism are not clearly distinguished. As a result, confusion between the two concepts is sometimes found in articles that treat them as synonymous. For example, articles are found stating that 'the diglossic, or bidialectal situation in Cyprus is rather different' (McEntee-Atalianis and Pouloukas, 2001, p. 20). Similarly, the scholars (such as Yiakoumetti, 2006, and Papapavlou, 1998) who emphasise that the Greek-Cypriot community is not a case of diglossia, do not specify whether they refer to Ferguson's (1996a) classic diglossia where two or more varieties of the same language are used, or to Fishman's (1980, 2003) extended model of diglossia where two or more related or unrelated languages coexist (see Chapter 3). In any case, whether Greek-Cypriots wish to define their ethnic identity by the use of SMG or not, describing Cyprus as a diglossic community should not entail distinct ethnicity between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots as GC is a dialect of SMG (see section 2.2.1).

With regard to bidialectalism, although its name implies a link to bilingualism, in sociolinguistics, ‘no one has seriously investigated whether humans are capable of maintaining two dialects in the same ways they can maintain two languages’ (Hazen, 2001, pp. 85-88). Hazen (2001, pp. 91-92) argues that ‘no speaker has the ability to switch between two dialects as coherent sets of language variation patterns with quantitative and qualitative accuracy to both dialects’. In other words, in Hazen’s terms (2001, pp. 90-92), for bidialectalism to exist, the speaker must be able to acquire the features of the second dialect permanently, not replace the original features and be able to use the features of both dialects in a mutually exclusive way. Therefore, for Greek-Cypriots to be bidialectal, they need to be able to master SMG and GC in a mutually exclusive way; that is, code switch from one variety to the other without code mixing between the two. This is not always possible in the case of Cyprus and, as Papapavlou (1998, p. 18) states, Greek-Cypriots switch to SMG in their everyday interactions, but not always successfully. Leivada, Mavroudi and Epistithiou (2010, pp. 98-100) consider true bidialectals the binational children, namely, those born in Greece or Cyprus having one parent from each country and who are native speakers of both SMG and GC. In agreement with this, these speakers are possibly equally competent in both varieties since they are native speakers of both varieties. Although Greek-Cypriots do not acquire both varieties natively, they may become competent in both varieties later in life; that is, they may become bidialectal.

In addition, Crystal states that bidialectalism:

is a principle propounded in sociolinguistics and educational linguistics [...] Bidialectalism recommends that both non-standard and standard dialects should be encouraged in the educational process, along with the fostering of children’s abilities to use code switching, thus developing a greater degree of understanding and control over the varieties of their language than would otherwise be the case (2003, p. 50).

Studies seem to deal with bidialectalism as an educational approach rather than setting clear boundaries of what bidialectalism may be (Hazen, 2001, p. 87). In the case of Cyprus, studies were concerned with the benefits of bidialectal education, aimed at developing a bidialectal ability (if this actually exists; Hazen, 2001, p. 90). Specifically, research has shown that the explicit identification of differences between SMG and GC enhances performance in the target variety, SMG (Yiakoumetti, 2006, p. 312). Studies of this kind should be considered as successfully having an impact since the educational curriculum is currently changing in Cyprus. The structural form of GC is being introduced

in education (in the Modern Greek lesson) for students to separate the two systems, aiming greater performance in the two varieties and particularly in SMG (see section 2.2.2). In view of the above considerations, I suggest that the term ‘bidialectism’ is best viewed as an educational approach rather than a term defining a linguistic situation; in the case of Cyprus, education may become bidialectal if both varieties are used alongside in the learning process.

Besides diglossia and bidialectism, the relationship between SMG and GC has also been described in terms of a dialect continuum, namely, linguistic variation as existing between different geographical areas (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980, p. 6). Ferguson (1996b, p. 56) states that in a diglossic situation, a dialect or register continuum may exist either in the H or in the L variety. In the case of Cyprus, GC has been described as a geographical continuum divided into regional idioms or basilects, collectively called *Village Cypriot* or *horkatika* (‘peasant’) and *Town Cypriot* (Newton, 1972, pp. 19 and 109). While GC previously formed a dialect continuum, recent research (Tsiplakou *et al.*, 2006, pp. 266-267) on the linguistic situation of Cyprus suggests that this is best described as a register continuum because certain aspects of the current GC show signs of levelling and koineisation. Levelling corresponds to:

the reduction of structural variation – of both quantitative, internal variation *and* (either categorical or quantitative) differences between varieties of a language, say, dialects (Hinskens, 1998, p. 35).

This means that various regional features are being lost and a Cypriot koine is formed which shows some influences from SMG, particularly at the phonetic and morphological levels; however, some forms are the same in both varieties, whereas some others diverge (Tsiplakou *et al.*, 2006, pp. 266-267). A koine can be defined as:

the stabilised result of mixing of linguistic subsystems such as regional or literary dialects. It usually serves as a lingua franca among speakers of the different contributing varieties and is characterised by a mixture of features of these varieties and most often by reduction or simplification in comparison (Siegel, 1985, p. 363).

Tsiplakou *et al.* (2006, pp. 269-270) propose that at one end of the GC register continuum there is *vareta kypriaka*, ‘heavy Cypriot’, or *horkatika*, ‘peasant’ (a generally regional register), followed by *sosta*, *sistarismena kypriaka*, ‘correct, tidied-up Cypriot’, and *evgenika kypriaka*, ‘polite Cypriot’. There is also *kalamaristika* SMG, ‘speak like a person from Greece’ (often used as a pejorative term for SMG), a variety outside the

continuum (Tsiplakou *et al.*, 2006, p. 270). Tsiplakou *et al.* (2006, p. 265) suggest that levelling and koineisation influence the stability of the diglossic situation in Cyprus between SMG and GC as the more formal registers of GC show code mixing and code switching between the two varieties, in addition to new mixed forms and structures. In addition to this, Tsiplakou *et al.* (2006, p. 266) argue that the classic diglossic model of Ferguson (1996a) does not fully apply to the sociolinguistic situation of Cyprus as in his definition of diglossia, the two varieties are functionally distinct (formal versus informal), whereas in the case of Cyprus, GC is sometimes used in the media (see Pavlou, 2004) or in education (similar findings are found in this study).

The GC register continuum as described by Tsiplakou *et al.* (2006) can also include the variety called ‘Cypriot Standard Greek’ which, according to Arvaniti (2006a, p. 2), is the form that SMG takes in Cyprus. Arvaniti (2006a, p. 2) challenges the assumption that the SMG used in Cyprus is not different from the SMG used in Greece and finds that, in spite of the increased contact between Cyprus and Greece in recent years, the SMG used in Cyprus has diverged from, rather than converged towards, the SMG used in Greece. Arvaniti (2006a, p. 2) reasons that SMG in Cyprus is diverging from SMG in Greece possibly because Greek-Cypriots are not aware of the differences between the two and when Cypriot Standard Greek is used, they perceive it as SMG. The current introduction of the explicit teaching of the differences between SMG and GC in the Modern Greek lesson in Cypriot schools will possibly help Greek-Cypriot students distinguish the two varieties.

Having distinguished the case of Cyprus from bidialectism (this is best viewed as an educational approach) and bilingualism (this deals with different languages), it is more difficult to distinguish the Cypriot context from other sociolinguistic situations which deal with varieties of the same language such as standard-with-dialects situation. Specifically, the co-presence of SMG and GC could imply that the linguistic situation of Cyprus is a standard-with-dialects situation in which there is a standard variety in the community with a range of regional and social dialect variation where *some people speak the standard natively* (my emphasis) and use it in everyday interactions, while for others it is superposed on their local dialect (Ferguson, 1996b, pp. 51-52). Furthermore, in standard-with-dialects situations, parents generally want their children to speak the standard variety as this shows advanced education (Rowe and Grohmann, 2013, p. 131).

As noticed earlier in this section, in Cyprus, SMG is not spoken natively by Greek-Cypriots, nor is it used in everyday interactions among Greek-Cypriots. Evidence of this is found in the questionnaire data (see Chapter 7) and interview data (see Chapter 6) of this study where most students report using GC and not SMG at home and with family members, with friends and in everyday informal interactions; the use of GC in these domains suggests that GC is their mother tongue.

Nevertheless, it is possible that some Greek-Cypriots learn SMG natively, particularly those who have a Greek parent. In fact, it is suggested that Cyprus can move to a standard-with-dialects situation if SMG starts affecting the functions of GC due to the presence of native SMG speakers (mainland Greeks) in Cyprus and their children (Rowe and Grohmann, 2013, p. 130). Also, the fact that Greek-Cypriots sometimes switch to SMG when their interlocutor is a native Greek speaker (as emerged in the data analysis; see Chapter 6) could imply a standard-with-dialects situation, as the choice of variety is not defined by the domain (as in a case of diglossia) but by an individual choice, for example, the choice to speak SMG. Yet, this should be considered as an exception because it is an accommodation strategy (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991), aiming at mutual intelligibility. Explicitly, most Greek-Cypriot students report switching to SMG when speaking with mainland Greeks when Greeks have difficulty in understanding GC; if they are familiar with GC, students report using this variety with Greeks (see Chapter 6). Therefore, I suggest that the linguistic context of Cyprus is not a standard-with-dialects situation for the reason that SMG is not spoken natively by Greek-Cypriots unless they have a Greek parent.

On the whole, the diglossic situation of Cyprus, if indeed it is so, may not be stable in the future as the following phenomena – suggesting that Cyprus may be experiencing a new dimension of diglossia – possibly affect its stability. For example, the existence of a Cypriot koine (resulting from the levelling of regional dialects) and the register continuum; the increasing interest in the study of GC and its possible introduction in Cypriot education (see section 2.2.2); and, the use of GC in Internet communication writing and informal text messaging (see Chapter 7). In other words, although this study argues that the linguistic setting of Cyprus is diglossic for the aforementioned reasons, it is nevertheless possible that Cyprus may in the future experience a transition from diglossia to a case of attenuated diglossia or even diaglossia as Rowe and Grohmann

(2013) suggest. Attenuated diglossia has two forms: in the first one, the old dialects have levelled out often under the influence of a standard variety (this variety may be de-standardised in some cases) and a dialect continuum and a distinct standard continuum exist. In the second one, the close contact between the two distinct systems results in code switching and code mixing between standard and dialect, intermediate forms and a dialect/standard continuum arise, and therefore the distribution of domains is abandoned (Auer, 2005b, pp. 21-22).

In diaglossia, the repertoire is characterised by intermediate forms between the dialect and the standard language; the space between the two is typically characterised by standard/dialect continuum. In diaglossia, there is levelling between the base dialects and speakers can change their way of speaking without a clear and sudden point of transition between dialect and standard (Auer, 2005b, pp. 26-27). According to Auer (2005b, p. 26), diaglossia is likely to be today the most widespread relationship between dialect and standard in Europe. Rowe and Grohmann (2013, p. 134) argue that the present day situation of Cyprus is diglossic, although the increasing use of GC indicates, in Auer's (2005b) terms, attenuated diglossia, while the use of fewer basilectal forms indicates diaglossia. These are phenomena which the Greek-Cypriot community may experience in the future as the present diglossic situation in Cyprus shows increased use of GC, levelling and koinisation.

## **2.4 Concluding remarks**

The objective of this chapter was to present the historical, political and linguistic situation of Cyprus and the relationship between history, language and ethnicity in the general Cypriot context. This chapter also examined the debate in the literature on the definition of the linguistic context of Cyprus, and argued that the Greek-Cypriot community is diglossic, given that most of the features of diglossia as originally defined by Ferguson (1996a) are applicable (except for function which does not fully apply to the case of Cyprus). Nevertheless, I suggest that certain characteristics of the present state of Cyprus (such as levelling and koinisation or the increasing use of GC) may influence the stability of Cypriot diglossia in the future. The linguistic situation of Cyprus defined in Chapter 8 after the data analysis will provide evidence for a more definite view of the Greek-Cypriot community.



### **Chapter 3: Multilingualism and diglossia**

Having established the various views of the linguistic context of Cyprus and the definition of the linguistic situation of Cyprus proposed in this study, this chapter firstly discusses relevant terms for this study such as bilingualism, code switching and communication accommodation theory, and then presents an evaluation of the literature (on the theory) of diglossia. As noted in Chapter 2, this study proposes that the linguistic context of Cyprus is diglossic assuming that it has the features of classic diglossia as originally defined by Ferguson (1996a). For this reason, this chapter examines further the concept of diglossia as described by Ferguson (1996a) and Fishman (1980), and then proceeds with various critiques of diglossia.

#### **3.1 Multilingualism and language choice**

Bilingualism or multilingualism describes the case when speakers of different languages come into contact with one another for reasons such as politics, economy, education, religion, relationships (Wei, 2000, pp. 3-5). In multilingual settings, a single population uses two or more distinct varieties for purposes of internal communication (Fishman, 1965, p. 67). Bilingualism is the most common form of multilingualism where a speaker is able to speak two languages (Salzmann, 2007, p. 181), and emerges from the simplest need to communicate across speech communities (Edwards, 1994, p. 1). According to Fishman (1969, p. 153) a bilingual community can be bilingually balanced, that is, speakers may use both varieties fluently, or bilingually imbalanced, that is, speakers may not possess the same proficiency in each variety.

The concept of bilingualism has been extended from being ‘the native-like control of two languages’ (Bloomfield, 1984, p. 56) to include speakers’ ability to produce meaningful sentences in a language besides their first (Salzmann, 2007, p. 181). In other words, a multilingual/bilingual speaker was initially considered able to master two languages equally as a native speaker of both languages, while later the term was extended and therefore, the bilingual speaker does not necessarily have equal mastery in both languages. Auer (1988, p. 191) proposes an examination of bilingualism as a set of linguistic activities as bilingualism is a feature displayed in speaker’s everyday behaviour and is no longer viewed as something inside the speaker’s head. In other words, bilingualism is not a property of the individual, but a linguistic behaviour that an

individual exhibits in interactions; bilingual speakers choose one variety or the other in interactions with other speakers.

An influential work on language choice is the study of Blom and Gumperz (2000, pp. 112-113 and 126) on language choice between the dialect *Ranamål* and the standard language *Bokmål* in Hemnesberget in northern Norway, which introduces a model based on two types of code switching: situational and metaphorical switching. Situational switching refers to the switch from one variety to another because of a change of situation or participants within the same setting. To illustrate this, teachers report that formal lectures take place in *Bokmål* and when they wish to encourage and invite students to open discussion, they shift to *Ranamål* (Blom and Gumperz, 2000, p. 126). Metaphorical switching refers to the change of topic or subject matter but there is no change in social situation. For example, the exchanges between residents and clerks in a clerk's office in Hemnesberget normally involve the use of the dialect for greeting and inquiries about family affairs, while the business part is in the standard variety. In other words, two or more different relationships are enacted amongst the same set of individuals (Blom and Gumperz, 2000, p. 127). Blom and Gumperz's model of code switching has shown how speakers alternate between varieties because of a change of situation, participants or topic.

Each language in a multilingual community is related to specific social roles, which Myers-Scotton (1986) calls 'rights and obligations'. That means that language choice is viewed as 'indexical of a set of rights and obligations holding between participants in a conversational exchange' (Myers-Scotton, 1986, pp. 403- 404). Social relationship refers to 'regular patterns or types of interaction' (Gumperz, 1964, p. 139); these social interactions are carried out by individuals who are holders of statuses defined in terms of rights and obligations, and each status is related to fairly well-defined norms of behaviour. For example, an individual can be an employer, a father and so forth (Gumperz, 1964, p. 139). To put it differently, language choices occur within a normative framework, and norms do not define the language choices that speakers make but determine the markedness of choice (Myers-Scotton, 1986, p. 404). According to Myers-Scotton's (1986, pp. 404-405) markedness model, most exchanges are conventionalised (norms of choice are applied) and therefore, the unmarked choice made by the speakers is the acceptable choice as it applies to the conventions of the exchange. On the other hand, the marked choice made by the speakers is the non-acceptable choice, the one that does not

apply to the norms of the exchange. For example, in situational switching, when a speaker uses the standard variety in situations where the dialect is more appropriate, there is a violation of commonly accepted norms that changes the member's perception of the event (Blom and Gumperz, 2000, p. 126). Conversely, in a situation where norms are not established, unmarked choices are not clear; in this case, any linguistic choice is exploratory and possible to become the index of a mutually acceptable relationship, that is, the unmarked choice (Myers-Scotton, 1986, p. 404). Appropriateness, 'the required sense of relation to contextual features' (Hymes, 1976, p. 285), determines the markedness of a choice.

Similar to the concepts of situational and metaphorical code switching and markedness where the use of one variety over the other is associated with accepted norms of appropriateness, Fishman (1965) introduced the concept of domain analysis, which involves language use in multilingual settings. Specifically, Fishman (1965, pp. 67-68) considers that habitual language choice is not random; that is, a speaker's use of one language rather than another is based on the evaluation of the factors influencing language choice in multilingual settings, for example domain, which Fishman defines as:

a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture, in such a way that *individual behaviour and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other* (italics in the original; 1965, p. 75).

For Fishman (1965, pp. 73-75), domains are institutional contexts (such as family, religion, and work), particularly influenced by two factors, topic and role-relations. Specifically, a topic can be a regulator of language use in multilingual contexts as speakers may use one variety when they speak about a topic such as family, but switch to another variety when they discuss another topic such as the economy or politics (Fishman, 1965, p. 71). This implies that some topics may be handled better in one variety than in another in certain multilingual settings (Fishman, 1965, p. 71). Moreover, each domain can be distinguished by role-relations (between interlocutors) that are 'specifically crucial or typical of it in particular societies at particular times' such as teacher-pupil or employer-employee (Fishman, 1965, pp. 76-77). In general, Fishman's concept of domain suggests that one variety may be more appropriate than another to one domain.

Furthermore, Gumperz (1977, pp. 1-2) uses the term ‘conversational code switching’ to refer to the alternation of passages of speech between two different grammatical systems or subsystems within the same conversation without a change in the situation (situational switching) or the topic (metaphorical switching). In other words, this can be the general definition of code switching; that is, the switching from one variety to another in the same exchange. A rather different distinction of code switching is made by Auer (1988, p. 192), who distinguishes between participant-related switching and discourse-related switching. In participant-related switching, participants code switch to display an imbalanced bilingual competence (for example, the speakers switch to the language they are more competent in as they lack competence in the other language) or preference for one language over the other (Auer, 1988, pp. 195-196). This type of switching is not related to the topic or the situation of communication. In discourse-related switching, which Gumperz (1982) calls contextualisation strategy, participants code switch to indicate a change of conversational context (for example, a change in mode of interaction, from a formal interview to a casual interaction; Auer, 1988, p. 199).

With regard to the motivation for language choice, Giles, Coupland and Coupland (1991) developed the communication accommodation theory (CAT). Two basic notions are central to CAT. The first is *convergence*, which is defined as a strategy whereby speakers accommodate their communicative behaviour to that of their interlocutors by reducing the differences in communication (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p. 7). In other words, convergence is one of the strategies that speakers may adopt to become more similar to their interlocutor. CAT suggests that speakers are motivated to converge by their need for social integration, social approval or identification with their interlocutors. Social approval in particular is considered a trigger for convergence, especially when speakers know or have experienced the positive cognitive, affective, and behavioural outcomes of convergence (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p. 18). In the case of Cyprus, for example, Greek-Cypriot speakers may switch or accommodate to the speech of their Greek interlocutors for effective communication or to identify with them to express that they are similar because they speak the same variety.

The second notion of CAT is *divergence*, whereby speakers accentuate the differences between themselves and their interlocutors (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p. 8). Therefore, the speakers who diverge from their interlocutors may wish to separate

themselves from identification with certain social and attitudinal values associated with their interlocutors; in other words, they do not have a desire for affiliation (Giles, 1973, pp. 92-93). In the case of Cyprus, Greek-Cypriot speakers may diverge from the speech of their Greek interlocutors to disaffiliate and distance themselves from Greeks.

Convergence and divergence have two directions of mobility: upward and downward. Upward convergence and divergence refers to the shift a speaker makes towards a consensually prestigious variety (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p. 11). For example, Greek-Cypriot speakers may converge to the more prestigious variety, SMG, used by their interlocutor or diverge from their interlocutor who is using a basilectal form of GC, and shift to SMG. On the other hand, downward convergence and divergence refers to a shift towards more stigmatised or less socially appreciated forms in context (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p. 11). Greek-Cypriots converge their acrolectal GC speech to the basilectal GC speech used by their interlocutor, or diverge from the acrolectal use of GC or SMG used by their interlocutor to a more basilectal form of GC.

### **3.2 Ferguson's diglossia**

A diglossic situation may involve variation within the same language; that is, Ferguson's (1996a) concept of classic diglossia, or different languages as in Fishman's (1980) concept of extended diglossia. Although the French term 'diglossie' was originally introduced by Marçais (1930), it was Charles Ferguson (1996a) who later developed the concept of diglossia as applied to H and L varieties (Kaye, 2001, p. 117). In his original article on diglossia, Ferguson's (1996a, pp. 25-26) aim was to examine a linguistic situation where two or more varieties of a language, that is, two genetically related varieties, the H variety and the L variety, are used alongside each other in a speech community with each having a definite role to play. In Ferguson's (1996a, pp. 30-32; this is a reprint of the 1959 original article) definition, H is described as a highly codified and complex variety, literarily rich and used for formal purposes. L is grammatically simpler and used for informal purposes such as ordinary conversations (Ferguson, 1996a, pp. 30-32).

Although Ferguson (1996a, pp. 26 and 35) states that diglossia is not restricted to any geographical region or language family, to examine and define the concept of diglossia he chose four speech communities and their languages (Arabic, Greek, Swiss German,

and Haitian Creole), which fulfilled the criteria of diglossia. Based on his research in the diglossic cases of Arabic, Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole, Ferguson (1996a, p. 26) states that for a community to be diglossic, it must meet the nine characteristic features of acquisition, function, prestige, standardisation, stability, literary heritage, grammar, lexicon, and phonology. These features are described in detail in Chapter 2 (see section 2.3) as they apply in the case of Cyprus.

Besides its nine defining features, Ferguson (1996a, p. 36) maintains that diglossia may arise when three conditions exist in a speech community: the existence of a large body of literature written in the H variety which represents significant values of the community; literacy in the speech community is restricted to a small elite; an appropriate period of time goes from the establishment of the first two conditions (diglossia takes time to develop). In general, Ferguson's (1996a) original concept of diglossia is sharply contrasted with bilingualism as he limits the concept of diglossia to the use of two or more varieties of the same language in a community; he did not intend to examine a situation where distinct languages are used in a community alongside with allocated roles (Ferguson, 1996b, p. 57).

### **3.2.1 Fishman's diglossia and further extensions of the concept**

Following Ferguson's (1996a) original description of a diglossic situation where two or more varieties of the same language are used, the concept of diglossia has been further examined by many scholars who applied the term to describe other linguistic situations. Specifically, Fishman (1980, p. 6) has extended Ferguson's original formulation of diglossia and proposed the following four possible types of relationships between diglossia and bilingualism:

- a. 'Both diglossia and bilingualism' describes a situation where two linguistic varieties exist in a community, the H and L varieties, which are functionally distributed as in diglossia (Fishman, 1980, pp. 6-7). Fishman (2003, p. 360) exemplifies this with the linguistic situation of H German and L Swiss German in Switzerland (varieties of the same language), and the linguistic situation in Paraguay of Spanish and Guarani (different languages). Although almost everybody speaks both varieties, Spanish, H, is used in domains such as education, religion and government, while Guarani, L, is used for intimacy and primary group solidarity.

- b. 'Diglossia without bilingualism' is a situation where 'two or more speech communities are united religiously, politically or economically into a single functioning unit notwithstanding the socio-cultural cleavages that separate them' (Fishman, 2003, p. 361). In cases such as these, there can be two or more languages or varieties, and one group of speakers control the H, while another group of speakers control the L. An example of this is pre-WW1 European elite who used French for their intragroup purposes, whereas the masses spoke a different language. The two groups never interacted with one another and therefore did not form a single speech community and needed translators for their intercommunication (Fishman, 2003, p. 362). This is contrary to Ferguson's (1996a) sense of diglossia as this exists within the same speech community and not between several speech communities as Fishman (2003) argues. 'Both diglossia and bilingualism' and 'diglossia without bilingualism' are quite stable situations (Fishman, 1980, p. 8) in contrast to the following two situations where diglossia and, consequently, functional distribution between varieties are absent.
- c. 'Bilingualism without diglossia' is a situation where bilingual speakers use either language for any purpose; there is no compartmentalisation between the language varieties; and therefore, one of these varieties may dominate and replace the other (Fishman, 2003, pp. 363-364 / 1980, pp. 8-9). For example, immigrant languages have disappeared as their speakers have adopted the languages of their hosts (Fishman, 1980, p. 8).
- d. 'Neither bilingualism nor diglossia' describes a situation where there is only one variety used, thus a monolingual speech community. Fishman (2003, p. 364) maintains that groups like these 'are easier to hypothesise than to find'.

Since Ferguson's initial description of diglossia and Fishman's extension of the term, various scholars have suggested different terms for a classification of diglossia, including both Ferguson's and Fishman's descriptions. Specifically, Ferguson's (1996a) classical diglossia and Fishman's (1980) extended diglossia have been respectively termed by Kloss (1966) as 'in-diglossia' and 'out-diglossia'; by Britto (1986) as 'use-oriented' (or diatypical) and 'user-oriented'; by Myers-Scotton (1986) as 'narrow diglossia' and 'broad diglossia'. Other researchers have suggested new terms similar to diglossia such as Auer (2005b), who proposed 'diaglossia' (see Chapter 2, section 2.3) or Berruto (1989), who introduced the term 'dilalia' to describe the linguistic situation of Italy. This term refers

specifically to a situation where H can be used in both formal and informal domains, whereas L has limited functions.

Furthermore, Pauwels (1986, p. 27), who applied the concept of diglossia to an immigrant context in Australia, suggested that a typology of diglossia may clarify and explain the different language behaviour of apparently similar speech communities. Therefore, Pauwels (1986, p. 15) defines diglossia as a language situation where two varieties, H and L, are recognised and used by a speech community, each variety having a role to play in the community and suggests that different sub-categories of diglossia could be established, based on the following criteria:

- a. Size and nature of the speech community showing diglossic features (the speech community could include a state, a region, or an ethnic group).
- b. Approximate number of speakers acquiring the L as mother tongue and speakers acquiring the H as mother tongue. The term *general diglossia* could be applied when almost everybody in the speech community learns the H later in life and *partial diglossia* when a significant number of speakers acquire the H as a native variety.
- c. Linguistic and sociolinguistic relationship between the two varieties: if H and L are distinct languages, then this could be viewed as *interlingual diglossia* and if they are varieties of the same language, this could be viewed as *intralingual diglossia*.
- d. Functional relationship between the two varieties: *rigid diglossia* can be used to describe the minimal functional overlapping between the two varieties, and *fluid diglossia* when several functions are less strictly attached to a particular variety. Rigid and fluid diglossia could be the extreme ends of a continuum with other terms showing in between stages.

It can be seen that Pauwels (1986) sets as criteria for diglossia three important features as initially suggested by Ferguson (acquisition, linguistic distance between varieties and functional distribution), and extends those criteria to fit Fishman's extension of diglossia by dividing them into clear sub-categories. In this way, a situation of general, intralingual, and rigid diglossia can be considered the strict interpretation of the term as described by Ferguson (1996a), while a situation of general or partial and interlingual or intralingual diglossia can be considered the broad interpretation (of the term) as described by Fishman (1980).



### 3.2.2 Critiques on diglossia and the current state of the theory of diglossia

Fishman's (1980, 2003) formulation of diglossia can be regarded as a modification of Ferguson's (1996a) original definition of diglossia where two or more related or unrelated linguistic varieties are in a diglossic relationship by allowing the term *diglossia* to describe a situation where the linguistic varieties may be related or unrelated. Hudson (2002a, p. 13) argues that Fishman 'has implicitly dismissed the degree of structural proximity between codes as irrelevant to the definition of diglossia'. In fact, Fishman (1980) does not attempt to define diglossia but instead extends diglossia to include varieties which may be genetically unrelated and treats diglossia as one kind of societal multilingualism/bilingualism. In this way, he attempts to incorporate diglossia into the field of multilingualism. Also, in his formulation of diglossia, Fishman (2003, p. 361) states that diglossia may exist between two or more speech communities, whereas Ferguson (1996a, p. 25) sees diglossia as a situation that exists in a single speech community.

In 'Diglossia revisited', Ferguson (1996b, p. 49) acknowledges and clarifies some weaknesses of his original conceptualisations of diglossia. He (1996b, pp. 50-53) explains why his original article on diglossia was not intended to be extended or applied to other kinds of sociolinguistic situations such as standard-with-dialects where there are people who learn the standard as a mother tongue and use it in everyday interactions, and stresses that his intention was to describe a particular kind of linguistic situation, that of diglossia, where nobody uses H in ordinary conversation. In addition, Ferguson (1996b, p. 57) admits that he initially failed to establish the degree of linguistic proximity between the two linguistic varieties in a diglossic situation as his intention was to examine two varieties of the same language so that the speakers would always view them as such. In other words, Ferguson (1996b, p. 57) deems that the speakers of H and L would always consider them as the same language and this is why his concept of diglossia should not be extended to cases of unrelated linguistic varieties. Nevertheless, Schiffman agrees with Fishman's extension of diglossia in stating that:

one cannot dismiss Fishman diglossia as being lesser, or different, since in the above-mentioned situations, it may interact equally effectively to condition outcomes, that is, extended diglossia is not 'weaker' or subservient to classical diglossia but rather operates on the same plane, so to speak (Schiffman, 2002, p. 143).

In other words, Fishman's diglossia is as valid as classic diglossia as both descriptions function in a similar way.

In his outline of diglossia, Hudson (2002a, p. 2) attempts to distinguish diglossia in the strict sense of the term (Ferguson's view) from diglossia in the broad sense of the term (Fishman's view) and argues that diglossia should be restricted to Ferguson's term. Hudson (2002a, p. 2) specifically states that diglossia should be distinguished from societal bilingualism (although these are often considered variants of the same phenomenon) because they are 'different in their social origins, evolutionary courses of development, and resolutions over the long term' and that including them under a single rubric obscures sociolinguistic theory. Finally, although Hudson recognises the existence of both related and unrelated language varieties in diglossia, he states that:

if the structural difference between codes in diglossia is viewed as an outcome of the social circumstances giving rise to diglossia in the first place, rather than as a defining feature of diglossia, there is ample reason to suppose that language varieties in diglossia will in fact show a strong statistical tendency to be varieties of the same language (2002a, p. 15).

Nevertheless, Hudson concludes that too much has been made in terms of the degree of structural proximity between constituent varieties in a verbal repertoire as a defining feature of diglossia and that defining diglossia based on whether H and L are related varieties or not is 'an arbitrary gesture and in itself contributes nothing of value to sociolinguistic theory' (2002a, p. 14).

Linguistic realisation in diglossia, that is, the use of H or L, 'is a function solely of social context, and not of social identity of the speaker. In diglossia, it is context, not class, or other group membership, that controls use' (Hudson, 2002a, p. 6). In other words, since the use of H or L depends on the context in a diglossic situation, the social identity of the speakers is not indexed by their choice of variety. However, in terms of power relationships, Ferguson (1996b, p. 61) claims that in some speech communities, the choice of H or L variety may be used in the same way as the choice of pronouns of address (such as 'tu/vous' in French) in other communities. In an idealised case of diglossia where everybody speaks both varieties (such as the case of Cyprus), speakers could use either L or H to one another, according to the formality of the situation, as well as for one speaker to use the H variety and the other speaker to use the L variety to signal power relationships as between employer and employee (Ferguson, 1996b, p. 61). This means that, although

language choice in diglossia is influenced by context, the choice of one variety over another could signal power relationships, particularly in situations where L is expected but H is used instead. Nevertheless, Keller (1982, p. 91) states that in the diglossic context of Switzerland where Standard German is the H variety and Swiss German the L variety, 'it is psychologically impossible for any two Swiss of any class or occupation ever to address each other privately in anything but the L variety'. For Keller (1982, p. 90), this is the most significant factor in diglossia and one that makes for relative stability (of status).

Both Ferguson and Fishman seem to agree on the concept of functional distribution of the language varieties in society (H as a formal spoken/written variety and L as an informal variety). Fishman, however, has been criticised for including unrelated varieties in the concept of diglossia and for considering diglossia mainly as equal to functional distribution of varieties in society. Timm (1981, p. 362), for instance, points out that as Fishman's extension of diglossia includes unrelated varieties, most of the original criteria of diglossia posited by Ferguson are neglected (such as the shared lexical and phonological features between H and L, the acquisition of L prior to the acquisition of H). In fact, Timm (1981, p. 362) argues that function, the compartmentalisation of domains, was Fishman's main criterion for diglossia (see section 3.2.1). Britto (1986, p. 42) also criticises Fishman's loose structural relatedness between varieties, stating that 'Fishman's theory, by imposing no limit on the structural relationship of diglossic codes, permits practically every language community to be called diglossic'.

Ferguson's aim with his article on diglossia was that the four defining cases (Arabic, Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole) would lead to a theory of diglossia; his goals were 'clear case, taxonomy, principles, theory' (1996b, p. 50). Nevertheless, Hudson (2002a, p. 1) maintains that 40 years after Ferguson's original description of diglossia, 'a coherent and generally accepted theory of diglossia remains to be formulated' as in the years that followed, most of the studies were descriptive (examining whether a situation is diglossic or not) rather than constituting approaches to the study of diglossia (Ferguson, 1996b, p. 53). Hudson (2002b, p. 152) stresses that the creation of such a typology is not a simple task as it must be more than just a gathering of case studies of language in society, meaning a theory of language in society. Nevertheless, in his 'Rebuttal essay' on diglossia, Hudson (2002b, p. 153) accepts both descriptions of diglossia by stating that

Ferguson was right in calling attention to the situations of diglossia and Fishman was equally right in requiring that diglossia be within a larger conceptual framework.

### **3.3 Concluding remarks**

As this study proposes that the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus is diglossic, this chapter has reviewed the literature on diglossia, the definitions, extensions and critiques that the concept of diglossia has received. When looking at the literature on diglossia, it can be seen that Ferguson's (1996a) concept refers to language variation within a speech community, while Fishman's (1980, 2003) extension of diglossia also involves bilingualism. This study supports both classic and extended diglossia as useful concepts for the study of language in society. Although this study aims to describe the specific linguistic context of Cyprus, I hope it will contribute to a rethinking of the theory on diglossia and multilingualism as in the country under study, it demonstrates the existence of a diglossia which is different from Ferguson's original description, where the distribution between the two varieties is not rigid (the L variety is often used in the media and education). The diglossia found in Cyprus is discussed in Chapter 8, together with the data results.

## **Chapter 4: Language attitudes and ethnic identity**

This chapter examines the concepts of language attitudes and ethnic identity, the foci of this study, and the theories and methodologies employed to explore these areas. The present study investigates the attitudes of Greek-Cypriot school students (aged 12 to 18) towards SMG and GC and their perception and construction of ethnic identities, and seeks to find out how the students' language attitudes are related to their perception and construction of ethnic identities. Examining the tripartite relationship between language attitudes, ethnic identity and language use is significant in that it will possibly provide an understanding of the sociolinguistic situation of Cyprus. In other words, this study looks at the relationship between language attitudes and ethnic identity and how this relationship functions when more than one linguistic variety is involved in a linguistic context.

This chapter begins with the definition and examination of the concept of attitudes (and language attitudes) and the related methodologies, and proceeds with a description of the general research on language attitudes in Cyprus. This chapter also examines the concept of identity, and ethnic identity in particular, from a sociolinguistic perspective, by focusing on the construction of ethnic identity in discourse. The focus is on how Greek-Cypriot students construct their ethnic identities through spoken and written discourse, interviews and questionnaires, respectively. From a social constructionist approach (Burr, 2003), one of the aims of this study is to show that ethnic identity is flexible, situated and constructed in discourse. Three approaches are used to gather data: the direct approach (interviews and questionnaires), the indirect approach (the MGT-like experiment), and the societal treatment (classroom observations; Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian, 1982, p. 7). The use of multiple approaches is for triangulation purposes; that is, to compare the results and arrive at more definite conclusions (Rallis and Rossman, 2009, pp. 265-266).

### **4.1 Attitudes**

The purpose of this section is to examine the concept of attitudes, the definitions, and methodologies used in the study of attitudes. Two main approaches are used in attitude research: the mentalist and the behaviourist approaches. These are described below, along with the advantages and limitations of each approach.

#### 4.1.1 Definitions and approaches to ‘attitude’

Although the study of attitudes belongs to social psychology, it has become an essential concept in sociolinguistics since the revolutionary work of Labov in 1966 on the social stratification of speech communities (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003, p. 2). Labov (1966) examined the social stratification of (r) in New York department stores and found that the frequency of (r) was related to the attitudes towards this sound and depended on social class. Theorists and researchers have defined the concept of attitude in various ways, depending on the extent to which it is studied and on the weight given to the different features of attitudes (Garrett, 2010, p. 19). An *attitude* can be defined as:

*a mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related* (Allport, 1982, p. 810; italics in the original)

and

a construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through such more obvious processes as stereotypes and beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion; and in various other aspects of behaviour (Oppenheim, 1982, p. 39).

Two approaches have traditionally been adopted in the study of attitudes: the mentalist and the behaviourist. With reference to the mentalist view (such as Allport's 1982), an attitude is a state of readiness inferred from the person's responses to given stimuli (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970, p. 138). Explicitly, in Allport's terms (1982, p. 810), attitude, as 'a mental and neural state of readiness' (that is, readiness to react, to respond) is formed by experience, and influences a person's reactions to different situations and objects. As a mental and neural state, attitudes cannot be directly observed as can, for example, church attendance or physical characteristics such as height and weight (Baker, 1992, pp. 10-11), but attitudes can be revealed in various forms such as stereotypes, beliefs, reactions, and opinions (Oppenheim, 1982, p. 39). Viewing attitudes as psychological constructs makes access to them difficult (Garrett, 2010, p. 20), as people's thoughts, beliefs and feelings are hidden (Baker, 1992, p. 11). Therefore, the mentalist view of attitude may cause some difficulties in that if attitude is an internal state of readiness and not a directly observable response, then the researcher must rely on the

participants' self-reports to find out their attitude; in such cases of self-reported data, validity is often questionable (Fasold, 1984, p. 147).

According to the behaviourist view, attitudes are located in 'the responses people make to social situations'; the behaviourist type of research involves observation, tabulation and analysis of overt behaviour (Fasold, 1984, pp. 147-148). In other words, the researcher who follows the behaviourist approach observes how the participant responds or behaves in a particular situation and there is no need to rely on the information given by the participant as happens in the mentalist case. In the behaviourist view however, attitudes cannot be used to predict other behaviour since they are wholly defined in terms of observable data (Alexander, 1967, p. 279). Specifically, an attitude from the behaviourist perspective is a dependent variable as it relies on the stimulus situation and on the context in which the data are observed (Alexander, 1967, p. 279). On the contrary, in the mentalist perspective an attitude is an independent variable as it does not depend on the particular stimulus situation in which the responses are made (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970, p. 138).

The behaviourist and mentalist approaches are also different in the way they view the 'structure' of 'attitude' (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970, pp. 138-139). While the behaviourist viewpoint considers attitudes as single units (Fasold, 1984, p. 148), the mentalist viewpoint sees attitudes as structured in terms of three components: cognition, affect and behaviour (Garrett, 2010, p. 23). Attitudes reflect beliefs about the world (cognition), engage feelings about an object (favourability and unfavourability towards an attitude object), and concern the predisposition to act in a particular way (behaviour) (Garrett, 2010, p. 23). Besides the different views about the structure of attitude, there seems to be some agreement with regard to certain aspects of its definition in that attitudes are learned from previous experience and are relatively stable (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970, p. 139). There is also agreement among many theorists that attitudes are related to action or behaviour either as a precondition of behaviour or as a particular feature of behaviour itself (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970, p. 139). This suggests that people's attitude towards something may affect their behaviour in certain situations.

In general, having an attitude towards something or someone entails having feelings of like or dislike, approval or disapproval and so forth, which are normally reflected in what

people say, react to, or do (Eiser, 1986, p. 11). As each approach to attitude has certain advantages and drawbacks, this study adopts a mixture of both approaches to avoid relying solely on observation of behaviour (behaviourist view) or self-reports (mentalist view). Moreover, this research employs classroom observation data and self-reported data from questionnaires, interviews, and the MGT-like experiment (see Chapter 5). In this way, the results of each approach are compared and contrasted to one another to arrive at more valid and definite conclusions.

#### **4.1.2 Language attitudes**

Having discussed the definitions and the approaches to the study of attitude, this section deals specifically with language attitudes. ‘Language attitudes’ not only involves attitudes towards a language itself, but its definition ‘is broadened to include attitudes towards speakers of a particular language or dialect’ (Fasold, 1984, p. 148). As Baker (1992, p. 29) notes, *language attitudes* is a term which covers a variety of specific attitudes such as attitudes to languages, dialects, speech styles, language groups, minorities, learning a new language, and language lessons. The present study deals particularly with attitudes towards language and dialect and their speakers in the linguistic context of Cyprus. Specifically, this study seeks to find out the attitudes of Greek-Cypriot students towards SMG (the standard variety) and GC (the non-standard variety) and their speakers. The results of this study are compared to the results of previous research on language attitudes in Cyprus (see Chapter 8) to detect whether there have been any significant changes in Greek-Cypriots’ language attitudes and how these changes can relate to changes in education, modernisation and so forth.

The three approaches used in the study of language attitudes are the direct approach, the indirect approach, and the societal treatment (Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian, 1982, p. 7). With regard to the direct approach, participants are directly asked about language evaluation, preference and so forth (Garrett, 2010, p. 39). The direct approach relies on the overt elicitation of attitudes since the participants are called to express explicitly what their attitudes are to different language phenomena (Garrett, 2010, p. 39). Following a direct approach, the researcher uses questionnaires and/or interviews about particular aspects of language to measure the participants’ language attitudes (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003, p. 25). Baker (1992, p. 49), for example, carried out research with 797 children from three different types of school in North and Mid Wales and used



attitude scales to find out their attitudes towards Welsh. The variables used were selected from previous research (gender, age, language background, type of school, and ability in Welsh). The results of this study showed that children between 11 and 14 years of age generally had favourable attitudes towards Welsh and they were interested in traditional Welsh culture and books (Baker, 1992, pp. 74-75). However, the children considered that the Welsh language was not important for playing sport and watching television. According to Baker (1992, pp. 74-75), this negative statement can cause concern as both sport and the media play an important role in many teenagers' lives.

The indirect approach to language attitudes utilises more subtle, often covert techniques as it does not ask people explicitly about their attitudes to something, but their attitudes are inferred in an indirect way (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003, pp. 16 and 51-52). Language attitudes can be measured with the matched guise technique (in this thesis this is called the MGT-like experiment) whereby the participants listen to audio-recordings and rate the speakers in terms of various personality traits (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003, pp. 51-52). The MGT is employed for the elicitation of stereotyped characteristics or biased views that the members of one social group may attribute to the members of another group (Lambert, 1967, p. 93). Lambert *et al.* (1960, p. 44) used the MGT to investigate the attitudes of university students living in Montreal towards the French and English languages. Ten tape recordings were made by four French and English bilingual speakers. The participants listened to some of the voices twice, once in French and once in English, but they were not aware that some of the voices belonged to the same bilingual speaker. One group of students had English as its first language and the other group had French. The students' task was to rank the speakers on 14 traits using six-point scales ranging from 'very little' to 'very much'. The results of this study showed that both French and English students evaluated the English guises more positively than the French ones on most traits. In fact, the French guises were more favourably evaluated by the English students than by the French students (Lambert *et al.*, 1960, pp. 50-51). Lambert *et al.* (1960, pp. 49-50) explained that these results may be due to the fact that some general characteristics of the French and English speakers are so broadly established in the Montreal community that even those English students with positive attitudes towards French speakers may still consider them inferior in many respects. Similarly, French students with negative attitudes towards English speakers may still consider them superior in many respects.

The societal treatment approach engages a ‘content analysis of the “treatment” given to languages and language varieties, and to their speakers within society’ (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003, p. 15). This approach generally entails the content analysis of a variety of sources in the public domain such as media texts, advertisements, language policy documents and so forth; this approach also includes ethnographic studies (Garrett, 2010, p. 51). Following the societal treatment approach, the researcher’s task is to infer attitudes from numerous types of observed behaviours and sources (Garrett, 2010, p. 52). For example, Kramarae (1982) studied the stereotypes of gender-related differences by analysing publicly available literature and a variety of documentation (on proverbs, advice books for women and men, and public speaking). Kramarae (1982, pp. 88-89) reviewed more than one hundred books that had come out over the last 150 years and found that more books and advice books about speech were addressed to women than men.

Although these approaches allow the researcher to access speakers’ language attitudes, the researcher may encounter certain problems during the measurement of attitudes. Specifically, the investigation of language attitudes may entail a number of problems in terms of validity (Baker, 1992, p. 18). Some of these problems arise from the fact that in an attitude measurement, it is likely for people to give socially desirable answers to seem socially appropriate (Garrett, 2010, p. 44). In acknowledging this limitation, it is possible that Greek-Cypriot students declare in a public context that they consider SMG to be the appropriate variety for official use as it is a standard language, but privately believe that GC is also appropriate and sufficient for official use. In other words, the participants may provide the answer they think the researcher may expect, although in reality they believe differently. For this reason, researchers must take these limitations in consideration when conducting an attitude measurement study.

Another possible problem with attitude measurement is that participants may be affected by certain characteristics of the researcher such as age, gender, nationality, status, language, social class, and by the purpose and objectives of the research as well as by the context of the measurement (Baker, 1992, p. 19). For example, if a Greek researcher, whose native language is SMG, examines the attitudes of Greek-Cypriot speakers towards SMG, it is possible that the speakers express positive attitudes towards SMG even if in

reality they have negative attitudes towards SMG. These issues are discussed in detail in Chapter 5 ‘Methodology’.

The three approaches mentioned above have been used for the data gathering of this project; namely, the societal treatment (in the form of classroom observations), the direct (based on interviews and questionnaires), and the indirect (based on the matched guise technique) approaches. This combination of methods adopted in this study is a ‘triangulation’ strategy whereby data are collected from a number of data sources, through various data collection methods, through the use of various theories or concepts (Rallis and Rossman, 2009, pp. 265-266). This strategy strengthens the conclusions drawn from the data analysis about the language attitudes of Greek-Cypriot students as the various methods confirm one another. The methodology of this study is described in detail in Chapter 5.

Having established the main approaches used in language attitude research, it is also essential to discuss about the types of attitudes and the factors which influence language attitudes. Specifically, language attitude scholars distinguish between instrumental orientation and integrative orientation (Baker, 1992, p. 31). An instrumental attitude concerns the possible pragmatic reasons why people are motivated to learn a second language such as professional reasons, success and status (Masgoret and Gardner, 2003, p. 126). An integrative attitude to language may be related to the openness or willingness of an individual to identify with another language community (Masgoret and Gardner, 2003, p. 126). Both types of attitudes are important for the purposes of the present study as this focuses on attitudes towards H and L varieties, their speakers and on speakers’ ethnic group identification. To illustrate this, a Greek-Cypriot student may wish to learn SMG for self-enhancement, status and personal success (instrumental attitude); alternatively he/she may want to identify with a group of native Greek students and be perceived as Greek-Cypriot and not only as Cypriot (integrative attitude). Similarly, another student may wish to use and develop GC with a view to its preservation (instrumental attitude) or to identify with a group of Greek-Cypriot students and express intimacy and solidarity with them and support the use of GC (integrative attitude).

Attitudes to specific varieties are also attitudes to the speakers of those varieties (Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian, 1982, p. 2). People do not develop attitudes to languages at random,

but their attitudes reflect their views about the speakers of those languages as well as the contexts and functions with which the languages are associated (Holmes, 2001, p. 343). To illustrate this, some groups of people (and their language) are considered intelligent and hardworking, while some others (and their language) are considered lazy and rude, romantic and polite and so forth (Preston, 2004, p. 40). Edwards (1999, p. 102) observes that there is great variation in terms of people's reactions or evaluations of various accents and dialects. These views about people and their languages can be considered stereotypes in that they are 'rigid attitudes about categories and objects which actually vary over time and situations' (Kramarae, 1982, p. 85). Edwards (1999, p. 103) suggests that people are evaluated in respect of features that generally reflect perceptions of the group to which they are seen to belong and that people '– with all their personal strengths and weaknesses – are viewed in stereotypical group terms'. If significant consistency is found in the evaluations of any group of judges, such reactions are thought to represent the stereotyped views of that group towards the speakers of the specific language or variety (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970, p. 146).

According to Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982, p. 3), standardisation and vitality are two factors influencing language attitudes. The acceptance of a standard variety is generally advanced by a society's elite and established through social institutions such as government, education and the media (Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian, 1982, p. 3). Therefore, speakers may have different attitudes towards a standard variety which may be considered as the correct usage of the language, and different attitudes towards a non-standard variety which may not be viewed as the correct usage of the language. In the case of Cyprus, SMG has an official status as it is the standard and official variety, while GC is neither standardised nor has official status. It is possible that the official status and prestige attached to the standard variety SMG and the lack of official status and prestige of the non-standard GC affect the attitudes of Greek-Cypriot speakers towards the two varieties.

Vitality involves the number and significance of functions provided by a variety whose number of speakers determines its vitality; for example, the greater the number of speakers of a variety, the greater its vitality (Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian, 1982, p. 4). In other words, vitality is significant for the protection of a language; if the number of speakers of a language is decreasing, then the language may be at risk of losing its vitality and being lost. According to Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977, pp. 308-309), the 'vitality'

of an ethnolinguistic group is defined as ‘that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations’. Three factors may affect the vitality of a speech community, namely: *demography*, which refers to the number of members included in the speech community and their distribution throughout a specific territory; *status*, the factor related to the community’s economic, social and sociohistorical status and the status of the language used by its speakers; and *institutional support*, the factor pertaining to the degree a language is used in various formal and informal institutions of a community, region or nation. It has been proposed that the vitality of a speech community is connected to the extent its speakers can employ their own language in various institutions such as education, government, church, and business (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor, 1977, p. 309).

All three of these factors which possibly influence the vitality of a speech community may in fact be the factors that particularly strengthen the vitality of the Greek-Cypriot community. To illustrate this, the vitality of the Greek-Cypriot community of practice is possibly strengthened by the fact that GC is the native variety of Greek-Cypriots and the variety of the home (demography and status) as well as by the introduction of GC in education as language variation (institutional support; see Chapter 2). These factors, which contribute to the maintenance of the GC variety, identity and culture, may prevent a shift to the sole use of SMG and, consequently, the loss of the GC variety, identity and culture. Fishman considers that:

the study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other (1964, p. 32).

Fishman (1964, p. 32) explains that languages sometimes replace one another under some conditions of intergroup contact, particularly in certain types or domains of linguistic behaviour. As Ryan and Carranza (1975, p. 855) state, ‘maintaining an accent may be associated with maintaining one’s identity and separateness from the dominant cultural group’. In the case of Cyprus, regardless of the existence of intergroup contact between Greek-Cypriots and Greeks and the use of SMG in Cyprus, the vitality of the Greek-Cypriot community (spoken natively by all Greek-Cypriots; see Chapter 2) may secure the maintenance of the GC variety.

Other factors such as social status and group solidarity may also influence language attitudes. Specifically, the distinction between standard and non-standard varieties reflects the relative social status or the power attached to a group of speakers, while the factors contributing to the solidarity value of a variety are also responsible for its vitality (Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian, 1982, p. 8). High social status is associated with standard varieties and social prestige, and group solidarity is associated with non-standard varieties and less social prestige (Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian, 1982, pp. 8-9; Brown and Gilman, 1960, p. 253). The notion of high social status and group solidarity may function differently in the case of Cyprus. Specifically, as Greek-Cypriots are native speakers of GC, and there is no group of speakers using SMG and another group using GC, the use of one variety over the other may not signify high or low social status, group affiliation or solidarity. Nevertheless, it is possible that the use of acrolectal forms of GC (not necessarily the use of SMG as it is not Greek-Cypriots' mother tongue) marks the speaker with high social status and the use of basilectal forms of GC marks the speaker with low social status. Likewise, the notion of solidarity could emerge as significant in intragroup and intergroup interactions in Cyprus; for example, whether Greek-Cypriots express group solidarity among themselves or between Greek-Cypriots and Greeks, respectively. These issues are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

When examining language attitudes, the concepts of overt and covert prestige (Labov, 1966) are also to be considered. Overt prestige is the prestige that speakers associate with the standard variety of a community; the speakers of this standard variety are highly evaluated in terms of status (educational and occupational). Covert prestige is the prestige that speakers associate with the non-standard variety of a community; these speakers secretly have positive attitudes towards that non-standard variety. According to Ferguson (1996a, p. 29), in diglossic communities the H variety is considered more prestigious than the L variety. In this way, it can be assumed that in Cyprus, SMG is associated with overt prestige and GC with covert prestige. Nevertheless, is it possible for overt prestige to be associated also with the GC, the L variety, since in Cyprus Greek-Cypriots are native speakers of GC? This hypothesis emanates from the fact that there is no prestigious elite group of SMG speakers in Cyprus to create an opposition of status and prestige between the two varieties and therefore, GC could carry overt prestige (see Chapters 6 and 7 for the students' language attitudes).

Labov (1966) investigated how social mobility affects certain linguistic variables. Specifically, in his study of the social stratification, focusing on the pronunciation of postvocalic /r/ in New York, he examined the association between certain types of mobility with linguistic behaviour. He found that upwardly mobile people (those who move up socially in terms of professional status) showed the highest /r/ values in their language use, whereas downwardly mobile people (those who move down socially in terms of professional status) did not make frequent use of /r/, neither did they show much recognition of the prestige value of /r/ (Labov, 1966, pp. 195-196). This suggests that people who are upwardly mobile are more likely to use hypercorrect patterns than people who are downwardly mobile (Labov, 1966, p. 197). Hypercorrect behaviour is the use of standard and prestigious language forms; it reflects the linguistic insecurity felt by a group of speakers who tend to move away from the natural pattern of casual speech as they recognise an external standard of correctness (Labov, 2003, p. 240). In other words, speakers of non-standard varieties may feel insecure about the way they speak and make more use of the standard forms which, for them, are not part of their casual speech.

Many factors influence people's attitudes to language such as age and gender (see Lambert, 1967). Anisfeld and Lambert (1964, pp. 89-90) used the MGT to explore the evaluations that ten year old French Canadian children, half-monolingual (French speaking) and half-bilingual (French and English speaking) make about English and French Canadian children. The results showed that monolingual children evaluated the French guises more favourably than the English, while bilingual children rated both French and English guises in a relatively similar way (Anisfeld and Lambert, 1964, pp. 94-95). Anisfeld and Lambert (1964, pp. 95-96) explain that bilingual children are familiar with both French Canadian and English speaking people and therefore, their evaluations are less influenced by stereotypes, whereas monolingual children are not familiar with English speaking people and therefore, their evaluations are a reflection of generalised attitudes towards people speaking other languages. These findings are in sharp contrast with the results from a previous study on adult French Canadians (see Lambert *et al.*, 1960; see above) who evaluated the English speakers significantly more favourably than the French speakers (Anisfeld and Lambert, 1964, p. 96).

Another factor underlying the language attitudes of Greek-Cypriot students can be related to ideologies. Language ideologies mediate between social forms and forms of talk, and

they are not only about language, but also link language to identity, morality and so forth (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). According to Woolard (1998, p. 9), ideologies can be expressed in explicit talk about language, that is, in metalinguistic discourse; people may explicitly express their views or ideologies about language through language use. Language ideologies also involve ‘the construction and legitimation of power, the production of social relations of sameness and difference, and the creation of cultural stereotypes about types of speakers and social groups’ (Spitulnik, 1998, p. 164); ‘ideology is always the tool, property, or practice of dominant social groups’ (Woolard, 1998, p. 7). In the case of Cyprus, ideologies may influence Greek-Cypriots’ attitudes and, consequently, the educational system of Cyprus which, in turn, affects children’s early formation of language attitudes and ideologies. Specifically, the educational system of Cyprus, influenced by the ideology that Greek-Cypriots are ethnically Greek (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 25), until recently has been a replica of the Greek system and promotes the use of SMG and the Greek identity in general (Mavratsas, 1999, p. 98). In other words, the fact that SMG is the variety of education for ideological reasons, whereas GC is the variety of home and of friendly casual interactions, may affect students’ attitudes and judgement towards the two varieties.

Likewise, social and political factors may also influence language attitudes; therefore, language planners should take into consideration people’s attitudes when they select and establish a language as an official or national language (Holmes, 2001, p. 343). In the case of Cyprus, Greek-Cypriots’ language attitudes may be influenced by the present political situation, that is, the Turkish occupation of Northern Cyprus. All these factors influencing language attitudes are examined in the data analysis and particularly in the discussion of results in Chapter 8.

#### **4.1.3 Research on language attitudes in Cyprus**

The existing research on language attitudes in Cyprus mainly involves the investigation of the attitudes of Greek-Cypriots towards SMG and GC, their attitudes towards certain Cypriot phonological sounds, their attitudes towards the four broad register levels of GC and more recently, their attitudes towards the use of these two varieties in written Internet communication. An overview of the literature on language attitudes in Cyprus suggests that Greek-Cypriots have positive attitudes towards SMG and a variety of attitudes towards GC. For example, in his research on the language attitudes of Greek-Cypriot high



school students, Papapavlou (1988, cited in Papapavlou, 2001, p. 493) found that these students considered SMG as 'more creative', 'more descriptive' and 'richer' than other languages but not 'more useful' or 'more important'. Nevertheless, the students expressed the view that GC does not lack accuracy or clarity of expression (Papapavlou, 1988, cited in Papapavlou, 2001, p. 493). By using the MGT in another study, Papapavlou (1998, p. 22) found that university students also held more favourable attitudes towards SMG than GC. The students characterised the people using SMG as being more 'educated', 'intelligent', 'modern' and 'interesting' than those using GC; no difference was found between the two varieties on the traits of 'humorous', 'friendlier', 'kinder' and 'sincere'.

It has been suggested that the devaluation of the GC variety is formed from early childhood and mainly through family attitudes. Notably, Pavlou (1997, cited in Themistocleous, 2007, p. 474) investigated the language attitudes of two groups of preschool children (one group from an urban upper class kindergarten and the other from a lower-middle class semi-rural kindergarten) to find out whether their attitudes reflect the attitudes of adults. Although all children were able to distinguish the two varieties, the children from the higher socioeconomic backgrounds seemed to prefer SMG, while the children from the lower socioeconomic backgrounds seemed to prefer GC (Pavlou, 1997, cited in Themistocleous, 2007, p. 474). These findings are significant as they suggest that the creation of negative stereotypes towards GC, which children adopt early on, may begin in the home environment. Also, these results may indicate covert prestige as, regardless of the negative attitudes towards GC, GC remains the variety that Greek-Cypriot children from both high and low socioeconomic backgrounds are likely to use in their homes.

Research also suggests that the presence of certain phonological sounds such as /f/ and /dʒ/ (which are not part of the phonological inventory of SMG) influence the attitudes of Greek-Cypriots towards GC. Specifically, in his study on the language attitudes of university students, Papapavlou (2001, pp. 498-499) examined whether the use of these sounds marks the speech as rural; whether the speech is less intelligible; and whether the speaker is perceived as less educated. This study revealed that the presence of the sound /f/ in conversation marked the speech as more Cypriot-accented than the presence of the sound /dʒ/ (Papapavlou, 2001, p. 499). Although the results showed that the educational background of a speaker could not be judged precisely by the use of these sounds, the

frequent presence of /f/ in speech was associated with primary level education rather than secondary. Nevertheless, the participants reported that the use of these sounds did not significantly affect the comprehensibility of the speaker (Papapavlou, 2001, p. 499). Similarly, some interviewees in the present study referred to the ruralness of the GC sounds /f/ and /dʒ/; this may suggest that if these sounds existed in SMG, the Greek-Cypriot speakers would possibly not perceive them as rural-sounding.

On the other hand, research in the last ten years indicates that the attitudes of Greek-Cypriots towards GC seem to be changing, and becoming more positive. For example, in Tsiplakou's (2004, pp. 5-6) research on the language attitudes of high school, lyceum and university students towards GC and SMG (by the use of questionnaires and interviews), the respondents expressed positive attitudes towards both varieties. Specifically, the participants did not consider SMG superior to GC in terms of richness, prestige, honesty. A similar attitude prevails in relation to language use and Internet communication. Themistocleous (2007, p. 473) examined the attitudes of Greek-Cypriot Internet users towards GC in online communication through an online questionnaire. The results of her study revealed that the Greek-Cypriot respondents (between 24 and 35 years old) had positive attitudes towards the use of GC in computer-mediated communication (Themistocleous, 2007, p. 485). Themistocleous (2007, p. 485) suggests that the positive attitudes which resulted from her study may be connected to the fact that the use of GC in the media is currently increasing (also suggested by Tsiplakou, 2004). Themistocleous (2007, p. 485) also argues that the use of GC in online written communication 'is becoming more and more emblematic in the sense that it becomes a medium of expression of the Greek-Cypriot youth identity'. In other words, by using the GC variety in online written communication, young Greek-Cypriots promote not only their mother tongue but also their Cypriot identity (Themistocleous, 2007, p. 485).

The attitudes of Greek-Cypriots towards GC seem to depend on the GC register used by a speaker; that is, it is found that Greek-Cypriots hold negative attitudes towards basilectal features of GC, but not towards mesolectal features. Papapavlou and Sophocleous (2009, p. 1) investigated (by the use of interviews) the attitudes of Greek-Cypriot university students towards speakers of four broad register levels of GC and how they construct their social identity through language use. The results of this study showed that the speakers of basilectal features (the variety most distant from the standard form) of GC were

negatively perceived by other speakers (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009, p. 8). Regarding the statements made by the students, basilectal features of GC seemed to be associated with village life and people being less educated, while the use of SMG seemed to be associated with status and prestige (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009, pp. 10-12). The participants made distinctions between 'them', the speakers who use stigmatised basilectal features of GC in their speech, and 'us', the speakers who do not use these socially stigmatised features (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009, p. 9). Most students stated that they generally use mesolectal features (the variety between the acrolect, the variety closest to the standard and the basilect) in their speech, a mixed version of SMG and GC, while nobody reported using exclusively SMG in interactions with Greek-Cypriots (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009, p. 9). This may suggest that overt prestige is attached to SMG and to the GC registers close to SMG and that these university students may have high expectations of upward mobility, of advancing socially and professionally in society, and therefore, they may be prone to the use of linguistic forms closer to the standard. In other words, it is possible that they diverge their speech from basilectal forms of GC.

Research has also been carried out in kindergartens in Cyprus, aimed at finding out teachers' and children's attitudes towards the use of SMG and GC in the classroom and whether children's attitudes towards the standard and non-standard varieties start to develop at an early age (Sophocleous and Wilks, 2010, p. 51). The teachers reported being relatively flexible towards the use of GC in the classroom; in fact, they reported using SMG when salience is placed on language such as the teaching of new vocabulary or when significance is placed on children's use of 'correct' language. They reported using GC in the classroom during less formal interactions related to children's personal experiences and creative activities as they believe it helps to boost the children's confidence (Sophocleous and Wilks, 2010, pp. 65-66). Although children seemed to distinguish between the two varieties from an early age and use SMG in formal public speaking such as when the whole class is listening, there were instances of 'inappropriate' use of the GC variety in public speaking (Sophocleous and Wilks, 2010, p. 66). Nevertheless, the teachers' responses to this behaviour are not negative; they stated not to correct the children's use of GC so that children are not discouraged (Sophocleous and Wilks, 2010, p. 66). Sophocleous and Wilks (2010, p. 66) suggest that these findings can be used to delineate a clear language policy in Cyprus which will help teachers use more

uniform language practices regarding the use of the two varieties in the classroom. This will also elevate the status of GC as it will acquire an official place next to SMG and therefore, teachers and students will stop devaluing their home variety (Sophocleous and Wilks, 2010, p. 66). This finding is also supported by the present study as the results from classroom observations are evidence of the use of GC by students aged 12 to 18 in the Cypriot classroom and suggest the official use of GC in education (see Chapter 6).

To conclude, the studies on language attitudes in Cyprus suggest that Greek-Cypriots have positive attitudes towards SMG and mixed attitudes (positive and negative such as people using GC are sincere and rural-sounding respectively) towards GC. The overview of the literature on this issue suggests that certain attitudes of Greek-Cypriots towards GC are becoming more positive (possibly towards the more formal registers of GC). When looking at the research on language attitudes in Cyprus, it can be seen that the present study differs from previous research in that it investigates the attitudes of students aged 12 to 18, an under-researched group, by the use of four different data collection methods. Finding out the language attitudes of the young generation in Cyprus is of great importance for the future status of SMG and GC in Cyprus as people's language attitudes are taken into consideration by language policy makers. In addition, the issues of diglossia, language attitudes, ethnic identity, ideology, and language policy are deeply interconnected in the case of Cyprus, and studying them in isolation may not lead to an understanding of the sociolinguistic situation of Cyprus. In other words, this study aims to bridge these issues rather than attempt to interpret one sociolinguistic phenomenon only.

## **4.2 Ethnic identity**

The purpose of this part of the chapter is to conceptualise the construct of identity and the construct of ethnic identity in particular. This part begins with a synopsis of identity with specific emphasis on the post-structuralist and essentialist approaches, which are presented and critically considered. The approach taken in this study is the post-structuralist/constructionist approach to identity (Burr, 2003) in which identity is regarded as flexible, unstable and constructed in discourse. As it discusses the relationship between language and ethnic identity, this section presents some of the research on ethnic identity in Cyprus, the progression and recent changes on this issue and shows how these previous studies are related to this research project.

#### 4.2.1 Theorising identity

Research on identity – a concept rooted in psychoanalysis, psychology and sociology – has grown since the 1950s and 1960s and has increased noticeably through the 1980s and 1990s to comprise not only individual but also collective forms of identity (Bendle, 2002, p. 2). For example, Tajfel defines identity, or social identity, as:

that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (1981, p. 255).

In other words, identity for social psychologists involves feelings of belonging to a social group; that is, an individual is regarded as a member of a group. For developmental psychologists such as Marcia (1980, p. 159), identity is 'a self-structure – an internal, self-constructed, dynamic organisation of drives, abilities, beliefs, and individual history. The identity structure is dynamic, not static'. In other words, identity is not fixed as its components are constantly changing (Marcia, 1980, p. 159). It can be seen that identity is viewed by social psychologists as 'a part of an individual's self-concept'; namely, identity is located in the individual, while for developmental psychologists, identity is an inner self-construction which is fluid and changeable. This study adopts the definition deriving from developmental psychology and holds that identity is neither fixed nor located in the individual; that is, identity is not a property of the individual but it is constructed in interaction. For this reason, this study examines how Greek-Cypriot speakers construct their ethnic identity in discourse.

The number of researchers focusing on identity has radically increased in recent years (Block, 2006, p. 34) and a variety of disciplines such as social psychology, developmental and discursive psychology, sociology and linguistics are interested in identity. Two approaches to identity seem to prevail in the literature: the essentialist/structuralist and the social constructionist/post-structuralist approaches. The development of a general post-structuralist approach to identity has dominated over the essentialist approaches to identity (Block, 2006, p. 34). Sociolinguists and second language learning researchers focusing on identity as a main construct in their work seem to adopt the post-structuralist approach as their default epistemological position (Block, 2006, pp. 34-35).

Sociological or social psychological approaches to identity such as Tajfel's (1978) social identity theory, Turner *et al.*'s (1987) self-categorisation theory or Burke's (1980) role

identity theory can be described as essentialist in that identity is considered to be ‘a property of individuals or society’ (Widdicombe, 1998, pp. 192-194). In other words, in essentialist approaches, individuals have fixed identities that can be explained through the establishment of certain categories (Block, 2006, p. 34). Social constructionism is a social science approach and although its cultural background is post-modernism, it is multidisciplinary in nature as it is influenced by a range of disciplines such as philosophy, sociology and linguistics (Burr, 2003, pp. 2 and 15). The social constructionist theory regards discourse as an object of common exchange and ‘as an orientation to knowledge and to the character of psychological constructs, constructionism forms a significant challenge to conventional understandings’ (Gergen, 1985, p. 266). The methods used in social constructionist research are usually qualitative as social constructionism stresses the significance of the social meaning of accounts and discourses (such as interview transcripts), and therefore, a range of methods of analysis have been developed, specifically referred to as discourse analysis (Burr, 2003, p. 24).

The intellectual shift to post-structuralism/post-modernism in the humanities and social sciences has also influenced the study of language in society (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011, p. 3). Notably, there has been a movement in sociolinguistics away from structuralist views of identity as ‘static’ and ‘essential’ in the way variationists such as Labov (1966) viewed it, for example, with regard to the categorisation of individuals and groups into social classes (Omoniyi, 2006, p. 13). That is to say, there has been a shift from viewing identity as an internal projection of the self, through more recent understandings of social and collective identity to postmodern descriptions of identity as fluid, fragmentary, dependent and importantly, constructed in discourse (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 17). The recent interest of sociolinguistics in social identity may be due to the success of this ‘reconstructivist turn’ which has outdated previous essentialist views, or to the dissatisfaction with variationist sociolinguistic approaches which explain linguistic diversity by associating it with pre-established social categories such as socio-economic status or ethnicity (Auer, 2005a, pp. 403- 404). As Benwell and Stokoe (2006, p. 27) suggest, variationist approaches put the world into a series of fixed categories and form their object of study in those categories.

Moreover, research on language choice among bilinguals has been traditionally dominated by the view that language reflects society where languages are associated with

various identities, normally, ethnic; that is, speakers use one language or the other in bilingual communities to index identities (Gafaranga, 2005, p. 284). Gumperz (1977, p. 6) introduced the dichotomy between ‘we’, the minority language used as in-group, and ‘they’, the language used as out-group. A counter-view is put by Cashman (2005, p. 302) who maintains that the ‘we/they’ dichotomy could not satisfy the unlimited ways in which bilingual speakers use language.

Ochs (1993, p. 288) considers identity from the social constructivist perspective and argues that speakers try to establish their own and others’ social identities by verbally performing certain social acts (such as making a request) and verbally expressing certain stances (opinions or attitudes). In contrast to the view where social identity is the inferential product of linguistically encoded acts and stances (Ochs, 1993, p. 295), essentialism considers identity from a different perspective. Bucholtz (2003, p. 400), a social constructionist scholar, views essentialism as ‘the position that the attributes and behaviour of socially defined groups can be determined and explained by reference to cultural and/or biological characteristics believed to be inherent to the group’. In other words, essentialist stances assume that socially defined groups have certain characteristics which justify their behaviour. According to the social identity as a priori-social-fact view, the use of a specific linguistic structure entails a specific social identity (Ochs, 1993, pp. 296-297). In gender studies, for example, the researcher looks at how women speak or how men speak; the fact that an individual has the identity of a woman or a man justifies or explains the way she or he speaks (Ochs, 1993, p. 296). Nonetheless, this approach cannot generally explain why a linguistic structure is used by some people of the same social identity while some others never use it, and why some people of a different social identity may use it (Ochs, 1993, p. 297).

On the other hand, social constructionism considers gender as being interactionally accomplished, as an identity being negotiated and renegotiated constantly through linguistic exchange and social performance (Cerulo, 1997, p. 387). That is, in the social constructionist approach, the researcher is interested in what kind of identity a speaker is trying to construct in performing a verbal act or in displaying a particular stance (Ochs, 1993, p. 296). Generally, according to the post-modernist perspective, social structures and, consequently, social identities are not fixed objects which can be associated with

linguistic objects; in fact, linguistic phenomena cannot be straightforwardly associated as they are very changeable and flexible (Gafaranga, 2005, p. 291).

Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 585) proposed a framework based on five principles for the analysis of identity as formed in linguistic interaction, and considered identity in terms of its social practices. First of all, by considering identity as a product emerging in linguistic interaction, therefore as a social and cultural phenomenon, the *emergence principle* challenges the traditional view that identity is located in people's minds and that language reflects people's internal mental state (Bucholtz and Hall, 2010, p. 19). The *positionality principle* broadens the view that identity is a mere collection of macro-level categories (such as age, gender and social class) to include the view that identity also emerges in discourse through temporary and interactional roles and positions taken by the participants such as a joke-teller (Bucholtz and Hall, 2010, pp. 20-21). The third principle, *indexicality*, involves the mechanisms by which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions. This occurs at all levels of linguistic structure such as explicit reference to identity categories and labels, implicatures, presuppositions, stance taking, code choice and so forth (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, pp. 593-594 and 598). The *relationality principle* views identity as dependent on and related to other identities, as a relational phenomenon constructed in relations around sameness and difference (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 598). As a relational phenomenon, identity is always partial and it is produced through contextually situated and ideologically informed structures of the self and of others; this constitutes the *partialness principle* (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 605). Bucholtz and Hall's (2005, p. 586) framework combines key work from a number of scholarly traditions to provide a general socio-cultural linguistic perspective on identity by focusing on the connection between language, culture and society. In the present study, I examine whether and how these principles can be applied to the analysis of the interview data and questionnaire qualitative data (see Chapters 6 and 7).

Thus far, according to the post-structuralist approach, identity is constructed in interaction and therefore, individuals constantly negotiate and re-build their identity. In the essentialist approach, identity is assigned to the individual; therefore, individuals 'carry' that identity with them, which possibly entails that no new identities can be assumed in interactions with others. Reflection on post-structuralist approaches to identity makes



theorists sceptical about this approach as it presents certain inconsistencies (Cerulo, 1997, p. 391). For example, Bendle claims that:

there is an inherent contradiction between a valuing of identity as so fundamental as to be crucial to personal well-being, and a theorisation of 'identity' that sees it as something constructed, fluid, multiple, impermanent and fragmentary (2002, p. 1).

That is, for Bendle (2002), there is a contradiction between the essential value of identity for individuals' well-being and the conceptualisation of identity as flexible and constantly constructed. For Block (2006, p. 39), the post-structuralist approach views identity as being socially constructed and individuals as formed by and forming their sociohistory (past, future and present) as they progress through life. However, Block (2006, p. 35) observes that many researchers adopt the post-structuralist view of identity (that identity is unstable, fragmented and constructed in discourse) in a rather unquestioning way. Taking a critical stance towards the post-structuralist approach, Block (2006, p. 46) wonders whether there is anything stable inside the individual. In other words, one may question whether in the post-structuralist view, individuals bring with them in interaction any 'fixed' identities such as gender, ethnicity or age and build other identities such as teacher, mother and so forth. In general, it can be seen that the post-structuralist approach to identity receives criticism and that there is still an ongoing debate with regard to the fluidity of identity.

Zimmerman (1998) proposes an approach to identity that mediates between an essentialist and a non-essentialist view of identity. Specifically, Zimmerman (1998, pp. 87-90) suggests a view of identity as a component of context for talk-in-interaction and distinguishes between three types of identity: discourse, situated and transportable. Discourse identities are fundamental 'to the moment-by-moment organisation of the interaction' (Zimmerman, 1998, p. 90), where the participants assume these identities as they are involved in a variety of sequentially organised activities (for example, speaker, listener, story teller, story recipient). Situated identities emerge in particular types of situation (in addition to discourse identities) which are created and supported by the participants involved in activities (for example, presenting themselves as a complainant, call-taker and so forth), while transportable identities are those that individuals carry with them across situations at all times such as age and gender (Zimmerman, 1998, pp. 90-91).

When looking at Zimmerman's (1998) three types of identity, it can be seen that identity is constructed and situated in discourse by the participants (discourse and situated identities) who bring their identities with them as a woman or a man, young or old (transportable identities). Zimmerman's (1998) approach combines certain pre-given aspects of identity (essentialist approach) and flexible and changeable identity as socially constructed in discourse (social constructionist approach). In other words, Zimmerman's approach seems to be the common ground between essentialism and social constructionism.

In contrast to Zimmerman's (1998) model of identity where a degree of 'brought-along' identity (such as age and gender) coexists with the identity negotiated/constructed in discourse, this study adopts a social constructionist approach in the conviction that identities are flexible and context-driven. In the social constructionist view, the way people understand the world is historically and culturally specific (Burr, 2003). The concepts and categories people use are the products of a particular culture and history. The notions of children and gender, for example, have undergone significant changes within the timespan of the last fifty years or so; what was thought 'normal' or 'natural' in the past for children to do has changed (for example, they have legal rights). Similarly, the categories of man and woman were questioned with regard to the debate of how to classify people after gender reassignment surgery (Burr, 2003, pp. 3-4).

'Salience' also changes over time and place and what is regarded as 'salient' in dominant ideologies can be a constraint on individual agency. For these reasons, this study rejects the view that identity is assigned to individuals and instead of a brought-along identity (Zimmerman's transportable identities), I suggest viewing identities as constructed in discourse and therefore ideologically driven. This study focuses on the construction of ethnic identities – Greek, Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot – not because these are assigned to the students, but because these identities are influenced by ideologies attached to origin and language spoken.

#### **4.2.2 Language and ethnic identity**

Having established the frameworks and recent developments in identity theory, in this section the focus is specifically on the concept of ethnic identity and its relationship to language. Ethnic identity has been examined within various disciplines such as sociology,

anthropology, psychology, and sociolinguistics. Joseph (2004, pp. 162-163) states that 'ethnic' identity is sometimes used as a synonym of 'national' identity. Thus, he distinguishes between ethnic and national identity and maintains that ethnic identity refers to 'common descent and cultural heritage shared because of common descent'; on the contrary, national identity refers to 'political borders and autonomy, often justified by arguments centred on shared cultural heritage, but where the ethnic element is inevitably multiple' (Joseph, 2004, pp. 162-163). In this study, the two terms are used interchangeably as in SMG there is one term, *εθνικός* [ethnikos], denoting both 'national' and 'ethnic' identity.

The relationship between language and ethnic identity is not always a corresponding one. Membership of an ethnic group does not necessarily imply association with a specific language; in fact, the same language may be spoken by more than one ethnic group, while each ethnic group simultaneously maintains its distinct ethnic identity (May, 2001, p. 129). In the case of Cyprus, this suggests that SMG is spoken by Greeks and Greek-Cypriots, while each group has its own distinct identity, Greek and Cypriot, respectively. However, this is not the case in Cyprus as the current dominant ideology suggests that Greek-Cypriots define their ethnic identity through the use of SMG (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 33). Therefore, on the one hand, 'language seems straightforwardly a piece of culture', while on the other, 'language is often a political fact, at least as much as it is a cultural one' (Nash, 1989, p. 6). Although language has cultural and political aspects, Nash (1989, p. 6) stresses that 'what official or recognised languages are in any given instance is often the result of politics and power interplays'. The connection between language and national identity is a highly political and politicised matter (Omoniyi, 2010, p. 237). When looking at the case of Cyprus, the fact that SMG is the official language of both Cyprus and Greece could be the result of the political relationship between the two countries, and not of a common ethnic/national identity or Greek descent.

As already shown, the relationship between Cyprus and Greece is multi-faceted and possibly resides in the fact that GC is a dialect of SMG and that these two countries share the same religion and have some common traditions, customs, music, and literature. Although these political, religious, historical and linguistic facts created bonds between Cyprus and Greece and may have led to the establishment of SMG as the official and national language of Cyprus, GC remains the mother tongue of Greek-Cypriots. An

official language is a functional description assigned to a language by government or an institution through status planning for ‘official administrative communicative purposes’ (Omoniyi, 2010, p. 241), while a national language can refer to the language most broadly used in a specific territory and which may serve as a national symbol (Spolsky, 2004, p. 26). A national language usually has ceremonial purposes such as being the language of the national anthem (Omoniyi, 2010, p. 241). SMG is both the official and national language of Cyprus; although GC is the mother tongue of Greek-Cypriots, Cyprus does not have a national anthem in GC since this does not have an official status.

Although the relationship between language and ethnic identity affiliation may not always be a corresponding one (that is, a native French speaker is not necessarily French), Gudykunst and Schmidt (1988, p. 1) state that language usage affects the construction of ethnic identity, and ethnic identity affects language attitudes and language usage. To illustrate this, in her study on Armenian American children, Imbens-Bailey (1996, p. 437) investigated the association between being proficient in Armenian and ethnic affinity. The results showed that bilingual children in Armenian and English expressed a closer affinity with the Armenian community than those who were English monolingual. According to Imbens-Bailey (1996, pp. 424 and 437-439), the knowledge of ancestral language may contribute to the maintenance of ethnic participation and, consequently, to the reinforcement of the ethnic identity. Similarly, in the study of three immigrant groups in the USA (Armenian, Mexican and Vietnamese), Phinney *et al.* (2001, pp. 148-149) found that proficiency in ethnic language has a positive effect on ethnic identity among adolescents. In the case of Cyprus, although this is not an immigrant context, Greek-Cypriots’ knowledge of SMG may be the main link between Cyprus and Greece and the medium of expressing ethnic affiliation with Greeks. Therefore, the maintenance of SMG in Cyprus may suggest the maintenance of the Greek identity. One of the aims of this research is to find out whether and how language in Cyprus is important to ethnic identity affiliation.

Furthermore, code switching can be significant in the relationship between language and ethnic identity. According to Auer (2005a, p. 404), code switching may represent identities that go beyond the linguistic fact since being a monolingual or a bilingual speaker is not a membership category; that is, bilingual speakers, for example, do not gather themselves in groups assuming common membership merely because they speak

more than one language. It can be supposed that code switching and marked or unmarked choices may be an aspect of the construction of ethnic identity in diglossic contexts such as Cyprus. For example, what kind of ethnic identity does a diglossic speaker construct by code switching between SMG and GC in a specific context? These questions are addressed in the data analysis in Chapters 6 and 7.

From the social constructionist perspective, the study of identity and ethnic identity has taken various directions, and various approaches have been proposed aiming at a systematic discourse analysis of identity construction. De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999, p. 154) suggest that ‘there is *no such thing as the one and only national identity* in an essentialising sense’ (italics in the original) but that different identities are constructed in discourse according to context, namely, the social field, the situational setting of the discursive act and the topic of discussion. As ‘individual people change constantly in the course of their lives, be it physically, psychologically or socially’, the concept of identity denotes an element changeable through time and engaged in a process (Wodak *et al.*, 1999, p. 11). In their study of Austrian nation and identity, De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999, p. 149) examined how national sameness, uniqueness and difference are constructed in discourse and which linguistic devices and discursive strategies are used for these constructions; they suggest that their method can be applied to other cases besides the construction of Austrian identity.

Similarly, Meinhof and Galasinski (2005, p. 2) maintain that the language people use in their everyday life ‘constructs and confirms their sense of identity and belonging’. They view identity as a discourse of belonging or not belonging, which is constantly negotiated and renegotiated in localised social contexts as it is ‘an ongoing process of becoming’ (Meinhof and Galasinski, 2005, p. 8). What it means to be a mother, a man, or British, for example, is never complete; hence, identity ‘represents a snapshot of the unfolding process’ (Meinhof and Galasinski, 2005, p. 8).

Although people invoke multiple identities where identity is a choice, the society (or the community or relatives) may also provide various identities for people, which do not necessarily agree with one another. This is what Meinhof and Galasinski (2005, pp. 10-11) call ‘imposition of identities’; that is, these identities are ideologically motivated. Considering identities to be flexible and changeable does not mean that they are

haphazard because ‘if discourse is social and subject to all kinds of social and cultural rules’, the same can be said of identities (Meinhof and Galasinski, 2005, p. 11). To relate this to the case of Cyprus, although Greek-Cypriots may identify themselves as Greek-Cypriot, Cypriot, Greek, European and so forth according to the context they find themselves in, when completing an official application form for example, Greek-Cypriots may have to choose between given identities such as ‘Cypriot’ or ‘other nationality’, which is possibly due to the ideology that people born in Cyprus are Cypriot. In such cases, people cannot necessarily choose their (preferred) identity. It may be the same as that offered or it may be different such as Greek-Cypriot or Greek. However, these imposed identities are not constructed by people themselves in interaction but by society. In this study, the social constructionist approach is adopted in the view that although society may impose identities on people, people construct their own identities in discourse, and they, not society, practise this discourse themselves. As discourse can be affected by ideologies, and identities are constructed in discourse, then identities are also influenced by ideologies. Evidence for this is found in the data of this study (see Chapters 6 and 7).

Meinhof and Galasinski (2005, pp. 12-16) propose a framework different from De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999). Specifically, they suggest not considering linguistic mechanisms in terms of sameness, uniqueness and so forth as these categories may pre-judge what the contextually relevant features of identity are in a concrete community (Meinhof and Galasinski, 2005, p. 15). They maintain that there cannot be universal linguistic resources which construct identity (Meinhof and Galasinski, 2005, p. 12). The reason for this is that the discourse analysis of authentic language is ‘an interpretative, context-sensitive, qualitative reading of texts’, and it cannot be done in a mechanistic way by ticking off instances of specific lexical or grammatical items as evidence of a particular set or sets of identities (Meinhof and Galasinski, 2005, p. 16). Speakers’ linguistic resources in identity construction should not be decided in advance; what Meinhof and Galasinski (2005, pp. 15-17) have called the ‘language of belonging’ is the whole spectrum of language tools (including categories such as time and place) used to construct the speaker’s identity within the particular context.

In their work on German and Polish identities, Meinhof and Galasinski (2005, p. 20) focus on some categories such as time and place, but they do not claim that this is the extensive

list of categories within which identities on the former German-German and German-Polish and Polish-Ukrainian borders were constructed. Although they consider the Wodak *et al.*'s (1999) approach useful, they deem that it is context-insensitive (Meinhof and Galasinski, 2005, p. 17). For these researchers, identities, whether ethnic, regional or local, are context-bound; 'language constructs ethnicity here and now, rather than universally or permanently' (Meinhof and Galasinski, 2005, p. 18). Following Meinhof and Galasinski's (2005) view that the indicators of identity are multiple and varied, this study takes a bottom-up approach and does not assume a priori specific linguistic resources as identity indicators. The reason for selecting this approach is that focusing on the whole language spectrum and not on specific categories will avoid omitting something that could be useful for this study.

#### **4.2.3 Research on ethnic identity in Cyprus**

Research has been carried out on the issue of ethnic identity in Cyprus regarding the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot identities in particular (possibly due to the present political situation of Cyprus, namely, the North part of Cyprus being under Turkish occupation) and to a lesser extent, the Greek and Cypriot identities. Specifically, previous research on identity in Cyprus mainly involves studies on the construction of Greek and Turkish ethnicities in Cyprus (Pollis, 1996); the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot identities, for example, Spyrou (2002 and 2006) on children's perception of the 'Turk'; children's national and European identities (Ioannidou, 2004; Philippou, 2005); university students' construction of linguistic and social identity (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009). An overview of ethnic identity studies in Cyprus suggests that the perception and construction of the Cypriot, Greek and Greek-Cypriot identities by Greek-Cypriots, and particularly by adolescent students aged 12 to 18, has not been the focus of previous studies in Cyprus. For this reason, this study contributes to the study of ethnic identity in Cyprus by investigating specifically how Greek-Cypriot students, aged 12 to 18, construct *their* ethnic identity in discourse (and not the Greek-Cypriot versus Turkish-Cypriot identities).

With reference to ethnic identity, the prevailing language ideology in Cyprus is that GC is a dialect of SMG and, consequently, that Cypriots are ethnically Greek (Arvaniti, 2006b, pp. 25 and 33). This suggests that those Greek-Cypriots who do not consider GC as a Greek dialect may define themselves as Cypriot, whereas those Greek-Cypriots who

consider GC as a Greek dialect may define themselves as Greek-Cypriot or Greek. Nevertheless, this may not always be the case as besides language ideology, political ideology is a significant factor in the construction of ethnic identity in Cyprus.

The influence of language ideology on ethnic identity seems to have an impact on the Cypriot language policy. Ioannidou (2009a, p. 126), who has investigated the written language policies of Cyprus and the opinions of policy makers on Cypriot language policy, states that there is a strong connection between language and ethnic identity in language policy. According to Ioannidou (2009a, pp. 126-127), the Greek identity is associated with the Greek language and religion, while SMG is ‘the first and perhaps the most important component of Greek identity’ and connects Cyprus with the rest of the Greek world. According to the Cypriot policy makers and to the curricula, the ethnic survival of Greek-Cypriots depends on the preservation of their Greek identity and particularly on the preservation of SMG (Ioannidou, 2009a, p. 127). As Ioannidou (2009a, p. 127) concludes, the policy in Cyprus is clearly based on ideological and national reasoning.

Therefore, ethnic identity construction and language policy in Cyprus seems to be also influenced by political ideology. When looking at political ideologies in Cyprus, there are two kinds of nationalism which are associated with the two main large Greek-Cypriot political parties: *Greek nationalism*, associated with the right wing party and *Cypriot nationalism*, associated with the left wing party (Papadakis, 1998, p. 151). SMG has been regarded as a close link between Greek-Cypriots and their mother country Greece, and connected with the Greek ethnic identity generally promoted by the right wing ideologies (Ioannidou, 2009a, p. 113). In contrast, GC has been mainly associated with the Cypriot identity, which is generally expressed through left wing ideologies.

Greek nationalism has influenced most of the main Cypriot institutions (such as the Cypriot state and judicial system, the Cypriot political parties, the Cypriot mass media, the Cypriot economic and financial system, the Cypriot church and educational system) which have been consequently ‘hellenised’ (Mavratsas, 1999, pp. 97-98). ‘Hellenism’ is a term denoting the enduring unity of Greeks in time and space (Papadakis, 2003, p. 257). This influence is also evident in Ioannidou’s (2009a) aforementioned study on language policy in Cyprus. An example of this is the primary and secondary educational system in



Cyprus, which has until recently been a replica of the educational system of Greece and is considered the crucial mechanism for the formation of a Greek ethnic identity in Cyprus (Mavratsas, 1999, p. 98). Since the educational system of Cyprus is modelled after the Greek system, which naturally promotes the Greek identity, then the Greek identity is also promoted in Cyprus through school and through the use of SMG. Therefore, it seems that language and political ideologies are influential factors in institutions of power in Cyprus such as education; this may constitute the crucial mechanism for Greek-Cypriots' construction of ethnic identity in Cyprus. The reason for this is that children go to school and learn that SMG is the language of education, the media, religion and politics and that Cypriots are ethnically Greek. This is considered in the data analysis (see Chapters 6 and 7) which seeks to find how high school and lyceum students in Cyprus perceive, negotiate and construct their ethnic identities in a setting where two linguistic varieties are used and more than one identity (besides being Cypriot) is promoted by society.

The link between ethnic identity and political ideology in Cyprus is also present in the Greek-Cypriots' narratives. Papadakis (1998, pp. 149-156), who has studied historical narratives of nationalism in Cyprus, states that Greek-Cypriots identified themselves in the narratives with the use of pronouns such as the first person plural 'we' and 'us'. For example, two middle-aged men, one left wing and one right wing supporter, were talking about the 1974 war in Cyprus. The left wing narrator was using the pronoun 'we' to refer to Cypriots and 'they' to refer to Greeks and Turks, while the right wing narrator was using 'we' to refer to Greeks and 'they' to refer to Turks (Papadakis, 1998, pp. 156-157). In this example, the use of pronouns and their referents reflects the narrators' political ideologies. Specifically, the left wing narrator, who supports the Cypriot identity, employs 'we' to refer to Cypriots and distinguishes himself from Greeks by the use of 'they', whereas the right wing narrator, who supports the Greek identity, uses 'we' to refer to Greeks, a pronoun that in this context also includes Cypriots. In other words, the use of the same pronoun 'we' denotes different referents in each case: 'we Cypriots' for the left wing supporter and 'we Cypriots and Greeks' for the right wing supporter. This example does not only suggest that Greek-Cypriots' perception of ethnic identity is highly politicised; it also indicates a dichotomy between Greek-Cypriots in terms of two ethnic identities (a Cypriot identity or a Greek identity) that seems inextricably associated with political ideology.

With regard to this plurality of ethnic identities in Cyprus, a social survey<sup>3</sup> was carried out in 2001 among Greek-Cypriots regarding their views on ethnic identity (Peristianis, 2006, pp. 106-107). The respondents had to choose between the following ethnic labels, *Cypriot*, *more Cypriot than Greek*, *equally Cypriot and Greek*, *more Greek than Cypriot* and *Greek*, to express what best describes their views and feelings (Peristianis, 2006, p. 107). The results showed that almost half of the respondents gave priority to their Cypriot identity, while a large number seemed to acknowledge their dual identity, namely, the Greek-Cypriot identity. Very low percentages revealed that the respondents felt more Greek than Cypriot (3%) and Greek (5%). Similarly, only 10% reported that they felt more Cypriot than Greek. On the one hand, this outcome is rather surprising as it reveals the strength of the Cypriot identity in a society where the Greek element has a dominant position (Peristianis, 2006, p. 107). On the other hand, this might be expected given that Cyprus and Greece are two distinct countries with distinct social, political and economic institutions (Peristianis, 2006, p. 107). In general, these results suggest that the Cypriot identity along with the Greek-Cypriot identity are stronger in Cyprus than the Greek identity.

As the ethnic identity of adolescent students has not been the focus of previous research in Cyprus, it is significant to compare the results of this study to previous ones on primary school pupils. For example, Philippou (2005, pp. 293 and 299) investigated how ten-year-old Greek-Cypriot pupils construct social identities in discourse (Greek-Cypriot, Cypriot, Greek, Mediterranean, European, age, gender, religion, locality, pupil, child, and human). The results of her study showed that the pupils' religious and national identities (that is, Cypriot, Greek-Cypriot and Greek) were the most important, whilst their European identity was of less significance (Philippou, 2005, p. 308). Also, the pupils' Cypriot identity was more salient than the Greek identity although their speech contained hellenocentric elements (Philippou, 2005, p. 308), for example: 'we are like part of Greece', 'we've got the same blood as them' (the Greeks), 'we've got the same language' (Philippou, 2005, pp. 302-303). In their attempt to explain their Greek and Greek-Cypriot identity, pupils talked about common religion, language, customs and habits, common kinship and common bonds of blood with Greeks, and simultaneously expressed positive

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<sup>3</sup> UN Office of Project Services (2001) *Understanding Bicomunal Perceptions and Attitudes: A Survey on Political and National Perceptions*. Cyprus. This is the survey that Peristianis (2006) makes reference to.

attitudes towards the Greek people (Philippou, 2005, p. 303). In other words, these pupils considered themselves Greek for the reasons mentioned above and likewise considered Cyprus as a Greek island (Philippou, 2005, p. 302). It seems that religious identity is significant for Greek-Cypriot ten-year-old pupils and is viewed as one of the variables shared between Cyprus and Greece along with language, customs and so forth. Similar constructions are made in this study by the three age groups of students, which suggests that the political ideology (Cyprus is a Greek island; therefore, Cypriots are ethnically Greek) and language ideology (GC is a dialect of SMG; therefore, Cypriots are Greek) in Cyprus influence students' construction of ethnic identities.

Furthermore, research suggests that the self-categorisations of Greek-Cypriots are context-dependent (Mavratsas, 1999, p. 95). For example, Greek-Cypriots may perceive themselves differently according to the context of interaction and who the recipient is. If the context involves mainland Greeks, Greek-Cypriots may either feel more 'Greek' and perceive their relationship as a brotherly one or perceive it negatively and distance themselves from Greeks (Mavratsas, 1999, p. 95). In these contexts, Greek-Cypriots may accommodate their speech to that of their interlocutors to create a brotherly relationship or diverge their speech to distance themselves from Greeks (see accommodation theory Chapter 3). Similarly, Greek-Cypriots may feel more 'Cypriot' in interactions with Turkish-Cypriots. In these contexts, Greek-Cypriots may converge their speech to their Turkish-Cypriot interlocutors (by speaking GC) to emphasise their common Cypriot identity or diverge their speech (by speaking SMG) to distinguish themselves and emphasise their Greek-Cypriot identity, an identity not shared or claimed by Turkish-Cypriots.

This behaviour of identification with convergence towards Greeks or of dissimilarity/divergence from Greeks can be reflected in Greek-Cypriots' linguistic constructions of 'Greeks'. That is to say, Greek-Cypriots often use the term *καλαμαράς* [kalamaras] ('a person from Greece speaking *καλαμαρίστικα* [kalamaristika]'). This term denotes the distance or boundary that distinguishes the two groups (Mavratsas, 1999, p. 94) because a Cypriot person cannot be referred to as 'kalamaras' as he/she comes from Cyprus, whereas this term refers to people coming from Greece. According to an SMG dictionary, the term *kalamaras* has positive connotations as it denotes an educated person (Babiniotis, 2008, p. 814). Nevertheless, it is often used pejoratively by Greek-Cypriots

as a synonym of *Ελλαδίτης* [Eladitis], another term denoting mainland Greeks (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 33). Therefore, Greek-Cypriots may use the terms [kalamaras] or [Eladitis] which exclude other Greek people living outside Greece to distinguish themselves from mainland Greeks. Otherwise, if Greek-Cypriots do not wish to stress the distinction between Greeks and Cypriots, they can use the term *Ελληνας* [Elinas], a term covering all Greek people in Greece, Cyprus or elsewhere (as defined by the SMG dictionary; Babiniotis, 2008). In the same way, when mainland Greeks use the term [Eladitis], they may distance themselves from other Greek hyphenated collectives such as the Greek-Cypriots. These terms emerge in the data analysis of this research (see Chapters 6 and 7).

In general, previous studies in Cyprus suggest that political and language ideologies influence language policy (and, consequently, education, which is hellenocentric) and Greek-Cypriots' perception and construction of ethnic identities. Political beliefs play a significant role in Cyprus as they are connected to the history of the island and its present situation (the division of the island). The context of Cyprus is crucial to the construction of ethnic identity as the presence of a Turkish-Cypriot community in Cyprus possibly strengthens Greek-Cypriots' ethnic identity as an opposition to the Turkish-Cypriot element. Language ideology also affects Cypriot language policy; SMG is considered as the national language of Cyprus and as the main mechanism for defining ethnic identity in Cyprus. Previous research also suggests that although both Cypriot and Greek identities are significant for Greek-Cypriots, the Cypriot identity prevails over the Greek identity (Philippou, 2005; Peristianis, 2006). Nevertheless, Mavratsas (1999, p. 96) claims that Greek-Cypriots face a fundamental dilemma, namely, the question of a Greek identity or a Cypriot identity. I suggest that the multiplicity and flexibility of identity is very present in Greek-Cypriots' discursive construction of ethnic identity as they possibly change between ethnic labels (Greek, Greek-Cypriot, Cypriot), according to the context-situation. This hypothesis is examined in the data analysis (see Chapters 6 and 7).

### **4.3 Concluding remarks**

This chapter has examined the concepts of attitude and identity and their theoretical frameworks by focusing specifically on language attitudes and ethnic identity, respectively. The methodologies adopted for the study of language attitudes are both the mentalist (self-reports) and the behaviourist (observations) approaches. The literature review presented in this chapter suggests that Greek-Cypriots generally have positive

attitudes towards SMG and these are rather stable (based on the examination of earlier to recent studies of attitudes in Cyprus), whereas attitudes to GC are both positive and negative. Ethnic identity is examined in the framework of social constructionism (Burr, 2003) where identity is flexible, multiple and discursively constructed. Research on ethnic identity suggests that both Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot identities are important for Greek-Cypriots (nevertheless, the number of studies on these identities is limited). Following Meinhof and Galasinski's (2005) approach to identity, this study assumes no a priori specific linguistic resources as indicators of ethnic identity in Cyprus.

## **Chapter 5: Research questions and methodology**

This chapter describes the methodology used to answer the research questions of this study; namely, to identify the attitudes of Greek-Cypriot school students, aged 12 to 18, towards Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and the Greek-Cypriot variety (GC), their perception of ethnic identity and how this is constructed in discourse. This is a mixed methods study (both qualitative and quantitative data are collected) and therefore, four methods were used for the data collection: classroom observations, interviews, questionnaires, and the MGT-like experiment. The design of each method used in this study as well as the profile of the participants are described in detail in this chapter. As the participants of this research are students, permission from their parents was obtained for ethical reasons. The difficulties encountered, the limitations of the methodology, the role of the researcher, and any issues related to ethics and trustworthiness are also discussed in detail. This chapter begins with the presentation of the research methodology used in this study, followed by the profile of the participants and the description of the four data gathering methods.

### **5.1 Research methods**

Research techniques are the methods used to produce and collect data (Oppenheim, 1992, p. 6). The three types of research essentially used in applied linguistics are the qualitative, the quantitative and the mixed methods approaches (Croker, 2009, pp. 4-5). Qualitative research is based on qualitative data, which consist of observations, interviews and the subjects' life history accounts; qualitative data allow 'the voices of those being researched to be heard' (Wilkinson, 2000, p. 79). Qualitative research gathers textual data and examines them by the use of interpretive analysis (Croker, 2009, p. 5). Quantitative research collects numerical data and the examination and analysis of these data is done by the use of statistical methods (Croker, 2009, pp. 4-5). As noted in Chapter 4, the questionnaires and interviews are considered direct methods as the respondents are asked directly about language attitudes and ethnic identity; the MGT-like experiment is regarded as an indirect method as it is not asking people explicitly about their attitudes to something, but their attitudes are inferred in an indirect way (Garrett, 2010, pp. 37-42). The classroom observations are viewed as a societal treatment method where the researcher infers people's attitudes from several kinds of observed behaviours and sources (Garrett, 2010, pp. 51-52).

The mixed methods research approach focuses on the combination and collection of both qualitative and quantitative data, and its objective is to provide a depth that a single method may lack (Ivankova and Creswell, 2009, p. 136). In mixed methods research, the researcher gathers both numerical data (for example, through closed-response items on a questionnaire) and textual data (for example, interview samples) to answer the research questions more effectively (Ivankova and Creswell, 2009, p. 137). As this is a mixed methods study, the four methods of data collection are integrated or linked at one or several aspects within the study (Ivankova and Creswell, 2009, p. 137) as they all examine language attitudes and ethnic identity. The questionnaires and the interviews are focused on both language attitudes and ethnic identity; the MGT examines language attitudes while classroom observations examine language use in the classroom.

The mixed methods approach has been selected in this study for triangulation purposes. Denzin (1978, p. 291) defines triangulation as ‘the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon’. It allows the researcher to be more confident about the findings resulting from the data gathering, which constitutes in general the strong point of this multi-method design (Jick, 1979, p. 608). The triangulation design is considered the most common and the most complex mixed methods design (Ivankova and Creswell, 2009, p. 141). Mixed methods research has three main characteristics in terms of the process of gathering, analysing and mixing qualitative and quantitative data in a study (Ivankova and Creswell, 2009, p. 138). According to the first characteristic, *timing*, the collection and analysis of qualitative and quantitative data is done sequentially or simultaneously. With regard to the second characteristic, *weighting*, equal emphasis is given to both qualitative and quantitative data or to one type of data. Regarding the third characteristic, *mixing*, qualitative and quantitative data are incorporated into the study during the data gathering, during the data analysis or during the discussion of results (Ivankova and Creswell, 2009, p. 138).

When using the triangulation design, the quantitative and qualitative data are gathered simultaneously (*timing*), emphasis may be given to both types or to one of the two types of data (*weighting*), and mixing occurs either at the data analysis or the interpretation and discussion of results (Ivankova and Creswell, 2009, p. 142). In this study, both qualitative and quantitative data are collected and analysed simultaneously and equal importance is given to both types of data as they are both focused on exploring Greek-Cypriots’

language attitudes and ethnic identity. Mixing the two types of data occurs mainly in the discussion of results (see Chapter 8) where the findings of each method are compared and contrasted to arrive at more definite results. The triangulation design involves gathering data from various sources, using various data collection methods and theories to strengthen the conclusions resulting from the data analysis and discussion of results (Rallis and Rossman, 2009, pp. 265-266).

The language in which the data collection was carried out is SMG, with the exception of the interviews. In the interviews, I used a mixture of both SMG and GC with the participants to make the interaction less formal and make them feel comfortable in expressing themselves. Otherwise, the use of SMG would possibly make the students pay attention to how they speak and not what they say. In this study, the four sets of data can be grouped in two categories of qualitative and quantitative data. The qualitative data, the classroom observations and the interviews may be viewed as interactional data produced in the exchange between teachers and students in the first instance and between researcher and participant in the second; in these data, a discourse approach is used for the analysis. All qualitative data were translated into English using an approach faithful to meaning; that is, the purpose of the translation was to transfer the SMG data to English without changing the meaning of the sentences. The translated data were transcribed by the use of conversation analysis conventions.

The questionnaires and MGT, quantitative data, may be viewed as self-reporting data not produced in interaction, although in the questionnaire a few students attempted to transfer some messages to the researcher about some points they had not agreed with in the questions. This suggests that although the questionnaire was not produced in the same interactive way as the interviews and classroom observations, some students chose to use the questionnaire interactively and communicate with the researcher. In other words, these students not only expressed their opinion about the questionnaire, but also stressed their role (agency) in this research as the respondents of the questionnaire. Statistical methods (SPSS 19 statistical software) were used for the analysis of the MGT and the questionnaire data (except Question 5 in the questionnaire which is an open-ended question). As the four sets of data are divided into the two aforementioned categories, the presentation and description of the four methods in this chapter are also divided into qualitative and quantitative data.



The originality of the present study on the linguistic situation of Cyprus resides in the combination of the four research methods (classroom observations, questionnaires, interviews, and the MGT-like experiment) in one study, in the choice of age as the main variable, and in the combination of both language attitudes and ethnic identity. Gender is not a variable in this study, as analysing two variables in one study would extend the focus (there would be a need for background theory on gender and two types of analysis, on age and gender, respectively). Also, I hypothesised that age was a more salient variable than gender to focus on in this study as the participants are the young population of Cyprus and therefore, focusing on their language attitudes, ethnic identity and language use could provide insights about the future status and vitality of SMG and GC in Cyprus; such findings could be useful for language policy makers and language planners. In general, as school promotes the Greek language and identity, it was thought important to find how students' language attitudes and ethnic identities are constructed from early to late adolescence (between 12 and 18 years old) in a Greek-centred school context such as Cyprus.

A further reason for focusing on age is that the language attitudes and particularly the ethnic identity of Greek-Cypriot adolescents have not been widely studied in Cyprus (see Chapter 4). Previous research on language attitudes in Cyprus mainly involves either children under ten years old (Papapavlou, 1988; Pavlou, 1997), university students (Papapavlou, 1998), or high school and university students (Tsiplakou, 2004). Likewise, previous research on identity in Cyprus mainly involves studies on the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot identities (such as Spyrou's 2002 and 2006 research on children's perception of the 'Turk'); children's national identities of primary school children (Ioannidou, 2004; Philippou, 2005); and university students' construction of linguistic and social identity (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009). In contrast, the present study focuses specifically on the students' self-perception and construction of ethnic identities (not on the perception of the 'Turk'). Besides the age variable, the study of both language attitudes and ethnic identity in combination with the investigation of the linguistic setting of Cyprus not only provides a general picture of the sociolinguistic context of Cyprus, but also an understanding of the sociolinguistic situation. As shown in Chapter 4, language attitudes, ethnic identity and language use are interrelated issues, influencing one another and therefore, these issues should be examined as a whole and not as single entities.

### **5.1.1 The participants of this study**

This study took place in Greek-speaking state schools in Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus. The choice to explore students' linguistic behaviour in the classroom, language attitudes and ethnic identities in the capital of Cyprus is because this is the place where people normally speak the standard variety and in the case of Nicosia, the variety closest to SMG. Therefore, three state schools were selected in the centre of Nicosia to conduct the observations and questionnaires, whereas the interviews and MGT took place outside the school setting.

The 450 participants of this study were male and female students attending Greek-speaking state schools in Nicosia, specifically high school and lyceum students. The students, who were unknown to the researcher before the beginning of the research, were selected according to three main criteria: age, nationality, and type of school. The data collection engaged three main age groups: 12, 15 and 18-year-old students. The students' nationality was (Greek-) Cypriot and they attended state schools in Cyprus where the language of instruction is SMG. The reason for focusing on students attending state schools is that the language of instruction in most private schools in Cyprus is English (Arvaniti, 2006a, p. 5), whereas for the purposes of this research I needed students studying in Greek-speaking schools. Students and teachers in state schools must use SMG in the classroom as that is the official language of Cyprus and the language of education (Ioannidou, 2009a, pp. 112-115).

Ethics and trustworthiness are essential issues to consider when conducting quantitative and qualitative research (Dörnyei, 2007). Obtaining permission from the parents whose children participated in the classroom observations and the questionnaires was not necessary as the students were anonymous to the researcher and there was no personal contact. Nonetheless, the interviews and MGT involved personal contact and therefore, the participants, who were not anonymous to the researcher (they were found through acquaintances), were treated with anonymity and confidentiality and were reassured that their personal details would remain anonymous and confidential. Also, for ethical reasons, informed consent (see Appendices I and J) was obtained from the parents whose children participated in the MGT and interviews before carrying out the research as most of the students were minors.

During the data collection, I did not reveal the full extent of the aims of this study to the participants because their behaviour and reports would be possibly biased. During the classroom observations, the teachers were aware that this was research in linguistics and that I was examining the students' linguistic behaviour in the classroom; teachers were not aware that I was examining their linguistic behaviour as well. The students were only told that I was interested in observing their lessons. During the questionnaires, interviews and MGT, the students were told that they were participating in a study about Cyprus, language and ethnic identity but no further details were given to them.

## **5.2 Qualitative data**

This section focuses on the description and presentation of the qualitative data, classroom observations and interviews, and how these two methods were designed and carried out as well as their strengths and weaknesses as data collection methods.

### **5.2.1 Classroom observations**

Observation is an essential part of the research methodology used in ethnography (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 178-179). Cowie (2009, p. 166) defines observation as 'the conscious noticing and detailed examination of participants' behaviour in a naturalistic setting'. In applied linguistics, this may be any environment where language use is being examined such as a classroom, a bilingual family home or a workplace (Cowie, 2009, p. 166). In this study, this environment is a diglossic classroom and the participants of this research are school students.

#### **5.2.1.1 Aim of classroom observations**

Classroom observations were conducted to provide information on teachers' and students' linguistic behaviour in the learning environment. In other words, classroom observations were used to give a general picture of how students and teachers speak in the classroom as well as how teachers respond to the students' use of GC. I selected this research technique because it is a very useful tool as there is no alternative for first-hand experience of a research site (Cowie, 2009, p. 168). The focus on language use in the classroom is of great significance as students and teachers must use SMG, even though their native variety is GC. Nevertheless, GC can be used in the classroom to improve communication, particularly with very young students (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2005, pp. 167-168). This technique can be related to the concept of translanguaging which proposes

using both languages in bilingual education rather than separating the two (Lewis, Jones, and Baker, 2012, p. 667); in this way, the strategic use of both varieties (code switching or code mixing) may enhance the learning process. Translanguaging also challenges the concept of diglossia in that languages are not distributed in separate functions or ‘placed in a hierarchy according to whether they have more or less power’ (Lewis, Jones, and Baker, 2012, p. 656) but are seen to coexist in the same space.

In addition to the classroom observation data, the other research techniques (questionnaires, interviews and MGT) were used to collect data regarding students’ beliefs, opinions and values on language and ethnic identity. Specifically, the objective of these observations goes beyond the mere analysis of classroom talk as it also studies how students’ linguistic behaviour in the classroom may be related to their attitudes towards SMG and GC and to their perceptions of ethnic identity.

#### **5.2.1.2 Gatekeepers, type of lessons and kinds of data collected**

The first step during the preparation for classroom observations involves entering the field. As an outside researcher, I had to gain permission through a gatekeeper (someone who controls a symbolic gate; Cowie, 2009, p. 167) to have access to the research site, in this case, state schools (high school and lyceums) in Nicosia. I had to secure institutional approval from the Ministry of Education and Culture of Cyprus and permission from the principal of each school and subsequently, from the individual teachers. In general, no difficulties arose in gaining official permissions; nor did particular problems appear before or during the classroom observations, since they did not involve personal contact with the students.

Classroom observations took place in three different schools; three observations were conducted for each year and for each lesson to make a total of nine classroom observations (different students in each classroom). In each classroom, there were approximately 25 male and female students. Most of the students were Greek-Cypriots, while very few of them were Greek or another nationality such as Romanian- or Bulgarian-Cypriots. It was not difficult to discern whether the students were Greek-Cypriots (or Romanian-Cypriots, for example) because of their GC accent. Similarly, Greek students were easily identifiable because of their SMG accent. With reference to the teachers, I observed both male and female teachers, aged between 35 and 60, giving lessons in class to observe

whether the age and the gender of the teacher had any influence on the students' language use. All teachers were Greek-Cypriots except for the teacher of Modern Greek for the 12-year-old students who was Greek.

The type of lesson was selected in consideration of the objectives of the classroom observations. The objective was to explore students' linguistic behaviour in the classroom in whether they used SMG, GC or both; how they expressed themselves and whether this behaviour was associated with their attitudes towards the two varieties and with their perception of ethnic identity. For these reasons, three types of lesson were selected: Modern Greek, History and Mathematics (Maths). The first lesson selected for observation was Modern Greek; the aim was to observe students during a lesson devoted purely to language learning and where linguistic expression and competence are necessary (see Chapter 2 for the changes involving the introduction of GC in this language lesson). The second observation was a Maths lesson in which less attention is paid to language use and expression is limited because of the use of numbers and specific terminology. The third lesson observed was History as it is a lesson not devoted to language, but for which linguistic expression and competence in SMG are required. In this way, students' linguistic behaviour was observed during three different types of lesson, each requiring different degrees of language competence and expression.

The classroom observations had both a structured and an unstructured form. In a structured observation (which is similar to the quantitative form), the researcher has a specific focus and observation categories, whereas in an unstructured observation (which is similar to the qualitative form), the researcher does not have a specific and clear focus (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 179). Instead, the researcher observes first and then decides what is important or not for the research (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 179). Using structured observational guidelines makes the task of documenting and coding more straightforward and achievable, and generates results that are comparable across classrooms and over time (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 185). However, a highly structured observation may miss some very important features of the data as it relies on targeted categories (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 186). For these reasons, the classroom observations in this study had both structured and unstructured forms as a combination of data collection tools were used such as observational checklists (structured form), field notes (unstructured form) and audio recordings (unstructured form, and substantial amounts of data to choose from).

With regard to audio recordings, each lesson lasted 40 minutes; hence, around 360 minutes of recorded data were gathered. The recordings were not wholly transcribed; after listening to each recorded lesson many times, the most important segments were selected, transcribed, and translated into English, followed by a conversation analysis of the data (see Chapter 6). These segments are evidence of the language use in the Cypriot classroom, namely, of how teachers and students speak, with a specific focus on code switching (and/or code mixing) between SMG and GC, at what levels it appears (pronunciation, syntax, and lexis) and on what occasions. Although SMG is the language of instruction, these segments are evidence of how the mother tongue, GC, is part of classroom talk.

Regarding the observational checklists, these were divided into three parts. At the top of the checklist, there was a section including the date of observation, the name of the school, the type of lesson, the age of the students and the gender of the teacher, and it was completed right at the beginning of the lesson (see Appendix A). This information about the setting of the observation would contribute to the organisation of the documentation. The first part involved students' and teachers' language use in the classroom; that is, whether they used GC or not and if they did, how often and at what levels. There were two tables that contained three levels of dialect use in the classroom, namely, pronunciation, syntax and lexis, with examples to be filled in and any possible phenomena that would appear in their speech (such as repetition). The second part was filled in with general remarks on the students' linguistic behaviour in the classroom. The third part included five hypotheses in terms of the teachers' attitudes towards the students' use of GC where I simply wrote 'yes' or 'no' and comments if there were any. The three parts of the checklist were completed either during the observation or right after the end of each observation.

When looking at the field notes, these are detailed notes taken during or after the observations about what is going on in the research site, about the people, and about the interactions (Cowie, 2009, p. 167). The field notes taken during the observations involved both general and specific information such as the nationality of the students (if there were students of other nationalities), their general behaviour in the classroom and their linguistic behaviour (use of SMG, use of GC or both), and their performance in the

classroom. The field notes were relatively short in length as they were made along with the observational checklists.

### **5.2.2 Interviews**

The interview is often viewed as a core method in qualitative research (Richards, 2009, p. 183) and can be defined as ‘a conversation with a purpose’ (Burgess, 1997, p. 102). I selected this research technique as the use of questions and answers to extract information is a method that provides different ways of examining people’s experiences and views on various topics (Richards, 2009, p. 183). In contrast to a media interview (which can be very interrogatory), in a research interview the relationship between interviewer and interviewee is likely to be generally collaborative and exploratory (Richards, 2009, p. 184). In fact, a certain level of confidentiality and trust must be established in an individual interview and if handled correctly, it is possible that the respondents will give their true views rather than, for example, in a group interview (Brown, 2001, p. 5), possibly because of the presence of more people. As the researcher of this study, I conducted the interviews myself.

In this study, the interviews were aimed at examining students’ language attitudes and ethnic identity. Specifically, these interviews sought to find out students’ attitudes towards GC (their mother tongue) and SMG (the official language of Cyprus) and their speakers. For example, the students were asked to describe and characterise the two varieties and their speakers by the use of adjectives. The interviews also explored students’ awareness of the relationship and usage of the two varieties, in addition to focusing on the issue of ethnic identity. That is to say, they investigated students’ perception and construction of ethnic identities by asking them, for example, to define themselves ethnically. The aim was to find out how students use language to construct their ethnic identities by allowing linguistic resources and any other information to emerge in the data such as accent, lexical choice and so forth.

#### **5.2.2.1 Design and conduct of the interview**

The type of interview used in this research was the semi-structured interview. In a semi-structured interview, the researcher has a clear picture of the topics that need to be covered and for this reason, an interview guide is used (Richards, 2009, pp. 185-186). In this project, the interview guide consisted of approximately 24 questions (see Appendix B)

and was designed in a way that language attitudes would be explored first, followed by questions about ethnic identity. As the interview was semi-structured, new questions and sub-themes were allowed to emerge and were discussed. In contrast to a structured interview which has a controlled form and allows little variation, in a semi-structured interview, unanticipated directions developing throughout the interview may lead to new areas (Richards, 2009, pp. 184 and 186). As a result, the researcher covers the topics prepared in advance and simultaneously allows new directions to develop; in this way, the interviewee may consider this as conversing rather than answering questions (Richards, 2009, p. 186).

The interviews were conducted in Nicosia, outside the school setting and specifically, in the interviewees' houses. Six male and six female students were interviewed, four students from each age group (12, 15 and 18-year-old students). The interviewees, who were unknown to the researcher, were selected based on the following criteria: age (students belonged to one of the three age groups); nationality (they were Greek-Cypriot); and type of school (they attended state schools). I was introduced to these students through a teacher who was willing to help find students to participate. Before the interviews, informed consent was obtained from the parents of the students, allowing them to participate in this research (see Appendix J).

At the beginning of the interviews, the students were informed about the general focus of the interview (language and ethnic identity) but without being made explicitly aware that the analysis also examines their own attitudes and perceptions. The interviews were recorded and the students were reassured that nobody would listen or have access to those recordings besides myself. The interviews lasted almost an hour for the group of 18-year-old students and 20 to 30 minutes for the groups of 12 and 15-year-old students; this is possibly due to the fact that the 18-year-old students (who are closer to my age) seemed more relaxed and more confident in expressing themselves than the other two age groups. In fact, they seemed very interested in the subject and were actively participating, answering and posing questions, and expressing their views. In contrast, the 12 and 15-year-old students were shyer during the interviews and less confident in expressing their views. Also, in the case of the 12-year-old students, the questions were simplified and more explanatory so that the students comprehended the questions. Their answers were short and I directed the discussion most of the time.



With regard to the language of the interviews, I used a mixture of both SMG and GC so that the nature of the interview would be more relaxed and informal for the interviewees. As noted in Chapter 2, GC is Greek-Cypriots' mother tongue and therefore, the variety they use at home and in everyday informal interactions. The use of SMG would have made the interview more formal as this is the variety used in formal domains (such as education and the media) and this could have made the students reluctant to speak and express themselves freely as they would be more focused on how they say things rather than what they say. In fact, the choice of variety by the students was not the focus of the interviews, although it was taken into consideration during the data analysis and the discussion of results. In their turn, the students also used a mixture of both SMG and GC, particularly the 15 and 18-year-old students who were more fluent and linguistically more competent than the 12-year-old students whose answers were generally brief and mainly in GC.

During the interviews, I took a few notes that involved the age and gender of the students and the name of their school; this information would be important during the organisation of the documentation. As already noted, a mixture of SMG and GC was used in the interviews and therefore, the interviews were recorded and fully transcribed in SMG as GC has no official orthography. After many readings, each interview was coded and divided into themes which would facilitate the data analysis, and comments were made in the margin of each page. During the data analysis, the interviews were examined in detail and the most interesting segments (relating to language use, language attitudes and ethnic identity) were identified, selected and then translated into English for further analysis.

### **5.2.3 Strengths and weaknesses of observational data and interviews**

The main strength of observational data is that they allow researchers to observe directly what people do, say, and how they behave without relying on what they report they do (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 185). In other words, observational data may provide a study with more objectivity than second-hand self-reported data and are very useful for 'providing descriptive contextual information about the setting of the targeted phenomenon' (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 185). One of the weaknesses of observational data is that only observable phenomena can be observed, while, for example, researchers in applied

linguistics very often examine variables and processes which are psychological and hence, unobservable (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 185).

The interview as a data collection method in research is not only used for simple elicitation and analysis of results but it also allows the researcher to explore people's beliefs, perceptions and so forth in depth (Richards, 2009, pp. 183 and 187). However, the interview has its drawbacks as do all data collection methods (Richards, 2009, p. 195). A drawback related to the procedural nature of interviewing is that it is time-consuming (Brown, 2001, p. 5), not only in its preparation and conduction but also in its analysis. Another drawback identified by Labov (1972, pp. 43 and 209) is the Observer's Paradox; namely, an interview is altered by the presence of an outside observer who 'may wonder if the responses in a tape-recorded interview are not a special product of the interaction between the interviewer and the subject'. In terms of this, De Fina (2011, p. 27) argues that the data produced in interaction, including interviews, are essentially context-bound and hence, the analytical separation between the observer and the observed is not possible. This also applies to the present study where although my presence as a researcher has influenced the students (such as accommodating their speech to my speech), it has nevertheless provided the research with useful data and new insights. Labov (1972, p. 168) suggests that a way to mitigate this limitation is to observe people's language use in natural settings such as in everyday life situations where there is no explicit observation.

### **5.3 Quantitative data**

This section focuses on the description and presentation of the quantitative data, questionnaires and MGT, and how these two methods were designed and carried out as well as their strengths and weaknesses as data collection methods.

#### **5.3.1 Questionnaires**

Questionnaire can be defined as 'any written instruments that present respondents with a series of questions or statements to which they are to react either by writing out their answers or selecting from among existing answers' (Brown, 2001, p. 6). I selected this research technique as questionnaires (including mostly closed-response items) can be answered rather quickly and allow gathering a large sample of data (Brown, 2009, pp. 205-206). A questionnaire was designed for the participants (students) to answer a variety of questions regarding, for example, which linguistic variety they use with certain people

(family members, friends and so forth) and on certain occasions (such as when writing mobile text messages). This would provide information on the distribution of domains of SMG and GC in the linguistic setting of Cyprus. The questionnaire was also designed so that it was possible to infer students' attitudes towards SMG and GC and their speakers as well as their perceptions of ethnic identity (such as whether they consider themselves Greek, Cypriot or Greek-Cypriot).

#### **5.3.1.1 Distribution and collection of questionnaires**

The distribution of questionnaires took place in state schools in Nicosia (the capital of Cyprus) where the language of instruction is SMG. To enter state schools, it was necessary to gain permission from the Ministry of Education and Culture of Cyprus not only to enter the school context, but also to distribute the questionnaires to the students. At first, the Ministry rejected the questionnaire and asked for some corrections to be made and to be re-sent. A correction concerned the term 'diglossic', which was in the title of my research; it was translated in SMG as 'διδλωσσικό' [diglosiko] (bilingual). The Ministry suggested that this term implies that GC and SMG are different linguistic varieties (as it was translated as 'bilingual'). For this reason, after consulting SMG dictionaries (Babinotis, 2008), it was found that the correct translation of 'diglossia' in SMG is *διμορφία* [dimorfia] (meaning 'two forms of a language'). This incident reveals the strength of language ideology in Cyprus which upholds that GC is a dialect of SMG and confirms the fact that any implication that GC and SMG are different varieties is rejected by institutions of power in Cyprus such as the Ministry of Education and Culture. After the implementation of the feedback, the application and the corrected version of the questionnaire were sent again and were therefore approved.

The distribution and collection of the questionnaires lasted for eight months. The questionnaires were completed by students of 12, 15 and 18 years of age. Each classroom contained around 20 to 25 students and therefore, about 400 questionnaires were collected. I distributed and collected most questionnaires myself, while in a few classrooms, the teachers wished to distribute and collect the questionnaires. There were two criteria for the selection of valid questionnaires. Firstly, a questionnaire was not valid if the student who completed it was not Greek-Cypriot as this project focuses only on the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus and, secondly, incomplete questionnaires were discarded (20 out of 400).

During the data gathering stage, the students were not made completely aware of the goals of this project to ensure they would give their unbiased views; therefore, they were reassured that there were no correct or incorrect answers. Students were also told that this questionnaire was a part of a university research study and that it was not a school task. I advised the students to complete the questionnaire as they wished and if they had any questions to ask their teacher or me. No particular questions were asked. Also, reassurance of anonymity or confidentiality was not necessary since the students were not asked to provide their names or personal details during the completion of the questionnaires.

### **5.3.1.2 Design of the questionnaire**

The questionnaire consisted of six questions in total with both closed-response items and open-response items (see Appendix F). In closed-response items, respondents are required to choose their answer from a limited list (Brown, 2009, p. 201). Closed-response items are used to gather numerical data to find out the differences and similarities between items and categories of items by the use of statistical analysis (Brown, 2009, p. 202). In the questionnaire, there were five closed-response items. Question 1 involved a multiple-choice question where students had to state which variety they use in certain occasions; the aim of this question was to find out how students use SMG and GC and whether their language use exhibits diglossic features. Question 2 was a five-point Likert scale *agree–disagree* question; the aim of this question was to find out the students' attitudes towards SMG and GC based on the extent to which they agree or disagree with the question-statements. Questions 3 and 6 were of the *yes-no* type; the aim of these questions was to find out the students' attitudes towards SMG and GC and their perceptions of ethnic identity. Question 4 had the form of a list with adjectives where students had to circle two adjectives to complete two sentences in order to characterise the Greek and the Greek-Cypriot speaker respectively; the aim of this question was to find out the students' attitudes towards the Greek and the Greek-Cypriot speaker. As the questionnaire data provided mainly quantitative data, the IBM SPSS 19 statistical software was used to process and analyse the results. During the statistical analysis, I transferred the questionnaire data on the software. The software processed the data and produced two types of results; one set of overall results (regardless of the age of the students) and one set of results according to the age variable (the answers provided by the three age groups

separately). Having analysed the data, I created tables with the percentages resulting from the processing.

With reference to open-response items, these ask respondents to answer in their own words by writing in the space provided and allow the researcher to find out people's thoughts about a specific topic in an unstructured way (Brown, 2009, p. 201). In contrast to closed-response items, open-response items do not confine respondents to a list of answers, but allow them instead to express themselves fully, to elaborate and explain their answers. In this way, open-response items explore an issue in depth (Brown, 2009, p. 202). In the questionnaire of this study, Question 5 was an open-response item of fill-in type, specifically, sentence completion. This question consisted of six incomplete sentences that the respondents had to complete in their own words (for example, 'I consider myself ...' or 'I speak ... because ...'). Having examined all answers given by the students, only the answers related to language use, language attitudes and ethnic identity were selected, translated into English and were further analysed (the answers unrelated to the purposes of this study were not translated). At the top of the questionnaire, there was also a section with fill-in items that the respondents had to complete at the beginning such as age, male or female, nationality (Cypriot or other), area of residence, name of school and class. These items are called biodata items and are used to collect and organise information about the respondents (Brown, 2009, p. 202). As already mentioned, the respondents were not asked to provide their names and therefore, remained anonymous.

The reason for selecting more closed-response items than open-response items is that the first may be answered rather quickly and by a large number of people, while the latter are more time-consuming and they are normally completed by a smaller number of people (Brown, 2009, pp. 205-206). Therefore, closed-response items would take less time for the students to complete than open-response items and in this way, the questionnaire would respect the time specified by the school principal and by the teachers. Also, if the questionnaire consisted mostly of open-response items, this would possibly be more difficult for the students because they would have to produce their written answers and this could get them frustrated and result in them not answering the questions (Brown, 2009, p. 214).

### 5.3.2 Matched guise technique

As this is a mixed methods study, a technique similar to the matched guise technique was also used for the data gathering of this project. The MGT was first developed by Lambert and his colleagues (Lambert *et al.*, 1960) and has been used to measure group evaluations to specific languages and their speakers. In matched guise experiments, participants ('judges') listen to the recorded speech of a single speaker who reads out the same passage many times, with the only difference being the language, dialect, regional or social accent variation (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003, pp. 17 and 52). Therefore, the participants are asked to evaluate each speaker they hear on various personality traits (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003, p. 52). However, the participants in matched guise experiments are not aware that they judge the same speaker twice or more using a different variety every time (Lambert *et al.*, 1960, p. 44). Attitude rating questionnaires are used in matched guise studies for the participants to fill in after listening to each speaker (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003, p. 17). Although participants are usually aware that this is an attitude rating task, they think they are evaluating the various speakers ('guises') speaking normally rather than evaluating the variety or accent used by one and the same speaker in each recording (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003, p. 17).

This research technique was selected to infer students' attitudes towards SMG and GC in an indirect way as the students were not explicitly aware that they were evaluating the same speaker using SMG and GC. This MGT-like experiment is based on the MGT but it is not an actual MGT as only two recordings of the same passage were created, one in SMG and one in GC, by the same speaker. In other words, MGT was used as a guide to this experiment. With reference to the actual MGT methodology, an MGT research was conducted by Bourhis and Giles (1976) in Wales. The purpose of their research was to conduct MGT in a naturalistic context where the participants are not aware of their participation in the experiment and demonstrate whether the broadness of a non-standard accent affects the listener's reactions in regional contexts. The participants, a theatre audience, were Anglo-Welsh speakers (English speakers) and bilingual Welsh speakers (both English and Welsh speakers; Bourhis and Giles, 1976 pp. 13-14). They completed a questionnaire after listening to a recorded message (a plea requesting cooperation) which was played over a theatre loudspeaker system. A bilingual speaker read the same message four times; in Standard Welsh, in RP (Received Pronunciation), in a broad South

Welsh Accented English and in a mild South Welsh Accented English (Bourhis and Giles, 1976 pp. 13-14).

In the present research, the use of more regional GC accents could confuse the students who are mainly exposed to SMG and the GC koine spoken in Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, particularly the young students, and for this reason only two recordings were made. A 23-year-old Greek-Cypriot female speaker was selected for the two recordings, because she was very fluent in both SMG and GC; it is possible that the female voice triggered a particular response from both male and female participants. Previous studies on language use by male and female speakers (Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1984) suggest that women are more prone to the use of standard forms, whereas men make more use of non-standard forms as a signal of their masculinity. Nevertheless, if these observations reflect the real male and female linguistic behaviour, then the use of either a male or female speaker in this study could affect the participants' judgement. The speaker read out the same passage in the two varieties many times until the final two versions were recorded for the participants to listen to. In other words, the only variable that changed in each recording is the variety used, while other variables such as speech rate and pitch were kept constant (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003, p. 52). The two guises were two and a half minutes long. In the passage, the speaker narrated an experience she had in the past when she went to Italy for her holidays and missed her flight back to England (see Appendix C).

Six male and six female Greek-Cypriot students were selected to participate in the MGT (not the same students who participated in the interviews), four from each age group. The students were residents of Nicosia, and attended Greek-speaking state schools there. The participants were not told that they were going to hear the same voice twice, once in SMG and once in GC. Instead, they were told that they would hear two women narrating a personal experience and that they should complete a questionnaire after each hearing. The participants were not aware that this technique was aimed at eliciting their attitudes towards SMG, GC and their speakers.

Three main dimensions of evaluation are attached to language varieties and their speakers and are established across many communities; these dimensions consist of prestige, social attractiveness, and dynamism (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003, p. 53). In their





The MGT data are quantitative data and therefore, the IBM SPSS 19 statistical software was used to process the results of this study. Specifically, each bipolar trait was analysed statistically and illustrated in percentages on the seven-point scale. The data were also analysed in terms of statistical significance. Having completed the MGT table, the participants had to complete the second section of the questionnaire. This consisted of four additional open-ended questions about each speaker that the students had to answer very briefly. Analysing the open-ended questions, which required a qualitative approach, was a very straightforward process as the answers were very brief. 12 samples were collected for the MGT and none was discarded, although there were a minor number of responses missing on some descriptive traits.

### **5.3.3 Strengths and weaknesses of questionnaires and MGT**

Questionnaires allowed the collection of a large amount of data in a short period of time. However, social desirability bias is a very common problem regarding questionnaires (Dörnyei and Taguchi, 2010, p. 8). In this case, the respondents do not always give true answers but they provide instead what they consider a desirable or expected answer is (Dörnyei and Taguchi, 2010, p. 8). As a result, this bias threatens the validity of the research as the respondents do not provide true answers.

The use of MGT in attitude research enables the researcher to examine people's attitudes towards linguistic varieties and their speakers and in case of significant consistency in the evaluations of a group of judges, these may represent the stereotyped impressions of that group towards the speakers of the specific linguistic variety (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970, p. 146). As other research methods, MGT has certain limitations and has been criticised because it investigates language varieties out of context (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003, p. 18). Specifically, the fact that this experiment is not carried out in a real life social context, the evaluations given by the participants 'seem somewhat artificial' (Bourhis and Giles, 1976, p. 13).

### **5.4 The role of the researcher and limitations of the study**

During research, various factors such as the ethnic identity, gender, status, age, and the language used by the researcher can influence the participants' behaviour (Baker, 1992, p. 19). For example, my presence as a young Greek-Cypriot (ethnic identity) female (gender) researcher (status) could influence and bias the participants' behaviour.

Specifically, the participants of this study were possibly less influenced by my presence during the implementation of the questionnaires and MGT where my role was not prominent (there was no particular interaction with the students) and more influenced during the classroom observations (see section 5.2.3 for the Observer's Paradox) and the interviews, in particular, where I actively interacted with the participants.

During the classroom observations, the teachers and students were not informed in detail of the goals of this project to avoid any biases. According to the Observer's Paradox (Labov, 1972), if teachers and students were aware that the aim of these observations was to observe their language use in the classroom, this could be affected as the act of explicit observation may change the observed person's behaviour. Specifically, they would be possibly more careful when speaking and they would also try to avoid using GC vocabulary and pronunciation. As a result, the data of language use collected in the classroom would not be authentic and valid.

Furthermore, the language I used during the interviews, my role and gender as a female researcher and investigator as well as the recordings that took place may have affected the students' language use and have biased their responses. Specifically, the interviewees could have been affected by my presence and attempted to provide the answers that they thought would seem desirable or expected and not what they actually believe (social desirability bias phenomenon; Dörnyei and Taguchi, 2010). A case related to social desirability bias (where respondents wish to provide an expected answer) is that of self-deception whereby the respondents do not diverge from the truth consciously, but because they deceive themselves, and not only the researcher (Dörnyei and Taguchi, 2010, pp. 8-9).

Nonetheless, all these issues were considered before and during carrying out this research where I maintained as neutral a stance as possible to reduce the aforementioned limitations. In addition, the triangulation technique (Denzin, 1978) was used in this study (see section 5.1), aimed at comparing and contrasting the results and providing this study with as valid and definite results as possible.

### **5.5 Concluding remarks**

This study examines the language attitudes and ethnic identity perception and construction in the discourse of Greek-Cypriot students by combining four data gathering methods: observations, interviews, questionnaires, and MGT. The use of questionnaires was an advantage in this study as a substantial amount of data were collected in contrast to the smaller amount of data collected from the observations, interviews and MGT which were nevertheless sufficient for the purposes of this study. The combination of multiple methods (mixed methods research) was used to collect not only a large amount of data but also various kinds of data to cross-check and validate the results of this research and arrive at more definite and general conclusions (triangulation technique; Denzin, 1978). To avoid any biases, the participants were not completely aware of the purposes of this study and were reassured during the implementation of interviews, questionnaires and MGT that there were no right or wrong answers. I attempted to reduce the number of limitations posited by the nature of the study by assuming a neutral position (as far as was possible). The aim was to infer the participants' real language attitudes, beliefs and ethnic identity perceptions.

## **Chapter 6: Data analysis and discussion of results: classroom observations and interviews**

This chapter presents the analysis of the qualitative data and is divided into two main sections: classroom observations and interviews. The first section analyses classroom observations, involving a microanalysis (focus on language structure) and a macroanalysis (focus on language use and on age variable). It then proceeds to the discussion of results and the conclusions drawn from the analysis. Classroom observational data have shown that GC is present in both students' and teachers' speech and that the use of GC and SMG have various functions during the lesson. The second section is a combination of the analysis of the interview data on Greek-Cypriot students' language attitudes and construction of ethnic identity, and a discussion of results. The interview data are divided into sub-themes and illustrated by excerpts.

### **6.1 Classroom observation analysis**

The classroom observations undertaken in this study focused on how teachers and students speak in the classroom; that is, which language variety they use and whether there is code switching (alternating between varieties) or code mixing (mixing two varieties) between SMG and GC, at what levels it appears and on what occasions. The results of these observations provide preliminary information on the relationship between the Cypriot language policy, which places SMG as the official language of education, and the actual linguistic practices in the classroom as well as how the education system may affect the students' attitudes towards SMG and GC and their perception of ethnic identity. The classroom observations also aimed to find out whether there are any differences or similarities regarding the linguistic behaviour of 12, 15 and 18-year-old students and which factors possibly influence teachers' and students' choice of variety.

Nine observations were carried out in total; each lesson was taught by a different teacher, totalling nine male and female teachers (four male and five female teachers) and involved different students in each lesson. All the teachers were Greek-Cypriot except for the Modern Greek teacher of the 12-year-old students who was Greek. The data were collected through the observation of three lessons: History, a lesson where language expression and competence in SMG are necessary as students use that variety to learn about history; Modern Greek, a lesson purely devoted to language learning where students learn to speak and write in SMG and where the objective is for students to

achieve competence in SMG; and Maths, a lesson where language learning and expression are not the main objectives. According to the Cypriot language policy (see Chapter 2), SMG is the variety that both teachers and students must use in the classroom. Nevertheless, as the data below suggest, this is not always the case as GC is adopted in the classroom, particularly on the part of the students.

The three types of lesson are analysed separately. The analysis focused on language structure involved listening to the recordings numerous times in order to identify whether GC is present in teachers' and students' speech. The classroom data are presented in tables and accompanied by a discussion of excerpts; the tables present some of the general features of GC identified in the teachers' and students' speech (see Appendix K for a complete list of GC features in the classroom). All GC features (in pronunciation, syntax, and lexis) are transliterated into English based on the Greek alphabet. The four sounds (/dʒ/, /ʒ/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/), which do not exist in SMG, are added in the conventions adopted in this study to transliterate the GC sounds accurately (see the transliteration convention table at the beginning of this study). Some GC features were used in most or all lessons; therefore, each table below presents different features to avoid repetition. The original excerpts selected for analysis are in SMG and translated into English for the purposes of this study.

Analysing code switching and code mixing between closely related varieties such as SMG and GC is possibly more challenging than analysing different language varieties where the boundaries between the two languages are clear. Although SMG and GC share a great amount of vocabulary, some of these words are pronounced differently in each variety or have the same pronunciation in both varieties where the use of GC or SMG is not clear. For this reason, the use of GC, whether this is a GC word or a word that exists in both varieties but pronounced in GC will be underlined in the excerpts (this is mixing and not switching as only the pronunciation of a word changes while the rest of the sentence is not affected). As shown in the analysis below, more code mixing than code switching occurred between SMG and GC. In the case of Cyprus, code switching and mixing may be best viewed as register switching and mixing as SMG and GC form a register continuum (see Chapter 2, section 2.3). Table 6.1 below outlines the conventions applied in the analysis of excerpts:

**Table 6.1 Classroom observation analysis conventions**

T:	Teacher
S:	Student
Italicised words	English translation
Underlined words	Mixing between SMG and GC
<L2 L2> (Du Bois, 1991)	Code switching from SMG to GC
Words in bold	Teachers' reformulation of the students' GC sentences in SMG

### 6.1.1 Analysing classroom talk: History lessons

In the three History lessons, where language expression and competence in SMG are necessary, code switching and code mixing were noted in the language use of the students. All the History teachers mainly used SMG. The rare use of GC features by the Greek-Cypriot teachers in the History lessons was in pronunciation, for example, [ekame] instead of the SMG [ekane] ('he/she did'), and [selidan] instead of the SMG [selida] ('page').

These findings suggest that, although the History teachers used SMG, some features of their native variety were present in their language use in the classroom. The teachers did not always correct the students' use of GC, possibly because they focused on the content of their answers, rather than on how they expressed it. A possible explanation for such behaviour may be on pedagogical grounds; specifically, correcting the students every time they used dialectal features (which is a frequent phenomenon) would possibly result in making them feel uncomfortable and discouraging them from expressing themselves orally in the classroom. This interpretation seems confirmed by the fact that no explicit correction by the teachers was noted during the History lessons, although the teachers sometimes corrected the students' use of GC (such as when they used dialect pronunciation) in an indirect way, by repeating or reformulating; in other words, the teachers did not ask the students to repeat their GC sentences in SMG or make explicit reference to the GC features (as being 'mistakes') used by the students.

In contrast to the minor use of GC by the History teachers, GC features were frequently present during the lesson in the speech of all three age groups of students, particularly in the speech of 15 and 18-year-old students and, to a lesser extent, in the speech of the 12-year-olds. Notably, the 12-year-old students showed traits of accommodation (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991) in that they often spoke in SMG as their teacher did. In other words, although SMG is the language of instruction in Cyprus (Ioannidou, 2009a), some students follow this policy and speak SMG in the classroom as their History teachers do whereas some students use both SMG and GC. The use of SMG was more apparent in the classroom when teachers posed questions regarding historical facts and the students answered by using historical information as written in the textbook. Conversely, when students had to explain or express their opinion on something, mixing between SMG and GC occurred. This finding may indicate that it is difficult for students to use only SMG to report on historical events and give their opinion without adding GC features in their speech. The use of the native variety by the Greek-Cypriot students in cases as the aforementioned ones can be related to translanguaging (see Chapter 5). In other words, the students translanguaged (code switch or code mix) between the two varieties to enhance learning. Also, the use of GC in these cases may suggest that students are linguistically less competent in SMG and therefore use their mother tongue when they have difficulties in expressing themselves in SMG. Table 6.2 below provides some examples of the students' use of GC in the History lessons.

**Table 6.2 Students' use of GC in History lessons**

<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [iʃe] instead of the SMG [ihe] ('he/she had')</li> <li>• [tʃinos] instead of the SMG [ekinos] ('him')</li> </ul>
<b>Syntax</b>	<p><b>Clitic-second effect</b> (see section 2.2.1 in Chapter 2)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [egorasan tin] instead of the SMG [tin gorasan] ('they bought it')</li> <li>• [edolofonisan ton] instead of the SMG [ton dolofonisan] ('they murdered him')</li> </ul>
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [epattisan] instead of the SMG [hreokopisan] ('they were bankrupt')</li> <li>• [appothikan] instead of the SMG [itan xipasmeni] ('they became pretentious')</li> </ul>

An example of code mixing is illustrated in Excerpt 1 below, where a 12-year-old student answered the teacher's question by using GC pronunciation. The teacher corrected the student in an indirect way, that is, by reformulating the student's sentence in SMG. This suggests that the teacher was satisfied with the correct answer provided by the student; therefore, telling off the student for using GC features would possibly discourage him.

### Excerpt 1

T: Για να υπάρχει απόλυτη δημοκρατία, τι έπρεπε να συμβαίνει;

S: Να εν ούλλοι ικανοποιημένοι.

T: Να **είναι όλοι** ικανοποιημένοι.

T: *To have absolute democracy, what should happen?*

S: Everybody should be pleased.

T: **Everybody should be pleased.**

In Excerpt 2 below, another 12-year-old student answered the teacher's question by using a single GC word [epattisan] instead of the SMG [hreokopisan] 'they were bankrupt'. The teacher did not correct the student but repeated the GC word uttered by the student and posed another question possibly to make the group think more deeply about the issue discussed.

### Excerpt 2

T: Τι νομίζετε; Για ελάτε στη θέση των αριστοκρατών. Πέστε μου να δούμε.

S: Επατίσασιν.

T: Ναι, αυτό θα πούμε; Επατίσαν; Πώς θα ένιωθαν οι αριστοκράτες;

T: *What do you think? Let's go into the aristocrats' place. Come on, tell me.*

S: They were bankrupt.

T: *OK, is this what we will say? Were they bankrupt? How would the aristocrats feel?*

In Excerpt 3 below, the 15-year-old student began his sentence in SMG and then switched to GC by mixing the two varieties (signalled by <L2 L2>). The teacher did not correct the student for switching to GC, possibly because the content of the answer was accurate.



Similarly, in Excerpt 4 below, the 18-year-old student code mixed the two varieties and the teacher did not reformulate the student's use of GC for the same reason.

### Excerpt 3

S: Οι Καποδιστριακοί τζαι οι Αντι-Καποδιστριακοί.

T: Δηλαδή;

S: Οι Καποδιστριακοί ήταν αυτοί που υποστηρίζαν τον Καποδίστρια <L2 τζαι όταν εδολοφονήθηκεν, εθυμωθήκαν ας πούμε, τζαι επιτεθήκαν προς τους Αντι-Καποδιστριακούς τζαι έτσι εγίνικεν μια σύγκρουση μεταξύ τους τζαι εδημιουργήθηκεν μια ρήξη L2>.

T: Μπράβο!

S: *The Kapodistrians and the Anti-Kapodistrians.*

T: *That is?*

S: *The Kapodistrians were those who supported Kapodistria <L2 and when he was murdered, they were angry let's say, and they attacked the Anti-Kapodistrians and there was a conflict between them and a rift was created L2>.*

T: *Well done!*

### Excerpt 4

T: Άννα;

S: Λογικά αφού τζίνοι που'ταν, ήταν φιλέλληνες εννά τους αντικαταστήσει.

T: Πολύ ωραία.

T: *Ann?*

S: *Logically, since those who were, were philhellenic, he will replace them.*

T: *Very good.*

The excerpts presented above are evidence of the use of GC in the History lessons; the teachers used SMG while GC was present in the speech of all three age groups.

#### 6.1.2 Analysing classroom talk: Modern Greek lessons

Modern Greek lessons were selected for observation as they are purely focused on language learning, expression and competence. All Modern Greek teachers used SMG in

the classroom; only rarely did they use GC features when discussing something not related to the lesson. The teacher of the 12-year-old students was a native Greek speaker and therefore, there was no GC in her speech. The rare use of GC features by the Greek-Cypriot teachers (once or twice in a 45 minute lesson) in the Modern Greek lessons was in pronunciation such as [kamoume] instead of the SMG [kanoume] ('we do'), and [simasian] instead of the SMG [simasia] ('meaning').

All students in the three age groups used both SMG and GC in the classroom; GC features were present in the students' speech in pronunciation, syntax and lexis. Similar to the History lesson, the 12-year-old students in particular tried to use SMG, that is, to accommodate their speech to the language used by their Greek teacher, although not always successfully as GC features were still present in their speech. This suggests that although SMG is the variety that Modern Greek teachers and students must use in the classroom, the 12-year-old students possibly considered that they should make more effort to speak SMG since their teacher is a native Greek speaker. In other words, this indicates that these students have the communicative competence (Hymes, 1976) to recognise which variety is appropriate in each context and in consideration of their interlocutor. It is possible that the 12-year-old students made more use of SMG as GC is not the teacher's native variety. On the other hand, 15 and 18-year-old students did not try to use only SMG as their teachers were Greek-Cypriot and not Greek. Therefore, these two age groups possibly did not consider the sole use of SMG as necessary as did the 12-year-old students with their Greek teacher.

The teachers did not discourage students from using GC features even though this was a Modern Greek lesson; instead, they were lenient towards the students' language use and corrected the students by simply reformulating what the students said in SMG in cases in which they pronounced something incorrectly or used GC features. SMG was mainly used by the students to give short answers or use specific vocabulary, while GC features emerged when the students had to explain or describe something in their own words. Similar to the History lessons, the presence of GC features in cases such as the aforementioned ones can be related to the use of translanguaging strategy (the use of both SMG and GC to improve learning). In both Modern Greek and History lessons, the frequent use of GC features in the students' speech (GC was present in most sentences uttered by the students) may suggest that students are not competent in SMG to the extent

that they can use the standard without the presence of GC. Table 6.3 provides some examples of students' use of GC.

**Table 6.3 Students' use of GC in Modern Greek lessons**

<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [epie] instead of the SMG [pige] ('he/she went')</li> <li>• [genetʃes] instead of the SMG [gynekes] ('women')</li> </ul>
<b>Syntax</b>	<p><b>Clitic-second effect:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [epiasen ton] instead of the SMG [ton epiase] ('he/she took him').</li> <li>• [frodizi to] instead of the SMG [to frodizi] ('he/she takes care of it')</li> </ul>
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [ttoubaroun] instead of the SMG [trakaroun] ('they crash')</li> <li>• [rialia] instead of the SMG [hrimata] ('money')</li> </ul>

In Excerpt 5 below, both students used GC when answering the teacher's question. Interestingly, the teacher did not correct the first student but corrected the second one by replacing some GC words with their SMG equivalent probably because repeating and reformulating constantly in SMG what the students said in GC would be time-consuming and frustrating for both students and teachers.

### Excerpt 5

T: Ποιες είναι κατά τη γνώμη σας οι κυριότερες αιτίες των τροχαίων δυστυχημάτων;

S1: Που βουρούν κάμποσο τζαι ύστερα χάνουν τον έλεγχο του αυτοκινήτου τζαι παν δεξιά τζαι αριστερά τζαι τουμπαρίσκουν.

T: Άρα παιδιά η υπερβολική ταχύτητα.

S2: Τη σήμερα ημέρα για να παίζουν τους πελλούς πιάνουν τ' αυτοκίνητα.

T: Μάλιστα. Θέλουν να παίζουν τους μάγκες.

T: *In your opinion, what are the main causes of car accidents?*

S1: They drive fast and then they lose control of the car and they go right and left and then they crash.

T: *So kids, excessive speed.*

S2: *Nowadays, to **show off**, they take the cars.*

T: *Indeed. They want to **show off**.*

In Excerpt 6 below, although the 15-year-old student used GC pronunciation and vocabulary, when producing a dialectal word, the teacher corrected him by reformulating the same word in SMG.

### Excerpt 6

T: Τι έμεινε;

S: Μια που τις τρεις;

T: Δεν ακούω.

S: Το δεξιά ποτζί;

T: Το δεξιά **απεκεί**. Εντάξει, διάβασε μας το.

T: *What's left?*

S: *One of the three?*

T: *I can't hear you.*

S: *The right one, there?*

T: *The right one **there**. Okay, read it to us.*

In Excerpts 7-9 below, the 18-year-old students used GC when answering the teacher's questions. The teacher did not correct them directly, but either reformulated the students' answers in SMG or did not intervene at all. In this SMG lesson, the use of dialectal features in students' speech was significantly present, that is, 18-year-old students used more GC features than the 12 and 15-year-old students. It is plausible to interpret this behaviour as resulting from the fact that although the literary text the students read in class was written in SMG, the text referred to the lives of Greek-Cypriot people in the past. Such a contradiction between the Greek-Cypriot topic and SMG expression may have triggered the students' preference for a linguistic variety that conveys their affiliation to the subject.

### Excerpt 7

T: Ποια είναι η σχέση του Ανδρέα με τον κήπο του, το περιβάλλον του;

S: Εν ούλλη μέρα τζειαμέ τζαι μάσιεται.

T: 'Ούλλη μέρα τξιαμέ τξαι μάσιεται'. Δηλαδή, σχολίασε, τι σημαίνει 'εν ούλλη μέρα τξιαμέ τξαι μάσιεται';

S: Φροντίζει το, τσαπίζει συνέχεια.

T: Μάλιστα.

T: *What is the relationship between Andreas and his garden, his piece of land?*

S: He is working there all day.

T: 'He is working there all day'. Make a comment; what does it mean, 'he is working there all day'?

S: *He is taking care of it; he ploughs the whole time.*

T: OK.

### Excerpt 8

T: Τι θα λέγανε νομίζετε την εποχή εκείνη, ο περίγυρος του;

S: Βαστά ριάλια τξαι στέλλει το γιο του γυμνάσιο, τξι'αν δεν περάσει;

T: Μα κρατά **χρήματα** τούτος τώρα ένας περβολάρης;

T: *What do you think they would say at that time, the other people?*

S: He has money and sends his son to high school and, if he doesn't succeed?

T: *But does a farmer have **money**?*

### Excerpt 9

T: Γιατί δεν τον αντίκοβε; Το γιο του, αφού ήξερε ότι ήταν μπλεγμένος με την οργάνωση;

S: Διότι ήταν πατριώτης ο γιος.

T: Ο γιος πατριώτης.

S: Ήταν τξι'ο τζύρης πατριώτης, το ίδιο πράμα ένι.

T: **Και ο πατέρας.**

T: *Why didn't he stop his son, since he knew that he was involved in the organisation?*

S: *Because the son was a patriot.*

T: *The son was a patriot.*

S: The father was also a patriot; it's the same thing.

T: **The father also.**

The excerpts analysed above are evidence of the use of GC in the Modern Greek lessons by Greek-Cypriot students aged 12 to 18.

### 6.1.3 Analysing classroom talk: Maths lessons

In contrast to the History and Modern Greek lessons, the language used during the Maths lessons shows that both teachers and students largely used GC in all levels of language structure. This is possibly because Maths lessons focus mostly on numbers and less on language expression. SMG was more evident when the teachers and students used specific Maths vocabulary and terminology, which exists only in SMG. Table 6.4 below illustrates some examples of the use of GC by the Maths teachers. The teachers used GC mostly in cases such as explaining something that the students did not understand easily (translanguaging strategy; Lewis, Jones, and Baker, 2012, p. 667), posing questions, joking or expressing intimacy and friendliness.

**Table 6.4 Teachers' use of GC in Maths lessons**

<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [ephorise] instead of the SMG [prohorise] ('he/she went on')</li> <li>• [kamo] instead of the SMG [kano] ('I do')</li> </ul>
<b>Syntax</b>	<p><b>Clitic-second effect:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [ehete to] instead of the SMG [to ehete] ('you have it')</li> <li>• [analysamen ta] instead of the SMG [ta analysame] ('we analysed them')</li> </ul>
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [pou] instead of the SMG [apo] ('from')</li> <li>• [thoro] instead of the SMG [vlepo] ('I see')</li> </ul>

Although code switching and code mixing between SMG and GC were noted during all Maths lessons, the 12-year-old students and their teacher made less use of GC in comparison with the 15 and 18-year-old students and their teacher. In other words, the students' language use was very similar to their teachers. This linguistic behaviour is very similar to the case of 12-year-old students in the History and Modern Greek lessons where students accommodated their speech to their teachers'. This behaviour, observed in all lessons of 12-year-old students, may suggest a power relationship between teacher and

students which results in linguistic accommodation (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991) on the students' part. Therefore, although this behaviour indicates that these students have the communicative competence (Hymes, 1976) to accommodate to their interlocutor, the teacher's presence and language use in the classroom may to some extent cause stress for the students and encourage them to adapt their speech to their teacher's.

The influence of GC in the students' speech was not always evident, possibly because this was a Maths lesson and therefore, students expressed themselves in short sentences and their speech largely contained numbers and specific mathematical vocabulary. As shown in Table 6.5 below, GC was more apparent in the students' speech in pronunciation and lexis in the form of code switching and code mixing.

**Table 6.5 Students' use of GC in Maths lessons**

<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [epagosen] instead of the SMG [pagose] ('it was freezing')</li> <li>• [oi] instead of the SMG [ohi] ('no')</li> </ul>
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [tʃame] instead of the SMG [eki] ('there')</li> <li>• [lalo] instead of the SMG [leo] ('I say')</li> </ul>

In Excerpt 10 below, a 12-year-old student who wished to make a comment relevant to what the teacher was saying by using a GC word interrupted the teacher while she was explaining a mathematical problem. The teacher repeated the GC word possibly to show agreement with the student's statement and continued by using another GC word for emphasis.

#### **Excerpt 10**

T: Η θερμοκρασία χτες στην Ελλάδα ήταν πλιν τρεις βαθμοί.

S: Εσιόνισεν αα;

T: Εσιόνισεν, επάγωσεν.

T: *Yesterday, the temperature in Greece was minus three.*

S: *So it snowed?*

T: *It snowed; it was freezing.*

In Excerpt 11 below, code mixing was present in the speech of both the teacher and 15-year-old student who used GC pronunciation. In general, GC was very frequent in this Maths lesson.

### Excerpt 11

T: Επειδή ισούται με το μηδέν, δικαιούμαστε να το κάμουμε.

S: Κυρία, τζαι να φει το πλην που έξω;

T: *Since it equals zero, we are allowed to do that.*

S: Miss, and remove the minus symbol from the outside?

In the Maths lesson of the 18-year-old students, there were a few native Greek students in the classroom who seemed familiar with GC as they did not ask the teacher or their classmates to repeat what they said in SMG. In fact, there were no particular traits of accommodation to SMG on the part of the teacher and the Greek-Cypriot students. As noted in Chapter 2, Greeks are not familiar with GC unless they have been previously in contact with this variety. Therefore, it is plausible to suppose that these students lived in Cyprus and that GC was comprehensible to them; otherwise, they would have possibly asked for the use of SMG in the classroom. It is also possible of course that these students, although having a problem with GC, decided not to show any lack of understanding to avoid establishing any differences between or distance from their classmates. Excerpt 12 below is an example of the language use during this Maths lesson.

### Excerpt 12

S: Κύριε, το διαγώνισμα έν τη Δευτέρα;

T: Το διαγώνισμα έν τη Δευτέρα, ναι.

S: Sir, is the test on Monday?

T: Yes, the test is on Monday.

The classroom data analysis has shown that GC was present in the students' speech in all three types of lesson although to different extents. For example, in the Modern Greek and History lessons, the teachers used SMG (they rarely used GC features), while GC features were present in the students' speech; in the Maths lessons, GC was present in both



teachers' and students' speech with the exception of the 12-year-old students and their teacher (they made less use of GC).

#### **6.1.4 Discussion of results**

The classroom data from Modern Greek, History and Maths showed the use of both the standard and non-standard varieties by teachers and students in the Cypriot classroom; students, in particular, code mix frequently between the two varieties. The classroom data have shown that SMG is the language of instruction and GC is the variety fulfilling interpersonal and strategic functions.

With regard to function, Halliday (1969, pp. 28-34) proposed a framework where he identified several functions that language has for children during their early development. Halliday (1973, p. 24) suggested that learning a mother tongue is learning the uses of language and the 'meaning potential' (as he calls it) attached to the uses; that is, learning a language is learning how to use it, appropriately. Hymes' (1976, p. 277) 'communicative competence' refers to a similar concept, the ability to use a language that is suitable to the given context, instances, purpose, and interlocutors. For Halliday (1973, p. 22), 'the register range, or linguistic repertoire, of a community or of an individual is derived from the range of uses that language is put to in that particular culture or subculture'. In other words, the speakers' ability to vary their level of formality, to switch between registers and styles, such as in writing and speaking, is because language has all these functions (Halliday, 1973, p. 23).

In the case of Cyprus, the register continuum (suggested by Tsiplakou *et al.* 2006; see Chapter 2) includes varieties ranging between SMG and GC and each variety is used according to the context of the situation. In the classroom, the use of SMG appears to be associated with formality and the formal contexts of learning, although some GC features are often present in the students' speech. The use of GC seems to be associated and acceptable by both teachers and students in informal classroom interactions; the use of GC acquires interpersonal functions in all three subject-lessons. Tables 6.6a and 6.6b below summarise the functions of SMG and GC in the classroom.

The classroom data indicate that the use of SMG by the teachers and the use of SMG with GC features by the students are associated with the actual lesson during Modern Greek

and History lessons. In the Maths lessons, both SMG and GC are used by teachers and students for the actual lesson; in terms of this, the data show extensive code mixing between the two varieties by both students and teachers. Nevertheless, the data suggest that GC features are mostly present in the students' speech rather than in the teachers' speech. The emergent interpersonal functions of the use of GC by both students and teachers in all three types of lesson mainly involve joking, social talking and talking about something not pertinent or not related to the lesson as well as complaining and giving advice, by students and teachers, respectively. I consider that the use of GC or SMG with GC features by the students (and the Maths teachers) during the actual lesson may not have interpersonal functions. I suggest that the presence of GC features during the actual lesson is possibly the influence of the mother tongue in the students' performance of the standard variety; it can also be a translanguage strategy used in the classroom to enhance learning, in this case, learning in SMG. Excerpt 13 below illustrates the interpersonal function of GC during a Modern Greek lesson; both the teacher and students used GC to talk about something unrelated to the lesson, the fact that the blackboard sponge was lost.

**Excerpt 13 (Modern Greek lesson, 15-year-old students)**

T: Δεν βρέθηκε ο σπόγγος μας;

S1: Μα πού επίε;

S2: Έπιασεν τον η Στέλλα.

T: Ποιος τον έπιασε; Η κα Κωνσταντίνου;

S2: Αλόπος.

T: Ε αλόπος.

T: *Has our sponge not been found yet?*

S1: *Where has it gone?*

S2: *Stella took it.*

T: *Who took it? Mrs Constantinou?*

S2: *Maybe.*

T: *Oh, maybe.*

In Excerpt 14 below, the interpersonal function of GC by the Maths teacher is in the form of advice: the teacher encouraged the 12-year-old students to express themselves more when explaining mathematical rules. Although largely used in the Maths lessons, the use

of GC in this case possibly made the students perceive the teacher's advice as friendlier and more intimate since GC is the variety that Greek-Cypriots use in friendly interactions. The use of SMG in cases like these would have possibly made the situation more formal and the teacher's advice as less friendly. This suggests that the teacher's use of GC is possibly deliberate and strategic, as shown in Excerpt 14 below.

**Excerpt 14 (Maths lesson, 12-year-old students)**

T: Εν πολλά δύσκολο το μάθημα; Απλά δυσκολεύεστε να λαλείτε τον ορισμό. Διότι αν έρτει και επιθεωρητής και δει μας, έντζαι ευχαριστεί τον να ξέρετε να γράφετε τον κανόνα, θα σου πει 'εξήγα μου το'. Εν τούτο που σας λέω που την αρχή του χρόνου. Έχετε το στο μυαλουδάκι σας σωστά αλλά δυσκολεύεστε να το πείτε.

T: *Is it that hard to learn this lesson? You just have difficulties in formulating the rule. If a supervisor comes to observe our lesson, he won't be happy if you just know how to formulate the rule; he will tell you 'explain it to me'. That's all I've been asking since the beginning of the year. You have it correctly in your mind, but you have difficulties in expressing it.*

The interpersonal function of GC in the classroom often acquires a humorous form. In Excerpt 15 below, a male student used GC features in a rather sexist way to entertain his classmates. As a result, the students laughed. The teacher asked the student to speak in a more 'refined' way; 'refined' at this point may be interpreted as referring either to the use of SMG or the use of non-sexist language. Gender emerges as a significant element at this point as the male student used sexist elements (such as 'women want this, women want that') through the use of GC during a lesson taught by a female teacher. This linguistic behaviour can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, the presence of a female teacher in the classroom may have prompted the student to use sexist elements. Secondly, the use of GC may be associated with stereotypes of masculinity; that is, the student may sound more masculine if using GC. This assumption is based on previous studies on language use by male and female speakers (Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1984) which suggest that women are more prone to the use of standard forms, whereas men make more use of non-standard forms as a signal of their masculinity. In other words, by the use of GC, this student constructed his gendered identity, that is, as a male, very masculine, non-standard variety speaker.

**Excerpt 15 (Modern Greek lesson, 18-year-old students)**

T: Έπρεπε να φοβούνται οι γυναίκες; Εσύ νομίζεις ότι οι γυναίκες πρέπει να φοβούνται;

S: Τι θέλουν άλλο δηλαδή οι γενέτιες; Θέλουν τα μαργαριτάρια τους δαμαί, θέλουν τα δαχτυλίδκια τους, θέλουν τα κομμωτήρια τους, θέλουν τα λούσα τους.

T: Μπορείς αυτά που είπες να τα μιλήσεις έτσι πιο εξευγενισμένα;

S: Δηλαδή; [γέλιο]

T: *Should women be scared? Do you think that women must be scared?*

S: *What else do women want? They want their pearls; they want their rings; they want their hair salons; they want their luxuries.*

T: *Could you say all these in a more refined way?*

S: *Namely?* (the students laugh)

Classroom data suggest that the linguistic practices of teachers differ according to their subject of instruction. In fact, the findings suggest that the type of lesson can determine language use in the classroom to a certain extent, according to whether this is a language-based lesson or not and consequently, can determine whether teachers are lenient or not with their own language use and with the students' use of GC. In other words, it appears that the teachers' pedagogical philosophy is to focus on their subject of instruction and its objectives. Specifically, in all six Modern Greek and History lessons, the teachers used SMG systematically (with minor GC presence in their speech) since their lessons required the use of this variety, and they possibly expected their students to do so. Therefore, since their students often used GC features in their speech, the History and Modern Greek teachers indirectly corrected the students by reformulating the GC sentences in SMG. On the other hand, both SMG and GC were used by both teachers and students in the Maths lessons possibly because language competence is not the main focus of Maths; the teachers were lenient not only with their students' language use (they did not correct the students' use of GC), but also with their own language use. Thus, they possibly did not expect their students to use only SMG.

Language use in the classroom can also be associated with the teachers' personality and teaching style. For example, Modern Greek and History teachers may be more conformist to the guidelines by the Ministry of Education and Culture in Cyprus where SMG is the language of education (see Chapter 2). On the other hand, Maths teachers may conform

less to the use of SMG since the development of SMG is not a lesson objective. Therefore, they may prefer to be more relaxed in terms of language use in the classroom. This suggests that teachers have the role of language enforcers in the classroom as they choose which variety to use in their lessons, when to use each variety and whether they are lenient with their students' language use or not; that is, the teachers' role seems to allow, encourage or prohibit language use in the classroom.

As a result, the students were often influenced by the teacher's role in class and often accommodated their own language use to the language use of their teachers. As the teachers in the History and Modern Greek lessons used SMG, the students in their turn made use of SMG with GC features; the sole use of SMG by the students seemed difficult as GC, the students' mother tongue, was often present in their speech. Equally, as teachers in the Maths lessons used both SMG and particularly GC, their students often imitated this linguistic behaviour. As mentioned in the data analysis, the 12-year-old students showed particular accommodation in the History lesson and mostly in the Modern Greek lesson (which was taught by a native Greek teacher) and in the Maths lesson (this teacher made more use of SMG in comparison with the Maths teachers of the other two age groups). This can be interpreted in various ways. For example, the 12-year-old students' communicative knowledge may indicate to the students which variety is appropriate for use in each situation (such as actual lesson, social talking or joking), although they become aware that SMG is the language of education from the beginning of their schooling.

Alternatively, the teacher's authoritative presence in the classroom may cause the students' linguistic insecurity and consequently, students (particularly, the 12-year-old students) may not have the confidence to express themselves freely in any variety because they are scared to make a mistake (linguistic or not) or not follow the teacher's rules. This does not always reflect the reality, as the teacher may be understanding and tolerant of the students' 'mistakes'. In Excerpt 16 below, a 12-year-old student, in his effort to speak only in SMG in the Modern Greek lesson, used the wrong Greek word, [patoma] 'floor' instead of [odostroma] 'road surface'. The native Greek teacher accepted the student's answer but the rest of the class laughed at the student and the teacher had to correct the student. It is plausible that the student made this mistake as the word 'road surface' in SMG may not be commonly used by children of this age (12 years old). Another possible

interpretation is that the student was possibly stressed and insecure about using SMG in the classroom, and this caused him to make this mistake.

**Excerpt 16 (Modern Greek lesson, 12-year-old students)**

S: Μπορεί να έχει γραμμές που κείνες τις διακεκομμένες.

T: Εξήγησε μας το λίγο αυτό που λες με τις διακεκομμένες.

S: Να προσπεράσουν όταν έχει το πάτωμα διακεκομμένες γραμμές.

T: Μάλιστα. Μπορεί να μην το τηρήσουν.

Other S: (διακόπτει την καθηγήτρια) Το πάτωμα! (class laughs)

T: Στο **οδόστρωμα** εννοείς έτσι;

S: *It (the road surface) may have those discontinuous lines.*

T: *Explain to us what you are saying about the discontinuous lines.*

S: *To pass by when the floor has discontinuous lines.*

T: *Yes. They may not observe it.*

Other S: (interrupts the teacher) *The floor!* (class laughs)

T: *On the **road surface** you mean, don't you?*

Furthermore, the students' code switching and mixing in the classroom may be seen as participant-related switching (Auer, 1988, pp. 192-196). In other words, the students switch to the variety they are more competent in; this was generally in GC, which is their mother tongue. It is likely that students switch to GC (or SMG with GC features) during the lessons as it may be easier to express themselves in this way. A constant use of SMG may distract them from the content of their answer. This type of switching suggests that students strategically use GC as an aid to learning and can be related to the translanguaging strategy (Lewis, Jones, and Baker, 2012, p. 667).

Participant-related switching may also refer to preference of the use of one variety over another (Auer, 1988, pp. 192-196). To illustrate this, students may choose the use of GC over SMG as they have a certain preference for this variety deriving from their positive attitudes towards the use of GC or SMG. Whether their participant-related switching was related to a lack of competence in SMG or because students prefer to speak GC than SMG cannot be confirmed here.

With regard to the age variable, although all three age groups used GC interpersonally, a few differences were noted in the frequency of GC features during the actual lessons. In general, GC features were particularly present in the students' speech in instances such as commenting, giving their opinion and generally, in expressing themselves. The 12-year-old students were less interactive than the 15 and 18-year-old students and they seemed to accommodate their speech to their teachers' speech more compared with the other two age groups. In other words, the data suggest that the younger the students are, the more effort they make to speak SMG; young students seem to conform more to the prescribed use of SMG. The 15 and 18-year-old students were more participative and talkative than the 12-year-old students and therefore, GC features were more apparent in their speech. These two age groups seemed confident in expressing themselves, whether this was in SMG, GC or both varieties; they were possibly more focused on what they said rather than on how they expressed it, which indicates again that students use language strategically. Although the teachers may have different expectations from each group because of their age, it is likely that they expect GC features to be present in the students' speech to some extent as GC is their mother tongue.

In the Maths lessons, GC often acquired the function of medium of instruction, which suggests that the use of GC by the teachers is also strategic. Explicitly, the teachers' use of GC in the actual Maths lesson was possibly purposeful to help the students understand the lesson. This strategic use of GC in the Maths lessons can be associated with the emergent educational concept of translanguaging, which is a behaviour similar to the use of code switching in the classroom (Lewis, Jones, and Baker, 2012, p. 667). Translanguaging, in this case between SMG and GC, is a tool used to maximise understanding and achievement in the classroom; this is a method that some Greek-Cypriot teachers seem to use consciously or unconsciously and which could be adopted in the Cypriot classroom in the future as a strategy to maximise learning.

Besides the interpersonal functions of GC and the strategic use of GC in the classroom as a learning tool, the use of GC features by both teachers and students in all three lessons and its extensive use in the Maths lessons may be an identity marker and an expression of attitudes. That is, the use of one variety over the other may be a matter of choice or preference towards that variety. To illustrate this, the Maths teachers and their students use GC because they possibly prefer to use it as GC is their native variety and

consequently, the variety they possibly feel more comfortable using. In this way, Maths teachers and their students may construct or negotiate their linguistic identity, an identity which seems to glide between SMG and GC. Similarly, even if the Modern Greek and History teachers are obliged to use SMG in their lessons, the fact that they do not discourage students from using GC features may suggest that they have positive attitudes towards GC and their Cypriot linguistic identity.

The classroom data suggest that GC cannot be excluded from the classroom as this is the variety that both teachers and students use at home, outside the classroom and in their everyday exchanges. The use of GC may entail that both teachers and students have positive attitudes to GC as well as that its use may mark the speaker's linguistic identity, in this case, the Cypriot linguistic identity. In general, these results indicate that there is a difference between the stated Cypriot policy and the actual linguistic practices in the classroom. These results are in line with the results found in previous research on language use in primary education in Cyprus (Ioannidou, 2009b; Sophocleous, 2011), which suggests that there is often inconsistency in the state's objectives of formal education (where the legitimate variety is SMG) and the real language use in the classroom, where both SMG and the home variety (GC) are used.

## **6.2 Interview analysis**

The interviews aimed to find out the students' attitudes towards SMG, GC and their speakers; how the students perceive and construct their ethnic identities in discourse, and discuss the use of SMG and GC in Cyprus. Nonetheless, more issues for discussion arose during the interviews. As the researcher of this study, I administered the interviews myself. 12 interviews were conducted with 12, 15 and 18-year-old students, four from each age group, to find out whether there are any differences between the three groups in terms of language attitudes and ethnic identity. The interviews were recorded, fully transcribed, translated into English and then analysed from a qualitative perspective. Although the interviews were semi-structured and consisted of approximately 24 questions (see Appendix B), more questions arose during the exchange with the participants. For anonymity and confidentiality reasons, the names used in the interview excerpts are not the real names of the participants; next to each pseudonym, the age of each student is included.



The analysis below consists of the description of the overall interview results; these are divided into three emergent categories: language and ethnic identity, language attitudes and language use. As the purpose of the interviews is to discover the students' language attitudes and ethnic identity, conversation analysis conventions such as turn taking or overlap are not essential aspects in this study. In other words, the analysis aims to interpret students' language attitudes and find out how they use language to construct their identities; therefore, sentential (or conversational) organisation of talk is not the focus of this study. The table below describes the conventions used in the interview data analysis, as described by Du Bois (1991, pp. 104-105):

**Table 6.6 Interview transcription conventions**

R:	Researcher
S:	Student
[Italics]	English translation
.	Transitional continuity: final
,	Transitional continuity: continuing
?	Transitional continuity: appeal
...(N)	Long pause
...	Medium pause
..	Short pause

### **6.2.1 Language and ethnic identity**

A strong association between the speakers' language, origin and ethnicity emerged in the interviews in terms of the relationship between SMG and GC, Greeks and Greek-Cypriots, Greece and Cyprus (students were asked to explain this relationship). This association can be related to the relationality principle proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 598) which views identity as dependent on and related to other identities, as a relational phenomenon constructed in relations around sameness and difference. In other words, as shown in the following analysis and in section 6.2.2, students construct their linguistic identity in relation to their ethnic identity, with both identities relating particularly to the students' religious identity.

Another principle emerging in the interview analysis is indexicality; this involves the way in which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions and it occurs at all levels of linguistic structure such as explicit reference to identity categories and labels, implicatures, presuppositions, stance taking, variety choice and so forth (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, pp. 593-594 and 598). As shown in the following analysis and in section 6.2.2, students construct their identities (for example, linguistic, ethnic, religious) through explicit reference to identity categories (for example, what it means to be Cypriot or Greek), and through linguistic forms such as personal pronouns, repetition, nationalistic expressions (by the use of certain verbs and nouns), and stance taking (historically or politically).

This association between a speaker's language, origin and ethnicity was evident in the interviews of the 15 and 18-year-old students and to a lesser extent in the interviews of the 12-year-old students. Students associated GC to SMG, considering GC a dialect, a vernacular, a branch of SMG. None of the interviewees described GC as a language, whereas SMG was defined as a language, the standard language, the mother language. For example, a 15-year-old student stated that: 'Τα κυπριακά είναι διάλεκτος. Η γλώσσα είναι τα ελληνικά. Τα κυπριακά είναι μια παραλλαγή των ελληνικών' [*GC is a dialect. The language is SMG. GC is a version of SMG*] (Marcus 15).

In both interviews and questionnaires (Question 5), most students emphasised that SMG and GC are not distinct languages (Alex 18). In fact, although they often acknowledged that there are a few differences in form/structure between the two varieties, they maintained that SMG and GC are the 'same thing'. The excerpt below illustrates this perceived sameness between SMG and GC; the term 'sameness' here implies that SMG and GC are two varieties similar in form.

### **Excerpt 1**

R: Γιατί δεν έχουμε μόνο μια γλώσσα;

S1: Επειδή είναι το ίδιο πράγμα.

S2: Τα κυπριακά είναι ελληνικά με μερικές διαφορές.

S3: Φυσικά είναι η ίδια γλώσσα, με κάποιες διαφορές στα κυπριακά.

R: *Why don't we have only one language?*

S1: *Because it's the same thing (Kate 12).*

S2: *GC is SMG with some differences (Anna 15).*

S3: *Of course it is the same language, with some differences in GC (Melina 15).*

For most students, and particularly the 18-year-old interviewees, the language sameness in terms of form/structure between SMG and GC may have an ideological origin. The excerpt below illustrates this.

### **Excerpt 2**

‘Κατά τη γνώμη μου έν’αλληλένδετα τούντα δυο. Εν γίνεται να τα χωρίσεις. Εν μπορεί να υπάρξει το ένα χωρίς το άλλο.. Υπάρχει η ελληνική γλώσσα και η κυπριακή διάλεκτος στηρίζεται πάνω στην ελληνική γλώσσα. Εν μπορεί, δηλαδή εν μπορείς να αφαιρέσεις τις βάσεις, τις δομές και να μείνει μόνο το πουπάνω. Εννά καταρρεύσει λογικά’.

*[In my opinion, these two (SMG and GC) are interconnected. You cannot split them. The one cannot exist without the other.. There is the Greek language and the Cypriot dialect is based on the Greek language. It cannot, that is, you cannot remove the bases, the structures and just leave the surface. It will logically collapse]* (Marios 18).

In this excerpt, the interviewee constructs an ideological bond between SMG and GC. The indexicality principle (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, pp. 593-594 and 598) is reflected in stance taking; that is, the student constructs an ideological bond between SMG and GC, and thus, his linguistic identity, by maintaining that SMG and GC form one entity. The strength of this ideological bond is expressed by the use of the verbs ‘interconnected’, ‘cannot split’, ‘cannot exist’, ‘cannot remove’ and ‘will collapse’.

According to some students, this ideological bond, which explains the language sameness between SMG and GC, is generally associated with ethnicity and origin. That is to say, although some students acknowledged that Cyprus is not part of Greece but an independent state, most students reported considering that Cyprus and GC, as the other Greek islands and dialects (such as the Cretan), are part of Hellenism (Marios 18). ‘Hellenism’ is a term denoting the Greek nation in general, all over the world including Cypriots (Babiniotis, 2008, p. 589); in Cyprus, it is often used as the ‘Cypriot Hellenism’

such as in newspaper articles<sup>4</sup> where its use may suggest a degree of nationalism towards Greece. Nationalistic undertones are found in the excerpt below.

### Excerpt 3

‘Σαν Έλληνες, είμαστε Έλληνες, η μητέρα πατρίδα έν η Ελλάδα που έχουμε τη γλώσσα της με τα δικά μας χαρακτηριστικά...(N) Η γλώσσα τζαι η θρησκεία έν τα δυο βασικά πράματα τα οποία καθορίζουν το έθνος. Είπαμεν πριν ότι οι πρώτοι κάτοικοι της Κύπρου ήταν οι Αχαιοί τζαι τζείνοι αφήκαν το στίγμα τους δαμαί τζαι εξελληνιστίκαμε, εγίναμεν Έλληνες τζαι είμαστε ενταγμένοι στο ελληνικόν έθνος. Σαν dna μπορώ να πω’.

*[As Greeks, we are Greeks, the mother country is Greece we have its language with our characteristics...(N) Language and religion are the two basic things which define a nation. We said before that the first inhabitants of Cyprus were the Achaeans and they left their mark here and we were Hellenised, we became Greek and we are integrated in the Greek nation. It's like the DNA]* (George 18).

Through this statement, the language sameness between SMG and GC is evoked in the expression ‘its language (SMG) with our characteristics’. The emphasis again on the relationship between SMG and GC, whether this relationship is structural or not, appears to be based on language ideology, on the ideology that SMG and GC are the same language variety. In this excerpt, indexicality takes the form of personal pronouns, repetitions and nationalistic expressions. This interviewee constructs his ethnic identity as Greek and the ethnic identity of all Cypriots as Greek by the use of the personal pronoun ‘we’. More specifically, by the use of repetition ‘as Greeks, we are Greeks’, the interviewee constructs the ‘Greekness’ (the Greek aspect) of Cyprus which suggests that the relationship between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots is a relationship of national sameness. In this case, sameness is national, which implies that the two countries, Cyprus and Greece, are ethnically similar (findings about national sameness also emerged in the questionnaire; see section 7.2.3, Question 5). The student uses nationalistic expressions to construct the national sameness between Cyprus and Greece such as ‘mother country’

<sup>4</sup> Phileleftheros (2014) ‘Ο Κυπριακός Ελληνισμός Εμπνέεται από την Εθνική Παλιγγενεσία του 1821 [The Cypriot Hellenism is Inspired by the National Palingenesis of 1821]’, *Phileleftheros*, 1 April [Online] Available at: <http://www.philenews.com/el-gr/eidiseis-politiki/39/192569/ptd-o-kypriakos-ellinismos-empneetai-apo-tin-ethniki-palingenesia-tou-1821> (Accessed: 26/02/2015).

(denoting that Greece is the mother country of Cyprus as SMG is the mother language of GC), ‘the Achaeans left their mark’ (denoting the Greek origin of Cyprus), ‘we were Hellenised’ and ‘DNA’ (denoting the bond between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots, their common origin). To justify or explain this sameness, the interviewee constructs common values between Cyprus and Greece such as language (SMG), origin (the Achaeans) and religion (both countries are Orthodox). The relationality principle in this case emerges as relating linguistic identity to ethnic identity and to religious identity, suggesting that identity is a relational phenomenon (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 598).

With reference to the Greek origin of Cyprus, most interviewees further explained that Cyprus has Greek roots (Paul 15): Cyprus was firstly inhabited by Achaeans in ancient times, the civilisation started when Greeks arrived (Elena 18) and Greek-Cypriots adopted the Greek traditions, identity and language (Marcus 15). To support this claim, some interviewees expressed nationalistic views in favour of Greece. Therefore, the construction of a common ethnic identity between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots appears to reside largely in the Greek origin of Cyprus. This is illustrated in the excerpt below.

#### **Excerpt 4**

‘Έχουμε κοινή ταυτότητα. Εν μπορεί να το αμφισβητήσει κανένας τούτο. Τούτο αποδεικνύεται που μέσα στους αιώνες.. Πρώτοι κάτοικοι της Κύπρου ήταν οι Αχαιοί. Οι Αχαιοί ήταν, επροέρχουνταν που την Πελλοπόννησο τζαι ήταν οι πρώτοι που εκατοικήσαν την Κύπρο. Οι ελληνικές ρίζες της Κύπρου πηγάζουν που την αρχαιότητα.. Κανένας εν μπορεί να το αμφισβητήσει τούτο τζαι τούτον αποδεικνύεται με το ότι μιλούμε ακόμα ελληνικά στην Κύπρο’.

*[We have a common identity. Nobody can question this. This is proven through the centuries.. The first inhabitants of Cyprus were the Achaeans. The Achaeans were, came from Peloponnese and they were the first who inhabited Cyprus. The Greek roots of Cyprus emanate from Antiquity.. Nobody can doubt this and this is proven by the fact that we still speak Greek in Cyprus]* (Marios 18).

The use of the personal pronoun ‘we’ in this case refers to both Greeks and Greek-Cypriots; the interviewee explains that the common identity/national sameness between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots is proven by the Greek origin of Cyprus (Achaeans) and by

the present use of SMG in Cyprus. Nationalistic undertones emerge in this statement through the repetition of the expressions ‘nobody can question this’, ‘nobody can doubt this’ and the use of verbs such as ‘proven’ and ‘emanate’.

The data suggest that for most students the relationship between SMG and GC, Greeks and Greek-Cypriots, Cyprus and Greece is an ideological one, based on students’ associations between language, ethnicity and origin, whereas for a small number of students (3 out of 12), the relationship between SMG and GC is based on the mere necessity of mutual communication between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots. Specifically, although the majority of the students construct language sameness between SMG and GC and national sameness between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots, some students distinguished Cyprus from Greece and GC from SMG and argued that: ‘Δεν είμαστε μέρος της Ελλάδας και γι’ αυτό έχουμε τα κυπριακά, τη διάλεκτο μας, που είναι κατανοητή μεταξύ μας.. Χρησιμοποιούμε τα ελληνικά με τους Έλληνες’ [*We are not part of Greece and this is why we have GC, our dialect, which is comprehensible among us.. We use SMG with Greeks*] (Alex 18). This statement indicates that the student linguistically identifies herself with GC and Cyprus by the use of the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘us’ and distinguishes Greek-Cypriots from Greeks. For this student, SMG has the role of a medium of communication between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots; as already noted, if Greeks are not familiar with GC, mutual intelligibility is not always possible between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots, unless Greek-Cypriots accommodate their speech to that of their Greek interlocutor.

### **6.2.2 Self-categorisation and definition of ethnic labels**

The construction of language sameness between SMG and GC, of national sameness between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots and of common values between Cyprus and Greece (such as language, origin and religion) also emerged when students categorised themselves ethnically. With regard to ethnic identity, the Cypriot identity prevailed in both interviews and questionnaire results. Specifically, most interviewees (7 out of 12) defined themselves as Cypriots and explained their Cypriot identity by referring to their Cypriot origin, place of residence and to the language they speak (their parents are from Cyprus, they were born in Cyprus, they speak GC). A smaller number of interviewees (4 out of 12) defined themselves as ‘Greek-Cypriot’:

### Excerpt 5

‘Ελληνοκύπρια. Είμαι τζαι Ελληνίδα, όι Ελληνίδα, νιώθω Ελληνίδα απλά εν εγεννήθηκα στην Ελλάδα για να πω ναι ξέρεις είμαι. Αλλά νιώθω Ελληνίδα τζαι πιστεύκω ότι στην Κύπρο, ήρταν οι Έλληνες που την Ελλάδα τζαι άρκεψεν ο πολιτισμός. Επειδή μιλώ ελληνικά, έχω ελληνική μόρφωση, είμαι ορθόδοξη τζαι χριστιανή τζαι μινίσκω στην Κύπρο’.

*[Greek-Cypriot. I am also Greek, not Greek, I feel Greek but I wasn't born in Greece in order to say yes I am. But I feel Greek and I believe that in Cyprus, Greeks came from Greece and the civilisation started. Because I speak Greek, I have Greek education, I am Orthodox and Christian and I live in Cyprus]* (Elena 18).

In this excerpt, the student constructs her Greek-Cypriot identity and explains that she is not Greek because she was not born in Greece but because she feels Greek and refers to the common values between Cyprus and Greece such as origin, language, religion and education. Her construction of ethnic identity in relation to her religious identity (Orthodox) and her linguistic identity (a Greek speaker) reflects the relationality principle in which identity is a relational phenomenon (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 598).

Only one interviewee defined himself as ‘Greek’ and rejected the term ‘Greek-Cypriot’ as he argued that this is a new term introduced after Cyprus Independence (1960) devoid of historical credibility.

### Excerpt 6

‘Εγώ θεωρώ τον εαυτό μου Έλληνα γιατί το ‘Ελληνοκύπριος’ εισάξαν το μετά που έγινε η ανεξαρτησία, πριν την ανεξαρτησία εν υπήρχεν ο όρος ‘Ελληνοκύπριος’. Τωρά εν θα πω τη γνώμη μου γιατί έγινε η ανεξαρτησία ή γιατί εν έγινε η ένωση. Εγώ θεωρώ τον εαυτό μου Έλληνα. Είμαι ενταγμένος στο ελληνικό έθνος, πιστεύω στην ορθοδοξία, μιλώ ελληνικά. Τζαι γενικά η κουλτούρα μου έν ελληνική’.

*[I consider myself Greek because ‘Greek-Cypriot’ was introduced after Independence took place, before the Independence the term ‘Greek-Cypriot’ did not exist. But I am not going to give my opinion on why Independence took place or why union (with Greece)]*

*did not take place. I consider myself Greek. I am integrated in the Greek nation, I believe in Orthodoxy, I speak Greek. And generally my culture is Greek]* (Marios 18).

In this excerpt, the interviewee explicitly constructs in discourse his sense of ‘belonging’ to the Greek-nation (Meinhof and Galasinski, 2005); he defines himself as Greek through the construction of common values between Cyprus and Greece such as language, religion and culture by emphasising the fact that he belongs, he is ‘integrated’ to the Greek nation. The indexicality principle (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, pp. 593-594 and 598) emerges as the student constructs his identity with explicit reference to identity categories and labels (such as ‘Greek’ and ‘Greek-Cypriot’). Specifically, the interviewee rejects the term Greek-Cypriot and considers himself Greek and does not wish to explain why union with Greece did not take place; this may indicate the student’s political ideology. Namely, he is against Cyprus’ Independence and in favour of a union with Greece, an ideology incidentally held by the Cypriot right wing party (see Chapter 4). This shows that besides language ideology, political ideology also influences ethnic identity construction in Cyprus.

Furthermore, having categorised themselves ethnically, students defined the concepts of Greek, Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot. Table 6.7 below summarises the definitions provided by the interviewees of this study:

**Table 6.7 Students’ definitions of ethnic labels**

<b>A Cypriot</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• is a Greek-Cypriot or a Turkish-Cypriot</li> <li>• lives in Cyprus, has Cypriot parents, is a citizen of Cyprus</li> <li>• speaks GC or SMG</li> </ul>
<b>A Greek</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• is an Albanian-Greek or Pontic-Greek</li> <li>• comes from Greece, has Greek parents, Greek origin</li> <li>• is Orthodox</li> <li>• speaks and uses SMG (not GC) in all domains</li> </ul>
<b>A Greek-Cypriot</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• lives in Cyprus, has a Cypriot or Greek parent</li> <li>• is Orthodox</li> <li>• has Greek education, Greek history</li> <li>• speaks SMG or both SMG and GC</li> </ul>



Table 6.7 shows that students' definitions of the three ethnic identity labels include features such as origin and place of residence, language use, religion, education, and history. Specifically, in the interviewees' reports the Cypriot identity is associated with Cyprus and includes Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, which suggests that students may consider Turkish-Cypriots as fellow citizens. The Greek identity is associated with Greece and includes people with hyphenated identities such as Albanian-Greek, and the Greek-Cypriot identity with both Greek and Cypriot origin. In addition, some students associate the definition of these ethnic labels with language. The Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot identities are associated with speaking GC and SMG, whereas the Greek identity is associated with speaking SMG and 'not GC'. Students may wish to emphasise that GC is a variety reserved for Greek-Cypriots and not Greeks, although language sameness between the two varieties emerges throughout the data analysis: 'Κύπριος είναι κάποιος που μιλά κυπριακά, αλλά πάλι είναι ελληνικά' [*A Cypriot is someone who speaks GC but still, it is SMG*] (Paul 15). These statements suggest that both varieties are part of Greek-Cypriots' linguistic identity and through their use, students define themselves ethnically.

Ethnic self-definition may not always be associated with language, origin or place of residence; it can be a matter of preference, an individual choice: 'Έλληνοκύπριος είναι κάποιος που θέλει να είναι και τα δυο' [*A Greek-Cypriot is someone who wants to be both*] (Paul 15). This suggests that Greek-Cypriots can choose the identity label they wish to have, either Cypriot or Greek-Cypriot. In general, according to the interviewees' definitions presented in Table 6.7, 15 and 18-year-old students associated 'Greek-Cypriot' with religious identity, history, education, language and origin as these create an ideological bond between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots. For 12-year-old students, a Greek-Cypriot is related to birthplace (parent from Greece or born in Greece) and language (speaker of SMG and GC). This suggests that for 15 and 18-year-old students, being Greek-Cypriot has more of an ideological dimension (associated with history, religion, and education) rather than actual origin or language spoken. In other words, for younger students, ethnic identity can be mostly 'visual' (what they see is what it is), whereas older students consider ethnic identity beyond the visual features such as language and origin.

The national sameness between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots also emerged when interviewees expressed how they feel in terms of identity in various exchanges with Greeks. They were asked whether they feel Greek in a friendly encounter with mainland

Greeks and perceive the relationship between Greek-Cypriots and mainland Greeks as a 'brotherly' one or whether they feel Cypriot and distance themselves from mainland Greeks (that is, by not identifying with them ethnically). Most interviewees reported that they identify themselves with Greeks when interacting with them and that they perceive this relationship as a brotherly one: 'Νιώθω ότι είμαι και γω Έλληνας' [*I feel that I am Greek too*] (Marios 18). Some interviewees further stressed the bond between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots: 'Βασικά νιώθω πιο Ελληνίδα επειδή νιώθω ότι έχουμε πολλά κοινά με τους Έλληνες. Άρα δεν θα προσπαθούσα να δείξω ότι είμαι Κύπρια και να το τονίσω με κάποιο τρόπο' [*I basically feel more Greek because I feel that we have a lot in common with the Greeks. So I wouldn't try to show that I am Cypriot and stress it in some way*] (Anna 15).

Other interviewees stated that they would react negatively if their Greek interlocutors said something negative about Cyprus, undervalue Cyprus or Greek-Cypriots, or try to differentiate themselves from them, and they would not have a friendly stance towards Greeks. For example, a student stated: 'Ας πούμε, αν θεωρεί ότι δεν είμαστε το ίδιο και υποτιμήσει το ότι είμαι Κύπρια, η κυπριακή μου πλευρά θα ξυπνήσει' [*Let's say, if he/she considers that we are not the same and undervalue the fact that I am Cypriot, my Cypriot side will wake up*] (Elena 18). These hypothetical comments of Greeks undervaluing Greek-Cypriots and not considering them as Greeks but only Cypriots suggest the different status prestige attached to SMG and GC and reveal a degree of insecurity (Labov, 2003, p. 240) on the part of Greek-Cypriots about being Cypriots.

### 6.2.3 Attitudes towards GC and SMG and their speakers

In the interviews, students expressed mostly positive attitudes towards SMG and positive and negative attitudes towards GC. This finding also resulted from the MGT and questionnaire data (see Chapter 7). Evaluations such as these may be due to stereotypes attached to SMG as this is the official and standard language of Cyprus, the language of education whose position in the community carries prestige and status. In addition, these positive and negative evaluations towards GC may be due to stereotypes attached to GC, which has a less prestigious position in the Greek-Cypriot community although it is the native variety of Greek-Cypriots. The main highlights in the interviewees' reports involve a comparison of the two varieties and their speakers in terms of politeness, richness, fluency, superiority/ inferiority, and formality.

Politeness is the attribute most frequently used to describe SMG in the interviews and in each case, it acquires a different meaning. For example, some students considered SMG as more polite than GC (Paul 15, Stefanos 12, Peter 12) in the sense of being more comprehensible on occasions such as when speaking on the telephone with people they do not know very well (Alex 18). For other students, SMG is more polite than GC in the sense that it shows respect when speaking to elderly people (Melina 15) and older teachers, whereas with younger teachers the use of GC and/or SMG seems appropriate (Alex 18). Similar results emerged in the questionnaire (section 7.2.1, Question 1) in which half of the 18-year-old students reported using SMG with teachers and the other half using GC. In other words, the use of SMG may often function as expressing respect and sounding more comprehensible than GC.

According to the students' reports, the use of SMG in situations where the speaker must be polite is an unmarked choice, while in situations where politeness is not required by the nature of the situation, SMG is a marked choice; as a result, the interviewees stated that may often mock the speaker's use of SMG. To illustrate this, although the students consider SMG more polite than GC, they often mock the use of SMG possibly because it is the standard variety and may sound posher than GC: 'Δεν θέλω να πω ψέμματα. Αλλά θεωρούμε τα ελληνικά ως ευγενική και σικ γλώσσα και γι'αυτό το λόγο την κοροϊδεύουμε μερικές φορές' [*I don't want to lie. But we consider SMG as a polite and posh language and for this reason, we sometimes mock it*] (Alex 18). In cases such as these, the interlocutors may perceive the polite use of SMG as fake or pretentious: 'Τα κυπριακά είναι πιο πολύ εγώ ενώ τα ελληνικά είναι κάποιος άλλος, όχι άλλος εαυτός, είναι προσποιητό, πώς να το εκφράσω' [*GC is more me whereas SMG is someone else, not another self, it's pretentious, how to express it*] (Elena 18). These results suggest that for these Greek-Cypriot students, SMG is not their mother tongue, the variety they acquire and use naturally. In general, the 'unnecessary' polite use of SMG is not always positively perceived by the students as it equates to being posh or pretentious in some contexts.

Comparisons between SMG and GC are also made in terms of language richness as in the words of this 18-year-old interviewee:

**Excerpt 7**

‘Τα ελληνικά είναι η πιο πλούσια γλώσσα στον κόσμο. Έχουμε μεγάλη ιστορία τζαι εν νομίζω σε άλλη γλώσσα να υπάρχουν τόσα πολλά συνώνυμα. Γι’ αυτό τζαι η γλώσσα μας είναι πολυεθνική, πολιτισμική, εμπλουτισμένη.. Επίσημη, ευγενική σε αντίθεση με τα κυπριακά η μητρική μου διάλεκτος, η συνήθεια μου, ανεπίσημη, καθημερινή, κοινή μεταξύ Κυπρίων, απλή, κατανοητή. Τζαι εύκολη, δηλαδή, τούτο είναι, εν έση πλούτο, πέντε λέξεις ας πούμεν υπάρχουν τζαι τζίνες μαθαίνεις τζαι τζίνο μιλάς, εννοώ έννεν πλούσια γλώσσα. Εν θα ανοίξω ένα λεξικό τζαι να έβρω τριάντα χιλιάδες λέξεις. Ενώ σε έναν ελληνικό λεξικό έν πιο λογικό να το έβρω τούτο’.

*[SMG is the richest language in the world. We have a big history and I don't think that there are so many synonyms in another language. That's why our language is multiethnic, cultural, enriched.. Formal, polite as opposed to GC my native dialect, my habitude, informal, everyday, common between Cypriots, simple, comprehensible. And easy, this is it, it doesn't have richness, there are five words let's say and these are what you learn and speak, I mean it is not a rich language. I am not going to open a dictionary and find thirty thousand words. Whereas in a Greek language dictionary, it is more reasonable to find this]* (Alex 18).

In this statement, the comparison between SMG and GC is clearly expressed by the use of adjectives such as ‘formal’ (SMG) versus ‘informal’/‘everyday’ (GC), ‘multiethnic’ (SMG) versus ‘between Cypriots’ (GC), ‘rich’ (SMG) versus ‘not rich’/‘simple’ (GC). The use of the hyperbole ‘SMG is the richest language in the world’ reveals the student’s positive attitudes towards SMG and her nationalistic stance. Nevertheless, the use of the personal pronouns ‘we have’ (SMG) and possessive adjectives such as ‘our language’ (SMG) and ‘my habit’ (GC) suggests that both varieties are part of the students’ linguistic identity. In other words, although the student considers that GC is not as rich, formal or multiethnic as SMG, GC is her mother tongue, the variety she uses every day and the variety that is comprehensible between Greek-Cypriots. When the student identifies linguistically with the two varieties, she uses the term ‘my language’ denoting SMG and ‘my native dialect’ denoting GC; that is, she makes a distinction between language and dialect possibly to emphasise the difference between standard and non-standard variety.

Fluency in SMG also emerges as a salient issue in the students' description of SMG, GC and their speakers. All interviewees argued that Greeks are more fluent in SMG than Greek-Cypriots are; the students explained that by the term 'fluency' they mean the use of a broad vocabulary and speaking fast. The students maintained that Greek-Cypriots lack fluency because their vocabulary is limited and therefore, they do not use 'fancy' expressions (Alex 18). Likewise, some students argued that: 'Οι Έλληνες μιλούν πιο γρήγορα, θέλουν δέκα λεπτά οι Κύπριοι για να μιλήσουν' [*Greeks speak faster, it takes ten minutes for Cypriots to speak*] (Melina 15) or that: 'Αν η κάμερα γυρίσει προς έναν Έλληνα και έναν Κύπριο, ο Έλληνας ομιλητής θα είναι πιο εύλωτος. Είναι αυτό το οποίο δεν έχουμε.. Εμείς θα λαλούμε 'αμ, αμ' συνέχεια' [*If a camera turns towards a Greek and a Cypriot, the Greek speaker will be more fluent. This is what we don't have.. We will say 'um, um' the whole time*] (Alex 18). This student identifies herself as a Greek-Cypriot speaker by the use of the pronoun 'we' and consequently, as a speaker who lacks fluency in SMG.

Likewise, some students explained their argument about Greeks' fluency by referring to the fact that rhetoric is traditionally Greek (Elena 18) and that they hold Greek people in high esteem for this (Alex 18). By referring to Greeks' rhetorical skills, the student may signal her linguistic insecurity and indirectly imply that 'we Greek-Cypriots are less powerful than Greeks are' as rhetoric may be seen as an instrument of power and specifically, language power. Linguistic insecurity (Labov, 2003) and feelings of powerlessness could be also evident in comments maintaining that SMG is used in Cyprus because Greek-Cypriots need to speak a language and not only a dialect (Alex 18, George 18). Statements such as these suggest language versus dialect stereotypes. That is, GC speakers may consider that the use of GC, a non-standardised variety, may not meet all the needs of a community, while the use of SMG, a codified and standardised variety, may meet all the needs of a community.

Greek-Cypriot students justified their argument about Greeks' fluency in SMG through the fact that SMG is their mother tongue. Specifically, the students argued that Greek-Cypriots are not linguistically less competent than Greeks are and that they do not use SMG in their everyday interactions as Greeks do because they use GC, which is their native variety (Marios 18). The excerpt below illustrates this:

**Excerpt 8**

‘Αυτοί δεν μιλούν τη γλώσσα στην καθημερινή τους ζωή και γενικά. Όταν δεν συναναστρέφεται με Έλληνες, όταν δεν έχεις συγγενείς, όταν δεν έχεις φίλους ή στη δουλειά, κάποιος χρησιμοποιά τα κυπριακά στη δουλειά. Αυτός είναι ο τρόπος που εκφραζόμαστε, αφού έτσι είναι η γλώσσα μας’.

*[They (Cypriots) do not speak the language (SMG) in their everyday life and generally. When you don't interact with Greeks, when you don't have relatives, when you don't have friends or at work, someone uses GC at work. This is the way we express ourselves, since this is how our language is]* (Elena 18).

In this statement, at first the interviewee uses the personal pronouns ‘they’ and ‘you’ to refer generally to the less frequent use of SMG by Greek-Cypriots and then her speech becomes more personal by the use of ‘we’ and ‘our’ to identify herself linguistically as a Greek-Cypriot speaker. The students further stated that Greek-Cypriot speakers may not know the specific terminology to speak formally, while for Greek speakers, it is easier to do this in public, for instance, as it is the same variety they use in their everyday life (Marios 18). In general, the students justified their lack of fluency in SMG with the argument that SMG is not their mother tongue. This suggests that students may not undervalue themselves as speakers of GC and as speakers of a non-standard variety in general, even though they sometimes appeared linguistically insecure in their interview reports.

With reference to the evaluations of SMG and GC and their speakers, issues of prestige and language superiority/inferiority appear, which again indicates the students’ linguistic insecurity. The excerpt below illustrates this:

**Excerpt 9**

‘Μπορεί να μην είναι σωστό που εννά το πω αλλά εννά το πω. Ότι η ελληνική θεωρείται πιο ανώτερη επειδή έν τούτην που χρησιμοποιούμε, που εμάθαμε να χρησιμοποιούμε για επίσημους λόγους... Τα κυπριακά έχουν έτσι τούτην την απλότητα. Έν τοπικά, κοινά. Είναι όντως κατώτερα, αλλά τι να κάμουμε, τούτα μιλούμε’.

*[Maybe it's not right to say this but I will. That SMG is considered superior because this is what we use, we learned to use it for formal reasons... GC has this simplicity. It is local, common. It is inferior, indeed, but what to do, this is what we speak]* (Alex 18).

This interviewee considers SMG superior to GC because SMG is used in formal domains. In other words, the informal use of GC and its 'simplicity' can be the reasons why some Greek-Cypriot speakers may consider it inferior as a linguistic variety in comparison to SMG. In this statement, the student views GC as local, common and inferior and immediately identifies herself and all Greek-Cypriots with the GC 'this is what we speak' as if she accepts her linguistic fate, 'but what to do'. Statements such as these again suggest the linguistic insecurity of Greek-Cypriot speakers.

The inferiority of GC however is not accepted by all students and GC receives positive evaluations: 'Δεν μπορείς να θεωρήσεις κάποιον κατώτερο επειδή μιλά κυπριακά και όχι ελληνικά' [*You cannot consider someone inferior because he/she speaks GC and not SMG*] (Elena 18). The positive descriptions of GC suggest the emotional attachment Greek-Cypriots have to their mother tongue. Specifically, even though most students described SMG as richer, more polite, formal and refined than GC, some of them maintained that: 'Τα ελληνικά είναι πιο ευγενικά ενώ τα κυπριακά είναι πιο ωραία, επειδή σου πηγαίνουν να τα μιλάς, τα κυπριακά έν πιο ενδιαφέρον, έν πιο πολυδιάστατα ας πούμε και μπορείς να χρησιμοποιήσεις πολλές λέξεις' [*SMG is more polite while GC is nicer, because it suits you to speak it, GC is more interesting, it is more multidimensional let's say and you can use many words*] (Melina 15, Anna 15, Elena 18). This may imply that GC 'suits' Greek-Cypriots as it is their native variety that, they acquire naturally; this statement also shows that some interviewees do not believe that GC lacks richness but consider instead that GC is interesting and multidimensional and that there is a range of words for Greek-Cypriots to use.

As already noted, the subjective evaluations given by the students are mainly expressed by the verb 'sound', which reflects how students perceive the two varieties and therefore, they do not constitute objective descriptions. Even the multifaceted traits of 'politeness' and 'formality', which appear to be default characteristics of SMG, are in fact subjective descriptions. Explicitly, considering SMG a polite variety does not necessarily mean that GC is not, as SMG may simply *sound* more polite. This is in fact confirmed in statements

such as: ‘Το να χρησιμοποιούμε τα κυπριακά δεν σημαίνει ότι είναι αγένεια’ [*Using GC does not mean that it is impolite*] (Marcus 15). Also, some interviewees explained that although GC sounds ‘όχι βάρβαρα αλλά βαρετά’ [*not barbaric but harsh*] (Marios 18, Melanie 15), they do not undervalue it but simply consider that SMG sounds more pleasant than GC (Elena 18). Likewise, students who characterised GC as a harsh variety (Melina 15) compared to SMG, or even a village-sounding variety, that is, as a variety used by people living in villages (similar results in MGT), explained that they do not consider GC speakers as peasants: ‘Κάποιος που μιλά κυπριακά δεν είναι χωριάτης επειδή όλοι στην Κύπρο μιλούμε κυπριακά’ [*Someone who speaks GC is not a peasant because most (people) in Cyprus we speak GC*] (Melina 15). These statements show, on the one hand, subjectively negative descriptions of GC such as harsh and village-sounding and on the other hand, positive justifications of these negative descriptions.

Regardless of the positive or negative evaluations towards GC, most interviewees considered GC as part of their identity:

#### **Excerpt 10**

‘Θεωρώ το στοιχείο της ταυτότητας μας. Το απαραίτητο στοιχείο της ταυτότητα μας. Αν η κυπριακή διάλεκτος χαθεί, χάνεται το δικό μας στίγμα σαν Κύπριοι.. Επίσης η κουλτούρα μας θα χαθεί.. Έν το ντόπιο στοιχείο μας’.

[*I consider it (GC) a component of our identity. The indispensable constituent of our identity. If GC is lost, then our mark as Cypriots is also lost.. Our culture is lost too.. It is our local element*] (Marios 18).

In this statement, the student constructs his linguistic and cultural identity; GC is part of Greek-Cypriots’ identity and the significant position of GC in Greek-Cypriots’ lives is emphasised by the use of terms such as ‘indispensable constituent’, ‘mark’, ‘culture’ and ‘local’. In general, this interviewee repeatedly uses the possessive adjective ‘our’ to refer to Greek-Cypriots and to GC collectively, which suggests that above all, he does not reject his linguistic Cypriot identity.

GC was also favourably evaluated in terms of education; that is, most students maintained that Greek-Cypriots are highly educated people and wealthy as the standard of living is



high in Cyprus (Marios 18). Similar results were found in MGT (see Chapter 7) where most students evaluated the GC guise as educated, and in the questionnaires (Question 3) where most students reported that a lack of competence in SMG is not related to the speaker's educational background.

Interviewees were also asked to state which variety they would choose to use if they had to in order to find out which of the two varieties would that be and why. Regardless of the positive or negative descriptions of GC, most students (9 out of 12) stated that if they had to choose one variety, they would choose to use GC. The reasons for choosing GC were mostly relational. Specifically, some students would choose GC because this is related to their linguistic identity: 'Θα διάλεγα τα κυπριακά επειδή είναι η ταυτότητα μου' [*I would choose GC because it is my identity*] (Elena 18) and to the fact that GC distinguishes a Greek-Cypriot speaker from a Greek speaker (Peter 12). This suggests that GC belongs only to Greek-Cypriots and this provides them with uniqueness in contrast possibly to SMG, which is a variety shared between Greek-Cypriots and Greeks. This is an integrative attitude to language (Masgoret and Gardner, 2003, p. 126), where the Greek-Cypriot students wish to be identified as Greek-Cypriot speakers, independently from Greek speakers, and express intimacy and solidarity between them and support the use of GC. Other students would choose to use GC for individual reasons such as because they feel more comfortable using GC (Stefanos 12, Peter 12) or because GC 'suits' them better than SMG (Melina 15, Angela 12).

A small number of students (3 out of 12) would choose to use SMG for individual reasons such as SMG being an official language and they would prefer to speak and write a standardised language in contrast to GC which, even if it were codified, – they claimed – could not stand by itself because it is a dialect (Marios 18). These students would also choose to use SMG for professional success. They admitted having difficulties at school because SMG is not their mother tongue and that these difficulties became more evident during the senior year at school as SMG is one of the subjects tested in the university entrance examination. As they make many mistakes, particularly grammatical ones (Melanie 15), they would choose to use SMG so that they have less difficulties in using SMG at the university (Elena 18). This is an instrumental attitude to language where the Greek-Cypriot speakers' motivation to learn SMG is dictated by professional reasons, success and status (Masgoret and Gardner, 2003, p. 126). Similarly, this suggests that as

students grow up, aspiration to self-improvement affects their linguistic behaviour and therefore, some Greek-Cypriot students may adopt prestigious linguistic forms for professional self-enhancement and to increase their upward mobility.

When looking at their descriptions of SMG and GC, the students appear to hold positive attitudes towards SMG and mixed attitudes towards GC. On the one hand, they praise SMG and downgrade GC and on the other hand, they justify their negative comments towards GC and express positive attitudes. This behaviour can be a sign of covert prestige (Labov, 1966), where Greek-Cypriots may hold positive attitudes towards their non-standard native variety but they may not always express these positive attitudes overtly. Nevertheless, since GC is not a standardised variety, they may not always express positive attitudes to it as they constantly seem to compare it to SMG, which is the standard and official language of Cyprus.

#### **6.2.4 Domains of use of GC and SMG, appropriateness of use and implications**

The interviews also aimed to find out how students aged 12 to 18 use SMG and GC. According to the students' reports, GC is used in informal domains (such as friends, classmates, home, everyday interactions, and television sitcoms). SMG is reportedly used in formal domains (such as media, politics, and official documents, reading and writing). In fact, most students used the terms 'formal' and 'informal' to refer to the aforementioned distribution. Students stated the use of both or one of the two varieties in certain domains; these domains are called semi-formal in this study where either variety to be used is appropriate (as an unmarked choice). For example, students stated the use of GC and some students SMG with 'acquaintances' or with people they do not know very well. Likewise, 'workplace' appears to be a domain where some students consider SMG is more suitable while others think GC is. While the participants are school students and not employed, it is important to identify how they perceive the linguistic demands of workplace.

With regard to the domain of education, students stated that they normally use both SMG and GC in the classroom and explained that language use depends on the type of lesson and on the interaction (talking with classmates, the teacher and so forth). For instance, the students reported that SMG is mainly used in language-based lessons (Stefanos 12, Kate 12) such as Modern Greek and History and to a lesser extent in other lessons such

as Physics and Technology. Interviewees claimed that the use of SMG at school includes occasions such as speaking in the classroom, especially to teachers, or at organised events or conferences (Alex 18), whereas GC is the variety for chatting with classmates or during break-time.

Some interviewees expressed negative attitudes towards the use of SMG at school. One interviewee asserted that: ‘Στο μάθημα των Νέων Ελληνικών πρέπει υποχρεωτικά να μιλούμε ελληνικά, αλλιώς μας θυμώνουν. Παρόλο που δεν με πειράζει, εκφράζομαι καλύτερα στα κυπριακά’ [*In the Modern Greek lesson, we have to speak compulsorily SMG, otherwise we are told off. Although I do not mind, I express myself better in GC*] (Alex 18). This statement suggests that the compulsory use of SMG at school in place of their native variety possibly makes the students feel pressured by a language ‘imposed’ on to them by the educational system of Cyprus. Likewise, some interviewees explicitly stated that it is the system and the government of Cyprus that ‘forces’ people to speak SMG. They argued that the reason why SMG was adopted in Cyprus is because, in the 1950s, Greek-Cypriots wanted Cyprus to be united with Greece (which did not happen in the end) and since GC is a dialect of SMG, this was adopted and became the official language of Cyprus. Therefore, regardless of whether the students have positive attitudes towards SMG or not, the use of SMG at school is viewed by some students as ‘imposed’. Based on the classroom observation and interview data, the use of GC by the students at school can be a kind of ‘rebellion’ against the imposed use of SMG. In other words, the use of GC instead of SMG by the students can be a way to express their disagreement (if they disagree indeed) with the language policy in Cyprus as well as an expression of their linguistic identity as Greek-Cypriot speakers.

Furthermore, the results suggest that when Greek-Cypriots use SMG in cases where GC is expected or vice-versa, this is a marked choice, whereas unmarked choices occur when each variety is used as expected (according to which variety is perceived as the appropriate one). For example, students were asked to say how they would react if a friend of theirs started speaking in SMG during a casual interaction in a cafeteria. Only a small number of students would respond positively to this: ‘Εντάξει αν θέλει να μιλά ελληνικά εν έση πρόβλημα τότε’ [*Ok if he wants to speak SMG no problem then*] (Marcus 15) or ‘θα μιλούσα τζαι γω ελληνικά. Θα μου άρεσκε’ [*I would also speak SMG. I would like it*] (Anna 15). On the contrary, the use of SMG in everyday interactions where GC is

normally expected (as it is the native variety) appears to be a marked choice. In the excerpt below, the student sometimes finds the use of SMG as ‘pretentious’ and ‘strange’; she uses *kalamaristika* to denote SMG, a term often used negatively by Greek-Cypriots (see Chapter 4).

### Excerpt 11

‘Γιατί εν εκφράζομαι τόσο άνετα τζαι βρίσκω το τζαι λίο προσποιητό να μιλάς ελληνικά. Σαν η μάμα μου, που έν φιλόλόγος μπορεί καμιά φορά άμα δει κανένα γνωστό της, να αρκέψει να μιλά καλαμαρίστικα που λαλούμε τζαι να το έβρω κάπως.. Ξενίζει με’.

*[Because I don’t express myself so easily and I find it a bit pretentious to speak SMG. Like my mum, she is a Modern Greek teacher and sometimes when she meets an acquaintance of hers, she starts speaking SMG (kalamaristika) and I find it somehow.. It is strange]* (Elena 18).

Likewise, some students associated the use of SMG in everyday interactions between Greek-Cypriots with expressing superiority and showing off. This is possibly due to the fact that SMG is not part of their natural way of speaking and, as the language of education, students considered SMG as a refined and more sophisticated variety than GC: ‘Μπορεί να μεν το κάμνει (ο ομιλητής) για να γελάσουμε, να το κάμνει για καλό σκοπό αλλά ήταν να τον περιπαίζω. Ήταν να θεωρήσω ότι προσπαθεί να δείξει ότι έν ανώτερης κλάσης’ *[He (the speaker) may not do it for fun, do it for a good purpose but I would make fun of him. I would consider that he is trying to show that he is superior]* (Marios 18). This suggests that when the use of SMG is a strategically (or intentionally) marked choice, it may function as an instrument of power as the speaker using SMG may wish to appear superior and linguistically more powerful than his/her interlocutors who use GC. Greek-Cypriot speakers seem linguistically insecure and they may often feel intimidated by the use of SMG as they are not native speakers.

SMG is a marked choice when used in GC domains; likewise, the use of GC in domains where SMG should normally be used is negatively perceived by the interviewees. For example, some interviewees expressed their disapproval of the use of GC in the media (particularly by politicians and journalists whose job is to give public speeches) and stated

that it may sometimes be associated with certain professions and imply a lack of proper education:

### Excerpt 12

‘Αν ακούσεις κάποιον, μμ, δυστυχώς εννά το πω, μμ.. Να ακούσεις κάποιον να μιλά καθαρά κυπριακά στα ΜΜΕ, καταλαμβαίνεις ότι δεν ήσπε την αναγκαία μόρφωση. Σωστά;...(N) Εν ασχολείται πολλά με επισημότητες. Μπορεί να έσπε χαμηλό μορφωτικό επίπεδο. Δηλαδή αν φκάλεις π.χ τον, εν θέλω να προσβάλω, τον εκπρόσωπο των πατατοπαραγωγών, εν θα μιλήσει πολλά καλά. Επειδή προέρχεται που ένα συγκεκριμένο κοινωνικό στρώμα, στο οποίο ήσπε την ανάλογη μόρφωση τζαι δυσκολεύκεται ο άνθρωπος’.

*[If you listen to someone, um, unfortunately I am going to say it, um.. Listen to someone speaking clearly GC in the media, you understand that he/she did not have the necessary education. Right?...(N) He doesn't bother a lot with formality. He may have a low educational level. That is, if you ask for example, I don't want to offend, the spokesperson of potato growers, he won't speak very well. Because he comes from a particular social level, where he had a similar education and the person has difficulties]* (Marios 18).

The use of the adverb ‘unfortunately’ at the beginning of the statement shows that the student hesitated to express his views possibly because of the presence of the interviewer, and the use of ‘right?’ may also suggest that the student sought the interviewer’s agreement or approval. For this interviewee, the spokesperson of potato growers is not expected to speak SMG very well on television because of his insufficient education. By using the expression ‘not very well’, the student implies the use of GC; he also stresses that the insufficient education of potato growers is associated with the specific social level they come from. These statements made by the 18-year-old interviewee show how language use can be associated with stereotypes of education and types of work.

Nevertheless, the association of the educational background of a speaker with the use of GC in the media was not shared by all interviewees. In fact, some students (5 out of 12) considered the use of GC to be unrelated to education or to be a matter of preference. Also, similarly to the assumed imposition of SMG in education, some interviewees deem the use of SMG as compulsory and also imposed in the domain of the media. Notably,

the use of GC in the media may signal that the speaker prefers to speak GC or again, this can be a kind of protest against the imposed use of SMG:

### Excerpt 13

‘Μπορεί (ο ομιλητής) να μην συμφωνεί με τους άλλους που τον αναγκάζουν να μιλά ελληνικά. Μπορεί να θεωρεί ότι η γλώσσα του είναι τα κυπριακά.. Στα νέα, οι άνθρωποι μιλούν ελληνικά. Κάποιος πρέπει να τους λαλεί να μιλήσουν ελληνικά. Αλλιώς, γιατί να μεν μιλούν κυπριακά; Κάποιος τους αναγκάζει’.

*[He (the speaker) may not agree with the others that make him speak SMG. He may consider that his language is GC.. In the news, people speak SMG. Someone must tell them to speak SMG. Otherwise, why not speak GC? Someone makes them do that]* (Paul 15).

The students were asked to state which variety (SMG or GC) they use when interacting with Greek people in general and why; with a Greek person who has difficulty in understanding GC; and with a Greek person who does not have difficulty in understanding GC. Most students stated that they accommodate their speech to their Greek interlocutor for effective communication (Marcus 15) and to make their Greek interlocutors feel comfortable conversing with them (Melanie 15). Nevertheless, the use of SMG seems to depend on whether GC is intelligible or not to the Greek interlocutor: ‘Εκτός αν δω ότι εν καταλαμβαίνει τίποτε από όσα λαλώ στα κυπριακά, τότε εννά μιλήσω ελληνικά’ *[Unless I see that he doesn’t understand anything of what I am saying in GC, then I will speak SMG]* (Elena 18, Anna 15). Some students explained that they generally start by using GC and if their Greek interlocutor has difficulty in understanding, then they switch to SMG (Marcus 15, Angela 12).

However, if their Greek interlocutor is not familiar with GC, then the students use SMG (George 18); that is, in case of mutual intelligibility between the Greek and the Greek-Cypriot speaker, there is no need for language accommodation on the part of the Greek-Cypriot. To explain this, some students referred to their Greek classmates who have been living in Cyprus for years and because their classmates are familiar with GC, they converse with them in GC (Alex 18). In addition to mutual intelligibility, the use of SMG between Greek-Cypriots and Greeks depends on their relationship. When students do not

know their Greek interlocutor at all or not very well, they use SMG with them; but, if the Greek-Cypriot and Greek speakers familiarise themselves with one another, then the Greek-Cypriot students may use some GC words (Marios 18).

Besides a preference for GC as their mother tongue, Greek-Cypriots possibly use GC with Greeks as they may not feel confident or competent enough to use SMG with native speakers. In the example below, the student reported that she is too shy to use SMG with Greek people and that she does not like it. This suggests that the student may feel linguistically insecure in using SMG and for this reason, she uses GC which is the variety she possibly feels 'safe' using.

#### **Excerpt 14**

S: Έχω φίλους που την Ελλάδα τζαι μιλώ κυπριακά μαζί τους. Τα μισά καταλάβουν αλλά εν πειράζει.

R: Δεν κάμνεις προσπάθεια να μιλήσεις ελληνικά;

S: Όι.

R: Γιατί;

S: Είμαι ντροπαλή.

R: Γιατί είσαι ντροπαλή;

S: Εν μου αρέσκει.

*S: I have friends from Greece and I speak to them in GC. They understand half (of what I am saying) but OK.*

*R: Don't you make any effort to speak to them in SMG?*

*S: No.*

*R: Why?*

*S: I am shy.*

*R: Why are you shy?*

*S: I don't like it (Melina 15).*

In general, although the three age groups expressed similar attitudes towards SMG and GC, the 12-year-old students did not show signs of social mobility, that is, desire to move upwardly socially and professionally as it may be early for them to think of their future as professionals and therefore make choices. On the other hand, the 15 and particularly

the 18-year-old students showed signs of desire for social mobility and social self-enhancement through the desire to adopt 'correct' language forms (SMG). Similarly, although all three groups expressed positive feelings towards all ethnic identities (Greek, Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot), the construction of ethnic identity for the 15 and 18-year-old students appears to have more of an ideological dimension rather than actual origin which is the case of 12-year-old students. Specifically, the 15 and 18-year-old students often made associations between language, origin, religion, politics and history and expressed nationalistic feelings, either towards Cyprus or Greece, whereas the 12-year-old students did not express any nationalistic feelings. This may indicate that as Greek-Cypriot students grow up and become more knowledgeable and ideologically oriented, they express nationalistic feelings and explain their ethnic identity through historical and political reasoning. The interview data analysis has shown how the indexicality and relationality principles proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) emerge in the construction of identities by Greek-Cypriot students.

In addition, the interviews have shown signs of linguistic accommodation. As the researcher and interviewer of this study, I used a mixed version of GC and SMG. The reason for not using SMG is because this is a formal variety in Cyprus and as the focus of these interviews is not language use, I did not wish for the students to focus on how they speak rather than on what they say. A mixed version of GC and SMG provided the interview with a rather informal nature where students felt comfortable in expressing their views. Therefore, the students' language use was very similar to my language use. Equally, my presence as the interviewer may have had an effect on the students' reports and for this reason, these results are compared and contrasted with the results from the classroom observations, questionnaires and MGT.

### **6.3 Concluding remarks**

This chapter presented the data from the classroom observations and the interviews. The classroom observation data indicate that GC is present in the Cypriot classroom, particularly in lessons where language expression is not prominent such as in Maths lessons. The use of GC has interpersonal functions in all three types of lessons and used strategically to enhance learning. In general, the data show that the language policy in Cyprus is not in line with the classroom language reality. In terms of age, the classroom data suggest that younger students tend to conform more to the norm, the use of SMG,



and accommodate their speech to their teachers', whereas the 15 and 18-year-old students seem to make more independent language choices.

The interview data suggest that Greek-Cypriot students between 12 and 18 years old have positive attitudes towards SMG and mixed attitudes towards GC. The mixture of positive and negative attitudes towards GC may be due to the students' linguistic insecurity. Students may find themselves confused between the appropriateness and the prestige of using the standard language and the implications of using the non-standard variety (stereotypes such as less refined and prestigious). Nevertheless, the students consider both varieties as part of their linguistic identity and relate the use of SMG and GC to their ethnic, cultural and religious identities. Although the students have positive feelings towards the Cypriot, Greek-Cypriot and Greek identities, the Cypriot identity seems to prevail.

## **Chapter 7: Data analysis and discussion of results: MGT and questionnaires**

This chapter presents the quantitative and, to a lesser extent, qualitative data collected from the MGT-like experiment and the questionnaires. The IBM SPSS 19 statistical software was used to process and analyse the quantitative data. The first part of the chapter analyses and discusses the MGT results, illustrated in graphs and tables, while the second part analyses and discusses the questionnaire results, illustrated in tables.

### **7.1 MGT analysis**

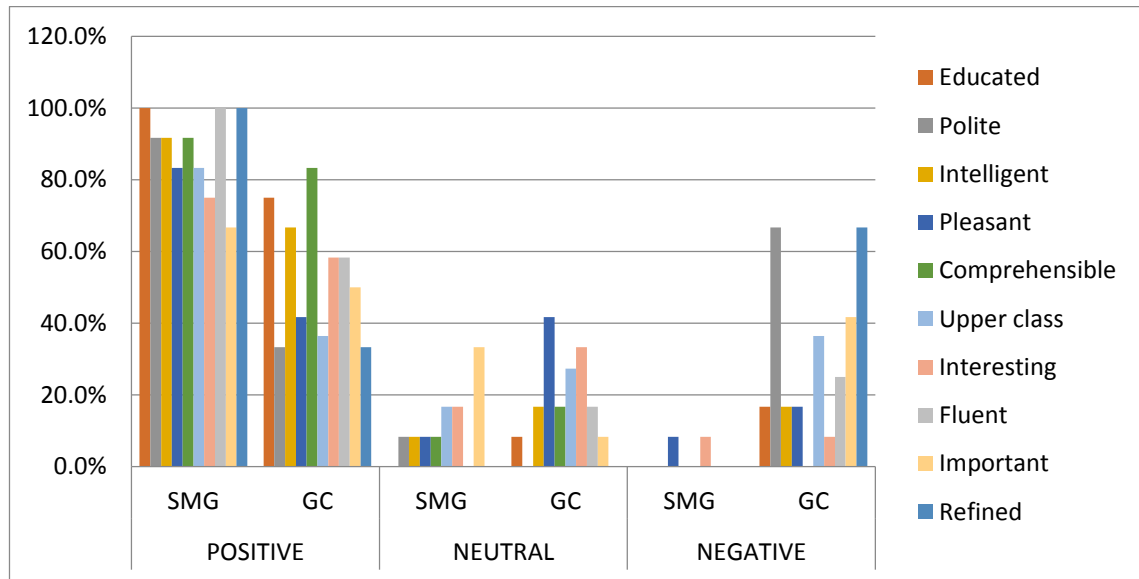
The MGT-like experiment was used in this study to identify the attitudes of 12 Greek-Cypriot male and female students, aged 12 to 18, towards SMG and GC speakers and, consequently, towards the varieties *per se*. To conduct this experiment, I recorded one female speaker reading the same passage twice, once in SMG and once in GC. Although it is possible that the speaker's gender influenced the participants' responses, I chose this speaker because she was very fluent in both SMG and GC. The MGT analysis starts with the presentation and description of the overall responses given by the participants in relation to the two varieties. It proceeds with the analysis of the responses given by the students to four additional open-ended questions about the speaker of each recorded variety. It concludes with the breakdown of the data according to the age of the students, which is the main variable of this study, and the general discussion of the MGT results.

#### **7.1.1 MGT overall quantitative results**

The students evaluated the speakers on a seven-point Likert scale, based on ten descriptive opposite dimensions which involved two factors: superiority (educated/uneducated, intelligent/unintelligent, fluent/not fluent, comprehensible/incomprehensible, upper class/lower class, important/unimportant), and social attractiveness (polite/impolite, pleasant/unpleasant, interesting/uninteresting, refined/rustic). Each descriptive trait was analysed statistically and illustrated in percentages on the seven-point scale. In the following analysis, a positive attitude is the evaluation made from 'most' to 'very' (1 to 3) on the seven-point Likert scale, and a negative attitude is made from 'not very' to 'least' (5 to 7) on the same scale. When the speaker is evaluated as being 'fairly' (4) on a descriptive trait, this implies a neutral attitude, namely, neither positive nor negative. The results are presented in percentages in Graph 1 below and in terms of mean and standard deviation in Tables 7.1a and 7.1b; standard deviation provides an indication of how far the students' answers to a question deviate from the mean and

whether the answers are concentrated around the mean or scattered. The results are also presented in graphs for all three age groups. 12 samples were collected for the MGT and none were discarded, although there were a small number of responses missing on some descriptive traits. Graph 1 below illustrates the overall results provided by the students' evaluations towards what they thought were the SMG and GC speakers regardless of age.

**Graph 1 MGT results: students' attitudes to the SMG and GC speakers**



**Table 7.1a Mean and standard deviation for SMG**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Educated	12	1	1	1.00	.000
Polite	12	1	2	1.08	.289
Intelligent	12	1	2	1.08	.289
Pleasant	12	1	3	1.25	.622
Comprehensible	12	1	2	1.08	.289
Upper class	12	1	2	1.17	.389
Interesting	12	1	3	1.33	.651
Fluent	12	1	1	1.00	.000
Important	12	1	2	1.33	.492
Refined	12	1	1	1.00	.000
Valid N (listwise)	12				

**Table 7.1b Mean and standard deviation for GC**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Educated	12	2	7	2.92	1.621
Polite	12	1	7	4.58	2.234
Intelligent	12	1	6	2.92	1.782
Pleasant	12	1	6	3.67	1.435
Comprehensible	12	1	4	1.67	1.231
Upper class	11	1	6	3.82	1.662
Interesting	12	1	5	3.17	1.115
Fluent	12	1	6	3.00	1.809
Important	12	1	6	3.83	1.899
Refined	12	1	7	4.67	2.270
Valid N (listwise)	11				

When looking at Table 7.1a, students consider that the SMG speaker is educated, fluent and refined because the mean is 1.00, namely, the evaluation is made from ‘most’ to ‘very’ (1 to 3) on the seven-point Likert scale which shows that the evaluation is positive. The standard deviation is 0 which shows that the individual responses did not deviate from the mean, that is, all students answered positively. The SMG speaker is polite, intelligent and comprehensible because the mean is 1.08, namely, the evaluation is positive (from ‘most’ to ‘very’). The standard deviation is 0.289 which is low, therefore, most students’ evaluations are concentrated around the mean. Similarly, the speaker is pleasant, upper class, interesting and important because the evaluation is made from ‘most’ to ‘very’ (1 to 3) on the seven-point Likert scale which shows that the evaluation is positive (the mean is 1.25, 1.17, 1.33 and 1.33 respectively). The standard deviation is 0.622, 0.389, 0.651 and 0.492 accordingly which is low, therefore, most students’ evaluations are concentrated around the mean.

Similarly, Graph 1 reveals that the use of SMG was very positively judged by the participants as the SMG speaker was not evaluated as ‘less’ or ‘least’ on any trait on the seven-point scale. The SMG speaker was positively evaluated on most traits (polite, comprehensible, intelligent, upper class and important) and particularly in terms of education, fluency and refinement (as these traits gathered the highest percentages). Although the SMG speaker was perceived as pleasant and interesting, these traits were also ranked negatively (‘not very’) by a very small percentage (8.3%) of students. In

general, these results suggest that students have positive attitudes towards the SMG speaker and hence, towards SMG itself.

With regard to the evaluations towards GC, Table 7.1b shows that the GC speaker is educated, comprehensible and intelligent as the mean is 2.92, 1.67 and 2.92 respectively and namely, the evaluation is made from 'most' to 'very' (1 to 3) on the seven-point Likert scale which shows that the evaluation is positive. The standard deviation is low which shows that most students' evaluations are concentrated around the mean, that is, most students answered positively. The GC speaker is not considered polite or refined as the mean is 4.58 and 4.67 respectively, namely the evaluation is made from 'not very' to 'least' on the seven-point Likert scale which shows that the evaluation is negative. The standard deviation is high, 2.234 and 2.27, which shows that students' answers deviate from the mean. With regard to the traits of pleasant, upper class and important, the GC speaker is neutrally (4) evaluated on the seven-point Likert scale; the standard deviation is low which entails that most students' evaluations are concentrated around the mean. The GC speaker is interesting and fluent because the mean is 3.17 and 3.00, namely, the evaluation is positive (from 'most' to 'very'). The standard deviation is 1.15 which is low, therefore most students' evaluations are concentrated around the mean.

Likewise, Graph 1 indicates that the GC speaker was evaluated on all seven points of the Likert scale, namely, from 'most' to 'least'. This entails that the participants judged the use of GC positively, neutrally and negatively. In contrast to the evaluations towards the SMG speaker, which are generally more consistent in terms of high percentages, there is no unanimity in the participants' evaluations towards the GC speaker. That is, low percentages are gathered for most descriptive traits. The results suggest that the GC speaker was favourably perceived by the participants as particularly comprehensible (83.3%), intelligent (66.7%) and educated (75.0%, with lower percentages compared to those of SMG), and negatively perceived in terms of refinement and politeness (66.7% from 'not very' to 'least'). In general, relatively significant percentages were gathered on most traits such as pleasant, upper class, interesting, fluent, and important from 'most' to 'very' (1-3), and on 'fairly' (4) on the Likert scale rather than from 'not very' to 'least' (5-7), with the exception of polite and refined. This suggests that the majority of the participants expressed mainly positive and neutral attitudes towards the GC speaker rather than negative attitudes.

The descriptive trait of ‘comprehensible’ was favourably judged in both varieties which entails that both varieties were comprehensible to the participants. Nevertheless, SMG was unexpectedly ranked as comprehensible by a higher number of participants than GC, which is their mother tongue. This may be because SMG is taught at school; that is, students formally learn to read and write, and listen to and speak in SMG. For this reason, students possibly view SMG as more understandable or ‘accessible’ in contrast to GC, which is not standardised and consequently, is not taught formally. The two varieties were also favourably and highly ranked in terms of education. This suggests that although the GC speaker does not sound as polite or refined to the participants as the SMG speaker, this element is not related to the speaker’s educational background.

These results were also analysed in terms of statistical significance (see Appendix D) which is represented by the term p-value in order to find out whether these results are attributed to chance or not. The results of the students’ evaluations are compared to 0,05 (that is, 5%); if the results are higher than 0,05 then the results are not statistically significant whereas the results lower than or equal 0,05 are statistically significant. The overall results on SMG show that the statistically significant features are educated, fluent and refined as their p-value is 0,0 which is lower than 0,05. The overall results on GC show that the feature of upper class is statistically significant as the p-value is 0,026 which is lower than 0,05.

The overall results of the MGT-like experiment suggest that the participants were influenced by the kind of variety they heard in the recording. The fact that SMG and GC received different evaluations when used separately in the recordings implies that each recorded variety affected the participants’ perceptions and attitudes towards that variety. The Greek guise was positively evaluated on both superiority and social attractiveness traits (such as educated and polite, respectively), while the Greek-Cypriot guise was more favourably evaluated on superiority (such as comprehensible and educated) than social attractiveness traits (less polite and refined). This may suggest that although a speaker of a non-standard variety is not perceived as socially attractive (such as polite or refined) as a standard speaker, he/she may be perceived as equally socially superior as a standard speaker, for example, as a highly educated speaker. In addition, most students perceived GC as a less polite and refined variety in comparison to SMG, possibly because GC has some phonological sounds such as [ʃ] and [dʒ] which are not part of the SMG phonology

and are considered harsh (Papapavlou, 2001); sounds such as these possibly make the speaker sound less refined or polite. The frequent use of these sounds may also be associated with basilectal forms of GC, collectively called *Village Cypriot* or *horkatika* ‘peasant’ (Newton, 1972, pp. 19 and 109).

### 7.1.2 MGT qualitative data

Having analysed the overall results of MGT, this section examines the responses given by the participants on the second and qualitative part of MGT (see Appendix C). This part included four questions that aimed to gain a better understanding of the students’ attitudes towards SMG, GC and their speakers. The participants were asked to listen first to each passage, complete the table with the descriptive traits, and then answer the four following questions: 1. what variety the speaker uses; 2. how old this speaker is; 3. what the context of this text is; and, 4. where this person comes from. With regard to the first question, the aim was to ascertain that the students are aware of which variety they are listening to. The aim of the remaining questions was to find out whether students between 12 and 18 years old associate the use of a specific variety by a speaker with the age of that speaker (Question 2), with the context-situation (Question 3), and with the geographical origin of the speaker (Question 4). The questions were formulated in a way to encourage concise and precise answers from the students to facilitate the analysis.

To begin with, the participants provided unanimous answers to the four questions and no differences were noted in the answers of the students in terms of age. When looking at the SMG passage, all students stated that the speaker uses SMG, that the speaker is between 20 and 30 years old, and that she comes from Greece. Regarding the context-situation in which the speaker uses SMG, the students categorised it as the narrative of a story, a trip, a memory, or an oral description of an incident. With regard to the GC passage, most students stated that the speaker uses GC, with the exception of two students who answered ‘Cypriot village’ and ‘Cypriot dialect and Greek’. The students thought the GC speaker was between 30 and 40 years old and from Cyprus. Similarly to the context-situation of the SMG, the students reported that this speaker uses GC to narrate, describe a memory and so forth.

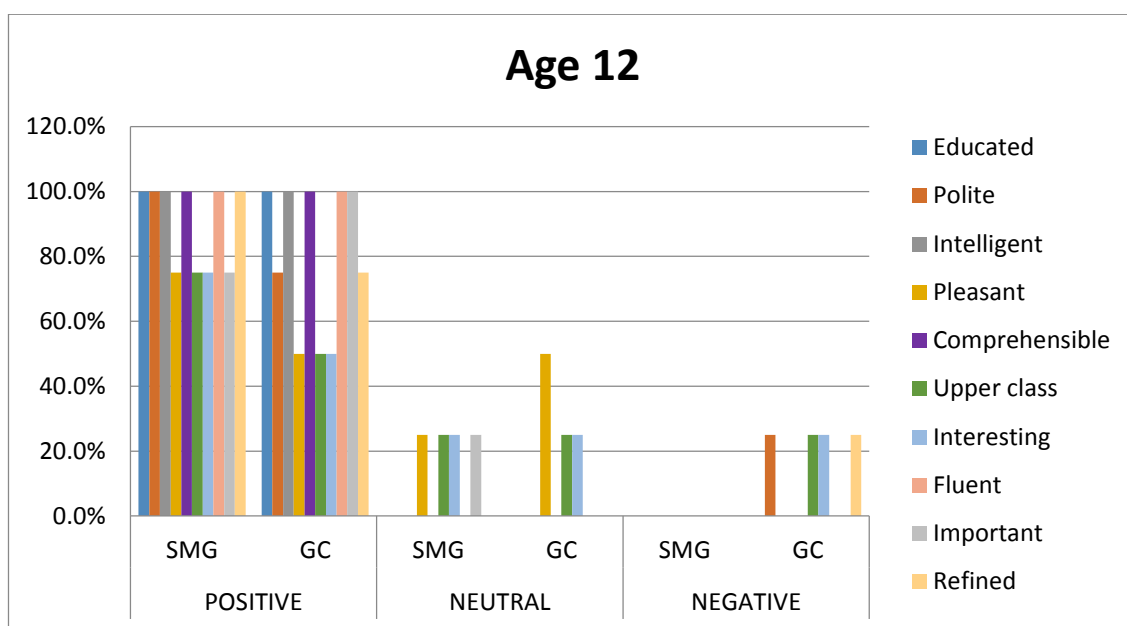
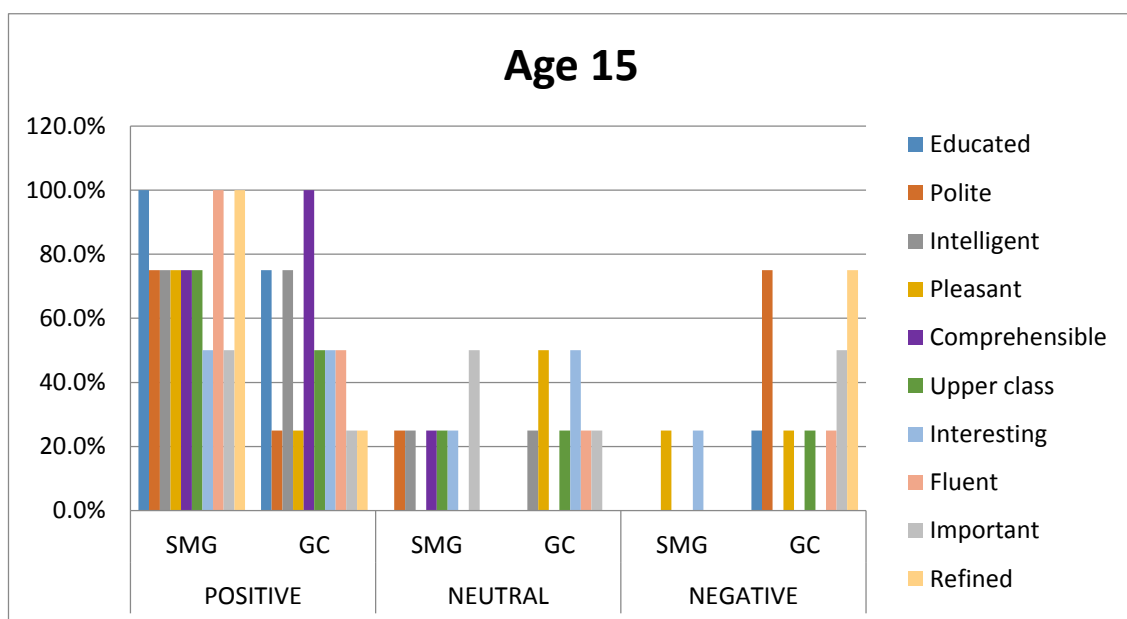
Generally, students between 12 and 18 years old recognise the two varieties, SMG as associated with Greece and GC as associated with Cyprus. The data also indicate that

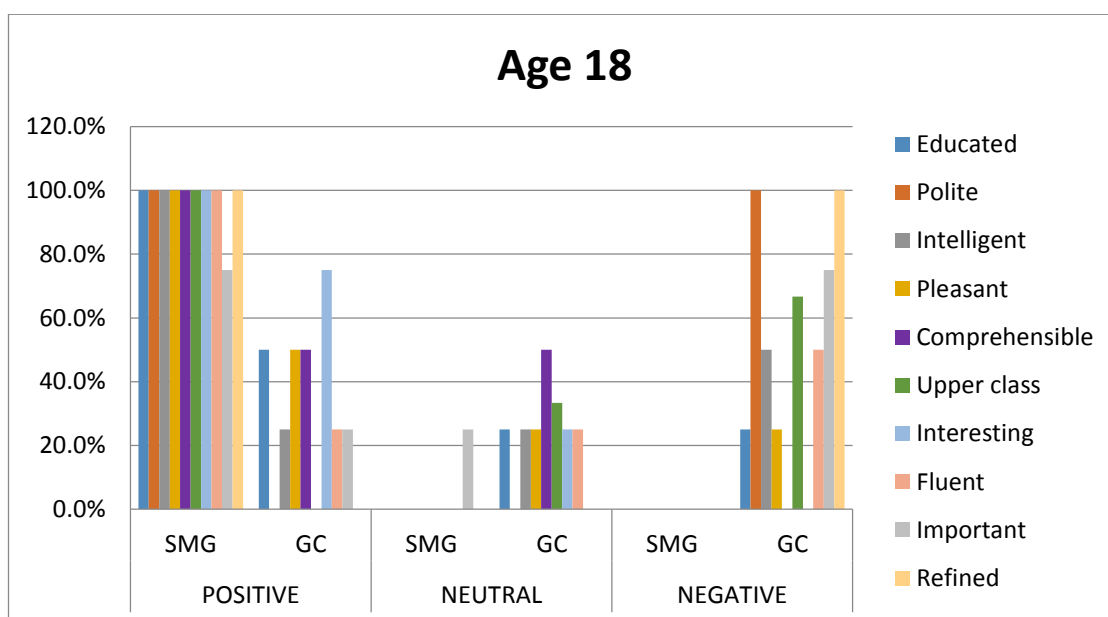
students associate the use of each variety with the age of the speaker. Specifically, students perceive GC as a variety that makes the speaker sound older (30-40 years old) and SMG as suggestive of young age (20-30 years old). The association of GC with older people may be due to the fact that in the students' experience heavy GC features (such as the sounds [ʃ] and [dʒ] which are not part of the SMG phonology) are mostly used by people in villages or elderly people who possibly did not have enough contact with SMG through the media or through interactions with Greek people or possibly because they did not finish school.

### **7.1.3 MGT results by the age of the participants**

In this section, the evaluations provided by each age group of participants are examined separately and then compared to one another to ascertain whether age can influence the students' evaluations towards the two varieties. The results are presented in percentages in Graphs 2a, 2b, and 2c below (see Appendix E for the results in terms of mean and standard deviation). The results show that the use of SMG was favourably perceived by Greek-Cypriot students regardless of age, while the attitudes towards GC appear to change with age. Also, the 18-year-old students provided slightly more favourable attitudes to SMG in comparison with the 12 and 15-year-old students. This may suggest that as students grow up, their attitudes towards SMG become more positive. As also suggested in the interviews, this behaviour may be due to a desire for upward mobility. At the age of 18, students finish school and enter higher education and/or the workplace (they may get out of their familiar and domestic ground), and this prospect could make them feel that GC is no longer the appropriate language. It is possible that the more years of education students receive (in SMG), the more they desire to move up in their professional status socially and use standard normative forms. These notions are possibly less significant to younger students such as the 12-year-olds who may not yet think about their future, professional success and status.



**Graph 2a Attitudes to SMG and GC: 12-year-old students****Graph 2b Attitudes to SMG and GC: 15-year-old students**

**Graph 2c Attitudes to SMG and GC: 18-year-old students**

Although there was no particular variation in the students' attitudes towards SMG across the three age groups, Graphs 2a, 2b and 2c suggest that students expressed positive, neutral and negative attitudes towards GC, and their attitudes seemed to be affected by age. The 12-year-old students judged GC more favourably on most descriptive traits (with higher percentages) in comparison with the other two age groups. As the age increased, the same descriptive traits received more negative evaluations or dispersed percentages such as on the traits of educated, polite, intelligent, pleasant, fluent, important and refined. This suggests that the attitudes towards GC are more positive at the age of 12 and gradually become more negative by the age of 18. In other words, as Greek-Cypriot students grow up, they begin to consider GC and its speakers as less educated, polite, intelligent, pleasant, fluent, important and refined, possibly because they compare GC and themselves to SMG and its speakers.

Certain attitudes towards GC do not seem to change significantly with age; GC was judged by the three age groups positively, neutrally and negatively on the traits of upper class and interesting, with generally dispersed percentages. In addition, relatively stable and favourable attitudes were found on the trait of comprehensible by most students, particularly the 12-year-old students. This entails that both varieties were understandable to the students regardless of age. While SMG was generally evaluated more favourably than GC, the students did not relate the use of GC to the educational background of the

speaker. This may imply that although SMG is the language of education and associated with professional development and success, the use of SMG or GC in everyday life is not necessarily related to whether a person is educated or not. Nevertheless, due to the small number of MGT participants (12 students), these results according to the age of the students are compared to the results gathered from the classroom observations, interviews and questionnaires in order to arrive at more definite conclusions.

To conclude, the MGT results suggest that the descriptions towards SMG and GC vary and that the negative evaluations towards GC may reside in the fact that GC sounds aesthetically less attractive than SMG. This is confirmed in the interview findings (see Chapter 6) which showed that students' judgements were made on how each variety sounds aesthetically. In general, the positive attitudes towards SMG (which may be related to the speaker's desire for upward mobility and to the fact that it sounds more attractive) and the variety of attitudes towards GC may be due to stereotypes associated to standard varieties versus non-standard varieties (SMG versus GC).

## **7.2 Questionnaire analysis**

This section consists of the questionnaire data analysis. As already noted, the questionnaire is the main research method used in this study with 400 collected samples. For this reason, the questionnaire was designed to achieve multiple objectives: to define the linguistic situation of Cyprus; to find out the students' attitudes towards SMG, GC and their speakers; to identify the students' perceptions of ethnic identity and how this is constructed in written discourse. I distributed and collected most of the questionnaires myself; in a few cases, however, the teachers preferred to distribute and collect the questionnaires from their students. A questionnaire was considered valid and analysed according to two criteria: a task had to be fully completed, and the respondent should be Cypriot. A small number of questionnaires (20 out of 400) were therefore discarded because they were either incomplete or invalid because the respondents were not Cypriots.

The data are both quantitative (closed-response items) and qualitative (open-response items) and the analysis begins with the description of the overall results, which are presented in percentages and illustrated in tables. The results are divided into two emerging subthemes: distribution of domains (Questions 1 and 6) and language attitudes

and ethnic identity (Questions 2, 3, 4 and 5). Question 5 is an open-response task and for this reason, it is presented separately in another section. During the data analysis, I examine whether there are any differences in the responses between the three age groups as age is the main variable of this study.

### 7.2.1 The use of SMG and GC in the Greek-Cypriot community

To define the linguistic setting of Cyprus, Questions 1 and 6 in the questionnaire aimed to find out how the two varieties are distributed in the Greek-Cypriot community. Question 1 aimed to find out which variety (GC, SMG or another language) students use with certain people (such as family members and shop assistants) and on particular occasions (such as when meeting people for the first time). Table 7.2 below shows that most students use GC with their parents, siblings, grandparents and friends (in and outside the classroom) and on occasions such as when chatting on the Internet, in writing mobile text messages and informal emails. Likewise, Table 7.2 shows that most students use SMG with teachers at school and with shop assistants and on occasions such as when speaking to the school principal, to Greek people, when writing informal and formal letters and formal emails. Nevertheless, the results suggest that the use of each variety is not strictly reserved to specific domains, but there is often overlap between SMG and GC.

**Table 7.2 Questionnaire results for Question 1**

What do you use when you speak to the following people and occasions: Greek-Cypriot (GC), Standard Modern Greek (SMG) or another language? Please put an 'X' where you consider appropriate.

People	GC	SMG	Other language
Parents	71.2%	15.2%	2.6%
Siblings	74.8%	14.9%	0.7%
Grand-parents	75.1%	12.6%	2.9%
Teachers at school	29.8%	60.8%	1.0%
Teachers in private lessons	47.2%	39.8%	2.6%
Friends in the classroom	78.4%	12.3%	
Friends outside the classroom	77.7%	12.3%	0.4%
Shop assistants	28.5%	57.9%	2.3%

<b>Occasions</b>			
When I speak to the school principal	13.3%	84.6%	
When interacting with Greek people	12.9%	83.5%	
When I write informal letters	17.8%	76.1%	1.3%
When I write formal letters	3.7%	90.9%	0.3%
When I chat on the Internet	57.9%	17.8%	10.4%
When I meet people for the first time	43.0%	46.4%	0.3%
When I write mobile text messages	59.8%	17.2%	9.0%
When I write informal emails	52.4%	28.5%	8.4%
When I write formal emails	4.5%	84.1%	4.2%

These results suggest that students associate the use of GC with informality and SMG with formality. Specifically, students stated that they use GC mostly with people from their close surroundings such as family (parents, siblings, and grandparents) and friends, and on occasions of informal typing (emails and text messages). The fact that GC is used in informal writing such as typing broadens the uses of GC where GC acquires a written form, even though this is not standardised or codified. Similarly, in her study on Internet communication, Themistocleous (2005, p. 7) discovered that GC is widely used in informal Internet written communication between teenagers and young adults.

Table 7.2 shows that SMG is used in interactions with people in formal contexts (such as with teachers at school, and the school principal), and in formal and informal handwriting and formal typing. Most students also stated that they use SMG with Greek people, a situation which is not formal, but requires accommodation on the part of the Greek-Cypriot students so that there is mutual intelligibility between interlocutors, in case the Greek interlocutor is not familiar with GC. Although the data reveal an emerging distinction between SMG and GC in formal and informal situations respectively, the two varieties sometimes overlap; in other words, there is no clear-cut distinction in the domains of use of the two varieties. Specifically, some students (47.2%) reported using GC with teachers in private lessons, possibly because these take place outside the school setting, whereas some other students (39.8%) reported using SMG, in this case possibly because it involves an interaction with a teacher.

Overlap is also found in occasions such as ‘when I meet people for the first time’; namely, some students (43.0%) reported using GC on this occasion, while some other students (46.4%) reported using SMG. In this study, these domains where some students reported using SMG and some students GC are considered as ‘semi-formal’; it can be supposed that the selection between SMG and GC depends on which variety the student considers to be the appropriate one in the context of communication. In fact, students’ linguistic behaviour in the classroom observations suggests that they have the communicative competence (Hymes, 1976) to discern which variety is appropriate in each context. In addition, speaking with shop assistants can also be considered a semi-formal domain, in that it is not a formal exchange per se requiring SMG, but neither is it an informal exchange as it involves interaction among people who do not know one another. Nevertheless, the majority of the students reported using SMG in this exchange.

Moreover, there is a difference in the students’ responses between the three age groups in relation to which variety they use with ‘teachers at school’. Most of the 12 and 15-year-old students reported using SMG in this case, while half of the 18-year-old students stated they use GC in this case and half of them SMG. This linguistic behaviour, which was also evident in the classroom observations, suggests that younger students may conform more to the SMG norm than older students and accommodate their speech to the speech of their teachers. With regard to the fact that some 18-year-old students reported using GC with teachers at school and some students SMG, an explanation is found in the interviews (see Chapter 6) where some 18-year-old students argued that the use of SMG and/or GC depends on the age of the teacher. If the teacher is young, students may use GC with them, whereas with older teachers they may use SMG. This indicates that the use of SMG with older teachers functions as a form of respect related to the age of the speaker. Younger age groups did not make this distinction in the interviews between young and old teachers as the questionnaire results show that they use SMG with teachers in general.

Besides semi-formal domains where half of the students reported using SMG and half of the students reported using GC, the overlap between SMG and GC is also evident in that very small percentages of the use of SMG and GC are found in all contexts of communication of Question 1 (see Appendix G for a complete table of results). For example, very few students reported using both SMG and GC in certain domains (such as with parents 4.5%), both with another language, one of the two in combination with

another language or just another language. This suggests that the use of SMG, GC or another variety may depend on the native variety of the interlocutor. Specifically, the students who reported using both SMG and GC with family members and friends may have family or friends from Greece. As already noted, the presence of a Greek speaker in an interaction with Greek-Cypriots may require the use of SMG as there may not be mutual intelligibility between the speakers unless the Greek speaker has been in touch with GC (Arvaniti, 2006a, p. 4). In diglossic situations, as that of Cyprus, if one can really talk of diglossia, the H variety, SMG, is neither natively acquired nor used in ordinary conversations unless there is a reason. Mutual intelligibility appears to be the reason why Greek-Cypriots converge their speech to their Greek interlocutors. This hypothesis is confirmed in the interviews (see Chapter 6), where students explained that if their Greek interlocutor is familiar with GC, then they may not switch to SMG. Likewise, the students who reported using SMG or GC in combination with another language or just another language may interact with people of other nationalities who may or may not speak SMG or GC (for example, one of their parents may be foreign).

The results of Question 1 were also analysed in terms of statistical significance (see Appendix H). Statistically significant are the results on ‘teachers at school’, ‘when I chat on the Internet’ and ‘when I write mobile text messages’. In general, the results in Table 7.2 suggest that SMG and GC cannot be strictly distributed in separate domains of use. This is evident in the emergence of semi-formal domains and in the fact that there is overlap in the use of the two varieties in all contexts of communication in Question 1. Explicitly, the data suggest that the diglossic model of Ferguson (1996a) may not be completely applicable to the case of Cyprus. To illustrate this, on the one hand, although Ferguson (1996a, pp. 27-28) states that function (that is, the distribution of the two varieties in specific domains) is one of the main features of diglossia, he argues that the two varieties may slightly overlap (1996a, pp. 27-28). However, although the students generally seem to use SMG and GC in diglossic terms, the overlap between the two varieties evidenced in the classroom observations, the interviewees’ reports and the questionnaire suggest that the two varieties overlap to a great extent. This is further discussed in Chapter 8 with the rest of the data results.

As GC is present in the Cypriot classroom, its use is also increasingly present in the media (Themistocleous, 2007; Tsiplakou, 2004). For this reason, Question 6 (Table 7.3 below)

in the questionnaire sought to find out the students' awareness of the use of SMG and GC in the media and consisted of six statements where the students answered by choosing 'yes' or 'no'. Most students stated that they do not prefer to watch television (TV) in GC instead of SMG. The majority of the students also recognised that GC is not the language used in TV news, and that Greek-Cypriot actors do not speak SMG when participating in Cypriot TV sitcoms; nor do TV viewers and radio listeners speak SMG when they call to express their opinion. Instead, GC or a mixture of both varieties may be used in the last two occasions. In addition, most students stated that it is easier for them to watch TV in SMG than in GC, possibly because they are used to it or because SMG is the variety they have been educated in at school. This is also confirmed in the MGT results where although both varieties were comprehensible to students, SMG gathered a higher percentage than GC. Nevertheless, some very low percentages (such as 6.5%) of students answered both 'yes' and 'no' (although choosing both was not an option), which suggests that some students were not certain about their answer or they agreed with both statements. In general, the majority of the students prefer SMG on TV possibly because this is the formal variety of the media in Cyprus.

**Table 7.3 Questionnaire results for Question 6**

Please put an 'X' where you consider appropriate.

<b>Statements</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<i>Both</i>	<i>Missing response</i>
I prefer to watch TV in GC than in SMG	26.5%	65.4%	6.5%	1.6%
Greek-Cypriot actors speak SMG when cast in Cypriot TV sitcoms	29.1%	66.4%	4.2%	0.3%
TV News is in GC	5.8%	92.9%	1.0%	0.3%
When radio listeners and TV viewers call to express their opinion, they speak SMG	33.7%	58.9%	7.4%	
I find it easier to watch films or sitcoms in SMG	73.1%	23.0%	3.6%	0.3%
I find it easier to watch films or sitcoms in GC	38.8%	56.7%	3.9%	0.6%



The statistically significant result of this question is that Greek-Cypriot actors speak SMG when cast in Cypriot TV sitcoms (see Appendix H). To confirm the use of GC in the media in Cyprus, I searched for TV programmes in TV magazines in Cyprus (specifically, TV Mania and Cyprus-TV.com) and selected some Cypriot programmes to watch. I found out that GC is used in TV sitcoms in a mixed form with SMG, a register close to the standard (particularly in dramatic sitcoms), possibly due to the presence of a significant number of native Greek actors. Some of the TV sitcoms are in GC, particularly when they are humorous (also supported by Pavlou, 2004). Nevertheless, the choice of variety may depend on the context of the sitcom. For example, if a sitcom is set in a Cypriot village and promotes village traditional life (customs, way of living), it is more possible to use GC, which is the native variety of Greek-Cypriots. SMG is used in formal TV programmes such as news broadcasts and political debates (although GC features are sometimes present in these programmes). It is also worth mentioning that sitcoms and programmes from Greece are also broadcast on Cypriot television where GC is consequently not present; as SMG is the official language of Greece, TV programmes are broadcast in SMG.

### **7.2.2 Overall results: language attitudes and ethnic identity**

With regard to language attitudes, the questionnaire results are very similar to the MGT and interview results. To begin with, in Question 2, students stated how much they agree or disagree on whether SMG and GC can be considered ‘useful for work’, ‘important for social status’, ‘beautiful’, ‘musical’, ‘precise’, and ‘modern’. Tables 7.3a and 7.3b show that no particularly high percentages were found in the students’ responses regarding the two varieties (the highest percentage is 47.2%). Instead, a range of dispersed percentages were found for all traits regarding SMG and GC, ranking from ‘strongly agree’ to ‘strongly disagree’ which means that the students did not express collective attitudes towards the two varieties. Also, no significant differences were found in the evaluations between the three age groups.

#### **Table 7.4a Questionnaire results for Question 2: students’ attitudes to SMG**

Please put an ‘X’ where you consider appropriate. 1= strongly agree, 2= agree, 3= neither agree nor disagree, 4= disagree, 5= strongly disagree.

<b>Standard Modern Greek can be considered</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Neither Agree nor Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<i>Missing response</i>
useful for work	47.2%	30.1%	14.2%	3.9%	3.9%	0.7%
important for social status	39.8%	34.0%	14.9%	6.5%	4.5%	0.3%
Beautiful	35.9%	29.1%	24.6%	5.5%	4.2%	0.7%
Musical	25.3%	29.8%	28.8%	11.0%	4.5%	0.6%
Precise	35.9%	28.2%	21.0%	9.4%	4.2%	1.3%
Modern	23.9%	24.3%	33.7%	12.0%	5.8%	0.3%

**Table 7.4b Questionnaire results for Question 2: students' attitudes to GC**

<b>Greek-Cypriot can be considered</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Neither Agree nor Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<i>Missing response</i>
useful for work	8.7%	12.0%	34.3%	28.8%	15.9%	0.3%
important for social status	7.1%	16.2%	33.0%	27.5%	15.9%	0.3%
beautiful	19.1%	28.8%	27.5%	15.9%	8.1%	0.6%
musical	20.1%	23.4%	26.2%	19.7%	10.0%	0.6%
precise	20.7%	23.6%	28.2%	15.2%	11.0%	1.3%
modern	12.6%	13.3%	33.6%	22.7%	17.2%	0.6%

With regard to Table 7.4a, it can be seen that the majority of the students 'strongly agree' and 'agree' that SMG is useful for work, important for social status, beautiful, precise, musical and modern (the last two traits with lower percentages). A number of students (14.2% - 33.7%) expressed neutral attitudes towards SMG ('neither agree nor disagree'), while a very small number of them (3.9% - 12.0%) expressed negative attitudes ('disagree' and 'strongly disagree'). Although mixed attitudes were found towards SMG, favourable attitudes prevailed with higher percentages on 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

With regard to the students' attitudes towards GC, Table 7.4b shows a variety of positive, neutral and negative attitudes. A number of students (26.2% - 34.3%) expressed neutral attitudes towards GC ('neither agree nor disagree') for most descriptive traits, while favourable attitudes were found for the traits of beautiful, musical and precise by gathering relatively higher percentages on 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. Negative attitudes towards GC emerged in terms of it being 'useful for work', 'important for social status' and 'modern' by gathering relatively higher percentages on 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'. Conversely, SMG was favourably evaluated in terms of being 'useful for work' and 'important for social status' by gathering high percentages. This may suggest upward mobility in the sense that students consider SMG, the standard variety, as a variety valuable for professional enhancement and status in contrast to GC, which is not perceived as important for these reasons. No statistically significant results were found in this question (see Appendix H). In general, although rather small percentages were found for both varieties and particularly for GC, these findings suggest that students expressed more favourable and collective attitudes towards SMG than towards GC. Similar results were found in MGT.

Question 4 aimed to find out the students' attitudes towards the Greek and Greek-Cypriot speakers by completing two sentences: 'a Greek-Cypriot speaker is ...' and 'a Greek speaker is ...'. The students had to select two adjectives from a list of descriptive traits (intelligent, friendly, polite, humorous, educated, honest, arrogant, and confident) to describe each speaker. Table 7.5 below shows that as the students made various combinations with the adjectives, the percentages of evaluation were very small and not gathered to a few adjectives. This table focuses on the largest percentages (see Appendix G for the complete table of results of Question 4).

**Table 7.5 Questionnaire results for Question 4**

Please complete the sentences below with two of the following words.

<b>Adjectives</b>	<b>A Greek-Cypriot speaker is:</b>	<b>A Greek speaker is:</b>
Intelligent, Polite	1.3%	9.7%
Friendly, Polite	4.2%	11.8%
Friendly, Humorous	8.1%	1.6%

Friendly, Honest	11.8%	1.9%
Polite, Educated	2.6%	19.2%
Humorous, Confident	8.8%	1.0%

With regard to the students' evaluations, although both speakers were attributed all the descriptive traits, the Greek-Cypriot speaker was characterised by most students (11.8%) as friendly and honest (particularly by the 18-year-old students), humorous and confident (8.8%), and friendly and humorous (8.1%). The Greek speaker was characterised by most students as polite and educated (19.2%), friendly and polite (11.8%), and intelligent and polite (9.7%). In the case of the Greek-Cypriot speaker, the adjectives 'friendly' and 'humorous' prevailed in the descriptive combinations, while in the case of the Greek speaker, the adjective 'polite' prevailed. Therefore, this indicates that the Greek-Cypriot students perceive SMG and its speakers to be particularly polite, and GC and its speakers to be particularly friendly and humorous. Similar findings in terms of politeness emerged in the MGT analysis (see section 7.1) and interview data (see Chapter 6).

This study combines the investigation of language attitudes and ethnic identity. Therefore, Question 3 (Table 7.6 below) examined the students' attitudes towards SMG and GC (statements 1-5) and their perceptions of ethnic identity (statements 6-10). At first glance, it can be seen that in all statements except two (statements 5 and 6), a very small number of students (for example, 1.3%) answered both 'yes' and 'no', although they had to choose either 'yes' or 'no'. These students may have wished to communicate to me as the researcher that their views on these statements are not always fixed and by selecting both, they express that their views may vary.

**Table 7.6 Questionnaire results for Question 3**

Please put an 'X' where you consider appropriate.

Statements	Yes	No	Both	Missing response
1. I am proud of speaking GC	84.8%	12.0%	1.3%	1.9%
2. I am proud of speaking SMG	88.6%	9.4%	1.0%	1.0%
3. I prefer to speak in GC more than in SMG	48.9%	48.2%	1.6%	1.3%

4. Lack of competence in SMG means that a person is less educated	33.0%	66.1%	0.3%	0.6%
5. When interacting with Greek people I sometimes feel uncomfortable about being a native GC speaker	25.2%	72.9%		1.9%
6. I consider myself Cypriot	61.5%	36.6%		1.9%
7. I consider myself Greek-Cypriot	69.0%	28.8%	0.3%	1.9%
8. I consider myself Greek	48.6%	50.5%	0.6%	0.3%
9. I consider myself more Greek than Cypriot	26.9%	70.2%	1.0%	1.9%
10. I consider myself more Cypriot than Greek	52.8%	43.7%	1.0%	2.5%

Table 7.6 shows that most Greek-Cypriot students stated being proud of speaking GC (84.8%), and SMG (88.6%). Nevertheless, almost the same number of students reported preferring (48.9%) and not preferring (48.2%) to speak in GC than in SMG. This may imply that even though students are proud of speaking both varieties, it does not necessarily mean that they wish to speak GC more than SMG or vice-versa. In addition, the results suggest that a lack of competence in SMG does not entail that a person is less educated as the majority of the students did not associate competence in SMG with education; in fact, only 33.0% of students agreed with this statement. This finding is significant as it also emerged in the results of the MGT-like experiment in this study and it contradicts some previous research on language attitudes in Cyprus which maintained that Greek-Cypriots associate competence in SMG with education. For example, in Papapavlou's (1998, p. 22) MGT study on language attitudes, the participants (university students) characterised the SMG guise as 'educated' and the GC guise as 'uneducated'. Although in the past GC was possibly perceived by its speakers as associated with a lack of education, the results of this study suggest that these negative stereotypes towards GC have changed, possibly because education has gained more significance in Cyprus through the years and a considerable number of Greek-Cypriots are educated at university level (Arvaniti, 2006b, pp. 28-29). In other words, Greek-Cypriots may realise that being a GC or SMG speaker is not related to a person's educational background; otherwise,

they would also consider themselves as uneducated as they are themselves native speakers of GC. Education may change people's perceptions of non-standard variety speakers.

Similarly favourable attitudes towards GC were expressed by the majority of the students (72.9%) who stated that in their interactions with Greek people, they do not feel uncomfortable about being GC speakers; only a small number of students (25.2%) reported feeling uncomfortable on this occasion. However, in this statement, all students answered either 'yes' or 'no' (nobody selected both answers). Therefore, although Greek-Cypriot students are possibly linguistically insecure to a certain extent (as shown particularly in the interview data), they do not undervalue themselves as speakers (this was explicitly stated in the interviews); they consider themselves educated (this was shown in MGT, interview and questionnaire results); and they do not feel linguistically uncomfortable in interactions with Greek people.

In statements 6-10 in Table 7.6, students were asked to categorise themselves in terms of ethnic identity. Table 7.6 shows that although a similar number of students stated they consider themselves Cypriot (61.5%) and Greek-Cypriot (69.0%), students were divided in two groups with reference to being Greek. Namely, half of the students (48.6%) stated they consider themselves Greek, while the other half (50.5%) stated that they do not. In the last two questions, the majority of the students (70.2%) reported that they do not consider themselves more Greek than Cypriot, while in the next statement, half of the students considered themselves more Cypriot than Greek (52.8%) and the other half (43.7%) did not share this view. The question arising here is why the number of those who do not consider themselves more Greek than Cypriot (70.2%) is bigger than the number of those who consider themselves more Cypriot than Greek (52.8%). The results of these two statements should not be viewed as contradictory as in the first statement, most students possibly wish to stress that although they consider themselves Greek, they do not consider themselves more Greek than Cypriot. Consequently, in the following statement, they may wish to stress that they do not consider themselves more Cypriot than Greek but Greek-Cypriot. Statistically significant were the results on 'I consider myself Cypriot', 'I consider myself more Greek than Cypriot', 'I consider myself more Cypriot than Greek'. In general, these results suggest that students are proud of speaking GC and SMG and that although they embrace the three ethnic identities, Cypriot, Greek-Cypriot and Greek, they identify mostly with the Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot identities.

### 7.2.3 Qualitative data: language attitudes and ethnic identity

Question 5 in the questionnaire is an open-response question (qualitative data) of fill-in type where the students had to complete six sentences in their own words: ‘I live in ...’, ‘I am ...’, ‘I speak ... because ...’, ‘I like ...’, ‘I consider myself ...’, ‘Other people consider me to be ...’. As this is written speech, the students used only SMG. Given that these are open-response questions, the students’ responses were not always related to language attitudes and ethnic identity and consequently, only the relevant responses to this project were used in the data analysis; the most important answers were selected and translated to English (the italicised answers below) and were therefore analysed. A considerable number of responses (around 300 out of 400) were in reality related to the purposes of this study, which suggests how salient language and ethnic identity are to the respondents, who could give any response they wished, but the majority related these sentences to language and ethnic identity. No clear differences were found in the responses between the three age groups. Similar to the interview analysis, the indexicality and relationality principles (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, pp. 593-598) emerged in the analysis of this question.

With regard to the first sentence ‘I live in ...’, the students stated the country or city they live in and mostly expressed positive attitudes towards Cyprus such as they are happy to live in Cyprus, and Cyprus is beautiful. In the interviews, most students constructed certain common values between Cyprus and Greece such as language, religion, and education, and particularly associated language with ethnicity to construct a feeling of national sameness between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots. Similar results were found in this question in such sentences as ‘Μένω στην Κύπρο και μιλώ ελληνικά’ [*I live in Cyprus and I speak Greek*], relating their place of residence to the language they speak. Other students constructed the Greek aspect of Cyprus by stating that they live in ‘Greek-Cyprus’, possibly to show that Cyprus is Greek in opposition to the Turkish part of Cyprus or to stress that Cyprus and Greece form one nation. In other words, although Cyprus is not part of Greece, some students may unofficially consider this a fact since the two countries share the same language.

There were also cases where students expressed nationalistic feelings towards Greece such as ‘Μένω στην Ελλάδα, είμαι δεξιός, μιλώ ελληνικά επειδή τα κυπριακά δεν είναι ωραία’ [*I live in Greece, I am a right wing (supporter), I speak SMG because GC is not*

*nice*]. This statement suggests how origin (place of birth and residence), language use, and political beliefs are interconnected in Cyprus and that even though students are young, they are receptive to political ideology. Explicitly, this 15-year-old student is influenced by his right wing political ideology and has therefore favourable attitudes towards Greece and SMG, and negative attitudes towards GC. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the right wing party in Cyprus, which wished for union with Greece in the past, promotes the use of SMG and the Greek identity. Statements such as these indicate the great extent to which political ideology affects language ideology, and how much of a politicised matter language is in Cyprus.

Although the second and fifth sentences ‘I am ...’ and ‘I consider myself ...’ seem to have a similar meaning, these acquire different meanings in this study. Specifically, ‘I am ...’ may refer to the objective perception of the self; in this case to the identity an individual is given by his/her parents, place of birth, language spoken, and political ideology. In other words, the self-definition formed by these outside factors that the individual has internalised. On the other hand, ‘I consider myself ...’ may refer to the subjective perception of the self, namely: how individuals see themselves, the identity an individual attributes to him/herself or wishes to have, and their chosen affiliation, that is, the inside personal definition. Having said that, the students provided different responses to these two statements, which entails that they identified the differences between the two sentences.

When looking at the statement ‘I am ...’, a number of students (100 out of 400) stated that they are Cypriots and some of them associated this with their origin ‘Cyprus’ or with the language they speak such as ‘Είμαι Κύπριος και μιλώ κυπριακά’ [*I am Cypriot and I speak GC*]. For these students, Cypriot entails having a Cypriot origin and speaking GC. Some students also expressed favourable attitudes towards Cyprus by stating that they are proud of being Cypriots. Nevertheless, the number of students who stated to be Cypriots is relatively small given that these students live in Cyprus. Some students (65/400) stated that they are ‘Greek-Cypriot’, that is, including both Greek and Cypriot identities, possibly because they are speakers of both SMG and GC as some students later reported speaking both ‘Cypriot and Greek’.



A much smaller number of students (35/400) claimed that they are ‘Greek’ and some of them expressed favourable attitudes towards Greece by stating that they are proud of being Greek (the questionnaires completed by Greek students were not used in this study). This can be interpreted in various ways. For example, these students possibly deny their Cypriot identity because they feel they are Greek (or more Greek than Cypriot); they may have negative attitudes towards their Cypriot identity and towards their country; or they may wish to emphasise the Greek aspect of Cyprus, implying that people in Cyprus are Greek. The latter explanation is based on the fact that some students stated that they are ‘Έλληνες της Κύπρου’ [*Greek from Cyprus*]. This persistent finding demonstrates that Greek-Cypriot students consider people coming from Cyprus and Greece to be equally Greek and they repeatedly construct a feeling of national sameness between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots, which shows positive attitudes towards Greece and the Greek identity. Overall, the Cypriot identity prevailed over the Greek and Greek-Cypriot identities in this question, although only 200 out of 400 students associated this question with ethnicity; the rest of the responses were unrelated to ethnic identity.

A small proportion of students related statement 5 ‘I consider myself ...’ to their ethnic identity. Specifically, some students asserted that they consider themselves Cypriot, Greek, or Greek-Cypriot (or Greek and Cypriot), and some of them justified this by referring to the language they speak and their place of residence such as ‘Θεωρώ τον εαυτό μου Ελληνοκύπριο επειδή μένω στην Κύπρο και μιλώ ελληνικά μαζί με την κυπριακή διάλεκτο’ [*I consider myself Greek-Cypriot because I live in Cyprus and I speak Greek with the Cypriot dialect*]. The difference between the sentences ‘I am ...’ and ‘I consider myself ...’ stimulated the students to provide a variety of responses. For example, some students stated at first that they are ‘Greek’ and later that they consider themselves as ‘Greek-Cypriot’ or ‘more Greek than Cypriot’, whereas some other students stated at first that they are ‘Cypriot’ and later that they consider themselves as ‘Greek-Cypriot’ (or vice-versa). When looking at the last statement, these students stated that they are Cypriot; that is, the identity objectively given to them from their place of birth is Cypriot. Nonetheless, they consider themselves Greek-Cypriot, the subjective perception and personal definition of the self is that they choose to see themselves as Greek-Cypriot.

Similar examples also emerged in the last sentence ‘other people consider me to be ...’, where students stated how they think other people (Greek-Cypriots, Greeks, adults, and foreigners) perceive them. Some students combined the sentences ‘I consider myself ...’ with ‘other people consider me to be ...’ or ‘I am ...’. The excerpt below illustrates this.

### Excerpt 1

‘Θεωρώ τον εαυτό μου Έλληνα παρόλο που ζω στην Κύπρο επειδή η γλώσσα που μιλούμε είναι διάλεκτος και είμαστε Έλληνες της Κύπρου. Οι άλλοι με θεωρούν Κύπριο επειδή μένω στην Κύπρο και επειδή γεννήθηκα εδώ. Πρέπει όλοι εμείς να καταλάβουμε ότι είμαστε Έλληνες και ότι μιλούμε ελληνικά διαφορετικά’.

*[I consider myself Greek although I live in Cyprus because the language we speak is a dialect and we are Greeks from Cyprus. Others consider me Cypriot because I live in Cyprus and because I was born here. We all must understand that we are Greeks and that we speak SMG differently].*

This student constructed his ethnic identity as Greek and specifically, as a Greek person from Cyprus, and explicitly defined his Greek ethnic identity through the use of GC, which is different from SMG. This student does not agree with the fact that other people (Greek-Cypriots, Greeks or foreigners) consider him Cypriot because Cyprus is his place of birth and residence. Therefore, in a rather declarative and authoritative way, the student claimed that ‘we all’, namely ‘Cypriots’, must realise that ‘we’ are Greek and not Cypriot; the use of ‘must’ entails a degree of obligation; that is, Cypriots have no choice but to understand and embrace the fact that they are Greek. By the use of indexicality (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, pp. 596-598), such as the use of the personal pronouns ‘I’ and particularly ‘we’ or ‘we all’, the student constructs a sense of collective identity for all Greek-Cypriots, namely, that all Cypriots are Greek.

Likewise, another student stated that ‘Είμαι Ελληνοκύπρια, θεωρώ τον εαυτό μου Ελληνοκύπριο, οι άλλοι με θεωρούν Κύπρια αλλά λανθάνονται’ [*I am Greek-Cypriot, I consider myself Greek-Cypriot, others consider me Cypriot but they are mistaken*]. Through this statement, it can be observed that the objective and subjective perception of the self is that the student ‘is’ and ‘considers’ herself Greek-Cypriot, while the fact that other people (possibly other Greek-Cypriots or foreigners) consider her Cypriot is a

‘mistake’. This student does not wish to be seen by other people only as ‘Cypriot’. The last two examples express students’ perceptions vis-à-vis the Greek aspect of Cyprus and more specifically, the students’ nationalistic feelings in favour of Greece.

Furthermore, in statement 3 ‘I speak ... because ...’ a number of students (100 out of 400) claimed they speak SMG because it is the language ‘of our country’, ‘of our ancestors’, ‘of my nation’ or simply ‘our language’, and associated the use of SMG with Cypriot or Greek-Cypriot ethnic identity and with their origin, Cyprus. In these sentences, the use of possessive adjectives such as ‘our’ and ‘my’ and the use of terms such as ‘country’, ‘ancestors’ and ‘nation’ by some students express that their language, SMG, belongs to Cyprus, their country. The association between linguistic identity (SMG) and ethnic identity (Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot) and origin that emerges throughout this study suggests that identity is relational (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, pp. 593-598).

In addition, some students reported speaking SMG and expressed very favourable attitudes towards SMG by stating that ‘Είναι η γλώσσα του Περικλή και του Πυθαγόρα’ [*it is the language of Pericles and Pythagoras*]; it is more polite, sophisticated, nicer, and easier and it is used to show respect to the interlocutor. The use of comparative adjectives entails comparison with GC, although it was not explicitly expressed by the students. Some other students maintained that SMG ‘είναι υποχρεωτικά σε μερικούς τομείς της ζωής μου όπως στο σχολείο και με τους καθηγητές’ [*is a must in certain domains of my life such as at school and with teachers*]. Statements such as these where students associate the use of SMG principally with school may entail that, for students, SMG is above all the language of education, and the use of ‘must’ in the aforementioned example makes the use of SMG appear compulsory or imposed. Similar comments were provided by some students in the interviews (see Chapter 6).

Most students (170 out of 400) stated that they speak GC, and some of them expressed positive attitudes towards their mother tongue: ‘it is the best language’, ‘it is my dialect and I like it’, ‘it’s great’, ‘it’s easy’. Favourable attitudes towards GC were also found in students’ statements stressing that GC is the variety they feel more comfortable using and the variety in which they communicate effectively. Other students constructed their GC linguistic identity and expressed a feeling of belongingness in Cyprus by associating GC with their place of residence and origin, Cyprus, and a feeling of belongingness in terms

of language; that is, GC belongs to Greek-Cypriots ‘επειδή αντιπροσωπεύει το νησί μου’ [*because it represents my island*]. Some expressions and terms had a rather nationalistic effect such as ‘επειδή είμαι περήφανος για τη χώρα μου’ [*because I am proud of my country*] or ‘μιλώ κυπριακά επειδή είναι η γλώσσα μου – μένω στην Κύπρο και όχι στην Ελλάδα’ [*I speak GC because it’s my language – I live in Cyprus and not in Greece*]. In the last statement, the student stressed that he uses GC because it is the language spoken in Cyprus and not SMG since he does not live in Greece. This statement suggests that either the student has negative attitudes towards Greece or the student prefers for his native variety to prevail in Cyprus and not SMG.

A small number of students (25 out of 400) stated that they speak SMG and GC, and some students explained further that they sometimes use SMG in certain domains such as at school and GC at home and with friends. In addition, some students treated SMG and GC as the same variety such as: ‘I speak *GC/SMG*, *GC is Greek, Greek (Cypriot dialect)*’. Statements such as these suggest that students consider SMG and GC to be the same variety, possibly in terms of language structure since GC is a dialect of SMG or because they are influenced by the prevailing ideology in Cyprus that Greek-Cypriots are ethnically Greek and the Greek ethnic identity is constructed through the use of SMG (Arvaniti, 2006b, p. 25). Language sameness between SMG and GC (whether this is based on form/structure or on ideology) also emerged in the interviews (see Chapter 6). Positive attitudes towards both varieties were also found in the fourth sentence ‘I like ...’, where a few students related this sentence to language such as ‘μου αρέσει να μιλώ ελληνικά και κυπριακά’ [*I like speaking SMG and GC*] or ‘μου αρέσει να μιλώ ελληνικά όσο μου αρέσει να μιλώ κυπριακά’ [*I like speaking SMG as much as I like speaking GC*].

Although the questionnaire involved written speech and not personal contact between myself as the researcher and the participants, it may be considered as an indirect communicative interaction as in a few cases, students left some notes on the questionnaire to transfer a message to the researcher. For example, on the top of the questionnaire where the students had to fill in some personal details such as their nationality, an 18-year-old student deleted both choices ‘Cypriot’ and ‘Other’ and wrote instead ‘Greek’. Through this statement, the student possibly wished to stress that the nationality of the people in Cyprus is Greek and not Cypriot. Another example is found in the second statement of Question 1, ‘when interacting with Greek people’ (‘Occasions’), where a 15-year-old

student wrote in brackets ‘we are Greeks’ which may indicate that the student was wondering why I wrote this since Greek-Cypriots are Greeks. This also implies that the student may have perceived the occasion ‘when interacting with Greek people’ as when speaking to people of other nationalities. The same student wrote in Question 3 that the statements 9 and 10, ‘I consider myself more Greek than Cypriot’ and ‘I consider myself more Cypriot than Greek’ respectively, are ‘wrong questions’. In other words, it is ‘wrong’ for Greek-Cypriots to wonder whether they consider themselves more Greek than Cypriot and vice-versa since they ‘are’ Greeks as this student implies throughout his statements in the questionnaire. On another page of the questionnaire, another student wrote the slogan ‘Mycenaeans, Achaeans, Greeks for more than 30 centuries’. In this comment the student possibly wished to communicate to the researcher the message that Greek-Cypriots are Greeks and that this is proven through history. Similarly, another student wrote nationalistic slogans such as ‘Cyprus Greek Ground’ all over the questionnaire. Comments such as these express the students’ nationalistic feelings towards Greece. In general, extra comments as given above were very few; approximately ten students out of the 400 made extra comments.

With regard to the overall questionnaire results, these suggest first of all that Ferguson’s (1959) diglossic model is not fully applicable in the case of Cyprus as SMG and GC often overlap and the use of GC is increasing; in fact, it is used in informal Internet writing and informal text messaging, domains not included in Ferguson’s (1996a) formulation of diglossia. Secondly, in terms of attitudes, although both varieties were negatively evaluated to some extent in the questionnaire (particularly, GC), students expressed more favourable attitudes towards SMG, and particularly GC in comparison with the MGT and interview results. Thirdly, students expressed favourable feelings towards all identities: Cypriot, Greek-Cypriot and Greek identity. Similarly to the interviews, in the questionnaires, students constructed their linguistic and ethnic identity by associating between language, origin, ethnicity and ideology. These issues are further discussed in Chapter 8.

### **7.3 Concluding remarks**

This chapter described the results from the MGT-like experiment and the questionnaire. With reference to MGT-like experiment, the results revealed that students mainly have favourable attitudes towards SMG and their speakers, and a mixture of attitudes towards

GC and their speakers. These results confirm the fact that speakers attribute positive and negative evaluations to varieties according to how they sound aesthetically (this is also confirmed in the interview results). In the questionnaire, the students expressed a mixture of attitudes towards GC in Question 2 and mainly positive attitudes in the rest of the questionnaire. They stated that they are proud of speaking GC; they do not consider a lack of competence in SMG to be a sign of a lack of education. In terms of ethnic identity, the questionnaire results suggest that students embrace all three identities, the Greek-Cypriot, the Greek and particularly, the Cypriot identity.

## **Chapter 8: Discussion of results**

This chapter discusses and compares the main highlights of the data results gathered from the classroom observations, interviews, questionnaires, and the MGT-like experiment to arrive at more definite conclusions and answer the research questions. The main highlights of the data results involve the definition of the linguistic setting of Cyprus, language attitudes and ethnic identity, and how these issues are related to the historical and political situation of Cyprus and particularly to stereotypes and ideology. As shown in the discussion below, the socio-political and historical conditions of Cyprus have contributed to creating the diglossic situation of Cyprus and consequently, all these factors influence Greek-Cypriots' attitudes towards SMG and GC and their perception and construction of ethnic identity.

### **8.1 The linguistic situation of Cyprus**

One of the aims of this study is to find out how the young population of Cyprus, Greek-Cypriot students aged 12 to 18, use SMG and GC and provide a definition of the linguistic situation of Cyprus. Previous research on the linguistic situation of Cyprus (see Chapter 2) proposes the existence of a dialect/register continuum between SMG and GC (Newton, 1972; Tsiplakou *et al.*, 2006) and that the relationship between the two varieties can be described as diglossic (Arvaniti, 2006b; Tsiplakou, 2004, 2007; Rowe and Grohmann, 2013) or as bidialectal (Papapavlou, 1998; Yiakoumetti, 2006). The findings of this study, in line with the existing research on the linguistic situation of Cyprus, lend support to the initial hypothesis that the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus is diglossic. However, the findings suggest that the diglossia in Cyprus differs from Ferguson's classic diglossia in some respects, and I suggest that the term 'contextual diglossia' best describes the case of Cyprus. This study contributes to the theory of diglossia by modifying Ferguson's original description of diglossia and clarifies the dichotomy between diglossia and bidialectism in the Cypriot literature by suggesting that bidialectism is best viewed as an educational approach, rather than defining a linguistic situation.

The linguistic situation of Cyprus is diglossic with SMG as the H variety and GC as the L variety, fulfilling the features of classic diglossia as originally posited by Ferguson (1996a) with the exception of 'function'; this applies differently to the case of Cyprus and suggests a new dimension of diglossia. With regard to the features of classic diglossia, this study provides evidence for the features of acquisition, prestige, grammar, phonology

and lexis, whereas evidence for the features of standardisation, stability and literary heritage is provided from the literature in Chapter 2. The aforementioned features of classic diglossia, as posited by Ferguson (1996a), apply to the case of Cyprus as follows:

- Acquisition: GC is Greek-Cypriots' mother tongue and SMG is formally acquired through school (MOEC, 2004, p. 27). Evidence of this feature is found in the data of this study; for example, the majority of the students in the interviews and questionnaires reported using GC with family and friends, which suggests that GC is their mother tongue, the variety of the home and intimacy.
- Prestige: SMG is the prestigious variety. In this study, evidence in terms of prestige is provided by the MGT-like experiment, interview and questionnaire data, suggesting that SMG holds a prestigious position in the Greek-Cypriot community, while GC lacks overt prestige.
- There are differences between SMG and GC in terms of phonology, grammar and lexis. In this study, classroom observation data provide evidence of the grammatical, lexical and pronunciation differences between SMG and GC.
- Standardisation: SMG is a standardised and highly codified language, while GC is neither codified nor standardised.
- Stability: the use of both varieties is stable since the Independence of Cyprus (1960) when SMG was declared as the official language of Cyprus.
- Literary heritage: a large amount of written work exists in SMG that is highly respected by the Greek-Cypriot community.

With regard to function, this diglossic feature applies differently in the case of Cyprus. A more fluid form of diglossia is present in the case of Cyprus as the H and L varieties are not strictly distributed in formal and informal domains allowing very little overlap as in Ferguson's (1996a) formulation of diglossia. In fact, the questionnaire, interview and classroom data of this study suggest that the use of SMG and GC in Cyprus varies extensively. Therefore, the functional compartmentalisation of SMG and GC violates an essential part of Ferguson's model of diglossia, and Ferguson's list of possible domains of use of the H and L varieties (see Chapter 2) is not applicable to the case of Cyprus. The findings of this study suggest that Cyprus is experiencing a new dimension of diglossia which I have proposed to call 'contextual diglossia'. This term suggests that the functional distribution of the two varieties is based both on the speaker's judgements of



appropriateness (speaker's context) and on the context of communication (local context). In Cypriot diglossia, the emphasis is both on the speaker's context (the role of agency) and on the local context (the context-situation). In other words, I propose to view the use of H and L varieties not as 'functional distribution/compartmentalisation of varieties' but as 'choice of variety depending on contextual appropriateness'.

In contextual diglossia, 'appropriateness' has two levels; the choice between H and L depends on the context of communication (where socially agreed norms apply such as formal versus informal domains in classic diglossia) and on which variety the speaker considers appropriate to use in a specific context (based on the speaker's perception of sociocultural norms). More specifically, the choice of one variety or the other is fluid and not as strict as in classic diglossia. In the case of Cyprus, speakers use one variety or the other appropriately (depending on the two aforementioned levels) for interpersonal communication (interpersonal function of language in Halliday's sense of the term: language expresses social and personal relations; Halliday, 1973, p. 41) and to convey information (ideational function of language; Halliday, 1973, p. 37). The choice of use between SMG and GC is based on the speaker's communicative competence (Hymes, 1976, p. 227), the ability of the speaker to know when, where, with whom and how to use language appropriately to achieve the 'meaning potential' (in Halliday's terms, 1973, p. 25) which is what the speaker/hearer 'can' mean.

Contextual diglossia emerges from the overlap between SMG and GC, particularly in terms of writing (the use of GC in informal Internet writing) and education. With reference to the use of GC in writing, previous research (Themistocleous, 2005) suggests that a Romanised form of GC is used in Internet communication between Greek-Cypriots such as in emails and e-chat. The questionnaire data in this study indicate that GC is used in informal written Internet communication such as informal emails and in mobile text messages. This evidence suggests that the development of a written form of GC in Internet communication is crucial since it broadens the use of this variety and this may be the first step towards its future standardisation and codification. As Themistocleous (2005, pp. 7-8) points out that Ferguson could not predict that technological advancement 'would allow the L variety to be used in written interactions'. Therefore, contextual diglossia is the description of a modern and technologically advanced diglossic society where everybody has the right to formal education and access to the H variety.

With regard to the domain of education, Ferguson (1996a, p. 28) states that although H is the language of education, in some diglossic situations, such as in the Arab world, university lectures take place in H but drills and explanations may be conducted in L. In this study, classroom observation data indicate that in Modern Greek and History lessons teachers use SMG and students use both SMG and GC for the actual lesson, whereas in the Maths lessons, both teachers and students make use of both varieties. Although L can be used for some purposes in the classroom such the aforementioned example in Arabic, Ferguson does not state that L is likely to be used for the actual delivery of a lesson.

In the case of contextual diglossia in Cyprus, the use of each variety may acquire various functions to communicate meaning effectively. In classroom observations, for instance, SMG is used for the actual lesson in Modern Greek and History lessons, and GC emerges in situations such as social talking, joking, complaining, talking about things not pertinent to the lesson and giving advice. In these lessons, the use of GC has interpersonal functions; this is what I mean by the term contextual diglossia. The emergence of interpersonal functions of H and L is what actually makes diglossia in Cyprus different from Ferguson's classic diglossia. Teachers and students in Modern Greek and History lessons use SMG for the actual lessons as this is the variety they consider appropriate (based on socially agreed norms since SMG is the official language of education and the variety in which the textbooks are written) and use GC interpersonally on the above occasions as they consider that this is the variety appropriate for joking and social talking in the classroom (based on their perception of sociocultural norms).

In the Maths lessons, GC is used to a great extent by both teachers and students for the actual lesson and for interpersonal purposes. This suggests that teachers and students regard GC as appropriate for use in a Maths lesson (against the socially sanctioned use of SMG in an educational context); Maths teachers use GC as a medium of instruction strategically, for example, to enhance learning (as the translanguaging concept suggests; Lewis, Jones, and Baker, 2012, pp. 656-667). In other words, teachers consider that GC is appropriate for this purpose during the actual Maths teaching as this is not a language-based lesson. In general, students use SMG with GC features or GC strategically in the three types of lesson in the classroom to achieve learning.

Language use in the Maths lessons appears to be an example of how the notion of ‘appropriateness’ changes over time. The changes brought along with modernisation and technological development in the diglossic community of Cyprus are possibly the reasons for the present changes in Cypriot language policy (such as the introduction of GC in education; see Chapter 2, section 2.2.2). The changes in the social norms in society bring a change in people’s perception of what is appropriate or what is not, in this case, in terms of appropriateness in language use. As shown above, for Maths teachers GC seems appropriate to be used during the lesson.

Furthermore, the overlap between SMG and GC found in all domains of Question 1 in the questionnaire (which variety students use with certain people and on certain occasions) is also found in the interviews. Notably, in Question 1 in the questionnaire, a small percentage of students reported using GC when their Greek interlocutor is not familiar with GC; in the interviews students explained that if their interlocutor is familiar with GC, they do not accommodate their speech. This example reveals how appropriateness (in terms of both social agreed norms and speaker’s perception of norms) emerges in the students’ language use.

The results of this study also suggest that SMG has interpersonal functions in the Greek-Cypriot community as it often functions as a marker of politeness, of sophistication, of respect, of showing off and so forth (see interview data, Chapter 6). As people perceive appropriateness differently (for one speaker the use of one variety may seem appropriate while for another speaker may not seem appropriate), they can make marked and unmarked choices. For example, the use of SMG by a Greek-Cypriot speaker in an everyday interaction may be perceived by the interlocutors as an attempt to appear sophisticated and show off. According to the students’ reports, this would be a marked choice, as SMG in this case is perceived as inappropriate. In a Maths lesson, the use of GC for the actual lesson may be an unmarked choice for one teacher while for another teacher the use of GC may be a marked choice.

Although the interpersonal functions of the use of SMG and GC may depend on the appropriateness of a variety as perceived by individual speakers and by social norms, the choice of variety can also be influenced by the attitudes that a speaker holds towards a specific variety. For example, as SMG is a standardised language and has the status of

the official language of Cyprus, it is therefore regarded as more appropriate for use in the media. Similarly, the use of GC in a friendly interaction between Greek-Cypriots may be regarded as the appropriate variety as it is the mother tongue of the speakers. In addition, the use of GC in the classroom for humorous purposes may be the appropriate variety as it is the students' mother tongue and the variety they possibly feel to be more natural for such purposes.

The diglossic situation of Cyprus has been stable since the establishment of SMG as the official language of Cyprus in 1960. Nevertheless, the stability of contextual diglossia in Cyprus can be affected by the fluidity in the speaker's choice between SMG and GC. Specifically, the use of SMG and GC and their interpersonal functions suggest that the use of GC is increasing (for example, it is used in informal written Internet communication and therefore, it has great vitality in the Greek-Cypriot community) and entering domains in which SMG prevailed until recently, such as education. The academic interest in GC is also increasing, and the current introduction of GC to Modern Greek lessons (see Chapter 2) aims to distinguish between the two varieties and broaden the use of GC. Thus, GC may no longer therefore be perceived as stigmatised by socially agreed norms. Linguists in Cyprus are working on the creation of grammars such as that of Tsiplakou, Coutsougera, and Pavlou (forthcoming) and dictionaries (there is an online dialectal dictionary on the University of Cyprus website<sup>5</sup>). Although all of these factors affect the stability of diglossia in Cyprus and could lead to the demise of diglossia and the adoption of one of the two varieties, it is complicated as diglossia is connected to the general socio-political and historical context of Cyprus and to issues related to ethnic identity. This is further discussed in the following sections.

## 8.2 The age variable

In addition to the introduction of the term 'contextual diglossia', this study is novel in that age is the main variable. Notably, this study investigates the language attitudes and the discursive construction of ethnic identities in Cyprus of an under-researched age group, Greek-Cypriot students aged 12 to 18. Classroom observation data indicate that 12-year-old students accommodate to their teachers' speech more often than the other two

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<sup>5</sup> University of Cyprus (2011) *Λεξιλογική Βάση Δεδομένων της Κυπριακής Διαλέκτου* [Lexical Data Base of the Cypriot Dialect]. Available at: <http://lexcy.library.ucy.ac.cy/> (Accessed: 23/3/2015).

age groups regardless of the type of lesson (see Chapter 3, section 3.1 for accommodation theory). This suggests that it is more likely for younger students to conform to the rules of the teacher (as he/she mainly directs language use in the classroom) than older students. With regard to their overall linguistic behaviour, younger students seem less linguistically independent than older students as younger students are less talkative in the classroom. On the other hand, although there is accommodation to a certain extent on the part of older students, these are more linguistically independent as they are older, they are less conformist to the teachers' rules and they express themselves by the use of any variety to achieve their goal in the classroom (strategic use of language).

The questionnaire, interview and MGT data indicate that students (regardless of age) have favourable attitudes towards SMG and both favourable and unfavourable attitudes towards GC. Nevertheless, MGT data show that 12-year-old students have more favourable attitudes towards GC than 15 and, particularly, 18-year-olds. Specifically, 18-year-old students express more negative attitudes towards their mother tongue than the other two age groups. This suggests that as students get older, some aspects of their attitudes towards GC become more negative. What is interesting here is that although 18-year-old students express more negative attitudes towards GC than 12 and 15-year-old students, they make more use of dialectal features in the classroom than the other two age groups. This may imply covert prestige (Labov, 1966) in the sense that although 18-year-old students evaluate GC negatively in MGT, they use it in the classroom as they may secretly perceive GC as appropriate (socially and individually) for communication in the classroom.

With regard to ethnic identity, although no major differences are found between the three age groups in the questionnaires, some differences are found in the interviews regarding the way students use language to construct their identities. The 12-year-old students give short answers and do not develop issues on language and identity as deeply as 15 and 18-year-old students do. What is significant is that for 15 and 18-year-old interviewees, being Cypriot or Greek and particularly Greek-Cypriot has more of an ideological dimension (association with history, religion, education, and political belief) than actual origin and native language. For younger interviewees, ethnic identity can be mostly 'visual' or 'obvious' (for example, a person speaking French is French), whereas older students consider ethnic identity beyond the visual features. This indicates that at the age of 15

and particularly 18, students are more mature and more politically aware than younger students and this can be the reason why this age group in particular expresses more nationalistic feelings either in favour of Greece or Cyprus.

In general, the younger the students are, the more positive attitudes they have towards GC and the less ideologically influenced they are in terms of ethnic identity. As they grow older, they become more knowledgeable about the socio-political and historical context of Cyprus and they form nationalistic feelings towards Greece and the Greekness of Cyprus. Also, it is likely that as students grow older, they become sensitive to upward mobility and feel the need to adopt more standard linguistic forms that allow that; therefore, their attitudes towards GC become more negative as this is not the language of education and consequently, not particularly important for professional success, status and prestige. In spite of certain negative attitudes towards GC, classroom data show that the students' mother tongue is still present.

### **8.3 Relationship between diglossia, language attitudes and ethnic identity**

The findings of this study suggest that Greek-Cypriots' language attitudes and ethnic identity are influenced by diglossia and the ethnic and linguistic ideologies. When looking at the historical and political context of Cyprus, the establishment of SMG in Cyprus has possibly resulted from the fact that in the 1950s, an attempt to unify Cyprus with Greece failed; as a result, Cyprus became an independent state and Greek and Turkish were established as the official languages of Cyprus. As noted in Chapter 2, language planners and policy makers define the status and development of a language to accomplish linguistic, political and social objectives. In other words, the establishment of SMG and, consequently, diglossia in Cyprus is a political act. The numerous invasions that Cyprus has undergone throughout its history, the failure to unify with Greece (some Greek-Cypriots were against this decision) and the presence of a Turkish minority in Cyprus resulted in the 1974 war which indelibly marked Cypriot history and whose consequences are still very present in Cyprus in the division of the island into Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot communities (see Chapter 2 for the history of Cyprus).

The socio-political and historical context of Cyprus and the rise of diglossia have an impact on Greek-Cypriots' attitudes towards SMG and GC. More specifically, the variation in the students' attitudes towards GC (positive and negative) and the positively

well-established attitudes towards SMG that emerge in the data seem to reflect the diglossic relationship between the two varieties in the Greek-Cypriot community and the existing differences in their status (with the implication that this status has: SMG, the official standard variety versus GC, the informal non-standard variety). That is, language attitudes may reflect the existing differences between language varieties; that is, one variety may be evaluated more positively than the other because the first is a linguistically superior form (Edwards, 1999, p. 102). The findings of this study show that students evaluate SMG more favourably than GC and state that they consider SMG to be a superior form in comparison to GC (support of this notion is found in the interviews; see Chapter 6).

The comparison between SMG and GC (which is possibly the result of diglossia) is expressed in the interviews and questionnaires by the use of evaluative adjectives, for example: refined versus rustic; superior variety versus inferior variety; formal versus informal; rich versus poor; sophisticated versus simple and comfortable; useful for work and important for social status versus useless for work or social status. The comparison between the two varieties seems to influence students' perceptions and consequently, their attitudes in spite of the fact that language varieties are equally valuable (Edwards, 1999, p. 102).

Besides the comparison in terms of language superiority or inferiority by the Greek-Cypriot speakers, the variation in the students' attitudes towards SMG and GC can also be explained by the fact that the two varieties are perceived by the speakers as differing in their aesthetic qualities. People may respond to linguistic and paralinguistic variation in messages as though they reveal personal and social characteristics of the speaker based on stereotypes; for example, an American may consider a stranger as cultured and refined because his/her accent is thought to be British (Cargile and Giles, 1998, p. 338). In other words, speakers may evaluate favourably varieties that sound pleasant, more musical and so forth. While the aesthetic qualities towards SMG are positive throughout the data (being particularly evaluated as polite, refined and formal), the perceived aesthetic qualities of GC seem to vary extensively. On the one hand, GC is favourably evaluated as beautiful, musical and precise (Question 2, in questionnaire); to a lesser extent as nice and interesting (in the interviews); and the Greek-Cypriot speaker as friendly and humorous (Question 4, in questionnaire). On the other hand, GC is negatively evaluated

in terms of politeness and refinement: the Greek-Cypriot guise is perceived as older than the Greek guise (in the MGT-like experiment) and GC is characterised as a harsh and rural variety (in the interviews). The negative aesthetic features attached to GC are possibly due to the existence of some GC sounds such as [dʒ] and [ʃ] which are not part of the SMG phonology and which Greek-Cypriots deem as harsh (Papapavlou, 2001). These aesthetic evaluations towards SMG and GC are expressed throughout the data and explicitly articulated in the interviews.

Giles *et al.* (1974, pp. 405-406) proposed two hypotheses to answer the question of why certain accents are generally viewed as more pleasing than others. The first is the ‘inherent value hypothesis’ where a particular variety or accent has a prestige position because it is inherently the most pleasing form of that language. The second is the ‘imposed norm hypothesis’ where the prestige variety is considered the most pleasing form because of cultural norms; for example, an accent or a variety gains prestige because it is spoken by a particular social group (Giles *et al.*, 1974, p. 406). Empirical research has demonstrated that the aesthetic qualities of a variety and its prestigious status are not inherent values, but they may depend on cultural norms (explained by the imposed norm hypothesis) (Giles *et al.*, 1974, p. 408). In other words, the aesthetic qualities of a language are not inherent but culturally created. Therefore, as superiority/inferiority and aesthetic differences between languages may not be real, Edwards (1999, p. 102) maintains that the variation in speakers’ attitudes towards varieties may reflect their social perceptions of the specific varieties rather than being related to any qualities of the language or the dialect itself. As Edwards reminds us, ‘listening to a given variety is generally considered to act as a trigger or stimulus that evokes attitudes (or prejudices, or stereotypes) about the relevant speech community’ (1999, p. 102).

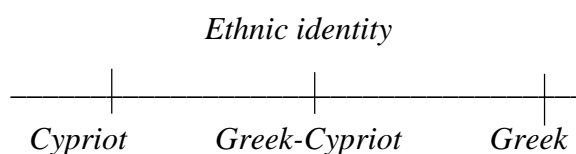
This research concludes that Greek-Cypriot speakers perceive the superiority/inferiority and aesthetic qualities of a language as real and these perceptions are possibly the basis of stereotypes; that is, the ‘social perceptions that group members hold in common’ (Edwards, 1999, p. 101) about standard and non-standard varieties and their speakers. The results of this study on language attitudes confirm previous studies on other age groups in that Greek-Cypriots have positive attitudes towards SMG and mixed attitudes towards GC (Papapavlou, 1988, 1998, 2001; Pavlou, 1997) and that Greek-Cypriots’ attitudes are becoming more positive towards the use of GC (Tsiplakou, 2004;



Themistocleous, 2007). This research has the important value of establishing how the Greek-Cypriot young population, students between 12 and 18 years old, evaluate SMG and GC and suggests that as students grow up and the more years of education in SMG they receive, the more influenced they become by stereotypes (in terms of language superiority/inferiority and aesthetic qualities) and language and political ideologies and therefore, their attitudes towards GC become more negative.

Moreover, this research is novel in that it examines how students aged 12 to 18 perceive and construct their identities in specific discourse contexts such as interviews and questionnaires. It has been proposed that regardless of the mixed attitudes towards GC, Greek-Cypriot students embrace all three identities and identify themselves as Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot and to a lesser extent as Greek. In general, they do not consider themselves more Greek than Cypriot. The flexible and changeable nature of identity is demonstrated in this study as students construct these ethnic labels according to the context they find themselves in. In the interviews, the students maintain that they may feel Greek in one context and more Cypriot in another (see interview analysis in Chapter 6). Therefore, I suggest that for Greek-Cypriots, ethnic identity consists of a continuum of identities where the Cypriot identity is at one end of the continuum, the Greek-Cypriot identity is in the middle and the Greek identity is at the other end. Students construct their identity by selecting an ethnic label according to the context. This is illustrated in Figure 1 below.

**Figure 1: Ethnic identity continuum**



The relationality principle (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) emerges in the data where students make associations between speaker's language, origin and ethnicity. Students construct their linguistic identity in relation to their ethnic identity and both identities are related to the students' religious and cultural identities. This association between linguistic, ethnic and religious identities creates feelings of language sameness between SMG and GC and national sameness between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots. These associations are constructed through indexicality (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) in the form of personal

pronouns (such as ‘I’ and ‘we’), possessive adjectives (such as ‘my’ and ‘our’) and explicit reference to categories and labels (such as Cypriot, Greek or Greek-Cypriot). In the discursive construction of their ethnic identity, students also use evaluative adjectives and terms with rather positive and often nationalistic effect either in favour of Greece or Cyprus as Table 8.1 below illustrates:

**Table 8.1 Discursive construction of ethnic identity**

Greece / Greek identity / SMG	mother-country, mother language, nation / Greek nation / we are one nation / a nation has no borders, brotherhood / we are brothers, we come from Greeks, our origin, we have a lot in common, Hellenism prevails in Cyprus, we are both Greeks, we are the same, Greek roots of Cyprus, our ancestors, the language of my nation
Cyprus / Cypriot identity / GC	my / our identity, our mark, our culture, our local element, our dialect / language, GC is me, GC our country, a genuine Cypriot, it represents my island, my home country Cyprus, Cypriot origin, I am proud of my country, GC is my mother tongue

Diglossia provides Greek-Cypriots with a dual linguistic identity (SMG and GC) and a dual ethnic identity (Cypriot and Greek). Students construct their ethnic identity, for example, through the use of SMG and define their linguistic identity through their ethnic identity. Similarly, they explain their ethnic identity (Cypriot, Greek-Cypriot and Greek) by creating common values between Cyprus and Greece such as shared language, religion, traditions, education and origin, and repeatedly construct the Greekness of Cyprus by relating it to Greece. Similar findings about common bonds between Cyprus and Greece are also found in Philippou’s (2005) study of children’s identity. Nationalism is manifested in the questionnaire and interview data in cases where students justify their Cypriot or Greek-Cypriot identity, the Greek aspect of Cyprus or the Greek origin of GC. In general, the results suggest that students’ definition of ethnic identity as Cypriot, Greek or Greek-Cypriot emanates largely from their political ideology, which also influences their linguistic ideology. Notably, the students often connected language to history and to ethnic identity in ways that indirectly signalled their political ideology; this suggests that people are receptive to a political ideology from a young age.

The findings of this study suggest that Greek-Cypriot students' language attitudes and ethnic identities are constantly constructed and reconstructed in the history and politics of Cyprus, which gave rise to diglossia. In fact, the historical background of Cyprus is possibly the reason why language and ethnicity in Cyprus are highly politicised. The constant emphasis on the Greekness of Cyprus by the students can be due to the fact that Cypriot education is hellenocentric and school is the main promoter of the use of the Greek language and identity (Mavratsas, 1999, p. 98). Therefore, although ideologies can be transferred from a young age through family, school can be considered the main context where students learn SMG and its significance in Cyprus. As students grow up, they learn to use GC and SMG in diglossic terms and are exposed to language ideologies principally through school; they become aware that SMG is the national language of Cyprus, that Greek-Cypriots belong to the Greek nation and are simultaneously exposed to the socio-political and historical context of Cyprus where Turks are the enemy (Spyrou, 2006).

In addition, the constant emphasis on the Greekness of Cyprus by the students can be due to the presence of the Turkish language and the Turkish-Cypriot community in Cyprus which possibly strengthen the national ideology that Greek-Cypriots are ethnically Greek and the language ideology that Greek-Cypriots are speakers of GC, a dialect of SMG. In other words, Greek-Cypriots may wish to nourish these ideologies to make sure that the Greek-Cypriot element prevails in Cyprus. The use of both varieties and not only of GC by the Greek-Cypriot community can be seen as a necessary protective shield against the Turkish element in Cyprus; Greek-Cypriots may identify linguistically and ethnically by the use of GC and SMG.

The favourable attitudes towards SMG and the mixed attitudes towards GC as well as the nationalism and the strong feelings of belonging to the Greek nation reflect the positive and negative stereotypes created by diglossia and the ideologies attached to SMG and GC and the ideologies attached to ethnic identity. The main conclusion of this study is that in spite of certain negative attitudes towards GC which are possibly due to aesthetic factors (as explained by the imposed norm hypothesis), the young population of Cyprus considers GC as part of their linguistic, cultural and ethnic identity. This study also suggests that GC has covert prestige and great vitality as its use is increasing (such as in education and Internet communication). These results are crucial as the current use of SMG and GC by

the young generation of Cyprus establishes the maintenance of the two varieties in Cyprus.

#### **8.4 Concluding remarks**

In this study I describe the linguistic situation of Cyprus as a case of ‘contextual diglossia’ where ‘function’ applies differently from Ferguson’s original description. The use of H and L overlap extensively in Cyprus and the two varieties acquire interpersonal and strategic functions. Appropriateness (speaker’s context and local context) is the criterion for language use in Cyprus and speakers use one variety or the other and make marked or unmarked choices. This chapter also explains the positive attitudes and mixed attitudes towards SMG and GC, respectively, on the basis of stereotypes attached to each variety. Although the aesthetic and prestigious qualities that speakers attribute to each variety are affected to a great extent by cultural norms, they nevertheless constitute subjective evaluations based on how each variety ‘sounds’ to the speaker. Regardless of the fact that SMG is often praised as a formal, standardised and rich variety, Greek-Cypriot students are proud of speaking GC and the majority of them categorise themselves mainly as Cypriot, and to a lesser extent as Greek-Cypriot and Greek, while GC remains an essential component of their linguistic, cultural and ethnic identity.

## **Chapter 9: Conclusion**

This study investigated the linguistic situation of the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus and examined the language attitudes and ethnic identity of three age groups of students, 12, 15 and 18 years old using multiple data collection methods (classroom observations, interviews, questionnaires, and the MGT-like experiment). This study contributes to the field of sociolinguistics by examining how Standard Modern Greek, the official variety, and Greek-Cypriot, the non-standard native variety, are used and perceived by Greek-Cypriot students aged 12 to 18, and how the young population of Cyprus perceives and constructs ethnic identities in spoken and written discourse.

Investigating the attitudes of these young students towards SMG and GC and their perception and construction of ethnic identities had been overlooked by previous studies in Cyprus. Previous research examined mostly the language attitudes of children and university students and to a lesser extent the attitudes of high school and lyceum students. Similarly, extensive research is found in Cyprus on the political situation of Cyprus (the division of the island into Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot communities) and the construction of Greek, Cypriot and Turkish identities (children and adults). The present study contributes to the existing research on the sociolinguistic situation of Cyprus by focusing on adolescents. This age group was of interest as it would provide insights into how attitudes and ethnic identities in Cyprus are constructed from early to late adolescence (12 to 18 years old) within the current historical, political and linguistic context of Cyprus; also, finding out the attitudes of this age group would provide insights about the vitality of SMG and GC in Cyprus as well as about the future status of the two varieties.

Exploring the linguistic situation of Cyprus in which the students' attitudes and identities are constructed was also important. The scope of my research was to reflect the current use of SMG and GC in Cyprus by the young population and provide a specific description of the present Cypriot linguistic context in contrast to the previous dichotomous definitions of Cyprus between diglossic (Arvaniti, 2006b) and bidialectal (Yiakoumetti, 2006). I suggested that bidialectalism is best viewed as an educational approach rather than a description of a linguistic situation per se.

In Chapter 2, I examined the historical, and political context of Cyprus and focused on the need for the definition of the linguistic context of Cyprus as I considered that no clear and established definition exists in scholarly descriptions of the relationship between SMG and GC. I hypothesised that the Greek-Cypriot community is a case of classic diglossia as defined by Ferguson (1996a), and I extended his definition of diglossia as this applies to the case of Cyprus. The results of this study (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8) suggested that the model of classic diglossia does not fully apply to the case of Cyprus as the very important feature of ‘function’ applies differently.

For this reason, I introduced the term ‘contextual diglossia’ in this thesis as an extension/modification of Ferguson’s (1996a) original term of classic diglossia. By ‘contextual diglossia’, I suggested viewing the use of the H and L varieties in the Greek-Cypriot community in terms of choice based on appropriateness and not functional compartmentalisation. Instead of considering solely the degree of formality of context as the only criterion for the use of H or L as in classic diglossia, I proposed that emphasis should be laid on the speaker, as an agent who has the ability, judgement and choice to use one variety or the other in the way they *themselves* perceive the sociocultural norms of appropriateness. I do not suggest neglecting the context of communication as based on socially agreed norms of society, but I stress the individual perception of socially agreed norms to design the profile of a competent ‘contextual diglossic’ speaker.

The importance of these results resides in the fact that they provide a new account of diglossia which describes a modern, technologically advanced and highly educated community in contrast to Ferguson’s original description of diglossia in 1959. In this description of diglossia, the use of the L variety is broadened; it is used in education as a learning strategy (translanguaging) and used in technology, specifically in text messaging and Internet communication. These changes in diglossia reflect the changes in society since Ferguson’s original description in the 1960s.

This study also provided empirical evidence of the presence of GC in the classroom and in the language of teachers and students. This evidence suggests that a difference exists between the stated language policy of Cyprus, which promotes the use of SMG in education, and the real language used in the classroom. Nevertheless, as GC is currently

being introduced in Cypriot education for the explicit teaching of the differences between SMG and GC, it is likely that the current language policy of Cyprus will change as well.

Similarly, although the introduction of bidialectal education in Cyprus has been proposed by other researchers in Cyprus (Yiakoumetti, 2006), the evidence from the present study shows the presence of translanguaging (Lewis, Jones, and Baker, 2012) in the Cypriot classroom as GC is used by teachers and students strategically to enhance learning. Therefore, I agree with other researchers (Papapavlou, 2010) who focused on the need for bidialectal education in Cyprus so that students are explicitly aware of the differences between SMG and GC. I also propose that translanguaging is officially encouraged in Cypriot education (although Cyprus is diglossic and not bilingual) so that students and teachers use any of the two varieties in the classroom to communicate effectively and improve learning. In this way, the use of GC will not be seen as forbidden, stigmatised and as interfering in the performance of SMG; rather, both varieties will be used side-by-side in education.

Students' language attitudes and ethnic identities were discussed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 where I provided evidence that Greek-Cypriot students aged 12 to 18 generally have favourable attitudes towards SMG and positive and negative attitudes towards GC. These attitudes can be interpreted in the general linguistic context of Cyprus and are influenced by language ideology (GC is a dialect of SMG); by the status each variety holds in the diglossic Greek-Cypriot community (H as official, standardised, formal variety versus L unofficial, non-standardised, informal variety); and by the perceived aesthetic qualities of each variety. All these factors create positive and negative stereotypes attached to SMG and GC, respectively.

In spite of the negative stereotypes attached to GC, I believe that GC has covert prestige. This is suggested by some students expressing positive attitudes towards GC, while most expressed their preference for the use of GC when asked to choose between the two varieties. Students stated that they are proud of being GC speakers; they linguistically identified themselves with GC and considered it an essential component of their linguistic, ethnic and cultural identity. In addition to these results, the increasing use of GC in Cyprus suggests the strength of the vitality of GC in Cyprus. In other words, even

though GC receives certain negative evaluations, it is gaining vitality through the number and significance of the functions attached to its use.

This study examined how students perceive ethnic identities and how they use language (spoken and written) to construct their ethnic identities within the conceptual framework of social constructionism. Students' perception and construction of ethnic identities were examined through interviews and questionnaires. The results (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8) suggested that Greek-Cypriots embraced all three ethnic identities, Cypriot, Greek and Greek-Cypriot, and expressed positive feelings towards these identities. They switch between these identities according to the context of communication, which shows the fluidity of identity. Students construct their ethnic identity in relation to their other identities such as linguistic, religious and cultural and create ideological bonds between Cyprus and Greece. What is significant is that regardless of whether students consider themselves as Greek-Cypriot, Cypriot or Greek, they nevertheless define their identities through the use not only of GC, which is their native variety, but also through the use of SMG. This suggests that although the native variety, GC, has great vitality within the Greek-Cypriot community, SMG also has a strong position in the language use of Greek-Cypriot young population.

The data results in Chapters 6 and 7 answered the question of whether age can be a significant variable in Greek-Cypriots' language attitudes and ethnic identity construction: differences were found in the linguistic behaviour of the students in the classroom according to age, in their attitudes towards SMG and GC and in the construction and perception of ethnic identities. The 12-year-old students showed more signs of linguistic accommodation than 15 and 18-year-old students. Specifically, younger students accommodated to the speech of their teachers more often than older students and I therefore suggest that this group of students conform to the classroom rules more than the other two age groups.

Differences were also found in the language attitudes of the three age groups; younger students had more favourable attitudes to GC than older students, while all students had favourable attitudes to SMG. Therefore, I argue that as students grow older and the desire for upward mobility increases, their attitudes towards their mother tongue become more negative as they are possibly influenced by the status and prestige attached to SMG and



the lack of status and prestige attached to GC. Similarly, some differences were also found in the way the three age groups perceive and construct ethnic identities. Although most students defined their ethnic identity through language ideology (GC is a dialect of SMG, Greek-Cypriots speak both varieties and therefore, they are ethnically Greek), older students constructed it in relation to origin, religion, history and political ideology. For older students, ethnic identity is not simply the parents' origin and place of residence, but a construction of history, religion, origin, ideology and nationalism, while for younger students, ethnic identity is a construction of origin and language spoken. These results in terms of age are important as they indicate how students' language attitudes and ethnic identities change as they grow up. The more years of school instruction they receive, the more knowledgeable they become regarding the historical and political context of Cyprus and therefore, they construct their ethnic identities through historical, political, linguistic and ideological reasoning and not only through origin and language.

This study collected data through the use of four research methods and made reference to the strengths and weaknesses of each approach (see Chapter 5 for the methodology of this study). A mixed methods approach was adopted for triangulation purposes (the comparison and contrast of results; Denzin, 1978). Although gender was not a variable in this study, it is possible that my role as a female researcher, the gender of the teachers in classroom (both male and female) as well as the female speaker in MGT affected the students' responses. Gender could be examined in future research, focusing, for instance, on how male and female students between 12 and 18 use and perceive SMG and GC as well as how they use language to construct their ethnic identities. For example, do both genders use nationalistic language to construct bonds between Cyprus and Greece and their ethnic identities? Overall, as the potential shortcomings of the data collection methods were taken into consideration, I consider that this study produced reliable data.

This study provided insights about the language attitudes and ethnic identities of Greek-Cypriot students who are residents in Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus. Although the scope of this research is rather small as it involves only one geographical area of Cyprus, it has nevertheless contributed to previous and current research by examining the attitudes and identities of adolescent students and provided findings which can be compared to future research. Further research on the language attitudes and ethnic identity of students aged 12 to 18 in other geographical areas in the Greek part of Cyprus would provide useful

insights on the similarities or differences in terms of attitudes and identity between adolescents from urban and rural areas.

Similarly, in spite of the limited scope of examination regarding the description of the linguistic situation of Cyprus (students aged 12 to 18), this study contributed to the theory of diglossia with the notion of contextual diglossia which describes the case of Cyprus and provided considerations for further research. Further research on the language use of Greek-Cypriots in interaction and on more geographical areas in the Greek part of Cyprus would allow further examination of the Cypriot contextual diglossia. Also, the results of this study identified the interpersonal and strategic functions of language use. Further research on the linguistic context of Cyprus would not only indicate how contextual diglossia applies to real talk besides classroom talk, but it would also indicate more functions of SMG and GC as used by Greek-Cypriots in general.

When looking at the overall results of this study, I suggest that the negative stereotypes attached to GC and the general attitudes of Greek-Cypriots towards their mother tongue can change and become positive if the status of GC is elevated. Greek-Cypriots may also become more linguistically confident. As shown in Chapter 2, the elevation of the status of GC can also bring positive results in terms of education. For example, Yiakoumetti's (2006) investigation on the potential benefits of bidialectal education (SMG and GC) in Cyprus as a way to raise language awareness, to improve students' oral performance in SMG and their language attitudes demonstrated that the use of the mother tongue, GC, in the classroom improves the students' linguistic production in the standard variety, SMG. As GC is used strategically by students and teachers in the Cypriot classroom (translanguaging), the introduction of GC in education for the development of SMG (bidialectism) will provide GC with more respect and prestige and create more positive attitudes to GC. Furthermore, it is hoped that Greek-Cypriots will study and develop GC because this is their cultural heritage in addition to SMG. Nevertheless, as the introduction of GC in education is a new project, it will take time for GC to become more widespread in education.

The results of this investigation have shown the strong interdependence between language use, language attitudes and ethnic identity in Cyprus, elements that are all connected to ideologies and to the general historical and political context of Cyprus. This study has

contributed to previous and current research on the sociolinguistic context of Cyprus by providing evidence on how language attitudes and ethnic identity are constructed in and influenced by the diglossic situation of Cyprus, the language and political ideologies and the general historical and political context of Cyprus. The study has therefore reached its aim that is to examine all these issues jointly as they are interpreted in relation to one another and together provide an account of the sociolinguistic landscape of Cyprus.

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**Appendix A: The checklist used in the classroom observations**

School:

Date:

Lesson observed:

Teacher: \_\_ Male \_\_ Female

Number of students in classroom:

Age of students:

**A. Teachers' use of Greek-Cypriot:** No \_\_ Yes \_\_**If yes, frequency:** Often \_\_ Sometimes \_\_ Rarely \_\_

Level of use	Pronunciation	Syntax	Lexis	Possible phenomena in teachers' speech
Teachers				
Examples				

**B. Students' use of Greek-Cypriot:** No \_\_ Yes \_\_**If yes, frequency:** Often \_\_ Sometimes \_\_ Rarely \_\_

Level of use	Pronunciation	Syntax	Lexis	Possible phenomena in students' speech
Students				
Examples				

**C. General remarks on students' behaviour in the classroom in terms of language use:**

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**D. Statements / Hypotheses:**

1. Teachers correct students when using GC in any of the three levels of use in oral speech.
  
2. Teachers discourage students from using GC in any of the three levels in oral speech.
  
3. Teachers are tolerant when students use GC in any of the three levels in oral speech.
  
4. Teachers correct themselves when realising that they have slipped into using the dialect.
  
5. The use of GC by the teacher seems to be accepted more when this choice serves such purposes as joking, counselling a student, or providing explanations of concepts that the students have difficulty comprehending.



## **Appendix B: The questions used in the interviews**

**Personal information of the student:** Male \_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_

- What is your name?
- How old are you?
- Where do you live?
- What is the name of your school?
- What are your favourite school subjects?

### **Language attitudes**

- What language do people speak in Cyprus?
- Why do you think people speak both SMG and GC?
- What do you think the relationship is between SMG and GC?
- In your opinion, what are the differences between SMG and GC?
- Let's talk about you now. When do you use SMG and when do you use GC?
- If you had to use only one language (when speaking, writing, at school, at home) which one would you choose? SMG or GC?
- Can you tell me why?
- What do you think some of the characteristics of GC and SMG are? How would you characterise/describe the two varieties?
- What do you think about Greek-Cypriots and Cyprus? What are some of their characteristics?
- What do you think about Greeks and Greece? What are some of their characteristics?
- Do you use GC when you speak with your friends? (If yes, why don't you use SMG?)
- If a friend of yours started speaking in SMG while sitting in a café, how would you react?
- Why?
- When someone uses GC where SMG would normally be used what do you think it means? What would you think of that person?
- When interacting with Greek people, do you speak SMG or GC? Why?
- If you spoke with a Greek person who had difficulty in understanding GC, would you speak in SMG or in GC as you normally do in everyday speaking?
- If you spoke with a Greek person who did not have any difficulty in understanding GC would you speak in GC or SMG?

**Ethnic identity** (Greek-Cypriots' self-categorisations)

- How do you categorise/define yourself ethnically?
- Who is considered Greek-Cypriot, Cypriot and Greek?
- Why do you consider yourself Greek-Cypriot/Cypriot/Greek? How do you justify/explain your Greek-Cypriot / Cypriot / Greek identity?
- Cyprus and Greece are two distinct countries with distinct social, political and economic institutions. Why do you think people in Cyprus speak both GC and SMG and why do they have a dual identity (Greek-Cypriot)? How do you feel about it?
- In a friendly encounter with a mainland Greek person, do you feel more Greek and perceive the relation between Greek-Cypriots and mainland Greeks as a 'brotherly' one or do you feel more Cypriot and distance yourself from them?
- In a friendly encounter with a Turkish-Cypriot student of your age would you feel more Cypriot and perceive Turkish-Cypriots as compatriots or fellow Cypriots?
- In a friendly encounter with foreigners, do you feel/perceive and present yourself as Greek-Cypriot, Cypriot or Greek?
- How do you feel/think you are perceived by others in terms of ethnic identity?

### **Appendix C: The text used for the recordings of the MGT-like experiment and the questionnaire completed by the students**

#### **English translation**

You won't believe what happened to me when I went to Italy for holidays in 2004 with my best friend. We stayed with a friend in Parma for a couple of days. Everything was wonderful; we had a great time. The day to leave Italy had come. The airport was in Milan, so it would take us 3-4 hours to get there. We would leave Parma eight hours before our flight time so that we would have enough time ahead of us. We arrived at the train station, we bought tickets and we waited for the train. Sometime later, we heard an announcement saying that there was only one train going to Milan so everybody had to get on that train. We didn't understand why as it was crowded and noisy at the station. Hundreds of people were gathered there, everybody waiting for the same train. We didn't have a choice.

We got into the train; there wasn't any space, we couldn't even move our heads. We were standing for 3 hours before we arrived at our destination. The reason that all the trains to Milan were cancelled is because a motorist crossed the train track by accident and was therefore injured. We arrived in Milan three hours later and we caught the bus for the airport, one more hour away. In the meantime, we began to worry because in two hours our plane to England would take off.

We finally arrived at the airport, around forty minutes before the take off and what do you think happened there? We weren't allowed to get on board although the plane was still there. What is even more striking is that my friend was working for that airline company in the UK; we told them that, we explained everything but still nothing. The airport was full of people who had also missed their flights. The next flight for England was the next morning. We spent the whole night at the airport. I will never forget this adventure.

**A. Please evaluate the speaker on the basis of her voice characteristics by filling in the table below.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
educated								uneducated
polite								impolite
intelligent								unintelligent
pleasant								unpleasant
comprehensible								incomprehensible
upper class								lower class
interesting								uninteresting
fluent								halting / not fluent
important								unimportant
refined								rustic

**B. Please answer the following questions.**

What language does this person speak?

How old do you think this person is?

What do you think the context of this text is?

Where do you think this speaker comes from?

# Appendix D: MGT-like experiment: Statistical significance of overall results

## MGT-like experiment: Statistical significance of the SMG overall results

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
educated	Between Groups	.000	1	.000	.	.
	Within Groups	.000	10	.000		
	Total	.000	11			
polite	Between Groups	.060	1	.060	.694	.424
	Within Groups	.857	10	.086		
	Total	.917	11			
intelligent	Between Groups	.060	1	.060	.694	.424
	Within Groups	.857	10	.086		
	Total	.917	11			
pleasant	Between Groups	.021	1	.021	.051	.826
	Within Groups	4.229	10	.423		
	Total	4.250	11			
comprehensible	Between Groups	.060	1	.060	.694	.424
	Within Groups	.857	10	.086		
	Total	.917	11			
upper class	Between Groups	.010	1	.010	.057	.815
	Within Groups	1.657	10	.166		
	Total	1.667	11			
interesting	Between Groups	.038	1	.038	.082	.780
	Within Groups	4.629	10	.463		
	Total	4.667	11			
fluent	Between Groups	.000	1	.000	.	.
	Within Groups	.000	10	.000		
	Total	.000	11			
important	Between Groups	.610	1	.610	2.963	.116
	Within Groups	2.057	10	.206		
	Total	2.667	11			
refined	Between Groups	.000	1	.000	.	.
	Within Groups	.000	10	.000		
	Total	.000	11			

**MGT-like experiment: Statistical significance of the GC overall results**

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
educated	Between Groups	.002	1	.002	.003	.954
	Within Groups	6.914	10	.691		
	Total	6.917	11			
polite	Between Groups	.610	1	.610	.606	.454
	Within Groups	10.057	10	1.006		
	Total	10.667	11			
intelligent	Between Groups	.771	1	.771	1.239	.292
	Within Groups	6.229	10	.623		
	Total	7.000	11			
pleasant	Between Groups	1.736	1	1.736	3.845	.078
	Within Groups	4.514	10	.451		
	Total	6.250	11			
comprehensible	Between Groups	.467	1	.467	3.889	.077
	Within Groups	1.200	10	.120		
	Total	1.667	11			
upper_class	Between Groups	3.536	1	3.536	7.128	.026
	Within Groups	4.464	9	.496		
	Total	8.000	10			
interesting	Between Groups	.771	1	.771	1.824	.207
	Within Groups	4.229	10	.423		
	Total	5.000	11			
fluent	Between Groups	.152	1	.152	.179	.681
	Within Groups	8.514	10	.851		
	Total	8.667	11			
important	Between Groups	.688	1	.688	.673	.431
	Within Groups	10.229	10	1.023		
	Total	10.917	11			
refined	Between Groups	.152	1	.152	.145	.711
	Within Groups	10.514	10	1.051		
	Total	10.667	11			

**Appendix E: MGT-like experiment: Mean and standard deviation of results by age**

**Attitudes to SMG: 12-year-old students**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Educated	4	1	2	1.25	.500
Polite	4	1	1	1.00	.000
Intelligent	4	1	1	1.00	.000
Pleasant	4	1	4	2.50	1.291
Comprehensible	4	1	1	1.00	.000
Upper class	4	1	4	2.25	1.500
Interesting	4	1	4	2.50	1.291
Fluent	4	1	1	1.00	.000
Important	4	2	4	2.75	.957
Refined	4	1	2	1.50	.577
Valid N (listwise)	4				

**Attitudes to SMG: 15-year-old students**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Educated	4	1	3	1.75	.957
Polite	4	1	4	2.00	1.414
Intelligent	4	1	4	2.00	1.414
Pleasant	4	2	5	3.25	1.258
Comprehensible	4	1	4	1.75	1.500
Upper class	4	1	4	2.50	1.291
Interesting	4	2	5	3.50	1.291
Fluent	4	1	2	1.25	.500
Important	4	2	4	3.25	.957
Refined	4	1	3	1.75	.957
Valid N (listwise)	4				

**Attitudes to SMG: 18-year-old students**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Educated	4	1	2	1.50	.577
Polite	4	1	1	1.00	.000
Intelligent	4	1	2	1.75	.500
Pleasant	4	2	3	2.75	.500
Comprehensible	4	1	1	1.00	.000
Upper class	4	1	3	2.00	.816
Interesting	4	2	3	2.75	.500
Fluent	4	1	1	1.00	.000
Important	4	3	4	3.25	.500
Refined	4	1	3	2.00	.816
Valid N (listwise)	4				

**Attitudes to GC: 12-year-old students**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Educated	4	2	3	2.25	.500
Polite	4	1	6	2.50	2.380
Intelligent	4	1	3	1.75	.957
Pleasant	4	1	4	2.75	1.500
Comprehensible	4	1	1	1.00	.000
Upper class	4	1	5	3.00	1.826
Interesting	4	1	5	3.00	1.826
Fluent	4	1	3	1.50	1.000
Important	4	1	2	1.75	.500
Refined	4	1	6	2.75	2.363
Valid N (listwise)	4				

**Attitudes to GC: 15-year-old students**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Educated	4	2	5	2.75	1.500
Polite	4	3	6	5.00	1.414
Intelligent	4	1	4	2.50	1.291
Pleasant	4	3	6	4.25	1.258
Comprehensible	4	1	3	1.50	1.000
Upper class	4	2	6	3.75	1.708
Interesting	4	2	4	3.25	.957
Fluent	4	1	5	3.00	1.826
Important	4	3	6	4.50	1.291
Refined	4	2	6	4.75	1.893
Valid N (listwise)	4				



**Attitudes to GC: 18-year-old students**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Educated	4	2	7	3.75	2.363
Polite	4	5	7	6.25	.957
Intelligent	4	2	6	4.50	1.915
Pleasant	4	3	6	4.00	1.414
Comprehensible	4	1	4	2.50	1.732
Upper class	3	4	6	5.00	1.000
Interesting	4	3	4	3.25	.500
Fluent	4	3	6	4.50	1.291
Important	4	3	6	5.25	1.500
Refined	4	6	7	6.50	.577
Valid N (listwise)	3				

**Appendix F: The questionnaire**

Age:

Male \_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_

Nationality: Cypriot \_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_

Area of residence in Cyprus:

Name of school:

Class:

The purpose of this questionnaire is to contribute to a study on the linguistic situation in Cyprus. Please answer the following questions. There are no right or wrong answers, so any reply you give will be fine.

- 1. What do you use when you speak to the following people and occasions: Greek-Cypriot (GC), Standard Modern Greek (SMG) or another language? Please put an 'X' where you consider appropriate.**

<b>People</b>	<b>GC</b>	<b>SMG</b>	<b>Other language (please specify)</b>
1. Parents			
2. Siblings			
3. Grandparents			
4. Teachers at school (not language teachers)			
5. Teachers in private lessons (not language teachers)			
6. Friends in the classroom			
7. Friends outside the classroom			
8. Shop assistants			
<b>Occasions</b>			
1. When I speak to the school principal			
2. When interacting with Greek people			
3. When I write informal letters			
4. When I write formal letters			
5. When I chat on the Internet			
6. When I meet people for the first time			
7. When I write mobile text messages			
8. When I write informal emails			

9. When I write formal emails			
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2. Please put an 'X' where you consider appropriate. 1= strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = disagree, 5 = strongly disagree.

Standard Modern Greek can be considered	1	2	3	4	5
1. useful for work					
2. important for social status					
3. beautiful					
4. musical					
5. precise					
6. modern					

Greek-Cypriot can be considered	1	2	3	4	5
1. useful for work					
2. important for social status					
3. beautiful					
4. musical					
5. precise					
6. modern					

3. Please put an 'X' where you consider appropriate.

Statements	Yes	No
1. I am proud of speaking GC		
2. I am proud of speaking SMG		
3. I prefer to speak in GC than in SMG		
4. Lack of competence in SMG means that a person is less educated		
5. When interacting with Greek people I sometimes feel uncomfortable about being a native GC speaker		
6. I consider myself Cypriot		
7. I consider myself Greek-Cypriot		
8. I consider myself Greek		
9. I consider myself more Greek than Cypriot		

10. I consider myself more Cypriot than Greek		
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**4. Please complete the sentences below with two of the following words (circle your choices).**

**A.** Intelligent    Friendly    Polite    Humorous    Educated    Honest    Arrogant  
Confident

A Greek-Cypriot speaker is.....

**B.** Intelligent    Friendly    Polite    Humorous    Educated    Honest    Arrogant  
Confident

A Greek speaker is.....

**5. Please complete the following with words or phrases of your choice.**

- a) I live in .....
- b) I am .....
- c) I speak ..... because .....
- d) I like .....
- e) I consider myself .....
- f) Other people consider me to be .....

**6. Please put an 'X' where you consider appropriate.**

Statements	Yes	No
1. I prefer to watch TV in GC than in SMG		
2. Greek-Cypriot actors speak SMG when cast in Cypriot TV sitcoms		
3. TV News is in GC		
4. When radio listeners and TV viewers call to express their opinion, they speak SMG		
5. I find it easier to watch films or sitcoms in SMG		
6. I find it easier to watch films or sitcoms in GC		

Thank you for your participation

**Appendix G: The complete tables of results of Questions 1 and 4 in the questionnaire**

**Question 1**

People	<i>Missing response</i>	GC	GC-SMG	GC–SMG-Other Language	GC–Other Language	SMG	SMG – Other Language	Other language
Parents		71.2%	4.5%	0.7%	2.9%	15.2%	2.9%	2.6%
Siblings	0.9%	74.8%	4.8%		2.3%	14.9%	1.6%	0.7%
Grand-parents	0.7%	75.1%	4.5%		1.6%	12.6%	2.6%	2.9%
Teachers at school	0.3%	29.8%	7.1%			60.8%	1.0%	1.0%
Teachers in private lessons	3.6%	47.2%	4.9%	0.3%	0.6%	39.8%	1.0%	2.6%
Friends in the classroom		78.4%	7.4%	1.0%	0.6%	12.3%	0.3%	
Friends outside the classroom		77.7%	7.1%	0.6%	1.3%	12.3%	0.6%	0.4%
Shop assistants	1.9%	28.5%	4.9%	0.6%	1.6%	57.9%	2.3%	2.3%
<b>Occasions</b>								
When I speak to the school principal	0.2%	13.3%	1.6%			84.6%	0.3%	
When interacting with Greek people	0.6%	12.9%	3.0%			83.5%		
When I write informal letters	0.6%	17.8%	2.0%		0.3%	76.1%	1.9%	1.3%

When I write formal letters	1.6%	3.7%	0.3%		0.3%	90.9%	2.9%	0.3%
When I chat on the Internet	0.6%	57.9%	4.9%	1.0%	4.5%	17.8%	2.9%	10.4%
When I meet people for the first time	0.6%	43.0%	7.5%	0.3%	1.3%	46.4%	0.6%	0.3%
When I write mobile text messages	2.3%	59.8%	5.2%	1.0%	2.9%	17.2%	2.6%	9.0%
When I write informal emails	0.6%	52.4%	4.2%	1.3%	1.6%	28.5%	3.0%	8.4%
When I write formal emails	1.0%	4.5%	1.0%		0.3%	84.1%	4.9%	4.2%

#### Question 4

<b>Adjectives</b>	<b>A Greek-Cypriot speaker is:</b>	<b>A Greek speaker is:</b>
Intelligent	1.0%	
Intelligent, Friendly	1.9%	1.3%
Intelligent, Polite	1.3%	9.7%
Intelligent, Humorous	2.9%	
Intelligent, Educated	3.3%	4.2%
Intelligent, Honest	1.0%	1.0%
Intelligent, Arrogant		1.9%
Intelligent, Confident	1.9%	0.6%
Friendly	1.3%	2.3%

Friendly, Polite	4.2%	11.8%
Friendly, Humorous	8.1%	1.6%
Friendly, Educated	5.8%	0.6%
Friendly, Honest	11.8%	1.9%
Friendly, Arrogant	0.6%	1.0%
Friendly, Confident	7.4%	1.6%
Polite	0.3%	2.9%
Polite, Humorous	1.6%	2.6%
Polite, Educated	2.6%	19.2%
Polite, Honest	1.9%	3.6%
Polite, Arrogant		5.8%
Polite, Confident	1.6%	6.5%
Humorous	1.3%	0.3%
Humorous, Educated	1.6%	2.9%
Humorous, Honest	7.1%	
Humorous, Arrogant	2.9%	2.9%
Humorous, Confident	8.8%	1.0%
Educated		2.6%
Educated, Honest	1.0%	0.6%
Educated, Arrogant		1.9%
Educated, Confident	0.6%	1.6%
Honest	3.3%	
Honest, Arrogant	1.0%	0.3%
Honest, Confident	4.5%	0.6%
Arrogant	2.9%	0.6%
Arrogant, Confident	2.6%	3.3%
Confident	1.9%	1.0%
<i>Missing response</i>		0.3%

## Appendix H: Statistical significance of questionnaire results

### Question 1

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Parents	Between Groups	.074	1	.074	.305	.581
	Within Groups	74.557	307	.243		
	Total	74.631	308			
Siblings	Between Groups	.316	1	.316	1.885	.171
	Within Groups	50.964	304	.168		
	Total	51.280	305			
Grandparents	Between Groups	.001	1	.001	.005	.941
	Within Groups	72.782	305	.239		
	Total	72.783	306			
Teachers at school	Between Groups	1.416	1	1.416	6.046	.014
	Within Groups	71.660	306	.234		
	Total	73.076	307			
Teachers in private lessons	Between Groups	.149	1	.149	.498	.481
	Within Groups	88.507	296	.299		
	Total	88.656	297			
Friends in classroom	Between Groups	.272	1	.272	2.452	.118
	Within Groups	34.068	307	.111		
	Total	34.340	308			
Friends outside the classroom	Between Groups	.022	1	.022	.176	.675
	Within Groups	39.041	307	.127		
	Total	39.063	308			
Shop assistants	Between Groups	.827	1	.827	3.210	.074
	Within Groups	77.547	301	.258		
	Total	78.375	302			



		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
When I speak to the school principal	Between Groups	.062	1	.062	.507	.477
	Within Groups	37.740	306	.123		
	Total	37.803	307			
When interacting with Greek people	Between Groups	.121	1	.121	.962	.327
	Within Groups	38.382	305	.126		
	Total	38.503	306			
When I write informal letters	Between Groups	.207	1	.207	1.170	.280
	Within Groups	53.917	305	.177		
	Total	54.124	306			
When I write formal letters	Between Groups	.010	1	.010	.221	.639
	Within Groups	13.675	302	.045		
	Total	13.685	303			
When I chat on the Internet	Between Groups	3.981	1	3.981	9.083	.003
	Within Groups	133.684	305	.438		
	Total	137.665	306			
When I meet people for the first time	Between Groups	.440	1	.440	1.805	.180
	Within Groups	74.392	305	.244		
	Total	74.833	306			
When I write mobile text messages	Between Groups	2.360	1	2.360	5.655	.018
	Within Groups	125.207	300	.417		
	Total	127.568	301			
When I write informal emails	Between Groups	.604	1	.604	1.441	.231
	Within Groups	127.784	305	.419		
	Total	128.388	306			
When I write formal emails	Between Groups	.093	1	.093	.917	.339
	Within Groups	30.667	304	.101		
	Total	30.759	305			

**Question 2**

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
SMG can be considered useful for work	Between Groups	.012	1	.012	.011	.917
	Within Groups	340.414	305	1.116		
	Total	340.426	306			
SMG can be considered important for social status	Between Groups	1.643	1	1.643	1.347	.247
	Within Groups	373.276	306	1.220		
	Total	374.919	307			
SMG can be considered beautiful	Between Groups	.330	1	.330	.274	.601
	Within Groups	366.967	305	1.203		
	Total	367.296	306			
SMG can be considered musical	Between Groups	1.998	1	1.998	1.607	.206
	Within Groups	379.311	305	1.244		
	Total	381.309	306			
SMG can be considered precise	Between Groups	5.223	1	5.223	4.004	.046
	Within Groups	395.249	303	1.304		
	Total	400.472	304			
SMG can be considered modern	Between Groups	1.249	1	1.249	.942	.332
	Within Groups	405.699	306	1.326		
	Total	406.948	307			

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
GC can be considered useful for work	Between Groups	1.206	1	1.206	.925	.337
	Within Groups	398.872	306	1.304		
	Total	400.078	307			
GC can be considered important for social status	Between Groups	.976	1	.976	.762	.384
	Within Groups	392.306	306	1.282		
	Total	393.282	307			
GC can be considered beautiful	Between Groups	.387	1	.387	.271	.603
	Within Groups	435.619	305	1.428		
	Total	436.007	306			
GC can be considered musical	Between Groups	.113	1	.113	.071	.790
	Within Groups	487.529	305	1.598		
	Total	487.642	306			
GC can be considered precise	Between Groups	.942	1	.942	.586	.444
	Within Groups	486.809	303	1.607		
	Total	487.751	304			
GC can be considered modern	Between Groups	.628	1	.628	.410	.523
	Within Groups	467.788	305	1.534		
	Total	468.417	306			

### Question 3

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
I am proud of speaking the Cypriot dialect	Between Groups	.159	1	.159	1.485	.224
	Within Groups	32.285	301	.107		
	Total	32.444	302			
I am proud of speaking Standard Modern Greek	Between Groups	.055	1	.055	.636	.426
	Within Groups	26.202	304	.086		
	Total	26.257	305			
I am proud of speaking in the GC than in SMG	Between Groups	.041	1	.041	.166	.684
	Within Groups	75.388	303	.249		
	Total	75.430	304			
Lack of competence in SMG means that a person is less educated	Between Groups	.309	1	.309	1.386	.240
	Within Groups	67.909	305	.223		
	Total	68.217	306			
When interacting with Greek people I feel uncomfortable	Between Groups	.000	1	.000	.003	.960
	Within Groups	57.663	301	.192		
	Total	57.664	302			
I consider myself Cypriot	Between Groups	1.047	1	1.047	4.520	.034
	Within Groups	69.702	301	.232		
	Total	70.749	302			
I consider myself Greek Cypriot	Between Groups	.000	1	.000	.000	.995
	Within Groups	62.780	301	.209		
	Total	62.780	302			
I consider myself Greek	Between Groups	.655	1	.655	2.636	.106
	Within Groups	76.007	306	.248		
	Total	76.661	307			
I consider myself more Greek than Cypriot	Between Groups	3.134	1	3.134	16.345	.000
	Within Groups	57.716	301	.192		
	Total	60.850	302			
I consider myself more Cypriot than Greek	Between Groups	2.978	1	2.978	12.533	.000
	Within Groups	71.054	299	.238		
	Total	74.032	300			

**Question 6**

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
I prefer to watch tv in GC than in SMG	Between Groups	.455	1	.455	2.191	.140
	Within Groups	62.753	302	.208		
	Total	63.208	303			
Cypriot actors speak SMG when cast in tv sitcoms	Between Groups	.934	1	.934	4.420	.036
	Within Groups	64.658	306	.211		
	Total	65.592	307			
Tv news is in the Cypriot dialect	Between Groups	.011	1	.011	.187	.666
	Within Groups	18.558	306	.061		
	Total	18.569	307			
When radio listeners call to express their opinion they speak SMG	Between Groups	.022	1	.022	.097	.756
	Within Groups	70.213	307	.229		
	Total	70.235	308			
I find it easier to watch films or sitcoms in SMG	Between Groups	.011	1	.011	.062	.804
	Within Groups	54.032	306	.177		
	Total	54.043	307			
I find it easier to watch films or sitcoms in Cypriot dialect	Between Groups	.398	1	.398	1.673	.197
	Within Groups	72.571	305	.238		
	Total	72.969	306			

**Appendix I: Consent form for project participants in the listening task of the  
MGT-like experiment**



**PROJECT TITLE:** Language attitudes and ethnic identity in a diglossic setting:  
the case of Greek-Cypriot students.

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I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project. I have had the project explained to me and I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may keep for records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- Participate in listening task with three more classmates. I will listen to audio material and complete a sheet (multiple choice questions).
- Make myself available for a further listening task should that be required.

Also,

- I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that I disclose will lead to the identification of any individual in the reports on the project, either by the researcher or by any other party.
- I consent to the use of the sheet by the researcher and interested professional parties.
- I consent to the use of the sheet in publications.

**Important**

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I believe that \_\_\_\_\_ (name) understands the above project and gives his/her consent voluntarily.

Name:

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Signature

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Address:

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Date:

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Date:

Participant's signature

Date:

Researcher's signature

**Appendix J: Consent form for project participants in interview**

**PROJECT TITLE:** Language attitudes and ethnic identity in a diglossic setting:  
the case of Greek-Cypriot students.

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I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project. I have had the project explained to me and I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may keep for records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- Be interviewed by the researcher
- Allow the interview to be audio taped
- Make myself available for a further interview should that be required.

Also,

- I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that I disclose will lead to the identification of any individual in the reports on the project, either by the researcher or by any other party.
- I consent to the audiotapes being listened by other researchers and interested professional parties.
- I consent to the use of sections of the audiotapes in publications.

**Important**

<p>I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.</p>
<p>I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.</p>



I believe that \_\_\_\_\_ (name) understands the above project and gives his/her consent voluntarily.

Name:

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Signature

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Address:

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Date:

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Date:

Participant's signature

Date:

Researcher's signature

**Appendix K: The use of GC features in the Cypriot classroom**

<b>Pronunciation</b>	<b>Syntax</b>	<b>Lexis</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [monon] instead of the SMG [mono] ‘only’</li> <li>• [gin] instead of the SMG [gi] ‘earth’</li> <li>• [selidan] instead of the SMG [selida] ‘page’</li> <li>• [iʃen] instead of the SMG [ihe] ‘he/she had’</li> <li>• [enan] instead of the SMG [ena] ‘one’</li> <li>• [doumen] instead of the SMG [doume] ‘we will see’</li> <li>• [epithesin] instead of the SMG [epithesi] ‘attack’</li> <li>• [stin] instead of the SMG [sti] ‘to’</li> <li>• [analysamen] instead of the SMG [analysame] ‘we analysed’</li> <li>• [simasian] instead of the SMG [simasia] ‘meaning’</li> <li>• [stamatisen] instead of the SMG [stamatise] ‘he/she stopped’</li> <li>• [eʃionise] instead of the SMG [hionise] ‘it snowed’</li> <li>• [eʃi] instead of the SMG [ehi] ‘he/she has’</li> <li>• [ʃeri] instead of the SMG [heri] ‘hand’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [analysamen ta] instead of the SMG [ta analysame] ‘we analysed them’</li> <li>• [ihan tin] instead of the SMG [tin ihan] ‘they had it’</li> <li>• [egorasan tin] instead of the SMG [tin gorasan] ‘they bought it’</li> <li>• [edolofonisan ton] instead of the SMG [ton dolofonisan] ‘they murdered him’</li> <li>• [ekratisan tes] instead of the SMG [tis kratisan] ‘they kept them’</li> <li>• [ehete to] instead of the SMG [to ehete] ‘you have it’</li> <li>• [epiasen ton] instead of the SMG [ton epiase] ‘he/she took him’</li> <li>• [frodizi to] instead of the SMG [to frodizi] ‘he/she takes care of it’</li> <li>• [stamatisen tin] instead of the SMG [tin</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [epattisan] instead of the SMG [hreokopisan] ‘they were bankrupt’</li> <li>• [touto] instead of the SMG [afto] ‘this’</li> <li>• [pou] instead of the SMG [apo] ‘from’</li> <li>• [appothikan] instead of the SMG [eginan alazones/xipasmeni] ‘they became pretentious’</li> <li>• [lalo] instead of the SMG [leo] ‘I say’</li> <li>• [dame] instead of the SMG [edo] ‘here’</li> <li>• [enna] instead of the SMG [tha] ‘will’</li> <li>• [thoro] instead of the SMG [vlepo] ‘I see’</li> <li>• [toubaroun] instead of the SMG [trakaroun] ‘they crash’</li> <li>• [pellous] instead of the SMG [trelous] ‘crazy’</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [eborousan] instead of the SMG [borousan] ‘they could’</li> <li>• [epolemousan] instead of the SMG [polemousan] ‘they fought’</li> <li>• [ethymothikan] instead of the SMG [thymosan] ‘they were angry’</li> <li>• [eprohorise] instead of the SMG [prohorise] ‘he/she went on’</li> <li>• [epagosen] instead of the SMG [pagose] ‘it was freezing’</li> <li>• [eprolava] instead of the SMG [prolava] ‘I made it on time’</li> <li>• [tes] instead of the SMG [tis] ‘the’</li> <li>• [dʒe] instead of the SMG [ke] ‘and’</li> <li>• [en / eni] instead of the SMG [ine] ‘is/are’</li> <li>• [oulli] instead of the SMG [oli] ‘everybody’</li> <li>• [oi] instead of the SMG [ohi] ‘no’</li> <li>• [alithkia] instead of the SMG [alithia] ‘truth’</li> <li>• [dʒinos] instead of the SMG [ekinos] ‘him’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>stamatise] ‘he stopped her’</li> <li>• [angaliasen tin] instead of the SMG [tin angaliase] ‘he/she hugged her’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [alopos] instead of the SMG [isos] ‘maybe’</li> <li>• [tʃyris] instead of the SMG [pateras] ‘father’</li> <li>• [rialia] instead of the SMG [hrimata] ‘money’</li> <li>• [tsappizw] instead of the SMG [orgono] ‘plough’</li> <li>• [tʃame] instead of the SMG [eki] ‘there’</li> </ul>
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [vimatouthkia] instead of the SMG [vimatakia] ‘small steps’</li> <li>• [thkyo] instead of the SMG [dyo] ‘two’</li> <li>• [fki] instead of the SMG [vgi] ‘he/she goes out’</li> <li>• [kamis] instead of the SMG [kanis] ‘you do’</li> <li>• [efka] instead of the SMG [vges] ‘go out’</li> <li>• [valoume] instead of the SMG [vazoume] ‘we put’</li> <li>• kamoume instead of the SMG [kanoume] ‘we do’</li> <li>• [epie] instead of the SMG [pige] ‘he/she went’</li> <li>• [irtan] instead of the SMG [irthan] ‘they came’</li> <li>• [genedʒes] instead of the SMG [gynekes] ‘women’</li> <li>• [kallyteri] instead of the SMG [kalyteri] ‘better’</li> </ul>		
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