

Perceptions on Standard and Non-standard Varieties as They Relate to Ethnic Identity in a Bidialectal Setting

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Abstract

The existence of a relationship between language and identity has been extensively discussed. However, the nature of the relationship between language attitudes and identity has been claimed to take several forms: a) identity influences people's attitudes towards a language (Lambert et al. 1960), b) attitudes already held about a linguistic code serve as a determining factor in the formation, maintenance or gradual loss of an identity (Lambert et al. 1975) and, c) identity is not related to language attitudes (Ryan & Carranza 1975).

The long history of Cyprus and the resulting complex linguistic situation within the Greek Cypriot community have contributed to the struggle between Cypriots' sense of Greekness and Cypriotness. Some studies have shown that ethnic identity leads to certain linguistic preferences (Karyolemou 2002, Papapavlou & Pavlou 2007), while Ioannidou (2004) argued that a linguistic variety may be (un)favoured, regardless of the ethnic identity that may be linked to it.

The purpose of the current study is threefold; to investigate (a) Greek Cypriots' attitudes and stances towards Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and the Greek Cypriot Dialect (GCD), (b) whether Greek Cypriots' ethnic identity tends to lean more toward their Cypriot or Greek distinctiveness and, (c) whether attitudes held towards the two linguistic codes are reflected in Cypriots' ethnic identity. The study follows a direct approach to attitudes and MEIM (Phinney 1992) for the measurement of ethnic identity. Results indicate stronger Cypriot than Greek identity, and more positive attitudes towards GCD than SMG. The low correlation found between language attitudes and ethnic identity encourages the continuation of research in this area.

Key words

ethnic identity, language attitudes, standard and non-standard language varieties, language maintenance.

1 Introduction

The issue of attitudes has challenged linguists and other social scientists for many years. The issue becomes even more interesting when it is investigated in

relation to identity. As Trudgill (2000) argues, language attitudes are “the result of learned behaviour [that people acquire by] those they live in close contact with” (p. 43). Thus, if we claim that identity is mainly determined by language, then identity and attitudes are linked by common social forces. The interconnection between language attitudes and identity is rather obvious, however, the nature of this relationship has been claimed to be challenging; either identity influences people’s attitudes towards a language (Lambert et al., 1960), or attitudes already held about a linguistic code serve as a determining factor in the formation, maintenance or gradual loss of an identity (Lambert et al., 1975). Nevertheless, there are scientists who claim that there is no interaction between the two (Bond, 1985).

The present study deals with the Greek-Cypriot setting where identity and language issues appear to be inextricably intertwined. Several historical events on the island have led to the creation of a struggle between Cypriots’ Greek identity and Cypriot identity triggering a conflict of attitudes towards the two prevailing codes of the community: Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and the Greek Cypriot Dialect (GCD). Regardless of the language attitudes held, the dialect is constantly used in oral communication, despite the fact that SMG is the official language of the community. Studies conducted so far conclude that ethnic identity leads to preference of the linguistic code associated with it (Karyolemos, 2002; Papapavlou & Pavlou, 2007). On the contrary, Ioannidou (2004) concludes that a linguistic variety may be (un)favoured, regardless of the ethnic identity that is associated with it.

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the strength and direction of young Greek Cypriots’ ethnic identity (Greek vs. Cypriot), as well as their attitudes towards the two linguistic varieties that are employed within this community (GCD vs. SMG). An effort is made to test whether an individual’s ethnic identity is in consonance with their (un)favourability towards a linguistic code, or whether these two issues are completely unrelated.

2 Language attitudes

2.1 Definition

Attitude is an abstract notion of social psychology that has raised doubts over relevant research on it either in the field of linguistics or in any other field. Such problematic considerations of the issue of attitudes lie in the difficulty of its identification and consequently its measurement. However, despite all the disagreement on what attitude is and how it can be captured by experimenters, some conclusions have received support. Oppenheim (1992) admits that “most researchers seem to agree that an attitude is a state of readiness, a tendency to

respond in a certain manner confronted with certain stimuli” (p. 174). Similarly, Garrett, Coupland & Williams (2006) argue that: “We take it as axiomatic, then, that an attitude is an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, but that, being a ‘disposition’, an attitude is at least potentially an evaluative stance that is sufficiently stable to allow it to be identified and in some sense measured” (p. 3).

2.2 Measurement

Researchers of different disciplines have already approached the issue of attitudes in numerous ways. Each of this has received credit and criticism as well. What is important to refer to is that attitude has given rise to two main movements: the mentalist and the behaviourist. According to the mentalist approach attitudes include three components: the cognitive, the affective and the behavioural (Edwards, 1982). On the contrary, behaviourists claim that attitude can be grasped only by observing human behaviour (Fasold, 1984). Although the cognitive and affective components have received universal acceptance, the behavioural brings forth the question of whether attitudes—which are first and foremost feelings/views/beliefs—lead humans to behave accordingly. In some cases, experimental studies have confirmed a match between what people believe and what they actually do (e.g. McGroarty, 1996), but, in some other cases there seems to be a mismatch (e.g. Choi, 2003).

Through time, the distinction of approaches to language attitudes that prevailed is the one proposed by Ryan, Giles & Hewstone (1988). According to it, approaches to language attitudes fall into three groups: direct measures, indirect measures and societal treatment. All of them have already been used by linguists all over the world, but, the indirect measurement which mostly refers to the so-called ‘matched-guise technique’ is the most popular one in investigating language attitudes. It was introduced in 1960 by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum in an effort to examine attitudes of the community of Montreal towards English and French.

“The matched-guise technique is the use of recorded voices of people speaking first in one dialect or language and then in another; [...] The recordings are played to listeners who do not know that the two samples of speech are from the same person and who judge the two guises of the same speaker as though they were judging two separate speakers.” (Gaes & Beebe, 1991, p. 157)

The advantage of an indirect approach to language attitudes is that since the participants are not aware of the true purpose, they feel comfortable to express

themselves freely. On the other hand, evaluations of set-up events based on given attributes cannot stand as representative of attitudes towards real-life events.

Then, direct measures are those that ask people what they believe of a language variety in a straightforward way; questionnaires, interviews and polls (Huguet, 2006; Lasagabaster, 2008; Papapavlou, 2007). The advantages of obtrusiveness (direct answers, rather making inferences that may not represent reality), anonymity, uniformity of responses and time flexibility come to the surface. At the same time, with direct evaluations the experimenter runs the risk of getting accounts that do not match people's reality. Asking direct questions "respondents have an idea of which answers are socially desirable. Not wishing to appear deviant, they hide their true feelings" (Henerson et al., 1987, p. 135).

Last, societal treatment entails content analysis of how people treat a linguistic variety along with its associations within society. This can be achieved through observation, ethnographic methods, and analysis of public documents concerning language policy, advertisements, literary texts, public signs etc. (Rickford & Traugott, 1985; Vaish, 2008; Garrett et al., 2009). Although such a kind of approach is found to be quite rare in traditional research of language attitudes, it has started gaining support by new researchers since its engagement with discourse-analytic methods that "notice patternings of language in use and the circumstances (participants, situations, purposes, outcomes) with which these are typically associated" (Trappes-Lomax 2004, p. 133). The main benefit of the societal treatment approach lies in that it may offer a more complete and accurate picture of the status of the linguistic variety since data are gathered naturally. However, the fact that it occurs naturally raises problems concerning reliability and validity of the study.

3 Identity, language, and language attitudes

3.1 Identity and language

"Put as simply as possible, your identity is who you are", Joseph claims (2004, p. 1). Identity can be initially distinguished between personal identity (describing an individual's unique personality) and group identity (as that being shared by people belonging to the same nation, race, ethnicity, gender, religion or social class). "Personal identity is made up in part of the various group identities to which you stake a claim, though you no doubt believe there is still a part of you that transcends the sum of these parts" (ibid., p. 5). Hence, institutions that every human being claims to be part of leave their mark on people who bear the stamp of that identity. Any messages—norms, prejudices, beliefs, ideologies or attitudes—passed to members of a society, ethnic group, nation or religion are inevitably shared and embodied in one's self identity.

Language plays a crucial role in the construction of identity and the connection between the two has already been the topic of much linguistic research. Language enables a person to get integrated into a group and others to trace his/her identity. At the same time, it serves as the means through which people describe a person's identity. Tabouret-Keller (1997) mainly attributes this highly connected relationship between language and identity to the fact that language has so many features that someone can easily adopt in an effort to be identified as a member of a group.

3.2 Ethnic identity and language

Language becomes an even more central ingredient of identity when it comes to ethnic identity. "Ethnicity is rightly understood as an aspect of a collectivity's self-recognition as well as an aspect of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders" (Fishman, 1977, p. 16). It is "an individual's membership in a social group that shares a common ancestral heritage" - biological, social, psychological, cultural, religious, geographical and linguistic (Padilla, 1999, p. 115). Especially, as far as the latter constituent of ethnic identity is concerned, Phinney (1990) stated that "language is the most widely assessed cultural practice associated with ethnic identity" (p. 505). History encloses many cases where language proved to be crucial in being identified with a certain ethnic group. For example, the Greeks called 'barbarians' non-Greek people who did not speak Greek. The Nazis considered the German language an important characteristic of 'master race' that would bring linguistic and, consequently, ethnic purity (Tabouret-Keller, 1997; Trudgill, 2000). However, this does not mean that people talking alike are part of the same ethnic group, nor that people that share the same ethnic identity must speak the same language. In a study on ethnic identity and language in Taiwan, Chung (2001) observed that Hakka people's language started fading away, whereas their ethnic identity is still maintained. But, at the same time, language maintenance is regarded as a contributing variable in the maintenance of ethnic identity.

3.3 Ethnic identity and language attitudes

From all mentioned so far, it is inferred that language plays a role in the formation, maintenance or change of an ethnic identity. Taking for granted that language and ethnicity are somehow interlinked, we may rightly surmise that their relationship is reinforced by the role of language attitudes. Language attitudes can be used by a group to strengthen an ethnic identity or a person's ethnic identity can lead him/her to hold certain attitudes towards a linguistic variety. Ethnic identity can serve as the driving force behind people's preference

or non-preference of a language, the reason for learning it, using it or letting it die. A striking example is that of the German state's effort to awaken people's nationalism and strengthen the ethnic identity in the beginning of the 19th century, through spreading negative attitudes towards French within the masses (Kraemer & Birenbaum, 1993).

What is more, empirical studies showed that in cases that language attitudes and ethnic identity are shown to be interrelated there are two possible directions that the relationship can take. The one is when people's ethnic identity influences their attitudes towards a language or any of its associations. The other direction is when attitudes already held about a linguistic code serve as a determining variable in the formation, maintenance or death of an ethnic identity.

The first attempt to show that ethnic identity drives language attitudes is given by Lambert and his colleagues (Lambert et al., 1960; Lambert, 1967). In matched-guise experiments, they investigated language attitudes towards French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians in Montreal and showed that people for whom ethnic identity is considered more important are more in favour of their linguistic variety, in spite of national standards. Furthermore, Kraemer & Birenbaum (1993) conducted an experiment to test the effect of ethnicity on Jewish and Arab high school students' attitudes towards studying Hebrew, Arabic and English. The study provided evidence for ethnicity playing a role in people's language attitudes, since students' willingness to learn a language was associated with a sense of strengthening ethnic identity and an expression of hostility towards the 'other'. Finally, Ó Laoire (2007), in studying language attitudes in Wales, observed that people hold favourable attitudes towards Welsh—although it is not a language in use—because it has a “symbolic role [...] in ethnic identification” (p. 181).

An opposite direction between language attitudes and ethnic identity has also been claimed. Experts came to support that attitudes play a significant role on ethnic identity. Cody (2003) claimed that “attitudes speakers have about the variety of language they speak may be an indicator of the likelihood of the detachment of that variety from the speaker's construction of identity” (p. 24). As Phinney (1990) expressed, negative attitudes or absence of positive attitudes is a sign of “denial of one's ethnic identity” (p. 505). Tajfel (1978) also referred to the impact of outsiders' attitudes on someone's identity. On her discussion on minority groups, Tajfel claimed that such communities suffer discrimination. Thus, if negative attitudes are expressed towards them or any aspect of them (e.g. language), then, members acquire negative feelings too and wish for their integration into a dominant ethnic community.

A contradictory view has also been expressed, stating that ethnic identity and language attitudes are unrelated. For example, in a study on Mexican Americans' attitudes towards Standard English and Mexican American accented English, Ryan & Carranza (1975) observed that judges rated the Standard English speaker higher than the Mexican American speaker in all cases. Then, Bond's (1985) study revealed that ethnicity of the speaker did not affect the listeners' judgement. Hong Kong bilinguals were tested for their attitudes towards English and Cantonese as used by Chinese and British speakers. The results were that "a Cantonese speaker was specifically rated as more humble, honest, and friendly than an English speaker regardless of the speaker's ethnicity" (p. 58-59).

What is worth-mentioning at this point is that the issue of ethnic identity and language attitudes appears to be an even more interesting and powerful one in complex linguistic settings and especially in ones that minority groups are present. Settings that deal with two or more linguistic codes, such as bi-/multilingual, diglossic or bi-/multidialectal communities, or communities that constitute minorities within a state, usually struggle between multiple ethnicities. The appearance of multiple dialects or languages coexisting, being used in complementary distribution or with a different function, most of the times is accompanied by the presence of different (sub-)cultures leaving nations with perplexities regarding their identity. In such environments code-switching between varieties occurs in order to bring out different identities. Needless to say, that this is not always the case. For example, Spanish and Guarani in Paraguay do not correspond to two separate 'ethnocultural memberships', but, "both languages are required for full membership in the Paraguayan people" (Fishman, 1989, p. 191). On the contrary, in situations where the status of two linguistic varieties is not the same and support is not provided by authorities, people's attitudes towards each of the varieties differ and ethnic identity suffers along with them.

4 The Greek-Cypriot community: people's linguistic and ethnic identity

The linguistic character of the Greek-Cypriot community is composed by two varieties: SMG and GCD. For some researches (Pavlou, 1992), SMG corresponds to Ferguson's (1996) High variety since it constitutes the official language of the state and is used in formal contexts. Likewise, GCD, as the Low variety, is restricted to informal contexts. On the other hand, some other researchers support the existence of a linguistic continuum. That means Greek Cypriots' language ranges from a heavy dialectal variety, the 'peasantry', to a more SMG variety, the 'pen pusher talk', with two middle levels, the 'correct Cypriot' and 'polite Cypriot' (Tsiplakou et al., 2005).

The Greek-Cypriot community can be characterised as a bidialectal setting, it has a perplexed linguistic character that at times brought about struggles in their ethnic identity. GCD is widely used in people's everyday interactions and "it is undeniably the most visible marker of the respondents' identity as Cypriot" (Sciriha 1996: 99). On the other hand, SMG is the language of the Greek nation that appears in formal and written communication and it is given institutional support. In this way, Greek Cypriots have been trapped into an incessant struggle between their Greekness and Cypriotness, which has been further inflated by political rhetoric.

4.1 Greek Cypriots' attitudes towards GCD and SMG

Papapavlou (1998) is one of the first efforts made on investigating Greek-Cypriots' language attitudes. The study measured attitudes towards SMG and GCD through the use of the matched-guise technique. Results showed that people are more in favour of SMG rather than GCD. Speakers of GCD were considered uneducated, by contrast to the SMG speakers who were regarded as more educated, attractive, ambitious, intelligent, interesting, modern and pleasant.

Tsiplakou (2003) aimed at investigating attitudes towards SMG and GCD as expressed in questionnaires and interviews. The results showed that participants were not in favour of SMG and they found GCD slightly more superior attributing it higher degree of 'sincerity' and 'directness', and equal degree of 'richness of language' and 'attractiveness'. Similarly, Themistocleous (2007) studied attitudes towards an online written form of GCD. Internet users said that they prefer to use GCD in online communication rather than SMG since it "sounds more natural and because they can express themselves better" (p. 482).

Recently, another effort was made to investigate Greek-Cypriots' language attitudes towards SMG and GCD by Papapavlou & Sophocleous (2009). This study did not take the dialect as a unified code, but four different levels of it. People expressed negative feelings towards the heaviest level of GCD and tried to socially differentiate themselves from the speakers using it through the use of 'them' and 'us'. However, they did not seem to be in favour of using SMG, since they felt "like acting" (p. 13). The ideal for them is a combination of the two varieties that makes you feel comfortable on the one hand, and, on the other hand, you feel socially accepted since you do not use stigmatised features.

4.2 Interconnection between Greek Cypriots' language attitudes and ethnic identity

According to Karyole mou (2002), supporters of the Cypriot identity are more in favour of the dialect whereas those who defend Greek identity hold more

positive stances towards the standard variety. Karoulla-Vrikki (2007) offers an extensive review on language policy in education and ethnic identity from 1960 to 1997. In this paper, what appears is that at times Greek Cypriots aimed at promoting their Hellenization, language policy strove for the integration of SMG in education, but, at times they wanted to strengthen their Cypriot identity, they shifted to Cyriocentric attitudes supporting the dialect. While such studies revealed that language attitudes played an important role in the formation of an ethnic identity, another study showed that ethnic identity formation leads to certain language attitudes. In investigating Greek-Cypriot teachers' language attitudes, Papapavlou & Pavlou (2007) found that positive stances are held towards the dialect since it is perceived as promoting Cypriot identity.

4.3 Disconnection between Greek Cypriots' language attitudes and ethnic identity

Conversely to the above mentioned studies, Ioannidou (2004) studied Greek-Cypriot students' attitudes and found out that language attitudes and ethnic identity are distinct aspects of a human being. A linguistic variety may be favoured or unfavoured, regardless whether ethnic identity is associated with it. The investigator's conclusion is the following:

"Students' ethnic identities appeared multiple and complex and language seemed to play an important role in all these multiple layers of identity. Clearly the Dialect was a major feature of students' 'Cypriot' identity; it was the linguistic variety they felt more comfortable with, their mother tongue speech and their point of solidarity with the rest of the Greek Cypriots. However, it was devalued (while the identity was not) [...] Standard was clearly not a part of their identity, although they held positive values for it in matters of status and appropriateness. Nevertheless, students did not reject 'Greek' identity, and they adopted it as a complementary force in their sense of being 'Cypriots'." (p. 46)

Thus, findings arising from studies conducted so far on the issue of language attitudes and ethnic identity are not unanimous, and further research is essential in shedding light on the real situation.

4.4 Objectives of the present study

The objective of the current study is threefold. It attempts to investigate: (a) Greek Cypriots' attitudes and stances towards the two major codes (SMG and GCD) used daily, (b) whether Greek Cypriots' ethnic identity tends to lean more

toward their Cypriot or Greek distinctiveness and, (c) whether attitudes held towards the two linguistic codes are reflected in Cypriots' ethnic identity.

5 Method

5.1 Participants

In total 67 Greek-Cypriot students (11 male and 56 female) of the University of Cyprus participated in the study. The participants were from different majors attending language classes to fulfill the foreign language requirement. Students who declared that they are not Greek Cypriots were excluded from the study.

5.2 Instrument

Participants were required to fill a two-part questionnaire composed of closed-ended questions. Initially, participants were requested to state three demographic features (ethnicity, gender and place of residence). It is important to note that whereas the terms 'Gender' and 'Place of residence' were given on top of the choices, the term 'Ethnicity' was avoided in order to remove the possibility that it might cause misconceptions (usual confusion between the Greek terms of 'εθνικότητα', which refers to Greek nationality that Greek Cypriots share with mainland Greeks, and 'υπηκοότητα' and 'ιθαγένεια' which refer to Cypriot citizenship).

Then, Part A aimed at measuring people's ethnic identity, based on Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), developed by Phinney (1992). This measure includes questions on three aspects of ethnic identity: ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behaviours. Ethnic identity is "a feeling of belonging to one's group, a clear understanding of the meaning of one's [group] membership, positive attitudes towards the group, familiarity with its history and culture, and involvement in its practices" (Phinney et al., 1994, p. 169). Nonetheless, there has been a distinction between identity as a conceptual notion and identity as "behaviors such as speaking the language, eating the food, and associating with members of one's group" (Phinney & Ong, 2007, p. 272). In the present study, participants were asked to express degree of agreement (Likert scale 1-5) with statements revealing either Greekness or Cypriotness. Thus, an effort was made to test participants' direction and strength of this identity. Whereas some statements referred to *feelings* towards Greek/Cypriot identity, some other statements were concerned with the *actualization* of these feelings.

Part B followed a direct measurement of language attitudes which investigated people's attitudes towards GCD and SMG. Participants were given a number of statements expressing different views either in favour of or against

GCD or SMG. The statements were taken from online articles or blogs expressing views on language issues. The participants were asked to state whether they agreed or disagreed with those views, using the Likert scale 1-5. The questionnaire was piloted twice to check for clarity and redundancy of statements, before it was finalized and distributed. (For the actual questionnaire, see Appendix I for the Greek version and Appendix II for the English version.)

5.3 Procedure

The questionnaires were distributed to language students during class time. Prior to distributing the questionnaire, the experimenters informed the participants about the general purpose of the study. Participants were debriefed after handing in the completed questionnaire.

6 Results

After data tabulation, several statistical analyses were conducted. Descriptive statistics (mean values) of Part A and Part B appear in Figures 1 and 2.

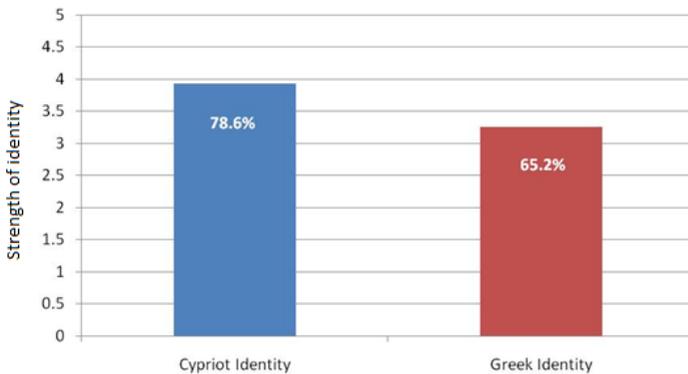


Figure 1 Ethnic identity (Part A)

From Figure 1, it is observed that statements revealing Cypriot identity obtained higher value towards agreement (78.6%) than disagreement (21.4%). As for statements supporting Greek identity, participants expressed agreement at the level of 65.2%. The difference between the Cypriot part rather than the Greek part of their identity is significantly higher, $\chi^2(4, N = 670) = 44.28, p < 0.0001$. That is, the Cypriotness of the participants is more prevalent rather than their Greekness.

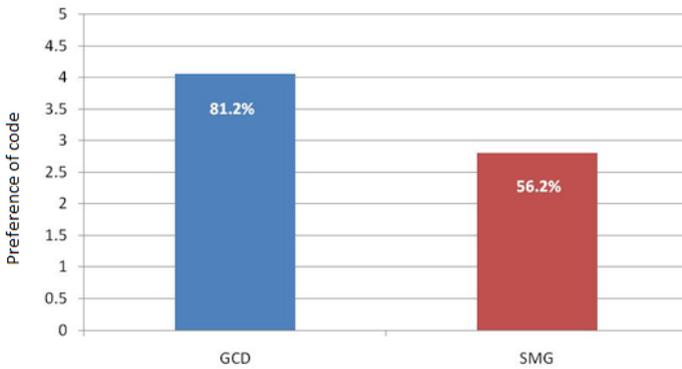


Figure 2 Language attitudes (Part B)

Regarding Greek Cypriots' attitudes towards GCD and SMG, from Figure 2, it can be seen that on average, participants favour the dialect at a level of 81.2%. The participants' favourability of SMG is at a level of 56.2%. The difference between positive attitudes towards GCD and positive attitudes towards SMG is highly significant, $\chi^2(4, N = 670) = 148.47, p < 0.0001$. This surely reveals a clear preference of the dialect over the standard variety.

The mean value of each statement of both Part A and Part B was calculated and the results are presented in Figures 3 and 4.

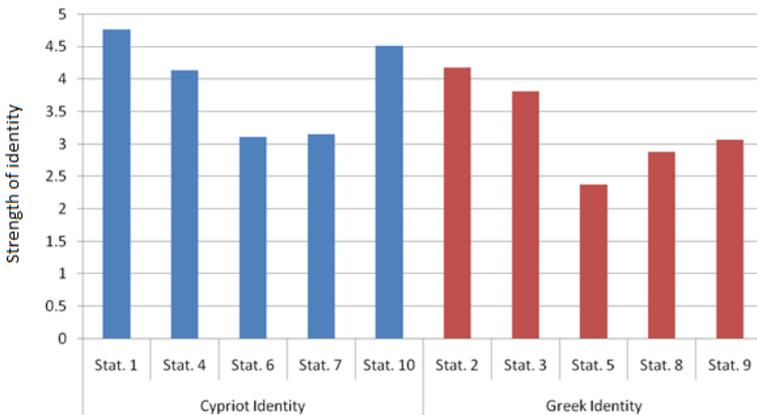


Figure 3 Mean values for Part A

From Figure 3, interesting observations come into surface. It is clear that statements 1, 4 and 10 received higher ratings of agreement with Cypriot identity, by contrast to statements 6 and 7 that received a rating around the middle point.

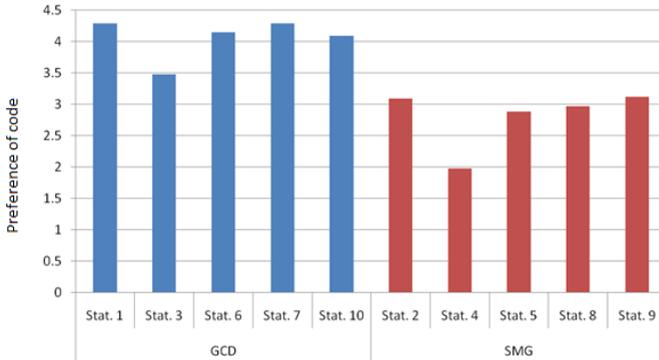


Figure 4 Mean values for Part B

Figure 4, which illustrates the results on language attitudes towards GCD and SMG, gives another interesting picture. As far as the dialect is concerned, participants expressed strong feelings and showed high favourability to the dialect. Statements 1, 6, 7 and 10 received almost full agreement.

To test whether Cypriot identity is linked with positive attitudes toward GCD and Greek identity is linked with favourability of SMG inferential statistics were used. The obtained Spearman correlation co-efficient (a non-parametric test) showed that the correlation between Cypriot identity and GCD is low ($r = 0.13$), as well as between Greek identity and SMG ($r = 0.10$). This finding is interpreted in the following section.

7 Discussion and conclusion

The purpose of the present paper was to investigate language attitudes and ethnic identity in the Greek-Cypriot setting. In adopting MEIM (Phinney, 1992), an effort was made to measure young people's sense of Greekness and Cypriotness. Also, a direct approach to language attitudes enabled the measurement of people's favourability of GCD and SMG. Inferential analysis revealed that participants' Cypriot identity is significantly stronger than their Greek identity. Also, more favourable attitudes are held towards GCD than SMG. While the correlation obtained between language attitudes and ethnic identity is low, it still shows that these two variables are somehow related. This may be

attributed to the participants' various interpretations of some statements that did not receive clear direction (agreement/disagreement). Therefore, a more careful selection of statements is essential, avoiding offensive remarks (like statement 4 which harshly describes GCD as 'χωρκότυκη'—village-like).

As stated earlier, identity is difficult to define and measure. Phinney & Ong (2007) argue that "behaviors are actions that can express an identity [...]. However, an ethnic identity is an internal structure that can exist without behavior" (p. 272). Having this in mind, the nature of the ten statements measuring identity was further examined. It was revealed that some capture the *conceptual* nature of identity and other denote *practical stances*. It appears that those statements that received high agreement (1, 4 and 10) are the ones which relate to the conceptual notion of Cypriot identity (that is feelings, emotions and attachment). On the other hand, statement 6 (which had the lowest score) refers to the manifestation and actualization of identity. As for the statements supporting Greek identity, a similar picture is sketched. Statements 2 and 3 received the highest scores and these similarly refer to a conceptual notion of identity and not to actions. On the contrary, statement 5 referring to the actualization of identity received the lowest score.

Karahan (2004) claimed that "although the original group language, as a marker of ethnicity, may not be taken as an essential component, many people continue to accept language as the central and indispensable support for ethnic group continuity" (p. 60). Language serves as a convenient means for putting forward an identity and enabling people to express it. Past research has shown that this relationship can be bidirectional. Some researchers found that ethnic identity leads people to form certain attitudes about a linguistic variety, whereas some others claim that language attitudes play a crucial role in one's formation, weakening or change of ethnic identity. Based on the findings of the current study, it is suggested that a more robust methodology is needed to ascertain the strength of this relationship. A more careful construction of statements—revealing either the conceptual or the practical nature of the issues under investigation—may bring to the surface a clearer picture of the relationship between language and ethnic identity.

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APPENDIX I



ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΟ

Παρακαλούμε να απαντήσετε όλες τις ερωτήσεις αυτού του ερωτηματολογίου εκφράζοντας τις απόψεις σας με ειλικρίνεια και προσοχή πάνω σε θέματα που άπτονται της ταυτότητας και της γλώσσας. Το ερωτηματολόγιο αυτό είναι ανώνυμο και τα αποτελέσματα θα παραμείνουν εμπιστευτικά. Η μελέτη που θα προκύψει θα παρουσιαστεί σε διεθνές επιστημονικό περιοδικό.

Σας ευχαριστούμε!

Ανδρέας Παπααύλου, Καθηγητής, & Μελανή Σατράκη, Υποψήφια διδάκτορας,
Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου

ΔΗΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ

Παρακαλούμε όπως βάλετε ✓ όπου ισχύει για εσάς.

Δηλώστε:		Φύλο		Τόπος διαμονής	
Ελληνοκύπριος/-α		Άντρας		Πόλη	
Ελλαδίτης/-ισα		Γυναίκα		Χωριό	
Κοινοτικός/-ή					
Ελληνοκύπριος/-α από μεικτό γάμο					
Άλλο					

(Α) ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑ

Παρακαλούμε να βαθμολογήσετε σε κλίμακα 1-5 για να δείξετε πόσο ισχύει η κάθε μία από τις παρακάτω δηλώσεις για εσάς.

1 – Καθόλου 2 – Λίγο 3 - Μέτρια 4 - Πολύ 5 - Πάρα πολύ

1. Νιώθω άνετα με την κυπριακή μου ταυτότητα.	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Έχω ξεκάθαρη αίσθηση της ελληνικής μου καταγωγής και τι σημαίνει αυτή για εμένα.	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Πιστεύω ότι η Κύπρος ανήκει στο ελληνικό έθνος.	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Νιώθω πολύ περήφανος/η για την κυπριακή μου καταγωγή και τα επιτεύγματα του λαού.	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Δραστηριοποιούμαι σε κοινωνικές ομάδες που προβάλλουν την ελληνική ταυτότητα.	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Συμμετέχω σε πολιτιστικά δρώμενα που προβάλλουν τον κυπριακό πολιτισμό (έθιμα, μουσική, χορό, φαγητό, κλπ).	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Η προώθηση της ελληνικής ταυτότητας στην Κύπρο δημιούργησε και δημιουργεί συνεχείς προστριβές στον κυπριακό λαό.	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Η εμμονή των Κυπρίων με την κυπριακή ταυτότητα εμποδίζει την εκτίμηση και το σεβασμό που οφείλουν να έχουν οι Κύπριοι για το ελληνικό έθνος.	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Η προσκόλληση μου στο ελληνικό έθνος είναι απαραίτητη για την εθνική μου ταυτότητα.	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Ως Κύπριος, οφείλω σεβασμό προς την Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία και τους θεσμούς της.	<input type="checkbox"/>

(B) ΓΛΩΣΣΑ

Οι παρακάτω δηλώσεις αποτελούν απόψεις για το θέμα γλώσσα-διάλεκτος που έχουν εκφραστεί αυτούσια από διάφορα άτομα κατά καιρούς σε online άρθρα εφημερίδων, blogs κτλ. Παρακαλούμε να βαθμολογήσετε το πόσο συμφωνείτε με αυτές τις απόψεις χρησιμοποιώντας την πιο κάτω κλίμακα 1-5.

1 – Καθόλου 2 - Λίγο 3 - Μέτρια 4 - Πολύ 5 - Πάρα πολύ

1. Η διατήρηση της κυπριακής διαλέκτου είναι ηθική υποχρέωσή μας. Η χρήση της θα πρέπει να γίνεται με σύνεση [για] να μας επιτρέψει να μπορούμε να ανανεώνουμε το λεξιλόγιό μας όσο το δυνατό, διασταυρώνοντας την ευφράδεια με τη διαλεκτική χρήση.	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Αρκετοί καθηγητές απαγορεύουν τη χρήση της κυπριακής διαλέκτου, θεωρώντας την εμπόδιο στη εκμάθηση της νεοελληνικής.	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Κάποτε προβάλλαμε την κυπριακή διάλεκτο ως μέσο άμυνας εναντίον των Άγγλων, που μας έλεγαν ότι είμαστε μπάσταρδοι και όχι Έλληνες. Εμείς επιμέναμε στις ρίζες μας και μιλούσαμε τη γλώσσα μας, τα κυπριακά, για να αντισταθούμε σε αυτή τη νοοτροπία.	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Τι είναι η κυπριακή διάλεκτος; Χωρκάτικη, λένε κάποιοι.	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Αλλά αν θέλουμε να βοηθήσουμε τα παιδιά μας, καλό θα ήταν να τους μιλούμε με μια πιο καθαρή γλώσσα, για να μην χρειάζονται μετά στο σχολείο και στη ζωή να μεταφράζουν το «κατούι» σε γατάκι και το «λαλώ» σε λέγω...	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Είναι η κυπριακή διάλεκτος και για μένα που είμαι από χωριό και για σένα που είσαι από την πόλη.	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Δεν πρέπει να ντρεπόμαστε για τη διάλεκτό μας, αλλά να προσπαθήσουμε να την εξουμενίσουμε, κρατώντας το ιδιωματικό της στίγμα και εμπλουτίζοντάς την με νέες λέξεις και εκφράσεις.	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Αυτό που γίνεται είναι μια προσπάθεια ιδεολογικοποίησης της διαλέκτου. Κάποιοι κύκλοι επειδή έπαψαν να αισθάνονται Έλληνες θεωρούν ότι μπορούν να αποκόψουν την κυπριακή από τον ελληνικό κορμό και να την παρουσιάσουν ως αυτόνομη γλώσσα.	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Ας είμαστε ειλικρινείς, η Κυπριακή διάλεκτος αλώνει τα καινούργια περιβάλλοντα, τα έως χθες περιβάλλοντα της Κοινής. Το ερώτημα που πρέπει να μας προβληματίζει τώρα είναι μήπως και η Κοινή στην Κύπρο χρειάζεται προστασία και όχι απαξίωση;	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Ο πραγματικός διαλεκτόφωνος ομιλητής έχει την ικανότητα να διαχειρίζεται τα γλωσσικά μέσα που έχει στη διάθεσή του, για να επικοινωνήσει αποτελεσματικά, χρησιμοποιώντας μια κυπριακή διαφοροποιημένη, πολλαπλή, αλλά ακόμα ζωντανή.	<input type="checkbox"/>

APPENDIX II

University
of Cyprus

QUESTIONNAIRE

We kindly ask you to answer all the questions included in this questionnaire expressing your views with sincerity and attention on issues related to identity and language. The questionnaire is anonymous and the results will remain confidential. The study that will come out will appear in an international scientific journal.

Thank you!

Andreas Papapavlou, Professor, & Melanie Satraki, Doctoral candidate, University of Cyprus

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Please put a ✓ in the appropriate box.

Note:		Gender		Place of residence	
Greek Cypriot	<input type="checkbox"/>	Male	<input type="checkbox"/>	Town	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mainland Greek	<input type="checkbox"/>	Female	<input type="checkbox"/>	Village	<input type="checkbox"/>
European community citizen	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Greek Cypriot from mixed marriage	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>				

(A) IDENTITY

Evaluate the following statements using the scale 1-5 to show to what extent each one applies for you.

1 - Not at all 2 - A little 3 - Moderately 4 - Much 5 - Very much

1. I feel comfortable with my Cypriot identity.	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. I have a clear sense of my Greek origin and what this means to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. I believe that Cyprus belongs to the Greek nation.	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. I feel really proud of my Cypriot origin and people's accomplishments.	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. I am active in social groups that promote Greek identity.	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. I participate in cultural practices that promote Cypriot culture (customs, music, dancing, food, etc).	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. The promotion of Greek identity in Cyprus created and creates constant frictions to the Cypriot people.	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Cypriots' obsession with Cypriot identity is an obstacle for the appreciation and the respect Cypriots owe to feel towards Greek nation.	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. My attachment to Greek nation is essential for my ethnic identity.	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. As Cypriot, I owe respect to the Republic of Cyprus and its institutions.	<input type="checkbox"/>

(B) LANGUAGE

The following statements constitute opinions on the issue of language-dialect as they have been expressed by several people from time to time in online newspaper articles, blogs etc. Please evaluate the following statements to show to what extent you agree with each one of them using the scale 1-5.

1 - Not at all 2 - A little 3 - Moderately 4 - Much 5 - Very much

1. The preservation of Cypriot dialect is our moral obligation. Its use should be undertaken with caution [to] allow us to be able to update our vocabulary as possible, intersecting the eloquence with the dialectical use.	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Some teachers prohibit the use of the Cypriot dialect, considering it an obstacle in learning Modern Greek.	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Once, we put forward the Cypriot dialect as a means of defense against the English, who were telling us that we are bastards and not Greeks. We insisted on our roots and were talking our language, Cypriot, to resist this view.	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. What is the Cypriot dialect? Some say, 'village-like'.	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. But if we want to help our children, it would be good to speak to them in a 'clearer' language, so as not to need, later at school and in life, to translate 'kath:ui' into 'yataki' and 'lalo' into 'leyo'...	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. The Cypriot dialect is both for me coming from village and for you coming from town.	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. We should not be ashamed of our dialect, but we must try to placate it, keeping its idiomatic stigma and enriching it with new words and expressions.	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. What is happening is an attempt to create an ideological dialect. Some circles, because they ceased to feel Greek, believe that they can sever the Cypriot dialect from the Greek body and present it as an autonomous language.	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Let's be honest, the Cypriot dialect invaded the new environments which belonged to the Standard until yesterday. The question that should concern us now is whether the Standard needs protection in Cyprus, and not scorn?	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. The real dialect speaker has the ability to manage the linguistic means at their disposal to communicate effectively, using a Cypriot code which is different, multiplex, but still alive.	<input type="checkbox"/>

