University of Cyprus

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH STUDIES

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS LINGUISTIC VARIATION: A STUDY ON A DIALECT/REGISTER CONTINUUM

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DISSERTATION

MELANIE P. SATRAKI

2015

University of Cyprus

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH STUDIES

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS LINGUISTIC VARIATION: A STUDY ON A DIALECT/REGISTER CONTINUUM

MELANIE P. SATRAKI

A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Cyprus in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 2015

VALIDATION PAGE

Doctoral Candidate: Melanie P. Satraki

Doctoral Thesis Title: The development of children's attitudes towards linguistic variation: A study on a dialect/register continuum

The present Doctoral Dissertation was submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the ***Department of English Studies*** *and was approved on the 24th of June 2015 by the members of the* ***Examination Committee****.*

Examination Committee:

Research Supervisor: **Andreas Papapavlou, Professor**
Department of English Studies, University of Cyprus

……

Other members: **Phoevos Panagiotidis, Associate Professor (Chair)**
Department of English Studies, University of Cyprus

……

Dina Tsagari, Assistant Professor
Department of English Studies, University of Cyprus

Marilena Karyolemou, Associate Professor
Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, University of Cyprus

Itesh Sachdev, Professor Emeritus
Department of Linguistics, SOAS, University of London

DECLARATION OF DOCTORAL CANDIDATE

The present doctoral dissertation was submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Cyprus. It is a product of original work of my own, unless otherwise mentioned through references, notes, or any other statements.

Melanie P. Satraki

……

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Η παρούσα διατριβή διερευνά τις γλωσσικές στάσεις στα πρώτα στάδια της κοινωνιογλωσσολογικής ανάπτυξης. Μετά από πολλά χρόνια έρευνας, οι ερευνητές έχουν καταλήξει στο ότι η στάση είναι μια αξιολογική άποψη σε κάποιο αντικείμενο (Garrett et al. 2006). Οι γλωσσικές στάσεις έχουν διερευνηθεί σε όλο τον κόσμο, ειδικά σε περιβάλλοντα όπου εμφανίζονται πολλαπλές γλωσσικές ποικιλίες. Οι περισσότερες από τις μελέτες αφορούσαν τις στάσεις ενηλίκων, οι οποίες ήταν πιο θετικές προς τυποποιημένα στοιχεία. Μια τέτοια παρατήρηση έχει γίνει και εντός του ελληνικο-κυπριακού σκηνικού (Papapavlou 1998, Themistocleous 2007, Papapavlou & Sophocleous 2009). Έρευνες για τις γλωσσικές στάσεις των παιδιών παρέχουν στοιχεία που αποδεικνύουν ότι από την ηλικία των τριών τα παιδιά αρχίζουν να σχηματίζουν γλωσσικές στάσεις (Rosenthal 1974, Schneiderman 1976, Mercer 1977). Η έκθεση σε ένα γλωσσικό κώδικα που χρησιμοποιείται μέσα στο περιβάλλον δίνει τη δυνατότητα στο παιδί να αποκτήσει γλώσσα, μαζί με συγκεκριμένες γλωσσικές στάσεις. Η μελέτη του Pavlou (1999) σε μικρά παιδιά Ελληνοκυπρίων έδειξε ότι δεν ήταν υπέρ ούτε της τυποποιημένης ποικιλίας ούτε της διαλέκτου.

Η παρούσα διατριβή επικεντρώνεται στις στάσεις Ελληνοκύπριων παιδιών προς την Κυπριακή Ελληνική, ως περίπτωση ενός διαλεκτικού/υφολογικού συνεχούς, όπως επίσης και στις συνδέσεις που κάνουν μεταξύ γλώσσας και μη-γλωσσικών χαρακτηριστικών. Προσπάθεια γίνεται επίσης να εξεταστεί αν μεταβλητές όπως το φύλο και η ηλικία παίζουν ρόλο στην εικόνα των γλωσσικών στάσεων των παιδιών. Έτσι, μέσα από την υιοθέτηση μιας τεχνολογικά αναβαθμισμένης έκδοσης των 'Magic Boxes' (Rosenthal 1974), η διατριβή έχει ως στόχο να ρίξει φως στην ανάπτυξη των γλωσσικών στάσεων Ελληνοκύπριων παιδιών προς τα διάφορα επίπεδα της Κυπριακής Ελληνικής από τις ηλικίες πέντε έως επτά. Ο ακριβής σκοπός είναι να εντοπιστεί αν τα παιδιά σε αυτά τα στάδια έχουν επίγνωση των

διαφορετικών επιπέδων της Κυπριακής Ελληνικής εκφράζοντας διαφορετικές στάσεις απέναντι σε κάθε επίπεδο. Ταυτόχρονα, καταβάλλεται προσπάθεια για να διερευνηθεί αν υπάρχουν διαφορές μεταξύ των φύλων και αν τα παιδιά κάνουν κάποιους συσχετισμούς μεταξύ των διαφόρων επιπέδων και των μη-γλωσσικών χαρακτηριστικών που αποδίδονται στον ομιλητή ή στο περιβάλλον.

Η στατιστική ανάλυση των αποτελεσμάτων επιβεβαιώνει προηγούμενα συμπεράσματα σχετικά με την ικανότητα των παιδιών να διακρίνουν ποικιλίες του ίδιου κώδικα και να διαμορφώσουν στάσεις απέναντί τους από την ηλικία των πέντε (Rosenthal 1974). Τα παιδιά που συμμετείχαν στη μελέτη, και ιδιαίτερα τα μεγαλύτερα, φαίνεται να προτιμούν το ακρολεκτικό και να βλέπουν δυσμενώς το βασιλεκτικό επίπεδο της Κυπριακής Ελληνικής. Οι στάσεις των κοριτσιών δίνουν μια σαφέστερη εικόνα από εκείνη των αγοριών, που υφίσταται περισσότερες τροποποιήσεις μετά από περαιτέρω ευαισθητοποίηση στα γλωσσικά ερεθίσματα. Επίσης, τα κορίτσια φαίνεται να είναι ακόμα περισσότερο υπέρ των τυποποιημένων στοιχείων από τα αγόρια. Αυτό μπορεί να οφείλεται στο γεγονός ότι, καθώς τα παιδιά μεγαλώνουν αποκλίσεις αρχίζουν να εξαφανίζονται (Schneiderman 1976) ή πραγματικές διαφορές φύλου εμφανίζονται μετά την ηλικία των δέκα (Sharp et al. 1973). Ο ενδεχόμενος φόβος της αλλοίωσης της εθνικής ταυτότητας μπορεί να εμποδίζει τους Ελληνοκύπριους να παραδεχτούν ότι δεν μπορούν ποτέ να είναι φυσικοί ομιλητές της Κοινής Νέας Ελληνικής. Η έλλειψη επιστημονικής έρευνας οδήγησε στη μη αναγνώριση από τους ομιλητές της έννοιας του συνεχούς, και κατά συνέπεια της ανεπαρκούς διαχείρησης τόσο της Κοινής όσο και της Κυπριακής Ελληνικής. Σε κάθε περίπτωση, το θέμα των γλωσσικών στάσεων είναι γενικά σημαντικό, αφού είναι αλληλένδετο με παιδαγωγικά θέματα και θέματα συμπεριφοράς, καθώς και θέματα διατήρησης της γλώσσας, γλωσσικής πολιτικής και σχεδιασμού.

ABSTRACT

The present thesis investigates language attitudes at early stages of sociolinguistic development. Through many years of investigation, researchers have come to agree that attitude is an evaluative stance towards an object (Garrett et al. 2006). Language attitudes have been investigated worldwide, especially within contexts where multiple linguistic varieties appear. Most of the studies concerned adults' attitudes which were more positive towards standardised forms. Such an observation has been made within the Greek-Cypriot setting too (Papapavlou 1998, Themistocleous 2007, Papapavlou & Sophocleous 2009). Research on children's language attitudes provides evidence that from the age of three children start forming language attitudes (Rosenthal 1974, Schneiderman 1976, Mercer 1977). Exposure to a linguistic code used in the environment enables the child to acquire language, along with certain language attitudes. Pavlou's study (1999) on young Greek-Cypriot children showed that they were not in favour of either the standard variety or the dialect.

The present thesis focuses on Greek-Cypriot children's attitudes towards Cypriot Greek, as a case of a dialect/register continuum, along with their associations between language and non-language features. An attempt is also made to test whether variables such as gender and age play a role in the language attitudes' picture of children. Thus, through the adoption of a technologically advanced version of the 'Magic Boxes' (Rosenthal 1974), the thesis aims at shedding light on the development of Greek-Cypriot children's language attitudes towards different levels of Cypriot Greek from age five to age seven. The actual purpose is to detect whether children at these stages are aware of the different levels of Cypriot Greek, expressing different attitudes towards each level. At the same time, an effort is made to investigate whether there are any gender differences and whether children make

any associations between the various levels and non-language characteristics ascribed to the speaker or to the context.

The statistical analysis of the results verifies previous conclusions on children's ability to distinguish between varieties of the same code and hold attitudes towards them as early as age five (Rosenthal 1974). Children participating in the study, and especially the older ones, appear to favour the acrolectal level and disfavour the basilectal level of Cypriot Greek. Females' attitudes give a clearer picture than that of males which undergoes more changes after further familiarisation with the linguistic stimuli. Also, girls appear to be even more in favour of the standardised forms than boys. This may be due to the fact that as the children grow older deviations start disappearing (Schneiderman 1976) or real gender differences appear after the age of ten (Sharp et al. 1973). Possible fear of decay of the national identity may prevent Greek Cypriots from admitting that they can never be native speakers of Standard Modern Greek. The lack of scientific research led to speakers' non-awareness of the continuum, and consequently to inadequate mastering of both Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek. Whatever the case might be, the issue of language attitudes is generally an important one since it is interrelated with pedagogical and behavioural issues, as well as issues of language maintenance, language policy and planning.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to thank all those people who made this thesis possible through their guidance, contribution and support. First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Andreas Papapavlou. He is the person who made me love linguistics and experimental research. He also made me appreciate Cypriot Greek, my mother tongue, and want to expand knowledge of it. His guidance and encouragement, his belief in me and his patience, from the initial point of my postgraduate studies, made the completion of my PhD studies possible. It was an honour for me to have him as my advisor, since his contribution in the area of language attitudes in the Greek-Cypriot setting is very significant for any researcher who engages with this issue. His ample research in the field all these years enabled me to develop a deep understanding, not only of language attitudes, but of several other related topics in the area of sociolinguistics, and inspired me to contribute to the field in my own way, having always in mind our long, thought-provoking and constructive discussions.

Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Dina Tsagari and Dr. Marilena Karyolemou who, as members of my research committee offered me valuable encouragement and advice on my thesis from the moment I proposed to investigate the particular topic in the way I did. Their feedback made me reconsider some issues and avoid problems in the bibliographical, as well as the experimental part of my study, in the timing and other procedural aspects of carrying out the experiment. As for the study, I am indebted to Dr. Georgios Spanoudis whose kind contribution in carrying out the inferential statistics let me make stronger conclusions on the results. Furthermore, fruitful discussions with Dr. Charalambos Themistocleous also led to the avoidance of later problems, thus I deeply thank him too.

At last, I would like to express my most sincere gratitude and love to my family—my husband, my father, my mother and my brother—for their unshakable faith in me.

Specifically, I immensely thank my parents for all these years that they supported me emotionally and financially to succeed in constructing my personality, education and career. Last but not least, I express my love and gratitude to my husband for sharing with me the moments when I lost my temper, patience and strength. Without his encouragement and support the completion of this thesis would be impossible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Acro	Acrolect/Acrolectal level
ANOVA	Analysis Of Variance
AO	Age of Onset
Basi	Basilect/Basilectal level
BE	Black English
CAT	Communication Accommodation Theory
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CG	Cypriot Greek
CMC	Computer-Mediated Communication
EFL	English as a Foreigh Language
ELIT	Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory
F	Female
GC	Greek Cypriot
GCD	Greek Cypriot Dialect
H	High variety (in diglossia)
IUSF	Interdisciplinary Unitary Study Framework (Διαθεματικό Ενιαίο Πλαίσιο Σπουδών)
m	mean (statistics)
M	Male
Meso	Mesolect/Mesolectal level
L	Low variety (in diglossia)

L2A	Second Language Acquisition
R	Rural
RP	Received Pronunciation
SA	Standard American (English)
SE	Standard English
SMG	Standard Modern Greek
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
T	Task
TC	Turkish Cypriot
U	Urban
ΚΕΕΑ	Κέντρο Εκπαιδευτικής Έρευνας και Αξιολόγησης (Centre of Educational Research and Evaluation)
Σ	Sum (of responses)

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In the initial chapter, the Greek-Cypriot (GC) setting, which is under investigation, is introduced, uncovering the important linguistic aspects that are to be examined and discussed throughout the thesis. Subsequently, reference is to be made to the objectives of the present work, outlining how such a study contributes to existing knowledge about GC children's language attitudes and the field of children's language attitudes in general, especially the ones found in complex linguistic settings. The last part of this chapter offers a brief description of what is to be included in the following chapters of the thesis.

1.1 The linguistic setting under investigation

Language is one of the most unique gifts that humans possess over the other creatures on earth. Language is powerful and with the use of it, one can manage great things. As Preston (2002) poses it, "everywhere complex and fully articulated", language reflects a "universal and species-specific human capacity" (p. 41). Language is an innate ability of humans that develops according to the environment in which they grow up. Hence, some people speak one language, some others speak another language and others speak two or even more languages. Such cases of mastering multiple varieties are the most interesting ones for the field of linguistics. Cyprus constitutes such a case. The long history of Cyprus, passing from one conqueror to the other, contributed to a rich linguistic setting. The most remarkable historical event that led to the division between the two main

communities living on the island is the Turkish invasion in 1974. Each of the two communities uses its own means of communication: a Turkish variety spoken within the Turkish Cypriot (TC) community and a Greek variety spoken among Greek Cypriots. The community which is currently under investigation is the Greek Cypriot one, thus greater focus will be drawn on the language spoken by it.

As it is widely recognised, Standard Modern Greek (SMG), which refers to the official language used in mainland Greece, stands as the standard variety of the GC community, whereas Cypriot Greek (CG) is used among Greek Cypriots in certain situations. However, CG has never been codified or officially recognised as a linguistic variety that can satisfy the needs of its speakers in all aspects of their life. This situation is a result of historical events that have led the two communities in Cyprus—GC and TC—to attach to their motherland, every time the tension between the two was intensified. This tension between the two communities started after the declaration of the Republic of Cyprus. Therefore, in 1963 with Turkish Cypriots' refusal to conform to the proposed amendments to the constitution, the situation became even more controversial and the GC educational system mainly followed that of Greece. In this way, the standard variety used in Greece became the language of instruction within the GC community, and from that moment it started entering all official domains of life (Karyolemou 2001). However, the dialect has never stopped being the locals' mother tongue which they feel free to use in their everyday interactions. Additionally, at times the policy aimed at strengthening the Cypriot state identity over the Greek national identity, the local varieties or even English were promoted along with the standard variety of Greek (Karoulla-Vrikki 2009).

1.2 Objectives and significance of the thesis

Language attitudes belong to the field of sociolinguistics and become even more interesting when they are investigated within multilingual or multidialectal settings. They have been the topic of investigation not only of sociolinguistics, but, of many researchers who are concerned with the social psychology of language too, since they affect the behaviour and identity of a person. According to Pütz (1995), negative attitudes towards someone's language may lead to language deterioration and aversion towards anything connected to it, like identity, culture, speakers, etc.

Thus, attitudes are an important issue for the vitality of a linguistic variety and the people's development as speakers. What is also important is that it has been argued that attitudes are developed through a person's socialisation and, the earlier they are acquired in life, the more they will last (Garrett et al. 2006).

The issue of language attitudes during early childhood has been neglected by researchers in the field of sociolinguistics, due to methodological difficulties and conflicting views expressed in the literature. Most of the studies that have been engaged with this issue have been conducted about 30 years ago, when non-standard varieties seem to have been more stigmatised, marginalised and underestimated than during modern times, as observed in the literature. Increasing globalisation has led to the frequent contact—and possibly acceptance—of culturally, ethnically, racially, socially and linguistically diverse people. For this, it would be of great interest to examine if the preference of standard varieties over the non-standard ones prevails among children nowadays. The present study contributes to this issue and provides answers concerning GC children's attitudes from age five to age seven, by making comparisons with an earlier study conducted by Pavlou over a decade ago, in 1999.

The present thesis can be differentiated from previous similar studies in three aspects: a) the age range of the participants, b) the linguistic varieties under study, and c) the instrument used for data collection. The participants' age ranges from the time children are attested to be able to distinguish between different varieties of the same language (age five) until after a whole year of schooling (age seven). All studies conducted on GC children's language attitudes (Pavlou 1999, Yiakoumetti et al. 2005, Kounnapi 2006, Sophocleous & Wilks 2010), as well as the majority of the studies on GC adults' attitudes, considered the community as a diglossic one where there is a standard variety for formal contexts and a dialect for informal contexts. However, the present study considers the linguistic profile of the GC community as one of a dialect/register continuum. It draws on the following beliefs that the standard variety spoken in Cyprus is not the same as the one spoken in Greece since, even in its most acrolectal form, it betrays the influence of the dialect, and the dialect is not a unified code but different levels exist—either more towards the standard variety or more dialectal ones (Karyolemou 2000, Karyolemou & Pavlou 2000, Sivas 2003, Tsiplakou et al. 2005, Arvaniti 2006).

Furthermore, the present study makes use of Rosenthal's approach (1974) as most of the studies on children's language attitudes, although the instrument used is designed to be technologically up-to-date. Taking into account that modern children are born and raised into a technologically and electronically advanced world, the 'Magic Boxes' have been turned into 'Magic Avatars'. This method is expected to be more interesting for the children and can easily motivate them to engage in the tasks with greater attention. Also, the avatars are thought to be closer to the reality of real speaking people than the decorated boxes, maintaining at the same time an animated image that is closer to the children's world.

As for children's language attitudes, Pavlou (1999) argues that "children, either in a multilingual or multidialectal setting, acquire certain attitudes towards languages and dialects to which they are exposed. These attitudes are consonant with those of the adult members of their speech community" (p. 883). If this holds true, based on studies on adults' attitudes, GC children participating in the present study are expected to express higher favourability towards a variety closer to the standard than towards more dialectal levels. For instance, Papapavlou's study (1998) showed that Greek Cypriots were more in favour of SMG than CG in most positive attributes of a matched-guise experiment. However some studies revealed that negative feelings towards the dialect—at least in its middle level as used nowadays—have started to diminish (Tsiplakou 2003, Papapavlou & Sophocleous 2009).

It is noted that issues on language attitudes are pertinent to language policy and planning. Therefore, the findings of the present study can also have an impact on pedagogical and linguistic-behavioural concerns. Parents and teachers may decide on what is an appropriate linguistic variety to talk to children, as well as, what is regarded as acceptable language for children to use. Once this is accomplished, it will enable children to better externalise their thoughts, avoid confusion and remove inhibition. These concerns are also related to Critical Language Awareness (Fairclough 1992) that, once achieved, cultivates respect for the linguistic variety each speaker feels comfortable with its use.

1.3 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis consists of nine chapters. In Chapter 1, the basis of the present work is established, by making an introduction to the setting and the topic under investigation. Further reference is made to how the present study differentiates from similar ones conducted on the attitudes held by Greek Cypriots towards the linguistic varieties composing the community. This gives the impetus to explain how the thesis contributes to already existing knowledge about children's attitudes, especially those in a complex linguistic setting such as the GC setting, and expand on the actual purpose of the work carried out.

In Chapter 2, the researcher sets the ground on which the thesis stands. Therefore, crucial linguistic issues such as bi-/multi- lingualism, bi-/multi- dialectism, diglossia and linguistic/dialect continuum are discussed. Then, a connection is made between language and social factors that breed language variation and determine one's identity. These are ethnicity, gender and context. The focus then moves to the issue of language attitudes, thus Chapter 3 explains what they are, why they are important and how they can be approached. This analysis brings up the discussion on whether behaviour is a component of attitude and consequently whether they are related or not. Furthermore, studies conducted in similar complex linguistic settings as the one under investigation are outlined, before moving to the stage when language attitudes are formed, how they are developed throughout years and what factors may bring change. The literature review part of the thesis is completed with Chapter 4. In this chapter, the discussion is brought closer to the setting under investigation. After the historical background of the GC community and the debate on its linguistic profile is portrayed, reference is made to the studies conducted so far on the attitudes held by Greek Cypriots towards SMG and CG and to the existing research on GC children's attitudes on which the current study expands.

Chapter 5 addresses the research questions that comprise the purpose of the study, as well as the hypotheses made, based on what is reported in the previous chapters. Having considered several methodological difficulties arising from earlier studies, the methodology followed in this study is described. First, reference is made to the preliminary study conducted to define the CG continuum and then to the main study, including the instrument, the participants and the procedure. Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 present the results. Chapter 6 begins with an explanation on how data were

recorded and analysed, and then it presents an analysis of the quantitative data in terms of age and the qualitative data obtained, followed by discussion. Responses of each age group in each task are presented in separate sub-sections, providing answers to the development of GC children's attitudes and associations between language and non-language features. In a similar way, Chapter 7 presents the results for each gender group separately. Comparisons are made between males' and females' preferences, providing answers on whether gender plays a role in GC children's attitudes and associations between language and non-language features.

The final chapter of the present thesis, Chapter 8, summarises what has been done and what has been found in the study. This summary enables the experimenter to go a step further to support the value of the study and of language attitudes in general, within the framework of language development, language awareness, language in education and language policy and planning. At the same time, the limitations of the study are noted, in order to propose what else should be taken into consideration in future research.

CHAPTER 2

The sociolinguistic issue of language variation

2.1 Introduction

On all levels of linguistic analysis—phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic—there are features that are distinct from one speaker to the other. These features constitute a speaker's *idiolect* and some of them are shared by other speakers and therefore they constitute a *linguistic variety* of a language whose speakers are part of a certain geographic area or social group. Such varieties can be *dialects* or non-standard linguistic varieties that are not officially recognised. The issue of distinguishing between different linguistics varieties is further determined by factors other than linguistic ones; political or social.

This chapter draws on the sociolinguistic distinction between standard and non-standard varieties and makes reference to situations of bi-/multi- lingualism and bi-/multi- dialectism, diglossia, as well as dialect continuum, as an initial familiarisation with the terms, before coming to discuss the profile of the GC community. Reference is made to the common characteristics and deviations between these situations, bringing forth examples of such cases. Furthermore, the present chapter aims at raising the issue of sociolect in an effort to talk about the relationship between language and variables such as gender, ethnicity and context that influence language use and language attitudes.

2.2 Linguistic variation

2.2.1 Standard and non-standard varieties

Even if its primary use is as a means of communication, language is a political tool, too. Within this general manifestation, a constant tension exists in distinguishing between standard and non-standard varieties. Standard varieties are officially recognised languages, whereas non-standard varieties are anything that deviates from the standard at any level and they include dialects and regiolects. A *dialect* tends to be defined in relation to language as part of it. However, dialect is the prevailing term and on which the standard variety is defined linguistically. As Weinreich claimed in 1945, "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy" (p. 13), highlighting the political involvement in the distinction between languages and dialects. As a linguist, sharing similar views, Trudgill (2000) asserts that "*all* languages, and correspondingly *all* dialects, are equally 'good' as linguistic systems. All varieties of a language are structured, complex, rule-governed systems which are wholly adequate for the needs of their speakers" (p. 8).

Different criteria have been set in distinguishing between dialects and languages without universal agreement. Some of them are linguistic, while others are social or political. First of all, Haugen (1972) focuses on two aspects of the language-dialect relationship: *form* and *function*. According to Haugen, linguistic varieties of different form are considered distinct languages, whereas varieties that differ but share similar characteristics on the phonological, morphological, lexical or syntactic level are regarded as dialects or varieties of a language. According to Petyt (1980), *mutual intelligibility* determines which or how many dialects belong to a certain language. If speakers of different dialects understand each other, then the two dialects derive from the same language. If not, the two dialects represent two different languages. Mutual intelligibility constitutes the most common criterion in distinguishing between languages and dialects. However, there are cases where varieties are called dialects of a language, despite being unintelligible with the language from which they are derived (e.g. Mandarin and Cantonese Chinese).

While this is a linguistic criterion, the aspect of the function of a linguistic variety within a linguistic community raises a socio-political issue (e.g. the case of Swedish, Danish and Norwegian which are recognised as official languages, regardless

mutual intelligibility). A language has been codified and is used for writing, in education and in the formal, public domains of a community. It is perceived as prestigious and superior. On the contrary, a dialect usually has no writing system and most of the times it is used in the everyday life of a small community of speakers of lower educational level and geographical and social mobility. Thus, it is regarded as inferior. Or, in Siegel's (2006) words, the standard variety is the one thought to be 'pure', 'logical' and proper for education, employment and formal situations; whereas the non-standard variety is perceived as 'incorrect' and 'sloppy' language which is expected to be used only in casual interactions, in joking and informal situations.

Thus, function raises the feeling that dialects are inferior, but such a belief does not receive scientific or linguistic support. For linguists, all linguistic varieties are equal and standard varieties are "as much dialect as any other dialect" (Trudgill 1992: p. 24). Coupland (1988) adds that in this sense "we are all dialect-speakers" and a dialect is not a stigmatised form of language (p. 2), but a variety that has a different "socio-cultural status" (van Marle 1997: p. 29); since the standard is a dialect that has been preferred for "political, social, religious, or economic" reasons (Wardhaugh 1992: p. 86). Therefore, Trudgill (1992) defines dialect as "a variety of language which differs grammatically, phonologically and lexically from other varieties" (p. 23) and, as Coupland (1988) supports, this represents a social phenomenon of "language varieties (or 'lects') distributed across ('dia-') geographical or human 'space'" (p. 2).

Bell (1976) provided a list of seven criteria according to which a variety is classified as language, dialect, pidgin, vernacular, classical etc. These are 'standardisation', 'vitality', 'historicity', 'autonomy', 'reduction', 'mixture' and 'de facto norms'. According to Bell's typology, the criteria that distinguish a dialect from a language are standardisation, historicity and autonomy. A language is a variety that has been codified and politically recognised as the variety that satisfies the speakers' needs in any domain. Also, a language carries some kind of (ethnic or social) identity that is shared by its speakers and it functions independently. Regarding the latter criterion, Trudgill (2000) introduced the terms *heteronomy* and *autonomy*. Autonomy is a characteristic of independent, standardised varieties, whereas heteronomous varieties are those that are dependent on a standard one.

What is important for the present thesis is that the co-existence of multiple standard and/or non-standard varieties may usually signify the appearance of phenomena such as bilingualism, bidialectism, diglossia or dialect continuum which are important to be discussed and differentiated.

2.2.2 Bi-/multi- lingualism

Simply defined, *multilingualism* is "the ability to speak, at some level, more than one language" (Edwards 1994: p. 33). According to Edwards, "everyone is bilingual" since everyone knows at least a few words of a language other than their mother tongue (p. 55). However, the level, or else the degree of mastery of the languages, has raised disagreement among linguists in defining what bilingualism is. One view is that expressed by Edwards; that some knowledge of a second language is enough to be regarded as bilingual. Contrarily, some other experts declare that both languages must be mastered at an equal, perfect level. Bi- or multi- lingualism is not an abnormal situation as many people tend to believe, but "a normal and remarkable necessity" of most people in the world (p. 1).

Bi- or multi- lingualism may appear either on the social level (inter-speaker characteristic of a community) or on the individual (intra-speaker) level. Multilingual communities—groups or even entire states—are a result of language contact or necessity to communicate. Immigration, for example, can foster multilingualism since people bring their native language with them to a place where a different language is spoken and which they must learn in order to be able to live there. Or, different linguistic communities living close to one another, but isolated enough to be unnecessary to develop a common linguistic code, may become unified as a result of political circumstances (e.g. Switzerland, where people in different parts of the country speak French, Italian, German or Romansch). There are bilingual countries where bilingualism is officially recognised and others where it is a fact although it has never received accreditation (e.g. Canada versus Taiwan).

At times, opposing views concerning bilingualism (or multilingualism) triggered linguists to distinguish between different kinds of it. One of these distinctions is between *receptive (passive) bilingualism* and *productive (active) bilingualism*. While the latter one refers to the state in which a language is understood and produced, the former one appears when a language is comprehensible, but not spoken.

Another categorisation is made between *additive* and *subtractive bilingualism*. Additive bilingualism emerges when another language is acquired with no effect on the already existing one. Both languages stand on the same level and are of equal value. If one language outbalances and, in cases, replaces the other, then this is subtractive bilingualism. Furthermore, bilingualism can be *primary* or *secondary*. Whereas the first one concerns two languages acquired naturally, the second one demands "systematic and formal instruction" (Edwards 1994: p. 60). The final distinction to be made is between *simultaneous* and *successive/consecutive bilingualism* of children being born in a bilingual environment. This has to do with the language-learning process where either both languages start to be acquired from the very first moment of the speech onset, or the acquisition of one of the languages begins at a later stage, after the age of three (McLaughlin 1978).

Becoming bilingual, a child may undergo different possible processes that are based on the mother tongue of the parents, the language(s) of the community and the language(s) used to address the child. Romaine (1995) distinguishes between the following types of bilingual acquisition: a) 'one person - one language' (each parent addresses the child in their language and one of them is that of the community), b) 'non-dominant home language' (both parents use a different non-dominant language and the child acquires the dominant language only outside the home), c) 'non-dominant home language without community support' (the parents speak the same non-dominant language), d) 'double non-dominant home language without community support' (each parent passes to the child a different non-dominant language), e) 'non-native parents' (although both parents and the community speak the dominant language, one of the parents speaks to the child in a non-native code), and f) 'mixed languages' (both parents and the community are bilingual, thus the child is exposed to code-switching and code-mixing).

Through years of research, it has been confirmed that bilingualism is an advantageous linguistic, social and cognitive state. Edwards (1994) asserts that with bilingualism "one's personality broadens" (p. 66). Though, it has been claimed to bring problems on the national, emotional, moral and mental levels, due to the splitting of language that consequently leads to the spitting of identity. These views prevailed back in time, but modern linguistics came to praise the beneficial effects of bilingualism and show that these are just myths, stemming from social fear of marginalisation. The only 'problematic' aspect of bilingualism is that processing

language may take longer when someone controls multiple languages and greater exposure to the language may be needed to perform equally to a monolingual speaker (Mägiste 1985, Thordardottir 2011).

Nevertheless, Peal and Lambert (1962) were among the first scientists who found that 10-year-old bilinguals perform better in verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests, as a result of higher mental flexibility offered by the fact that they control two languages at the same time. A year later, Vildomec (1963) added that multilinguals have richer vocabulary, especially words that express judgment, in relation to monolinguals. Multilinguals' creativity and flexibility in carrying out cognitive tasks was also confirmed by Ianco-Worall (1972). Then, it has further been claimed that mastering more than one language enables a person to make more complicated thoughts, be more sensitive in communication activities and develop greater metapragmatic skills (Jessner 1997). In another study, Foursha-Stevenson and Nicoladis (2011) confirmed that bilinguals perform better in metalinguistic awareness tasks, with an experiment on preschool children's ability to make grammaticality judgments.

Also, it is claimed that bilinguals, and generally people who master more than one linguistic variety, are inclined to *(situational) code-switching* between their languages, based on context. This is done consciously either as a way of shifting styles and identity (Thompson 2011), or because the one variety serves better the purpose of a certain situation than the other variety (Meyerhoff 2009). Studying bilingualism, Lanza (1992) found that as early as the age of two children can code-switch between the languages they speak and their choices are based on what is judged as the most appropriate by the setting. That was found to be more systematic on the phonological and sentential levels and less on the lexical level. Also, when the child was not aware of the interlocutor's language, an effort was made to be inferred from their physical appearance and to choose the most possible, available means to communicate. According to Meisel (1989), *language mixing,* which betrays the bilingual speaker's inability to differentiate between the two languages, usually occurs on the lexical level rather than on the phonological and before the age of two. On the contrary, code-switching is a 'relief strategy' for bilinguals since sometimes "the necessary linguistic material is more easily available in the other language" (p. 14). However, this is done consciously and the more competent the

child becomes in the two codes, the more they code-switch and then correct themselves.

2.2.3 Bi-/multi- dialectism

Bidialectism (or *bidialectalism*) is a state very similar to that of bilingualism, with the difference that bidialectism concerns multiple varieties of the same root language rather than different languages. Edwards (1994) states that everyone is bidialectal, having available different speaking styles whose appropriateness is determined by the social context. The difference from one person to the other is the degree of his/her ability to use a linguistic variety. "At one extreme we find those who know only a few words in another dialect, or who can only adopt a rather caricatured non-maternal accent […]. At the other we find those individuals who can assume native coloration" (p. 78). Thus, in a more scientific way, Homel, Palij and Aaronson (2014) differentiate between bilingualism and bidialectism, by mentioning that "bilingualism itself may be described as language variation at the interlanguage level and bidialectism as the study of language variation at the intralanguage level" (p. 7).

Sharing a similar view to that of Edwards, Hazen (2001) claims that "all normally-developed humans have the ability [at least] to understand multiple dialects of their native languages" (p.86). This type of bi- or multi- dialectism is called *receptive bidialectism*, by contract to *productive bidialectism* where the multiple varieties are not only comprehensible, but the person can speak them too. Hazen perceives bidialectism as part of a continuum. That is switching between two dialects (usually a standard variety and a vernacular) that appear at the two edges of a continuum of different speaking styles that serve the purpose of different contexts. (The notion of the linguistic or dialect continuum is further discussed in the next section.) For Craig (1976), in most cases of bidialectism, the two varieties overlap in terms of phonology, lexicon, grammar and syntax in a great extent. However, there are also cases where the two varieties preserve common characteristics at any language level, but these are not enough to make the two mutually intelligible. Such cases resemble bilingualism.

For a speaker to become bidialectal, he/she must fully acquire the features of another dialect and not replace the features of an existing variety with those of the new one. Chambers (1992), studying dialect acquisition, reports that a dialect is

effortlessly acquired up to age seven. After this stage, the ability to acquire a new dialect weakens and virtually fades away after the age of fourteen. In his discussion on L2A (i.e. Second Language Acquisition), Long (2007) reports that "an AO [age of onset] of 0-6 has been implicated for native-like L2 attainment of complex phonological rules in a second dialect to be possible […], although the window for some learners may close as late as age 13 for simple rules and pitch-accent features" (p. 49). The same AO applies for L2 vocabulary and collocation, whereas L2 morphology and syntax can be acquired until mid-teens. However, Long adds that there are researchers who claim that social or psychological aspects of the learner, characteristics of his/her linguistic environment and amount of exposure to it may affect differently one's AO. Having access to the native and the standard variety at the same early stage in their life, people will be able to perfectly switch from one variety to the other (Lippi-Green 1997).

Bidialectism has been claimed to have similar linguistic and metalinguistic advantages to bilingualism, as the linguistic development such people experience is similar too. A study that has given support to this statement within the GC context is that of Papapavlou and Phili (2009). Investigating and comparing the metalinguistic abilities of four- to seven-year-old bidialectal CG and SMG speakers, monodialectal SMG speakers and bilingual speakers of SMG and one other language, it was found that bidialectal speakers perform better than monodialectal speakers at the 'phonological awareness task' and the 'arbitrariness of language task', while their metalinguistic behaviour is similar to that of bilinguals.

2.2.4 Diglossia

When two (or more) linguistic varieties appear within a community, but they have different social functions and they are used in different domains of life, it is called *diglossia*. The term was initially introduced in Greek (*διγλωσσία)*, where it literary means 'two languages', to describe the social status of the Greek dialects, and has been extended and re-defined by various linguists since its introduction. It was first used in French as *diglossie* by Greek linguist Jean Psichari in 1928. But, it was better accepted as a linguistics term in 1959 when Charles Ferguson studied diglossia, as a kind of 'societal bilingualism' or 'institutionalised code-switching', in Arabic, Swiss-German, Haitian and Greek. As Ferguson claims "diglossia may develop from various origins and eventuate in different language situations" (1959:

p. 233). For example, in the case of Arabic, it dates as back as the knowledge of the language goes and the 'classical' variety has been rather stable since then. On the other hand, in the case of Greek, it was not until the 19th century that diglossia, between *Katharevousa* ('*Καθαρεύουσα*'), puristic Greek, and *Demotic Greek* ('*Δημοτική*') has not been fully developed. Moreover, Swiss German diglossia appeared as a result of political and religious events, while Haitian Creole diglossia derived between a creolised pidgin French variety and standard French.

Ferguson (1959) distinguished between two varieties used within a community: the High variety (H) and the Low variety (L). The difference between these varieties concern their function and prestige within society, but also 'literary heritage', acquisition, standardisation, stability, and—purely linguistically—their grammar, lexicon and phonology. H is regarded as the superior, prestigious, beautiful, logical and serious variety, it is learned through socialisation, it is used in formal contexts (e.g. church, government, school and media) and it receives institutional support. L is thought to be more intelligible since it is acquired as the mother tongue and it is used in everyday interactions among friends and family members. Both varieties appear and are maintained in diglossic communities, but each one is associated with a different situation and their functions are relatively stable while the two varieties remain distinct. The difference between Ferguson's description of diglossia and those of other linguists concerns the divergence between the H and L varieties.

According to Fishman (1967), diglossia may be a case of bilingualism (two languages spoken in a community), bidialectism (two dialects, either both being non-standard varieties or the one being standard and the other non-standard), or neither bilingualism nor bidialectism may be found within a community since its diglossia may be an inter-speaker characteristic rather than an intra-speaker one. Fishman exemplifies on the former situation with the Paraguayan setting, where almost all people speak Spanish and Guarani. Spanish corresponds to the H variety used in the highly social domains of education, religion and government, while Guarani (L) is used in situations of high intimacy and group solidarity. On the other hand, Fishman refers to Pre-World War I European settings where the elite used a different variety (H) from the one used by the masses (L). In such cases, diglossia is not associated with bilingualism, but the two speech communities give birth to a diglossic nation because of political, religious or economic unity. The difference between Ferguson's description and Fishman's description of diglossia lies in the

fact that Fishman finds diglossia not only in cases of two varieties spoken within a community, but even in cases of unrelated varieties.

Fishman's description of diglossia was later shared by Gumperz. That is diglossia is not restricted only in communities of multiple (classical and vernacular) languages, but it is also manifested in settings where there are even different registers, as long as the separation in use is based on their social function. But, while Fishman refers to any kind of diversity, from the least distinctive stylistic differences within the same language to the most compound ones between unrelated languages at the national, societal or psychological level, Gumperz focuses only on language diversity and the societal consideration behind it (Gumperz 1962, 1968, Fishman 1972).

Paolillo (1997) refers to two other types of diglossia that are found in the case of Sinhala in Sri Lanka. Both of these models create a continuum situation with intermediate varieties between the two structurally related poles of the H and L varieties. But, while in the one case the H and L varieties are not distinct due to the presence of varieties in-between (De Silva 1974), in the other case they are distinct in terms of grammar and the varying code-mixing implies the presence of a continuum (Gair 1992). On the other hand, in the case of Singapore English, Leimgruber (2007) claimed that the post-creole continuum with the formal, semi-formal and colloquial sub-varieties of Singapore English started giving way to diglossia, with Standard Singapore English standing as the H variety and colloquial/basilectal Singapore English ('Singlish') standing as the L variety.

In another context, studying diglossia in a community of south-western France, Eckert (1980) argued that "whereas diglossia has been traditionally viewed from a static, structural-functional perspective, it can be a force in language shift" (p. 1053). In this area, French has replaced the local dialect of Gascon, an Occitan—Romance—variety. The Occitan varieties form a continuum and they are mutually unintelligible with French. Diglossia arose from the imposition of French 'from above' as the language to be used in writing. Additionally, at the time of the French Revolution, in 1789, there was the need to teach French to rural population that would offer them social mobility and access in governmental issues. Consequently, abandoning the local varieties, it was thought that they would abandon oppression too. The language shift from the Occitan variety to French is estimated to have

happened during the time Eckert conducted her research (1980), since as she claims it was obvious in the oldest living generations. Their ancestors were monolingual speakers of the Occitan variety and their descendants were monolingual speakers of French.

Moreno-Fernández (2007), in his review of the history of Spanish, describes the way Spain was led to diglossia by the 19th century. “Spanish experienced a process od ‘dialectalization’ that lent greater geographical personality to the dialects of Castile, Aragon, and Andalusia” (p. 13-14). For this, people of higher social strata, from whom diglossia was developed, started using an elaborate version of Spanish that included neologisms and signified prestige, while lower-class people used the local varieties of Spanish. The middle class had the option of using any of them or both. Moreno-Fernández alternatively calls Spanish diglossia as ‘interlinguistic stratification’ with the standardised, modernised, cultivated (Castilian-based) Spanish on the one side and the non-standard Catalan, Galician and Basque on the other side. Thus, by contrast to the case of the Gascon Occitan variety, Spanish was promoted as the H variety, but it has never replaced local varieties.

Diglossia differs from bidialectism in that the functional domains of diglossia are ‘mutually exclusive’. This means that the two varieties are used in different domains and the sum of them draws the language territory of a speech community. On the other hand, those of bidialectism are ‘overlapping’, since there are domains where both varieties are used, thus the sum is more than that occupied by a whole language. Hence, according to Moag (1986), the selection of the appropriate code to be used within a diglossic community is just based on the situation of the speech event. If the setting is characterised by formality, the H variety is used, but if it is characterised by casualness, the L variety is used. In any case, both varieties are mastered by the interlocutor, therefore the only decision to be made concerns the most appropriate code to be used according to the situation. Conversely, in a bidialectal community, people must base their selection of linguistic variety on a number of criteria other than the context, such as the interlocutor’s repertoire. Hence, being part of two speech communities, bidialectal people must assure in advance that the interlocutor knows the code they are intended to use, despite satisfying context restrictions.

2.2.5 Linguistic/Dialect continuum

A *linguistic* or a *dialect continuum* constitutes a very similar situation to that of bidialectism. The difference lies in that the oscillation is not between two varieties, but different 'versions' of two dialectal or linguistic varieties called *levels*. The two edges of the continuum correspond to the two extremes of the varieties (two different languages or dialects), spoken within a speech community. In between, there are middle levels that can be closer to either the one edge or the other, according to the outstanding features that may belong to the one variety or the other. There are scientists who claimed that these middle varieties constitute instances of code-switching. In the cases where the main distinction made is between a standard and a non-standard variety, the most dialectal variety is called the *basilect*, the most standardised variety is called the *acrolect* and the in-between variety or varieties are the *mesolect(s).* These terms were introduced and established by Stewart in 1965 and Bickerton in 1975.

The notion of what was later called a linguistic continuum came into existence through Jules Gilliéron's work, the founder of the linguistic geography. Linguistic geography concerns the geographical distribution of linguistic variation (Trudgill 1975) which is illustrated in atlases. Gilliéron's seminal work was developed in *Atlas Linguistique de la France* between 1902 and 1910 in collaboration with Edmond Edmont that aimed at investigating French dialects, although his initial project was conducted in 1880 on Romance varieties spoken across a region between Switzerland, Italy and Savoy. It was at that time that linguists started using direct measurement (phonetic transcriptions) in recording geographical linguistic variation. According to Gilliéron's theory, the similarities between dialects of a language enable the inference that dialects of a language are geographically distributed varieties that compose a linguistic continuum of that language. Following the theory of linguistic geography, atlases have been later compiled in different contexts of the world. For instance, Wenker in his *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs* (1888-1923) showed the geographical variation of German dialects, setting borders based on the use of typical dialect features.

As one of the first linguists who engaged with the notion of the continuum, Bloomfield (1933/1984) described a continuum of different dialectal varieties as a range of such varieties used along a geographical area and which slightly differ from one another,

but the two extremes of the continuum may become unintelligible. Whereas this definition and most of the definitions given to the linguistic or a dialect continuum involve the notion of geographical distribution of language varieties, one that is restricted to such linguistic variation observed in different situations inter- and intra-speaker is more appropriate for the present situation of the community under study (see Chapter 4). Thus, as Jørgensen and Kristensen (1995) defined it, a *linguistic* or a *dialect continuum* consists of "a range of overlapping varieties, together comprising a series of features that cover the linguistic area between two extremes - fixed points, both of which are linguistically unequivocal" (p.164). That means that such a continuum stands as a chain of closely related and mutually intelligible varieties with no sharp boundaries between them, as opposed to other kinds of linguistic or sociolinguistic variation (i.e. bilingualism, bidialectism or diglossia). These varieties can be varieties of a language or a dialect.

According to Gumperz (1961), mutual intelligibility between varieties on a continuum is determined by "geographical distance and are not directly related to political and standard language boundaries. Rural populations on both sides of such a boundary usually have no difficulty in understanding each other, while they might be unable to comprehend geographically distant varieties spoken in their own language area" (p. 979). However, the more we move from the one edge of the continuum to the other, as well as the longer the continuum is, it is more likely to find varieties that are not mutually intelligible. For instance, Germanic dialects (German, Dutch and Flemish) being spread from the German-speaking area to the west of the Dutch-speaking area do not face problems of intelligibility while moving across the continuum, but the varieties at the two ends are so different that the speakers of the one variety are not able to understand the speakers of the other (Saussure 1983, Heeringa & Nerbonne 2001, Hammarström 2008).

Chambers and Trudgill (1998) referred to two notions that are important in politically and culturally distinguishing between a 'language' and a 'dialect continuum': *autonomy* and *heteronomy*. Autonomy means independence, whereas heteronomy means dependence of a linguistic variety. Giving the example of the West Germanic dialect continuum, some varieties are dialects of Dutch while some others are dialects of German since they are related to, consequently heteronomous with regard to, the corresponding standard languages. This means that people speaking Dutch dialects believe that "they are speaking Dutch, that they read and write in

Dutch, that any standardising changes in their dialects will be towards Dutch, and that they in general look to Dutch as the standard language which naturally corresponds to their vernacular varieties" (p. 9).

In cases where factors other than geographical distance get involved in the distinction between the different levels of the continuum, it has been claimed that boundaries between the areas have the ability to move. These factors can be social, but time may also lead such a change, as well. Jørgensen and Kristensen (1995) supported this idea, since in the case of Copenhagen, phonetic features that were perceived to be used by low-class people were used after 1920 by all people regardless of their social status. A case of a social rather than a geographical dialect continuum has been observed in Jamaica, where people of high social strata spoke English while African slaves spoke Jamaican Creole. Because of creole's social stigmatisation and the influence of prestigious English on it, the basilectal level of Jamaican Creole gave way to a variety closer to English, forming a continuum of an acrolect, a basilect and a mesolect (Chambers & Trudgill 1998).

Since in the case of the CG continuum there are no long geographical distances intervening in language anymore (due to socio-political modifications), most of the speakers are able to use, or at least comprehend, all levels of the continuum, which they use interchangeably themselves according to the situation. Therefore, it seems that the GC community could be better described as a case of a *register continuum* (Tsiplakou et al. 2005), where different levels of CG are apparent in different contexts (formal vs. informal), that emerged from an earlier dialect/geographical continuum (Newton 1972), where certain basilectal features overwhelming certain areas differentiate either much or little from a more standardised 'koine' variety. (Further discussion on the case of CG is made in Chapter 4.)

2.3 Sociolinguistic variation and identity

"Put as simply as possible, your identity is who you are", Joseph claims (2004: p. 1). Although it sounds simple, identity is a multifaceted term and a complex characteristic of humans. This complexity lies in the fact that identity is constructed throughout people's lives by factors other than the self and most of the times their imposition is not consciously recognised. 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. But, to give an answer to which one is more important and more interesting, it must be noted that "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" (Joseph 2004: p. 5).

Language is an integral part of one's personal and group identity. Language is not simply a necessary tool for communication, but, as Coupland (1988) states, "to speak is to be judged", "to speak is to represent" and "to speak is to manipulate judgments and representations" (p. 96). That is using a certain kind of language enables the interlocutor to make inferences about the speaker's identity and the speaker to make choices according to the image they want to project. Besides, the fact that language serves as a core symbol of identity is "one of the driving forces for the preservation of non-standard speech styles or dialects" (Ryan 1979: p. 147).

Without a doubt, language plays a crucial role in the construction of identity and the connection between the two has already been the topic of much linguistics research. Language enables a person to get integrated in a group and others to trace their identity. At the same time, it serves as the means through which people describe a person's identity. "Language is both a cause of social evaluation and a primary vehicle for its expression" (Bradac 1990: p. 403). 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. Again, these features are imposed by the group and are shared by its members. As Trudgill (2000) argues, there is nothing in a language that tells somebody to speak in a certain way because he/she is black or white. But 'black speech', 'white speech' or any other kind of distinctive language is "the result of learned behaviour [that people acquire by] those they live in close contact with" (p. 43).

What is more, the relationship between language and identity becomes more complicated in situations where multiple or flexible identities appear. This is the case in multilingual or multidialectal communities (or individuals). As highlighted by Pavlenko (2002), the modern world is not overwhelmed only with people with

multiple languages, but also, with multiple ethnic, social and cultural identities that they need to manage. A speaker with multiple varieties needs to decide which one is appropriate based on the specific occasion constraints (interlocutor, topic, etc). The choice of a variety, or even feature, inevitably entails the choice of place where the speaker places him/herself. “The ability to switch varieties and languages is a testimony to the flexibility of multiple hybrid identities” (Chew 2013: p. 106).

2.3.1 Language and ethnicity

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 seen above all as a matter of belief” (Edwards 1994: p. 127). “It is a dimension that deals with ‘us’ vs. ‘them’” (Fishman 1989: p. 5). Ethnicity refers to “macro-group ‘belongingness’” (Fishman 1997: p. 329). 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, Fishman (1977) stated that “by its very nature language is the quintessential symbol [of ethnic identity], the symbol par excellence” (p. 25). “Language is the most widely assessed cultural practice associated with ethnic identity” in Phinney’s words (1990: p. 505), while Trudgill (2000) claims that dealing with completely different languages, rather than in cases of different varieties of a language, “linguistic characteristics may be the most important *defining* criteria for ethnic-group membership” (p. 44).

History includes many cases where language proved to be crucial in being identified with a certain ethnic group. For example, Greek 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 necessarily mean that people talking alike belong to the same ethnic group, and it is even less possible that people sharing the same ethnic identity to speak the same language too. “Ethnic labels are not always good guides to the actual situation where language is concerned” (Dorian 1999: p. 25). In a study on ethnic identity and language in Taiwan, Chiung (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. Giles, Llado, McKirnan and Taylor (1979) also rejected the link between language and ethnic identity.

Interest in examining the issue of language and identity brought scientists to the development of two theories related to this relationship. The first one is *Communication Accommodation Theory* (CAT) introduced by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1973). According to this theory, people tend to modify (accommodate) their language in order to pass to their interlocutor a certain identity. Assimilation to the language of the other party is called *convergence* and differentiation and detachment from it is called *divergence*. On the other hand, *Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory* (ELIT), as proposed by Giles and Johnson (1987), emphasised the social psychological factors in the relationship between language and ethnic identity. 'Perceived vitality' (perceived status of the language, demography and institutional support by the educational domain etc.), 'perceived group boundaries' and 'multiple group memberships' strengthen one's belongingness to an ethnic group and its language system. All these factors that contribute to the maintenance of an ethnic group constitute the *ethnolinguistic vitality* (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor 1977). What is added by ELIT to previous similar theories (*social identity theory* by Tajfel and Turner 1979) is that it has "been extended propositionally to take on board the domain of language attitudes" (p. 96).

On investigating the issue of ethnic identity and language in terms of bilingualism, Lambert (1974) proposed a two-fold relationship. One possibility is that of subtractive bilingualism mentioned earlier, where an ethnolinguistic minority group learns the language of a dominant group being identified with their language and identity, and bearing negative feelings towards their original identity (the notion of *linguistic insecurity* by Labov 1972). The other case is that of the previously defined additive bilingualism, where the opposite happens. The dominant ethnolinguistic group learns the language of the minority group. But, when this happens, the original identity is not replaced and, thus, the bilingual person ends up with two languages and belongingness to two ethnic groups (e.g. the case of anglophone graduates learning French in Canada by Goldberg and Noels in 2006).

Language attitudes can be used by a group to strengthen ethnic (or any other kind of) 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 their 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 proved to be interrelated, there are two possible directions that the relationship can take. The one is when ethnic identity of people 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 was made 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. Also, White and Li (1991), who tested Chinese and English people's attitudes towards non-native Chinese and non-native English, found out that speakers who sounded more like Chinese or more like English were perceived more positively by native Chinese and English people respectively. Furthermore, Kraemer and 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 an ethnic identity and an expression of hostility towards the 'other'. Moreover, Jahn (1999) noted that "ethnic identity and political consciousness motivate not only attitudes towards language but even the use of language varieties" (p. 353). Tse (2000), in her analysis of Asian American narratives, aimed at examining whether the formation of ethnic identity affects attitudes towards heritage language. The conclusions were the following: a) association with American language adds prestige while knowledge of the minority

language raises feelings of embarrassment, b) "the need to assert American identity was also mirrored in the need to prove English fluency" (p. 198), and c) negative attitudes to minority culture expressed by society raise parents' negative attitudes towards their children's use of the heritage language. Additional studies that showed that ethnic identity drives language attitudes include Cross, DeVaney and Jones (2001) who inferred that "the ethnicity of the speaker plays a part in these [matched-guise experiment] judgments [...] concluding that members of other ethnic groups are not as 'intelligent' or 'trustworthy' as members of their own group" (p. 223). 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 of the relationship between language attitudes and ethnic identity has also been claimed to exist. Experts came to support that attitudes play a significant role on ethnic identity. Cody (2003) supported 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). From a different viewpoint, Tajfel (1978) referred to the impact of outsiders' attitudes on someone's identity. On her discussion on minority groups, she stated that such communities suffer discrimination. Therefore, if negative attitudes are expressed towards them or any aspect of them, then, members acquire negative feelings too and wish for their integration into a dominant ethnic community. In a piece of research by Phinney, Romero, Nava and Huang (2001), the impact of parents and peers' attitudes on young people's ethnic identity was investigated. What was noted was that such attitudes are crucial in the youth's formation of ethnic identity.

Education also constitutes a crucial factor in young people's formation of language attitudes and ethnic identity. Lambert, Giles and Picard (1975), studying bilingual French American students' attitudes in Maine, observed that "bilingual education group rated upper-class French over any variety of English and were thus thought to aspire to the middle-class French Canadian group. The no-French instruction group rated English higher than any variety of French and they were therefore believed to aspire to the English-speaking model" (p. 719).

2.3.2 Language and gender

The first question one asks when a child is born is whether the baby is male or female. This shows how important gender is in the formation of one's social identity. "Gender is not something we are born with", but something we do or perform (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: p. 10). It is a social construct rather than an innate property. Linguists have been challenged by three aspects concerning the language and gender relationship: a) how gender is lexicalised in different languages, b) how gender discrimination is reflected in language use, and c) how female language differs from male language. The last issue is the one of the greatest interest to the present study, since gender differences in language use are likely to be related with gender differences in language attitudes.

To begin with, Trudgill's discussion (2000) on language and sex offers a list of examples of how several languages express (or not) gender in the use of a lexical item referring to the male or female counterpart—Ochs's *direct indexing* (1992). In Greek, there are several ways to indicate grammatical gender: the 'productive' way (e.g. *γυμναστής-γυμνάστρια*), the 'lexical' way (e.g. *κουρέας-κομμώτρια*), with a definite article (e.g. *ο γλωσσολόγος-η γλωσσολόγος*) and a 'periphrastic' way (e.g. *ο άντρας πολιτικός-η γυναίκα πολιτικός*) (Iordanidou & Mantzari 2005). By contrast, English is a language with poor gender assignment. For instance, it distinguishes between same occupations held by a man or a woman (e.g. *actor* versus *actress*). This does not happen in Greek with the word *ηθοποιός*, where the only way to assign gender to the word is by inserting an article before the word (*ο* for the male and *η* for the female). However, English does not have two different lexical items for a male or a female *friend*, but Greek, French and German do (e.g. *φίλος* versus *φίλη*, *Freund* versus *Freundin*). By contrast to English, French also has a different word for a male or a female *cousin* (*cousin* versus *cousine*). Dealing with professional nouns, Iordanidou and Mantzari (2005) state that in languages with little gender assignment, like English, professional feminine nouns have been discussed in relation to the negative connotation associated with the feminine. On the other hand, in languages that highly assign gender, like French, feminine professional nouns have been discussed with the purpose of their promotion and social recognition, which can be achieved through language. In their investigation of the feminisation of professional nouns in Greek, the researchers found out that 53% of the professional nouns appearing in dictionaries have a feminine version.

As for sexist language use, it applies across languages through the use of different expressions from one language to the other. Concerning the Greek language, Tsokalidou (2001) lists several items under the categories of grammar, syntax and semantics. Greek is a gendered language, but in cases Greek-speaking people want to refer to male and female beings, they merge them into male grammatical gender. In this way, the male grammatical gender acquires a generic sense. For instance, the expression *όλοι οι καθηγητές και οι μαθητές* means 'all students and teachers', but although students and teachers include both males and females, the lexical items used are the ones referring to males. A quite similar case in English is that of *chairman,* a term being used for a position held either by a man or a woman (Trudgill 2000). In terms of syntax, in most cliché phrases where both sexes appear, the male one is expected to come first; *ο Αδάμ και η Εύα* ('Adam and Eve'), *ο κύριος και η κυρία Παπαδοπούλου* ('Mr and Mrs Papadopoulou'), *αντρόγυνο* ('husband and wife'), etc. (Tsokalidou 2001).

Semantically, there are many Greek words of female gender that have a negative meaning with no male correspondence. To exemplify, *γυναικοδουλειά* and *γυναικοκουβέντες* mean 'a woman's job' and 'woman's chatting' with a sense of underestimation, but with no equivalent for reference to men. Also, there are expressions like *γύναιο, γυνή της απώλειας, η γυναίκα του δρόμου* which are derived from the word *γυναίκα* ('woman') and they are used to refer to an immoral woman, but there is no such an expression for an immoral man (Tsokalidou 2001). Discussing this issue, Pavlidou (2006) distinguishes between the lexical items *αντράκι/αντρούλης* and *γυναικάκι/γυναικούλα*, diminutives of 'man' and 'woman' sharing the same ending. Although *αντράκι* has a positive and a negative meaning, *γυναικάκι* has only a negative connotation (an immoral, insignificant or unworthy woman). A similar situation exists between their augmentatives *άντρακλας* and *γυναικάρα*. While the male one is used to express admiration for a man's great physique, the female one carries sexual connotations.

Gender plays a determining role in people's (socio)linguistic behaviour since certain language features are usually preferred by males, whereas some others are associated with female kind of speech. Ochs (1992) has called this distinction as *indirect indexing* of gender. As it is widely accepted children acquire the language of the person they spend more time with. Since most of the times this person is the mother, from the moment they are born, children start acquiring the mother's

language (feminine language) which girls maintain and boys abandon later on. According to Lakoff (1973), these gender distinctions take place during school years. On the other hand, Nakamura (1996) found that "even 2-year-olds were able to use gender-appropriate language" (p. 215). The difference between men's speech and women's speech is mainly attributed to social factors.

Labov (1966) studied the use of final or pre-consonantal /r/ by New Yorkers. Uttering /r/ in these positions is considered 'appropriate' speech and was found to be mostly present in higher social strata, as well as more often in female speech rather than in male speech. Moreover, Trudgill (1972), in his study on Norwich English, provided evidence that male speakers use the non-standard variant /ɪn/, instead of the standard /ɪŋ/, more frequently than females. It is claimed that women tend to use more positively evaluated, more conservative, more standard, more polite, older and more innovative forms than men. Moreover, Vassberg's research (1993) on language attitudes in Alsace showed that female students report lower use of Alsatian than their male counterparts. This phenomenon is attributed to different factors: a) women are more sensitive to the distinction between standard and non-standard forms, b) women target more to a high social status which is associated with the use of the standard language, c) women feel a maternal duty of passing to children a more 'correct' or acceptable language, or d) males use non-standard forms because they denote toughness, masculinity and 'anti-establishment values' (Edwards 1994, Ladegaard & Bleses 2003, Meyerhoff 2009, Eisikovits 2011). What is also characteristic about females' language is the higher use of intensifiers, 'meaningless' particles, expressive adjectives and euphemisms, as well as hedges, tag questions, precise colour terms, indirect requests and emphatic stress (Andersen 1992, Edwards 1994). However, it must be noted that an opposite situation inevitably exists in communities where women are oppressed; e.g. Iraq, Egypt and Syria. Bakir (1986) showed that Iraqi women, due to lack of education and social life, use more local variants than men.

As far as language attitudes are concerned, studies on gender differences in language attitudes have shown that generally females hold more positive attitudes than males towards standard varieties, while males give higher credibility to non-standard forms than females. For example, in Trudgill's study (1972) on Norwich English mentioned above, male speakers were more in favour of the non-standard forms more than females, although they never express their positive views overtly.

However, investigating children's attitudes towards Welsh and English at the age of ten to fifteen, Sharp et al. (1973) reported that female participants hold more favourable attitudes than males towards Welsh. On the other hand, Baker (1992) attested no significant gender differences between the attitudes held by males and females towards Welsh at the age of eleven to eighteen. However, two years later, the same males' attitudes were less favourable towards Welsh than those of females. Gender differences in language attitudes have also been reported by Munir and Rehman (2015), in their study on Pakistani secondary-school students' attitudes towards learning English as a foreign language. The results revealed that females hold more favourable attitudes than males towards learning English.

2.3.3 Language and context

Context has also been proven to give rise to different language use as another social variable. *Context* has been extensively studied by linguists in the field of pragmatics as its purpose is "to 'place' [speech] acts in a situation, and formulate the conditions stipulating which utterances are successful in which situations". Such a situation is the context and, in order for an utterance to be pragmatically correct, it must be used in a context which is evaluated as appropriate (van Dijk 1980: p.190-1). Fetzer (2007) supports that "context is seen as a dynamic construct which is interactionally organized in and through the process of communication" (p. 4). Social context, which has been greatly emphasised by sociolinguists and is of particular interest for the present study, refers not only to the setting or location in which the speech event takes place, but it includes other components too, such as the participants and their relationships, as well as the purpose or topic of the event (Brown & Fraser 1979).

"To give a football commentary in the language of the Bible or a parish-church sermon in legal language would be either a bad mistake, or a joke" (Trudgill 2000: p.81). With this statement Trudgill expresses the importance of context in language choice and use. The same person (monolingual or multilingual) speaks in a different *register* in their workplace, at home, in public, when they address strangers or friends. The factors contributing to the selection of register include the degree of formality and solidarity of the social context. Registers have nothing to do with dialectal forms, however normally more advanced registers (e.g. technical language) tend to be associated with the standard variety in multidialectal communities. This issue of language choice based on context is interconnected to

the earlier discussed issue of diglossia. The difference lies in the fact that while diglossia presents the social stance of different varieties universally accepted within a community, the term register refers to linguistic variation in terms of context which may be unique to a single speaker.

The importance of the context in language use has also been recognised by the philosophy of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA). As highlighted by Fairclough and Wodak (1997), the idea behind the CDA movement is that language use is a social practice, and therefore a discursive event is determined by "the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them" (p. 258). People's choice of language to be used in each case—different registers or different linguistic varieties that serve certain functions—is based on the particular situation, including the formality or informality of the setting and the relationship with the interlocutor.

Researchers that have already provided evidence for the important role of the context in speakers' language choices include Carranza and Ryan (1975). In a study on language attitudes of bilingual Anglo- and Mexican- Americans, Mexican-Spanish was perceived better to be used in the home context, whereas Standard American-English were more credited in the school context. From a different perspective, Giles et al. (2006) showed how language attitudes are affected by language use in certain contexts. Participants in the study appeared to hold more positive attitudes towards police when they accommodated their speech to the public. As far as the context of employment is concerned, Hopper and Williams' respondents (1973) in Texas stated that for executive positions they would prefer a speaker of the standard variety, by contrast to positions of manual labour. Vassberg (1993) mentioned that students in Alsace use Alsatian mostly when communicating with their grandparents and elderly people, and less with their parents. At least some Alsatian is also used among friends—"as a secret language, or as the 'in-group' language?" (p. 139)—whereas French is used in communicating with teachers at school, police officers and clerks in department stores. As far as the GC community is concerned, Christodoulidou (2011) highlighted the importance of the context, and actually the participants in a speech event, in Greek Cypriots' language use. Her conclusion was that people accommodate their speech in cases where mainland Greeks (native speakers of SMG) participate or are just present in an interaction.

"Accommodation was increasing according to the increase of the role of Greeks in the conversation" (p. 106).

Concerning the role of the participants in a speech event, Giles and Farrar (1979) studied the importance of physical appearance in someone's expression of language attitudes. In a study in South England, a researcher entered middle-class houses as carrying out a survey on economy issues. The researcher used RP (Received Pronunciation) or Cockney English interchangeably and was dressed either in casual or formal clothing. The results showed that the (female) participants wrote more words on the questionnaire provided, in the case in which the experimenter used RP than Cockney. The dress code was not significantly interrelated with the accent. However, it seems that the RP speaker in smart clothes created a formal communication style, while the same speaker in casual clothes gave way to an informal style. The Cockney speaker was found somewhere in the middle dressed in any way.

2.4 Summary

The present chapter aimed at referring to different cases of linguistic variation where social factors make things even more complicated. Hence, reference was made to the issues of standard and non-standard varieties, explaining the socio-political, rather than linguistic, debate behind their distinction. Then, the terms bi-/multi-lingualism, bi-/multi- dialectism, diglossia and linguistic/dialect continuum were brought to the surface, highlighting the (socio)linguistic difference between them. This discussion is very important for the present study since researchers engaging with the GC setting express controversial views on the case of CG. These are to be raised in a later chapter. Further issues that have been discussed in the present chapter and are of paramount importance for the thesis include the relationship between language and ethnicity, language and gender, as well as language and context. Gender distinctions in children's language attitudes are investigated in the current study, along with the role of context in expressing or not different attitudes.

Since the general socio-linguistic background concerning the study has been set, Chapter 3 deals with the issue of language attitudes that constitutes the topic under investigation. An effort is made to present all necessary information concerning

language attitudes. Therefore, after being defined, the importance of attitudes is highlighted, before moving to the different ways of approaching the issue. The relationship between attitude and behaviour is also discussed. Reference is made to attitude studies, especially within settings similar to that of CG. Finally, the discussion moves to when the children start forming language attitudes, how they are developed through the life span and what factors may bring change to a person's attitudes.

CHAPTER 3

The issue of language attitudes

3.1 Introduction

It was not until 1960 with Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillebaum that linguists started being scientifically interested in people's views about a language or a dialect and its associations, which were given the name of *language attitudes*. Language attitudes are the central topic of this thesis, therefore it needs to be analysed in detail. The present chapter introduces this issue by defining the term and explaining why it is important to study how people feel about a linguistic variety and its associations. Further reference is made to the several ways of measuring attitudes proposed at times, along with the criticism that has led linguists to create and follow different movements. The main driving force behind this disagreement is based on the question whether attitudes towards a linguistic code lead people to use or abandon it. This chapter aims at providing answers to important aspects of language attitudes and preparing the floor for the study, since it discusses the crucial issue of children's language attitudes.

3.2 Definition and importance

Attitude is an abstract notion of social psychology that has raised doubts over research on it in the field of linguistics and other fields. Such problematic considerations on the issue of attitudes lie in the difficulty of their identification and consequently their measurement. 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 and 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). Then, as for language attitudes, Baker (1992) claims that they constitute views about “language groups, a language itself, its features, uses, cultural associations [and] learning a language” (p. 17).

Throughout the years, the issue of language attitudes has been the topic of many researchers who are concerned with the social psychology of language, since it may affect the behaviour of a speaker, but also their identity. If we accept that language is an ‘intimate part’ (McGroarty 1996) or a ‘symbol’ (Kerswill 1994) of social identity, then, negative attitudes towards someone’s language may make them feel hatred towards it and desire to hide or change it. Besides, as Pütz (1995) claims, detesting a language leads to detest all its associations—identity, culture, speakers, etc.

In the literature there are many cases that give support to the existence of the interrelationship between attitudes and identity. For example, in the case of Sierra Leone, Krio is perceived as the ‘proper’ and ‘correct’ variety and, using it, people appear as a unified ethnic group (Ehret 1997: p. 333). What is more is that, like in the case of Alsace, language attitudes have been shown to influence people’s psychology. People are pushed to speak a variety and are prevented from speaking or learning another (Vassberg 1993). Similarly, Thomas et al. (2004) emphasise on another effect of language attitudes. Since people associate certain varieties with certain values, speakers choose a code according to the effect they want to have on the other party. For Thomas et al., this is apparent even at the first time people meet someone, as they use the way other people talk to form “an impression about them [as well as] the situation” (p. 205). In this way, people are more likely to respond in a more appropriate style. Consequently, if attitudes determine whether a linguistic variety will be used, where and how, then, they determine the future of that variety which may be “restoration, preservation, decay or death” (Baker 1992: p. 9). If people are in favour of a language, they will protect it and pass it from one generation to another. But, if they do not like it, they will let it die.

3.3 Approaching language attitudes

3.3.1 Measurement of language attitudes

Based on the agreement that an attitude can be measured and, at the same time, being challenged by the difficulty in doing so, researchers from different disciplines have already approached the issue in numerous ways. Each of these has received credit and criticism as well, and they must be studied analytically by a researcher, before making any decisions. Scientists have approached the issue of attitudes in several ways and, from time to time, various distinctions have been made between the different measures. In 1964, Cook and Selltiz referred to five kinds of them: a) 'measures in which inferences are drawn from self-reports of beliefs, feelings, behaviors, etc.', b) 'measures in which inferences are drawn from observation of overt behavior', c) 'measures in which inferences are drawn from the individual's reaction to or interpretation of partially structured stimuli', d) 'measures in which inferences are drawn from performance of 'objective' tasks', and e) 'measures in which inferences are drawn from physiological reactions to the attitudinal object or representations of it'.

Through time, the distinction of approaches to language attitudes that prevailed is the one proposed by Ryan, Giles and 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. However, the indirect measurement which mainly refers to the so-called *matched-guise technique* is the most popular one for investigating language attitudes. Each of the approaches has strengths and weaknesses, but the one who has constituted the bone of contention is the matched-guise technique.

Indirect measures

Since they are the ones that have been mostly employed and criticised, indirect measures should be discussed first. Dawes and Smith (1985) distinguished between three types of indirectly measuring attitudes: a) participants' observation without being aware of it, b) observation of aspects of uncontrolled human behaviour, and c) questioning participants in a deceptive way that does not reveal the true purpose of the study. However, the most widely used method in measuring language attitudes—the *matched-guise technique*—was introduced in 1960 by

Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and 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; that is, in two 'guises'. [...] 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." (Gaies & Beebe 1991: p. 157)

Generally, judgments are based on a semantic-differential scale of bipolar adjectives (e.g. friendly/unfriendly, educated/uneducated etc). Adjectives are sometimes collected by conducting a 'pool study' where you choose adjectives from the ones used by previous studies, or a pilot study where participants are asked to give positive or negative qualities regarding a linguistic variety. Paltridge and Giles (1984) came to the conclusion that evaluation traits can come under the categories of 'superiority', 'attractiveness' or 'dynamism' of the linguistic variety(ies) under investigation. On the other hand, Zahn and Hopper (1985) referred to evaluation in terms of 'speaker status', 'speaker solidarity' (or social attractiveness) and 'speaker integrity'.

Since 1960, many studies have employed the matched-guise technique. Some examples are: Lambert, Anisfeld and Yeni-Komshian (1965) who investigated Jewish and Arab adolescents' attitudes to varieties of Hebrew and Arabic; Markel, Eisler and Reese's work (1967) on Buffalo people's attitudes towards Buffalo dialect and New York City dialect; Creber and Giles' study (1983) on English adolescents' attitudes towards RP and Welsh accents; Papapavlou (1998) who examined Greek Cypriots' attitudes towards SMG and the Greek Cypriot dialect; Dailey, Giles and Jansma (2005) who tested Anglo and Hispanic adolescents' attitudes towards radio announcements of Anglo and Hispanic accents; Bender's investigation (2005) of the role of grammatical environment in people's perception of African American Vernacular English; Grondelaers and van Hout (2010) who measured attitudes towards three accents of Standard Dutch. (See also Giles et al. 1983, Cross et al. 2001, Kristiansen 2001, Bokhorst-Heng & Caleon 2009 etc.)

An adapted version of the matched-guise technique that has been used to measure children's attitudes was proposed by Rosenthal (1974)—the '*Magic Boxes'*. Initially, it was used to investigate three- to five-year-olds' attitudes towards two talking

boxes that used Standard English (SE) and Black English (BE). This technique was later employed by other researchers in different settings—Cremona and Bates (1977) in Italy, Day (1980) in Hawaii, Pavlou (1999) in Cyprus. Schneiderman (1976) preferred a puppet-show version of the technique, where two guised puppets were used as stimuli to assess bilingual Welland French children's attitudes towards English and French. Further discussion of these studies will be given in a later section of this chapter.

The main reason why a researcher should choose an indirect approach to language attitudes is that since the participants are not aware of the true purpose, they are free—from social stereotypes or inhibitions—to express their true, inner feelings. Prejudices and effects of stereotyping are assessed without destroying their natural form by describing it to the subjects (Ladegaard 1998). Moreover, a matched-guise experiment takes place in pre-arranged settings, consequently, its results can be comparable with other similar studies. On the other hand, evaluations of set-up events based on given attributes cannot stand as representative of attitudes towards real-life events. Besides, the repetition of the same message may lead the participants to infer the true purpose of the study, or the pre-prepared speeches may not sound authentic, especially if they are presented as monologues (Kramer 1964). Additionally, the evaluation items may be perceived differently by the judges, but also, there is an ethical consideration behind 'fooling' the participants over the exact target of the experiment. This last limitation can be balanced through debriefing after the data collection process is completed.

Direct measures

Direct measures are those that ask people what they believe of a linguistic variety in a straightforward way. Studying the existing literature, one notices that questionnaires, interviews and polls of direct questions have been a common tool for measuring languages attitudes. Except for open-ended, multiple-choice and two-way questions, direct measures make use of two rating scales: Thurstone and Likert. The former one requires from the participants to divide a number of statements collected from a pool study or a pilot study, according to their favourability. In the latter, people are asked to rate the statements, pointing out the degree of their agreement with them (Garrett et al. 2006).

In a recent study, Huguet (2006) distributed a questionnaire for bilingual students in Spain to express their attitudes towards two varieties in contact (Austrian/Spanish or Catalan/Spanish). Similarly, Lasagabaster (2008) investigated Basque-Americans' attitudes towards Basque, Spanish, French and English. The aim of the questionnaire—followed by interviews—was to unfold both attitudes towards and use of the languages. Additional studies that used questionnaires include: Blodgett and Cooper (1973) on teachers' attitudes towards a black dialect in Alabama, Haynes (1982) on Barbadians and Guyaneses' attitudes towards different linguistic varieties, Papapavlou (2007) on Greek Cypriots' attitudes towards introducing the dialect in education, Kouega (2008) on attitudes towards indigenous languages of Cameroon. (See also Sachdev & Hanlon 2000/2001, Ehala & Niglas 2006, Groves 2010.) Interviews were conducted by Kristiansen (2010) on Nordic communities' attitudes towards English, García (2005), and Geerts, Nooters and van Den Broeck (1978).

What is also worth-mentioning is that *folklinguistics* (or *perceptual dialectology*), with Dennis Preston as the leading figure, has recently proposed another kind of direct measurement of language attitudes. Unlike other direct measures, folklinguistics emphasises on the presence of context. The context is equally important in other discourse-analytic approaches discussed below. It studies attitudes as represented in language use, variation and articulation of perceived difference between varieties and their geographical distribution, through the use of maps, imitation talk and discourse analysis (Preston 1993, 1999, Miłobóg & Garrett 2011, Kraut 2014). Preston (1999), on investigating attitudes towards U.S. regional varieties, asked people to draw maps, illustrating the different dialect regions of the United States and to evaluate their degree of 'correctness', 'pleasantness' and 'difference' in relation to their regional variety. Garrett (2009) conducted a study on Chinese and Japanese people's attitudes towards Englishes, asking participants to write down the names of countries where English is a native language and give words that characterise each of these spoken varieties (e.g. fun, intelligent, irritating and snobbish).

Studying closely direct approaches to language attitudes, the advantages of obtrusiveness (the experimenters receive direct answers on the issue, rather than 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, especially when referring to the behavioural component which is better grasped in actual language use. Asking direct questions "respondents have an idea of which answers are socially desirable. Not wishing to appear deviant, they hide their true feelings and bend their answers to conform to a model of how they ought to answer" (Henerson et al. 1987: p. 135). Also, the questions are hypothetical, therefore the answers are hypothetical too. Additionally, in oral surveys, the language of the experimenter or the phenomenon of the Observer's Paradox could be biasing factors in the respondents' answers (Knops & van Hout 1988, Garrett et al. 2006).

Societal treatment

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. (Garrett et al. 2006). For instance, Rickford and Traugott (1985) used newspapers and literary work, along with sociolinguistic surveys, to reveal attitudes towards pidgin and creole varieties of English as reflected in them. Recently, Vaish (2008) investigated New Delhi female students' attitudes towards Hindi and English in an ethnographic study, where tape-recorded material, notes and visual data were collected through interviews, classroom observations, diaries, letters and recipes. Also, Garrett, Bishop and Coupland (2009) administered questionnaires to different Welsh communities asking questions related to ethnolinguistic identity (methodology also employed by Dede 2004). 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 due to its engagement with discourse-analytic methods.

"Discourse analysts do what people in their everyday experience of language do instinctively and largely unconsciously: 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 importance of context in attitude research has been pointed out very early. Rokeach (1968) claims: "The splitting off of attitude-toward-situation from attitude-toward-object has severely retarded the growth of attitude theory. It has resulted in unsophisticated attempts to

predict behavior accurately on the basis of a single attitude-toward-object, ignoring the equally relevant attitude-toward-situation" (p. 119). However, such approaches have not been widely used. This movement (Potter & Wetherell 1987, Gee 1992 etc.) has shifted from traditional approaches that offer "a view of language as a direct reflection of what goes on in a person's mind to a means of constructing the social world, or versions of it, in the course of everyday interactions" (Hyrkstedt & Kalaja 1998: p. 347). Studies that applied societal treatment to measure language attitudes include: Karyolemou's work (1993) on Greek Cypriots' attitudes to language problems as reflected in articles that appeared in press; Lawson and Sachdev (2004) who used language diaries in collecting information about Sylheti-Bangladeshi teenagers' attitudes towards Sylheti, English and Bengali; Sophocleous and Wilks' classroom-observation study (2010) on the attitudes of GC kindergarten teachers towards the dialect and the standard variety; Zhang's ethnographic research (2010) on Arizona Chinese people's attitudes towards maintenance of Mandarin Chinese.

The main benefit of the societal treatment approach lies in that it may offer a more complete picture of the status of the linguistic variety within a community. Moreover, language observations in real situations give more accurate results, since the data are gathered naturally and not via set-up settings. At the same time, in some cases the researcher saves time and space. However, problems concerning reliability and validity of the societal treatment prevent linguists from making use of it. The fact that it occurs naturally enables neither the replication of the process nor the exclusion of external variables that could cause troubles to the whole experimental process. Also, discourse analysis is applied qualitatively, giving general information on favourability/unfavourability of a linguistic code (Hyrkstedt & Kalaja 1998, Garrett 2010).

Multiple-methodology approach

From what has been already discussed concerning the different approaches to the issue of language attitudes, one can rightly surmise that they all have drawbacks. Attitude measurement is not an easy task because "an attitude as such is not directly perceivable or measurable". It is "a hypothetical construct which mediates between stimulus and response" (Deprez & Persoons 1987: p. 125). In order to take advantage of the benefits each of the approaches offers and avoid as many of their

pitfalls as possible, a researcher needs to employ a multiple-task methodology. Nevertheless, such an integrated project must be designed carefully in order to ensure that all tasks measure the same aspect of language attitudes and smaller population samples would better suit it (Garrett 2010).

Most research conducted so far on language studies engaged solely with one kind of measurement. Still, there are researchers who have employed a range of methods in a single study. Garrett, Coupland and Williams' research (2006) aimed at investigating attitudes towards different varieties of English spoken in Wales, through indirect and direct/folklinguistic measures. Initially, the participants, who were secondary-education teachers, were instructed to complete a questionnaire. For the first task, they were asked to draw 'perceptual isoglosses' on a blank map of Wales given to them, in order to identify eight dialect regions of the country and label them as they like. Then, they should provide characteristics of each dialect, according to what they feel when they hear it. For the second part, the participants were given the names of the different Welsh English dialect regions and were asked to evaluate them on a seven-point Likert scale of different qualities. The questionnaire was completed after answering an open-ended question, by identifying the most socially acceptable English dialect in Wales. For the second task of the experiment, the researchers tape-recorded fourteen male teenagers of the different dialect regions of Wales narrating a story and presented them to secondary school students and teachers to evaluate them on seven judgment scales. Data analysis revealed similar patterns between the two approaches, leading to one complementing the other and together bringing out stronger conclusions. "The several strands and methods in this study have collaborated in a number of ways, then, to provide a more secure and richer picture of language attitudes in Wales" (Garrett 2010: p. 222).

Another example of multiple-methodology approach to language attitudes was applied by Ladegaard (1998), aiming at testing the attitudes held by Danish students learning English as a foreigh language (EFL) towards RP and Standard American (SA) accents. In the first task of this methodology, students were exposed to a 'verbal guise' experiment where they should evaluate five English people talking with an RP, a Scottish, a Cockney, an Australian and an SA accent and, then, they were given a questionnaire where they directly expressed their preferences in closed-ended and open-ended questions. At last, they were asked to read a

passage aloud, in an effort to check whether the participants' attitudes match their language use. Data analysis showed that both in direct and indirect measurement, Danish students express greater favourability towards RP accent, which they tend to apply in their English language use too.

Other cases of integrated methodologies include Saidat (2010). This constituted an effort to study Jordanians' attitudes towards their vernacular and Standard Arabic, through phone calls received in live TV talk shows, interviews and questionnaires. In another study, Ihemere (2006) investigated the attitudes of an ethnic minority group in Nigeria towards their regional variety and Nigerian Pidgin English, using the matched-guise technique and a questionnaire. A similar approach was used by Zhou (2000) in his study on the attitudes of two ethnic minority groups in China towards the national language and local dialects.

3.3.2 The mentalist and the behaviourist movements

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, the attitude includes three components: the cognitive, the affective and the behavioural (Edwards 1982). The cognitive component refers to beliefs or practical functions that are further embraced by an entity, the affective component concerns feelings, and the behavioural component is the part that drives an individual's actions towards a certain direction. On the contrary, behaviourists claim that attitude can be grasped only by observing human behaviour (Fasold 1984). From this model and similar ones proposed (Krathwohl et al. 1964, Kerlinger 1986), two issues arise. On the one hand, if the attitude has different components, these components are 'distinguishable' (Breckler 1984). On the other hand, while the cognitive and the affective components have received universal acceptance, the behavioural has brought forth the question on whether attitudes—which are first and foremost feelings, views and beliefs—lead humans to behave accordingly.

Although Baker (1992) describe the attitudes as a "construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior" (p. 10), he admits that attitude and behaviour may or may not match. In some cases, experimental studies have confirmed a match between what people believe and what they actually do (McGroarty 1996), but in some other cases, there seems to be a mismatch (Choi

2003). Surely, since there are studies that have empirically questioned this relationship, no scientist can investigate attitudes based only on observation of actions.

3.4 Language use as an indicator of language attitudes

The relationship between attitude and behaviour has been a disputable issue since scientists have started investigating attitudes. Whether the two are interconnected or completely unrelated, behaviour has never been excluded from attitude research. This has been a concern for linguists too, for whom attitudes refer to language attitudes and behaviour to linguistic behaviour. The most investigated kind of linguistic behaviour in scientific research dealing with the attitude-behaviour relationship is language use, but it can also take the form of language learning or contact with a linguistic community.

As already mentioned, attitude has been claimed to be a combination of feelings, beliefs and actions (Edwards 1982). The aspect of feelings and beliefs did not bring any debate, but, the relationship between attitudes and behaviour seems to be controversial, not only as far as language is concerned. While some researchers find that attitudes work as predictors of behaviour and an individual's attitude towards an object matches the way he/she acts towards it, some others disagree. They claim that sometimes people do not act according to their feelings, due to several reasons. They point out that "there is no theoretical reason to expect congruence between words and deeds, and, in fact, every reason to expect discrepancies" (Albrecht & Carpenter 1976: p. 1). What is even more interesting about the attitude-behaviour relationship is the fact that it is not one-directional. Mummendey (1983) poses the following question: "Predicting behavior from attitudes, or attitudes from behavior?" (p. 143). According to Mummendey's review, there are a number of studies that tried to investigate people's behaviour in an effort to unfold their attitudes, but very few managed to do it in the end.

To introduce the debate on attitude-behaviour relationship, it must be mentioned that this controversy brought further disagreement in determining what an attitude is. For example, Baker (1992) initially defines attitude as a way "to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour" (p. 10). Even though with this

definition he argues for a proportional relationship between attitude and behaviour, going on with his discussion, he doubts the existence of an absolute causal relationship between the two. “Attitudes OFTEN manage to summarise, explain and predict behaviour. Knowing someone’s attitudes to alcohol, for example, MAY sum up likely behaviour in a range of contexts over time” (p. 11). This happens due to the fact that people ‘disguise’ their true attitudes intentionally, or attitudes are misleading in depicting a speaker’s language use. Garrett (2010) adds that in order to achieve a certain reaction from the interlocutor, people ‘fashion’ their language “to be seen as friendly, as intelligent, as being a member of a particular community” (p. 21-22). Thus, as Baker (1992) concludes, the best way to capture attitude is that which refers only to favourable or unfavourable feelings expressed by someone towards an object or an entity. (See also Ajzen 1988, Garrett et al. 2006.)

Through time, empirical studies and theories on the relationship between attitude and behaviour brought a parting of the ways between researchers, and doubts began to raise as early as the 1930s. In this way, two contradicting parties came into existence.

3.4.1 Attitudes and behaviour are related

Some experts came to support a cause-and-effect relationship between what people believe or feel and what they actually do. For instance, Faris (1928) says that “an attitude is a tendency to act” (p. 277) and Allport (1967) claims that “an attitude characteristically provokes behavior that is acquisitive or avertive” (p. 8). Moreover, Bain (1930) argues:

> “Certainly, ‘attitude’ is not more vague and ill-defined than ‘trait’ [...]. While it must be confessed that most writers use such terms as attitude, trait, opinion, wish, interest, disposition, desire, bias, preference, prejudice, will, sentiment, motive, objective, goal, idea, ideal, emotion, and even instinct and reflex, loosely, indefinitely, and often interchangeably, yet it must also be admitted that there is a core of common meaning in all such usages. These, and other similar terms, refer to acquired and conditioned action-patterns that motivate human social behavior.” (p. 356)

As Corey alleges, attitudes—as opinions solely—“are of limited practical value unless they presage behavior” (1937: p. 271). Evidence for the existence of a relationship between attitude and behaviour has been provided by DeFleur and

Westie (1958). On dealing with the attitude-behaviour relationship, the researchers distinguished between three dimensions: 'verbal', 'autonomic-physiological' and 'overt'. DeFleur and Westie's work constitutes an effort to develop an instrument to measure "the 'salience' of a person's attitudinal orientations" (p. 667); i.e. a person's readiness to turn their verbal expression of attitude into action. Observing the participants' willingness to be photographed with a black person and analysing their answers to oral direct questions on their race attitudes, the investigators discovered that verbal attitudes (i.e. expression of prejudices) are in accordance with overt behaviour (i.e. avoidance of being photographed).

Another study that provided evidence for the proportional relationship between attitudes and behaviour was conducted by Jahn (1999). In examining the Croatian community of Istria (northern Adriatic), it was observed that people's negativity in introducing Croatian as the standard language led to the use of non-standard varieties which stand as symbols of Istrian identity and linguistic security. Additionally, Ladegaard (2000) investigated adolescents' attitudes towards Standard Danish and different dialects, as well as their linguistic behaviour in the classroom. Spontaneous discussions and interviews with the teacher were carried out. Subsequently, the participants went through a matched-guise experiment and, then, they filled a questionnaire. The results indicated that people who use the vernacular are those with a positive attitude towards it. Furthermore, Shameem (2004) studied attitudes towards and use of different linguistic varieties spoken in multilingual Fiji (English, Fijian and Hindi). "Language attitudes shape language behaviour" (p. 154) was the researcher's conclusion from the interviews with students and teachers. The participants expressed positive stances towards all linguistic codes and admitted that they use all of them, with a different function as imposed by the purpose of communication. Also, García (2005) made research on parents' language attitudes and behaviour living in Paraguay towards Spanish and Guaraní (indigenous variety). The interviews revealed that both varieties are highly estimated and used.

Agreement between attitudes and use was also found in even more recent studies. Loredo Gutiérrez et al. (2007) investigated Galician university students' attitudes towards their mother tongue (Galician) and Spanish, along with the use of them, as reported in questionnaires. In the end, the researchers observed that Galician people regard their mother tongue as inferior to Spanish and their competence in

Spanish is higher than in Galician. Similar studies with similar results include Valencia people's attitudes and use of Spanish and Catalan, where Spanish is the most favourable and most used code (Safont Jordà 2007). Also, investigating the status of Dutch, French and English among people in Brussels, it was found out that "the higher they rate their competence, the more positive their attitude" (Mettewie & Janssens 2007: p. 142). Then, studying online written communication, Themistocleous (2007) reports that Greek Cypriots are in favour of written CG in computer-mediated communication (CMC), which they use in their online chatting. Anderbeck (2010), using direct and indirect approaches to language attitudes and observing the use of Jambi Malay-Sumatra (a minority language), reported positive attitudes towards Jambi Malay and use of it. Young and educated people are less in favour of that code and they are the ones who use it less too. At last, Chakrani and Huang (2012) also provided evidence for the relationship between language attitudes and language use, in studying Moroccan university students' attitudes towards and use of French.

3.4.2 Attitudes and behaviour are unrelated

LaPiere (1934), in his discussion on attitudes and behaviour, argues that existing definitions of the term 'attitude' saw it as a pattern of behaviour within society or a predisposition that makes human react in a certain way. "But by derivation social attitudes are seldom more than a verbal response to a symbolic situation" (p. 230). In this manner, he was the first to restrict attitude constituents into feelings, excluding actions. Going a step further, he stated that, in measuring attitudes, people may even report that they behave in a way which, being investigated in actual life, may be non-existent. LaPiere (1934) conducted an experiment by visiting a number of restaurants in the U.S., accompanied by a Chinese couple. Whereas only one of them denied access to the couple, when they were sent a letter being asked whether they would allow Chinese people entering their restaurant, 90% gave a negative response. Years later, Kutner, Wilkins and Yarrow (1952) conducted a similar testing of Negros' treatment in restaurants, avoiding previous pitfalls. The same procedure was followed and the same results were obtained. A few years later, Wicker (1969), taking both views into consideration, came to conclude that "it is considerably more likely that attitudes will be unrelated or only slightly related to overt behavior than that attitudes will be closely related to actions" (p. 65).

Jaspaert and Kroon's work (1988) is one of the studies that observed a mismatch between language attitudes and language use. The aim was to investigate Italian immigrants' attitudes and language use within the Dutch-speaking community, and whether the choice of the code used—Italian or Dutch—is influenced by social factors. The tool administered to accomplish the purpose of the study was a questionnaire. Correlation analysis of the collected data showed that "attitude explains 18% of the variance in the dependent variable" (p. 160). In addition, Choi (2003) distributed questionnaires to Paraguayan secondary-school students to investigate their attitudes towards Spanish and Guarani and use of them. Findings confirmed that Paraguayan adolescents hold positive attitudes towards the non-standard variety, but they do not use it.

In another research, dealing with the relationship between language attitudes and language use, Kuncha and Bathula (2004) examined the issue of language shift within the Telugu (an Indian variety) immigrant community in New Zealand. To achieve this, Telugu children and mothers participated in interviews and questionnaire-filling, where they reported their attitudes towards Telugu and English, their proficiency of the two codes, as well as their views on bilingualism. Generally, two important conclusions were brought to surface: a) 95% of Telugu mothers and children hold favourable attitudes towards their mother tongue, but, b) Telugu is used 85%, at home and undergoes a decline from mother to the first child and then to the second. On the contrary, English is used 100%. Further studies supporting attitude-behaviour mismatch include Irish people's attitudes and use of English and Irish, where although favourable feelings are held towards Irish, it is not part of people's language use (Ó Laoire 2007). "This seemingly strong belief, however, may constitute more of a passive stance rather than a proactive attitude. [...] Irish is not considered important when it comes to carrying out the everyday activities" (p. 181).

Trudgill (1972) claimed that the mismatch between how people view a variety and its use has to do with overt and covert prestige. *Overt prestige* is the value attributed to a variant "that people are highly aware of and which is associated more with the speech of higher-status speakers", being evaluated as better. On the other hand, *covert prestige* refers to a variant to which people give credit without being aware of that, by using it. This often relates to non-standard varieties (Meyerhoff 2009: p. 37-38).

3.4.3 Attitudes and behaviour are negatively related

Except for studies that provided evidence for a match or a mismatch between language attitudes and behaviour, there are cases that brought to the surface a more interesting nature of this relationship. To exemplify, Dede (2004) studied Xining people's language attitudes towards the Qinghai dialect and Standard Chinese. The questionnaire used to collect data measured all three attitudinal components proposed by Edwards (1982). Analysing the data, the researcher observed that while the assessment of the affective and the behavioural components showed negative attitudes towards the dialect, the cognitive component showed positive stances. These findings are not attributed to failure in the methodology of the study, but they strengthen Breckler's view (1984) that each component is distinguishable from the rest. Even more, Baker (1992) alleges that "the cognitive and affective components of attitude may not always be in harmony" (p. 12). Thus, apart from the possibly existent mismatch between attitude and behaviour that has received immense attention, there seems to be a mismatch between cognition and affect that brings a dichotomy within the attitude.

3.4.4 Factors influencing the attitude-behaviour relationship

Within this 'blurry' situation, some researchers ended up supporting the relationship between attitude and behaviour, but drawing attention to other influential factors. Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) stated that attitude may be a crucial factor that determines a person's behaviour, although it is not the only one. Byrne and Kelley (1981) added emotional, informational and imaginative responses, as well as expectancies. Attitudes are important, but they do not always govern people's actions. In this way, an attitude is considered as "evaluation of the entity in question" (Ajzen & Fishbein 1977: p. 889), rather than a disposition to act in a certain way as alleged by the opposing movement.

But, for researchers to be consistent in claiming that attitude and behaviour are related, they must make sure that attitude measurement corresponds to behaviour measurement in terms of action, target, context and time to the greatest extent possible. This view was also expressed by Schuman and Johnson (1976) who claimed that "the most generally accepted hypothesis for improving A-B [attitude-behaviour] consistency is that attitudinal and behavioral variables should be

measured at the same level of specificity" (p. 170-171). Support to this comes from studies where participants reported positive stances towards a linguistic variety and use of it, but its use is restricted to certain functions associated with it, rather than in all contexts of communication (Shameem 2004, Gardner-Chloros et al. 2005).

Further, in approaching the issue of attitude-behaviour, scientists supported the interference of other variables in this relationship and proposed several models in approaching the issue. DeFleur and Westie (1958) brought forward the 'contingent consistency' approach. According to this view, constraints imposed by society and the feeling of being under the pressure of the watchful eye of social norms affect a person's expressed attitudes and actual behaviour, and consequently the relationship between the two. After all, attitudes are learned through 'human socialisation' (Garrett et al. 2006), therefore they are always under its control.

Later, Fishbein (1963) introduced the concept of 'behaviour intentions'. According to Fishbein's model, behaviour can be predicted if behavioural intentions are tested too. Behavioural intention involves the attitude towards acting out certain behaviour, norms that are associated with that specific behaviour and the individual's willingness to conform to those imposed beliefs. Albrecht and Carpenter (1976) tried to test the effectiveness of the two models, by measuring attitudes, behavioural intentions, normative beliefs and behaviour, making comparisons. Their experiment indicated that both approaches are useful in drawing interrelations between attitude and behaviour.

Mummendey (1983) refers to four kinds of models: 'simple relation models' (behaviour serves as expression of attitude towards an object and the situation), 'interaction models and models of contingent consistency' (DeFleur and Westie's model), 'the Fishbein model' and 'structural models' (use path analysis in predicting behaviour). Additionally, in 1981, Jaccard suggested the 'behavioral alternative model', according to which an individual has access to behavioural alternatives and in each case he/she "will choose to perform that [...] toward which the most positive attitude is held" (p. 303). Finally, Fazio (1990), with his MODE model, argued that Motivation and Opportunity are Determinants in people's attitudes leading to overt behaviour.

To bring the discussion closer to the issue of language attitudes, linguists investigating language attitudes and language use share the same concerns as the ones already expressed about what people believe of a linguistic variety and whether they make use of it. Since attitude-behaviour relationship constitutes a problem for psychology, why should not this be the case with language attitudes and linguistic behaviour relationship for linguistics? Several studies conducted so far managed first and foremost to bring disagreement among linguists. Whereas in some contexts empirical evidence revealed that favourability towards a code leads people to take supportive actions to it—and unfavourability to its avoidance—in some other cases, the results showed that language attitudes and linguistic behaviour do not match. McGroarty (1996), as support to her view on the interconnection between language attitudes and language use, declares that instances of mismatch between the two appear due to modifications of speech, as a result of social constraints. Modifications of language use refer to 'accommodation theory' (Giles & Clair 1979). As already mentioned, accommodation can be convergent, which takes place when an individual holds positive attitudes towards a linguistic variety, or divergent when unfavourable attitudes are held.

Studying the results of all the aforementioned research and much more conducted on the doubtful relationship between attitude and behaviour, "we must conclude that there is no single answer to the question of whether attitudes are related to behavior. The answer can range from no, not at all, to yes, nearly perfectly, depending on the act studied or features linked to it" (Schuman & Johnson 1976: p. 170). From experiments conducted so far by linguists and other experts on the issue of attitudes, it is assumed that if inconsistency between expressed attitudes and overt actions are not a matter of unreliable methodology, then truth is found in one—or both—of the following conclusions. Either "there is a tendency toward such consistency [...] a probabilistic relation between holding certain beliefs and attitudes and manifesting certain behaviours" (Insko & Schopler 1971: p. 27), or language attitudes better work as "predictors of future behavior", since there will be no current context bias (Baker 1992: p. 16).

3.5 Language attitudes in bi-/multi- dialectal settings

Language attitudes have challenged linguists around the world who wished to study people's attitudes towards either native varieties or a third language (Vassberg 1993, Echeverria 2005, Hogan-Brun & Ramonlené 2005, Garrett et al. 2006 etc). Some of the settings that have been investigated for language attitudes and deserve greater attention are Wales, Jamaica, Alsace, Africa and Kentucky. All of these cases concern language attitudes towards native standard and non-standard varieties.

The case of Wales

Language situation in Wales is interesting because three varieties are used: Welsh, RP and Welsh English. Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2006) studied seven different varieties spoken in seven regions: Wales' valleys, north-east Wales, south-east Wales, south-west Wales, mid-Wales, north-west Wales and RP. The first part of the study involved a questionnaire for measuring teachers' awareness of the different varieties and their attitudes towards them. For the second part, the matched-guise technique was used, where teachers and students listened to students' recorded voices telling stories and filled a questionnaire. The questionnaire included a seven-point Likert scale and the participants were asked to state whether they liked the speaker and the story, they laughed, the speakers sounded like them, and if they could be their friends and good students.

From the questionnaire, the experimenters came up with some interesting conclusions: a) the participants were mostly able to identify the different dialect zones (variation) across Wales, and b) RP is perceived as the most prestigious variety. Additionally, the narratives' study showed that: a) teenagers give negative answers that never reach the mid-point of the Likert scale, b) their lowest preference is for RP, c) RP is selected as the best choice for education by both teachers and students, and d) teachers consider an RP speaker like themselves whereas students do not (Garrett et al. 2006).

The case of Jamaica

Being slaves coming from different ethnic groups of West Indies and Africa, Jamaicans did not have a common language. Along with British colonisation in

1655, English became the official language of Jamaica which, being spoken in a simplified form, gave birth to a dialect that depicted the diversified character of the people; the Jamaican Creole. Although many people used to attribute 'the high esteem' to the standard variety and considered Creole as the 'bad' or stigmatised variety, scholars observed that this attitude started changing during the last decades and teachers want Jamaican Creole to enter education (Beckford Wassink 1999).

Beckford Wassink (1999) used an 'Attitude Interview Schedule' to measure attitudes towards Jamaican Creole. Therefore, thirty-five tape-recorded questions were played to the participants and they should give a multiple-choice-type answer and, then, analyse it further. The experiment was conducted either individually or in pairs and lasted one to two hours. The participants were six to over forty-six years old, men and women, from working and middle class. The study showed that language attitudes of the participants vary, but: a) in their majority, they called Jamaican Creole a 'language' with regional varieties, b) they found phonological and lexical differences between Creole and SE, c) "respondents generally seemed more willing to be addressed in Jamaican Creole than to use it themselves" (p. 81), and d) even the labels 'Jamaican English' or 'Patois', on the one side, and 'broken English' or 'slang', on the other, revealed indirectly the people's attitudes towards the dialect.

The case of Alsace

Alsace represents another interesting linguistic setting because of the use of three different varieties: German, French and Alsatian which is a German dialect. Vassberg (1993) investigated Alsatians' language attitudes towards the dialect, its speakers and whether there is a place for it in education. For this, the experimenter designed a questionnaire and distributed it to students and adults. The most important results of this study are: a) people—especially the older ones—believe that the dialect is "part of the Alsatian cultural heritage" and should be passed to younger generations (Vassberg 1993: p. 148), b) their language use does not seem to match their favourable attitude since they do not 'promote' the dialect, although they feel that it expresses their feelings better than French, c) the students' perception does not match their use since they use the dialect very little, only in addressing older people, d) they do not associate the dialect with national identity or education, but they connect it with rural life, and e) they do not want the dialect to be compulsory at school, although they think that learning the dialect does not

impede learning of the standard variety. However, the standard variety is more 'correct'.

The case of Africa

Research on the languages spoken within the forty-five countries of the sub-Saharan Africa has already been conducted and Adegbija (1994) makes reference to it. First, these countries include Angola, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Namibia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanzania and Zaire. What is linguistically important about these countries is that people speak over 1 700 languages of which 450 are used in Nigeria. Most of these are vernaculars, but one of them is the official language of each country and this is the language of the European coloniser (usually English). Thus, most of these people grow up as bilinguals or multilingual speakers of a European language, an African language and one or more vernaculars. Taking into account the rich linguistic nature of Africans, it is realised that investigating their attitudes towards their languages is an interesting issue.

Adegbija (1994) makes reference to studies that have already been conducted within the African setting, commenting initially on the different methodologies used; statements to express agreement/disagreement, adjectives to evaluate languages on a Likert scale, interviews and observations. These studies shed some light on Africans' language attitudes towards their languages and showed the following: a) an 'attitude of acceptance' towards the European languages due to historical reasons, but also, because of the functions they are thought of being able to perform, b) their use in the official domain due to the high status they are associated with, and c) that the mother tongue constitutes the symbol of ethnic and national identity. All in all, in spite of speaking more than one languages, people in African countries do not pay the same amount of attention to each of them. As Adegbija argues:

> "Most indigenous languages in Africa were considered unworthy for use in official circles. They were regarded as lacking the capacity for expressing ideas in official domains. Consequently, they were largely denied use in these areas, with their perceived unworthiness increasing year after year as frontiers of knowledge expanded." (1994: p. 20)

The case of Kentucky

Kentucky is one of the areas of Appalachian mountain range where Appalachian English is used. Due to geographical reasons—since moving to other places is not an easy task—the residents of this area developed their dialect which differs grammatically, phonologically and lexically from SA English. Therefore, geographical difficulties, in combination with poverty, made Appalachian English a social, not even regional, dialect that Americans feel negatively about. It has been associated with 'negative prestige' and has been regarded as 'incorrect' or 'quaint', by contrast to the standard variety which is the 'proper' and its speakers are 'superior', as they are characterised by "intelligence, ambition, wealth, success, and education" (Luhman 1990: p. 332).

After sketching the linguistic profile of Kentucky's residents, Luhman (1990) moves to discuss his study on these people's attitudes towards their dialect and the standard variety. The matched-guise technique was used and the participants, who were university students, were asked to listen to and evaluate eight speeches. The evaluation questionnaire included bipolar adjectives with a seven-point scale between them to indicate the degree of intelligence, wealth, success, ambition, education, trustworthiness, etc. of each speaker. In addition, they were asked to report to what extent the speakers sounded like them or their family members. Thus, collecting and analysing his data, Luhman concluded that: a) people who do not identify themselves with dialect speakers regard these speakers—especially female speakers—as equal to or higher than standard speakers in terms of solidarity, b) speakers of Appalachian English are considered less intelligent, less ambitious, less successful and less educated, c) the standard variety is associated with higher social status, and d) "standard speakers are more respected than loved" (p. 343).

3.6 Language attitudes during childhood

From a sociolinguistic perspective, "a child must first realize that different languages exist, [and] that the words he uses constitute only one of many different ways of speaking. The second thing he learns is the social implications of speaking a particular language" (Aboud 1976: p. 15). The ability to differentiate between languages or language varieties signifies that the child has possessed language

awareness. Although initial studies on children's language awareness concluded that children acquire this ability not earlier than at the age of five, later studies have shown that children distinguish between different languages even from the age of three. Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2006) allege that language attitudes, like all other kinds of attitude, are learned through human socialisation and if they are acquired early in someone's life, they are more likely to last longer. One of the most crucial aspects of language attitudes that linguists have tried to investigate is how they develop through people's life. This is when people start forming attitudes towards a language and whether these attitudes remain stable during their life, or they change and due to what reasons.

3.6.1 Onset of language attitudes

According to Nazzi, Bertoncini and Mehler (1998), to claim that infants have acquired multiple varieties, it is necessary that they are able to recognise which variety an utterance belongs to, based on prosodic features. This has been reported to happen before six months of age (Mehler et al. 1988). Despite being an interesting topic for study, the onset of language attitudes does not seem to have attracted the interest of many linguists, and especially within complex dialectal contexts. One of the difficulties most likely preventing researchers from being engaged with such an issue is that different age groups need to be studied to find what one looks for. And even more difficult is the fact that children need to be approached in different ways. On the other hand, for years, it was thought that people become sensitive to social aspects of a language or a dialect not earlier than at the age of nineteen (Labov 1966). However, worldwide research conducted later on the issue of children's language attitudes provided evidence that even pre-school children do express attitudes towards linguistic codes (Rosenthal 1974, Schneiderman 1976, Mercer 1977, Cremona & Bates 1977, Day 1980).

To begin with, Rosenthal (1974) aimed at finding out when American monolingual children start discriminating between SE and BE, and expressing preference for the two codes. For this study, children from three to five years old were involved in three tasks. The first task consisted of the measurement of similarities/differences between pictures, sameness/difference between sentence pairs in German and English and sentence pairs in SE and BE in order to measure grammatical and phonological sameness/difference, and evaluation of right/wrong on the presence

of certain characteristics in SE and BE. Then, for Task 2, children should listen to recorded speeches of speakers of BE and SE, and they should state whether the speaker is black or white by pointing to pictures. Finally, the third task applied direct measurement of children's language attitudes. Two decorated boxes with a hidden tape recorder—called 'Magic Boxes'—talked to children each one in a different variety, but conveying the same meaning. The children were involved in a 'Taking' and a 'Giving' subtask. In the 'Taking' part, after listening to each of the two boxes talking, the respondents were asked questions like: 'Who has nicer presents?', 'Who sounds nicer?', 'Who talks better?', 'Who do you like better?', 'Who do you want to take your present from?' and 'Why do you pick her?'. For the second subtask (the 'Giving' part), after listening to each of the two boxes talking again, the respondents were asked questions like: 'Who wants it more?', 'Who needs it more?', 'Who sounds nicer?', 'Who do you want to give it to?' and 'Why do you pick her?'.

The overall result of this study was that, even at this age, people form attitudes towards linguistic varieties. Rosenthal (1974) found out that children attributed higher socio-economic status to the standard variety, since they expected a nicer present from the SE speaker and they thought that this speaker talked better than the other one. However, in expressing their preference, the black subjects preferred the BE speaker and the white subjects preferred the SE speaker. A further assumption made in the study is that children's language attitudes are influenced by adults (parents, teachers and television) who "condition young children to regard SE as superior and BE as inferior" (p. 52).

Like Rosenthal (1974), Mercer (1977) aimed at examining children's ability to discriminate between their mother tongue and a foreign language (English/French), between varieties of their language (SE/English with a French accent) and between two foreign languages (French/Greek). Again, the subjects ranged from three to five years old and they were monolingual speakers of English. The experimenter used recorded stories and photographs that supposedly depicted the speakers. After listening to the stories, the children were given several 'test items' which they should associate with one of the speakers. The results of this study were very similar to those of Rosenthal (1974). Children by this age are able to distinguish between different linguistic codes. By the age of three to four, they can differentiate between their mother tongue and a foreign language and, a year later, they can recognise different varieties of the same language. By contrast, discrimination between two

foreign languages appears after the age of six. What Mercer (1977) concludes is that these results would be stronger if the children's preference was investigated too. This would also reveal children's language attitudes which were not included in this study.

A study that had the onset of language attitudes as a primary purpose was conducted by Day (1980). Day's study was similar to that of Rosenthal (1974), in his choice of the age groups and the methodology he chose to approach language attitudes ('Magic Boxes'). Honolulu kindergarten and first-grade children were asked to listen to two boxes—a speaker conveying the same meaning first in SE and then in Hawaii Creole English—and participate in two tasks. The first one was the 'Taking part' and the children were asked questions about the speakers, including who they wanted to give them a present. The second task was the 'Giving part'. For this, the children were given two paper pads, one for them and one to give it to a speaker of their choice, after they listened to both guises explaining why they needed the present. What is interesting about this study is that it showed that children start forming language attitudes early and younger children prefer the dialect, whereas older children prefer the standard variety. Again, Day (1980) attributes this to adults (parents and teachers), like Rosenthal (1974).

3.6.2 Development of language attitudes

Rosenthal's study (1974) has been an important piece of work since it constituted the starting point of later researchers. Schneiderman (1976) adopted a puppet-show version of the 'Magic Boxes' technique, where two guised puppets were used as stimuli to assess bilingual Welland French children's ethnic and language attitudes towards English and French, at the age of three to twelve. During the show, the children should express their preference for one of the puppets, answering questions such as 'Which puppet cheated?', 'Which puppet was meaner?', 'Which puppet would you invite to your birthday party?', etc. What was found out is that "female subjects appear quite stable, preferring the French puppet at all age levels. Boys in nursery school are pro-English [...]. Males begin to favour the French puppet from the grade 1 level on. [...] At the grade 2 level and beyond there is little difference in the degree of French preference exhibited by males and females" (p. 35).

Another piece of research that engaged with the development of children's language attitudes was carried out by Cremona and Bates (1977). The researchers examined southern Italian children's attitudes towards their dialect and Standard Italian. The difference with the previous studies lies in the participants' age which ranged from six to ten years old. The children were asked to take part in three tasks: free speech production (description of a series of pictures), judgment of the speakers using the two varieties (matched-guise technique) and imitation of sentences in the two varieties. Although following a different method in relation to the studies mentioned above, a similar conclusion was drawn from this study. Children start forming attitudes towards their languages very early and, by the age of eight, they "reject their local dialect at close to 100% level", which they describe as 'bad' and 'abnormal' (p. 230). Their language production rejects dialect even earlier, although some features never stop being used. Another observation is that boys use dialect more, although they still dislike this code. A similar conclusion was drawn by van Bezooijen (1994), in his study on Dutch children's attitudes at the age of seven to ten. At this age, the standard variety is preferred over regional varieties.

Another more recent study on children's (and parents') attitudes was conducted by Shah and Anwar (2015) in Pakistan, through questionnaires and interviews. Investigating sixth to eighth graders' attitudes towards Punjabi (local variety which is the mother tongue), Urdu (the national variety) and English (the international language), it was observed that children hold negative attitudes towards the non-standard variety since they regard it as the language of lower-class and uneducated villagers. Instead, these children favour the standard variety as it signifies a high social and educational status and it stands as a symbol of national identity. Similarly English is perceived as the most superior variety. What is important to add is that parents share these views and they believe that if their children use the local variety, they will not be able to master Urdu and English properly.

3.7 Shift and change of language attitudes

"Attitudes change over time—rarely are they static", Baker (1992) argues. The reasons for that vary from social or psychological to political. The latter justifies why language attitudes sometimes 'should' change; for example, "where a language is

fighting for survival, encouraging positive attitudes becomes crucial" (p. 97). Or, as in the case of Namibia, the South African administration did not want the indigenous languages to develop, thus, it cultivated negative feelings towards them (De V. Cluver 2000). On the other hand, the social and psychological factors are the main concern of the present section, since they are the ones that play the most important role in the children's formation of language attitudes as they grow up.

First of all, Baker (1992) provides four possible driving forces behind language change which correspond to possible functions that attitudes may serve. The first one is when someone gets some kind of reward, the second one is the feeling for the psychological security a language makes you feel, the third one relates to personal values and the extent to which someone associates language with identity, and the last one is the change of attitude in order to learn more about a language or its culture. Apart from personal motives, people may change their language attitudes due to social reinforcement when supporting a certain code, modelling of attitudes by parents, peers, teachers and media, or for the sake of harmony between perception of a code and its use in practice.

Further on, Baker (1992) comes to discuss in more detail the two most important factors of language attitudes' change: age and personal environment. The primary issue to be discussed is how language attitudes' change takes place through an individual's life. What is for sure is that attitudes are different at different points of someone's life. Making reference to Celtic languages, Baker claims that teenage speakers have less favourable feelings towards the non-standard variety, whereas around forties they tend to go back to 'past values'. Nonetheless, the shift does not come suddenly, but it evolves "slowly and gradually" (p. 106).

Then, it is interesting to look how people of the immediate environment can influence or cause such a change at these different periods. These people are family (parents and siblings), peers and teachers, but also, institutions and mass media. Among all these, the most crucial effect comes from 'home language'. This concerns mainly children whose attitudes "tend to match, or be similar, to their parents" (Baker 1992: p. 109). Parents pass attitudes to their children according to their experiences. "Thus parents who believe that they may have been stigmatized because of their own language are particularly eager to have their children acquire a standard language" (McGroarty 1996: p. 19). The next most important influence comes from peers. This

is more obvious at teenage period, since youth culture, as a current trend of the era we live, affects language issues. Additionally, school can play a crucial role in language attitudes' change at that age, via the language used in the curriculum and by the teachers, as well as by the mass media. At a later point in someone's life, influence may come from the work field or business transactions, and the status a variety appears to have within a community (Baker 1992).

As a justification to the argument that language attitudes change, two studies were chosen to be discussed. These were conducted by Linn and Piché (1986) on pre-adolescents and adolescents' attitudes towards BE, and by Bangeni and Kapp (2007) on South African university students' attitudes towards English. Linn and Piché (1986) used the matched-guise technique, where two recorded speeches in SE and BE were played to black and white adolescent and pre-adolescent students who evaluated them on a semantic differential scale. What the experimenters found is that while some years ago BE was underestimated, black and white people respect BE now and blacks are proud of their language. Contrarily, Bangeni and Kapp (2007) investigated the language attitudes of black university students during the first two years of their studies. The semi-structured interviews indicated that South Africans' attitudes towards English shifts during their studies in an English university environment. "Home discourses make way for the more dominant discourses of the institution which are perceived as being socially advantageous" (p. 266). Also, "English signifies social mobility" (p. 266), "education, culture and modernisation" (p. 254); primary values of people at this age.

3.8 Summary

Taking into consideration all the arguments presented above, one can realise that language attitudes towards all linguistic codes around the world are very important and worth investigating. Different disciplines have proposed a number of ways in approaching the area of language attitudes. No methodology runs with no risk, but each of them has its own strong aspects. Psychologists, sociolinguists and any other scientists dealing with the issue of language attitudes have already shed light through their work. Questionnaires, interviews, polls, surveys, observations, ethnography, discourse analysis and the matched-guise technique are key methods

already been employed. Although criticism has never left behind any of these, they are all still used nowadays. The purpose of the study is what will drive a researcher to choose the most appropriate measure in each case. This discussion on attitude measurement has driven the methodology of the present experimental study and the discussion on the issue of language attitudes has set the impetus for the present study. The most prominent technique used for measuring children's attitudes has been proposed a long time ago. Since the means offered nowadays to conduct research are of wider range and driven by modern era technology, it is essential for researchers to experiment with more innovative, up-to-date and consequently interesting ways to approach children or any other group of informants.

Nonetheless, before moving to the current study, discussion on the linguistic community under investigation is necessary, along with their language attitudes reported so far. As a result, in the next chapter, an effort is made to sketch the linguistic profile of the GC community, through a historical review of the events that have led to the present linguistic situation. The main focus of the chapter is the character that CG ended up with and where the standard variety of Greek stands in this complex and linguistically interesting situation.

CHAPTER 4

Cypriot Greek: The community and its language

4.1 Introduction

Cypriot Greek is the language spoken by most people in Cyprus, among other varieties. Greek and Turkish are recognised by the constitution of the Republic of Cyprus as the official languages of Cyprus since 1960. Although the two languages co-appear on some official documents (e.g. passport, coins and notes etc.), Greek is the means of communication among Greek Cypriots (77%) and Turkish is used among Turkish Cypriots (18%)—the second biggest community, followed by the minority groups of Armenians, Maronites and Latins. However, both linguistic codes differ from the standard varieties spoken in Greece and Turkey. Due to several historical events, the two communities at times felt like strengthening their identity, they supported more extensive use of the language of the motherland; whereas during other periods of tension with the motherland, they turned to their local linguistic variety. Unfolding the historical background of Cyprus, and specifically of the GC community, the present chapter refers to linguistic issues of immense value, including language policy applied, how language affected and was affected by ethnic identity, the linguistic profile Greek Cypriots ended with, and their attitudes towards the varieties that compose it.

4.2 Historical background of the island and Cypriot Greek

4.2.1 The historical emergence of Cypriot Greek

The history of Cyprus is divided in three periods: the ancient, the medieval and the contemporary. From the 12th century BC, the ancient Cypriot dialect came into existence. Due to its advantageous geographical position in the Mediterranean Sea, Cyprus had been moving from one conqueror's hands to another's. Inevitably, contact between populations brings in contact all aspects of them: culture, identity, ideologies, habits and language. The first version of the local language—the ancient Cypriot dialect known as the *arcadocypriot dialect*—appeared in Cyprus since the 12th century BC by the Achaeans and lasted until the Hellenistic era in the 4th century BC. What is interesting to note is that, at that time, the Cypriot dialect was written in a local syllabic alphabet, known as the *cypro-syllabic script*, until the Greek alphabet and Hellenistic Koine came to the surface. (Hill 1972, Varella 2006a, Kazamias et al. 2013)

The ancient era (Phoenician, Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman rule) was succeeded by the modern era and it was at that time that the Cypriot dialect developed a form that resembles the present one spoken by Greek Cypriots. By the end of the 12th century AD, Cyprus was under the French authority since Richard I of England, who conquered the island, sold it to Guy de Lusignan. A real diglossic situation existed with the H variety being that of the ruler (the language of the upper social stratum) and the L variety being that of the masses. However, it was at that time, with all those present-day Europeans, Syrians, Armenians and Maronite Arabs' settlement on the island and the variety of ethnicities, religions and languages, that the dialect gained strength. The population's diversity gave way to the dialect to be used as the only means to communicate with one another (Hill 1972, Varella 2006a). Also, it was "[…] the only vernacular to be used in official documents and the first one to become established in literary composition" (Varella 2006a: p. 13). Obviously, that code depicted the impact of the French language—and not only—on the dialect (Hadjioannou 1936).

The Frankish period (1191-1489) was followed by the Venetian period (1489-1571) which constituted a total submission to the conqueror and brought economic and cultural devastation to Cyprus. People suffered Venetians' exploitation through

trade and heavy taxation, and previous cultural prosperity was definitely harmed and continued to be, in the next three centuries by Ottoman Turks. The medieval Cypriot dialect was mainly characterised by the introduction of French loanwords—and then, Italian too—to the extent that the language spoken by Cypriots at that time seemed like a mixture of Greek and French. Hadjioannou (1988) gives some examples of such place names and lexical items still used nowadays; *σιμιντίριν* /simi'ndirin/ which comes from Provençal *cementiri* and means a low surrounding wall, and *φλαούνα* /fla'una/ that is derived from old French *fflaon* and denotes a kind of pastry-pie made of cheese, eggs and milk. Loanwords from Italian include *μαντάτον* /ma'ⁿdaton/ 'news' from *mandato*, *κουμμούνιν* /ku'mmunin/ 'community' from *commune,* and *καλάρω* /ka'laro/ 'convince' from *calare* (Symeonides 2006, Varella 2006a).

Although they offered privileges that were non-existent before (e.g. the re-establishment of Orthodox Church), Turkish occupiers (1571-1878), in an effort to 'purify' the ethnic identity of Cyprus, effaced the remnants of past conquerors and local people. The Greek and Western population of Cyprus underwent killing, starvation, poverty, banishment, isolation and Islamisation. On top of this, the demographic portrayal of the island started changing since a Turkish minority ethnic group (known as the TC community) started being formed with the immigration of Turks from Anatolia. Some locals became Muslims, either Turkish-speaking or Greek-speaking. Others preferred to act like Turks in order to survive, but they maintained their religion. Thus, they ended up as bilingual speakers of Greek and Turkish. Such conditions did not affect only the general ethnic and demographic picture of Cyprus, but also, the linguistic and social one. Since people hardly managed to get the most necessary supplies to survive, education and consequently spreading of the Greek language was far from their concerns. This further justifies the huge amount of Turkish borrowing in CG. Such examples are *ατζαμής* /adʒa'mis/ 'clumsy' from Turkish *acemi*, *κκελλέ* /cʰ:e'l:e/ '(big) head' from *kelle* and *σκεμπέ* /ske'mbe/ 'belly' from *işkembe* (Hill 1972, Symeonides 2006, Varella 2006a).

In 1878, an agreement brought Cyprus in the hands of British, before gaining independence in 1960. Unlike previous conquerors, British were expected to apply some kind of policy that would show greater sensitivity towards people's needs. Also, people believed that the British would help Cypriots achieve *enosis* (union)

with Greece. However, the British ruler imposed heavy taxation to people, in order pay the Turks for leaving Cyprus in their hands, and the locals could not participate in the administrative affairs of their country. However, the population of the island increased gradually in the years following, especially the Greek community since the tolerable living conditions did not force them emigrate any more. Education for Greek Cypriots was delivered in Greek and in 1935 English was introduced in the school curriculum as a second language. In 1960, after a four-year struggle with the British colonisers, Cyprus managed to become an independent state with a constitution composed after the agreement between Britain, Greece and Turkey. But, this constitution did not manage to establish cooperation between GC and TC people. Greek Cypriots' plans to unite with Greece were threatened, in an effort to protect Turkish Cypriots' interests. In 1963, modifications were suggested by the government, which the TC community opposed and people started an intercommunal fight. After UN's failure to bring peace among the two communities, the Greek military's (junta) coup d'état in 1974 offered the chance to Turkey to intervene and occupy the northern part of the island (Arnold 1956, Varella 2006a, b).

4.2.2 Language contact and borrowing in Cypriot Greek

Moving through all these historical stages, change—not only in politics, but in all other aspects too—was inevitable. Language, as one of them, was highly influenced. Such influence includes the appearance of bilingualism or diglossia, from time to time, and borrowing which is still obvious in Greek Cypriots' language. Borrowing in CG occurred as a consequent of its contact with the Latin, Turkish and English language. Arabic loanwords also appear in the CG lexicon as an influence from Arabs that settled on the island in the 4th century. Borrowing in CG has already been studied by Hadjioannou (1936), Kypri (1979), Papapavlou (1988, 1989, 1994, 1997), Pavlou (1993) and Varella (2006a, b, c). Many of these loanwords have also entered the Greek language and some are *indirect loans*, since the donor language has borrowed them from another language. Even more interesting are those cases where CG borrowed a lexical item that was previously taken from the Greek language. A number of foreign lexical items that entered CG has already been mentioned, but, it is interesting to study other ways in which language contact influenced local language throughout the years.

Hadjioannou (1936), followed by Kypri (1979), constituted an initial attempt to study lexical borrowing in CG and compile a list of loanwords. Hadjioannou, through a historical discussion, presents a corpus of two thousand such loans that have entered the dialect since Middle Ages. Papapavlou (1988, 1989), engaging with the modern loanwords that entered the GC repertoire much later, explained that the need for new terms is the first reason that led Greek Cypriots to borrow from other languages. Xenomania or showing-off follows—as certain varieties are thought to signify high prestige—and linguistic adequacy is believed to be the last reason for borrowing. The results of his research brought to the surface a list of 420 English loans, mostly nouns, which can be divided into eight categories: industry and technology, business and commerce, sports, amusement and games, academic and psychological terms, tourism, food and pastries, clothing and fashion. The author infers that the influence of Britain and America on language is a sign of their influence on technology, commerce, sports, entertainment, fashion and academic life, too. This phenomenon "seems to be world-wide [and] felt more in the Mediterranean region" (Papapavlou 1989: p. 101). The list of English loanwords in CG provided by Papapavlou (1989) was enriched some years later by Papapavlou (1997) with fifty more recent loans.

Pavlou (1993) focused on borrowing from the Turkish language. The central aim was to examine the semantics of these words and he categorised them into: those that do not have a Greek equivalent, those that have a Greek synonym, and those that have a more narrowed sense in the recipient language. Moreover, a book published one year later (Papapavlou 1994) offers a list of loanwords, drawing their historical past and the domains they have entered, and explaining the reasons why such influence may have occurred, as well as the sociocultural implications derived. This study engaged with lexical borrowing from Turkish, Arabic and English. Papapavlou divides the Turkish and Arabic loanwords into: a) food and pastries, b) fruits and vegetables, c) domestic items and utensils, d) clothing and dressing, e) agricultural items and tools, f) trade-related items, and g) names of trades. However, apart from these items that were necessary to name new things, vividness of some foreign words led to their adoption by Greek Cypriots. Concerning Arabic and Turkish, these are either synonyms in kinship, religious attributes, lifestyle and instruments of punishment, or euphemistic and cacophemistic terms.

The most recent research on lexical borrowing in CG comes from Varella (2006a, b, c). Varella (2006b) had a similar target to that of Papapavlou (1989, 1997); to demonstrate the influence of English on CG, as it is evident in lexical borrowing, and to report on its growing impact both on Cyprus and other nations. Once again, the answer mainly lies on the universal association of English with technology, business and commerce. Additionally, Varella (2006c) engaged with lexical borrowing from the point of the semantic processes that take place when a borrowed item enters the recipient language. She provides logical reasoning for 'peculiar' semantic shifts, bringing to the surface psycholinguistic notions that constitute driving forces behind borrowing. Finally, Varella (2006a) offers an extensive account on how Greek Cypriots' language interacted with the languages of the different colonizers, from time to time. She refers to phonological, morphological and lexical borrowing. She claims that loanwords have undergone semantic, morphological and phonological adaptation in entering CG. Adaptation was determined by the language system of the donor; in cases it had a morphological/phonological system that was similar to that of CG, little or no adaptation occurred.

4.2.3 Differences between Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek

From a political point of view, CG is a dialect of SMG, for this, it is abbreviated by some people as GCD (Greek Cypriot Dialect). SMG is the Indo-European language spoken in Greece as the native language officially established in 1975, as a solution to the diglossic situation between Demotic Greek and Katharevousa. From a linguistic point of view, CG is not unanimously perceived as a dialect, thus, it is better referred to as a variety of Greek spoken in Cyprus. The large degree of divergence between CG and SMG, found on all language levels, is most probably attributed to the geographical distance and the political independence, along with the rich history of the island, that brought local language into contact with many others (Terkourafi 2007).

CG differs from the standard variety in terms of phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax. First of all, the lexical level seems to be the most 'problematic' one, since it is the one that blocks comprehension between a CG speaker and a monodialectal speaker of SMG. This is mostly attributed to the loanwords that entered the local speech through its contact with other languages, as mentioned in the previous section. Varella (2006a) adds that the 'variegated' vocabulary of CG is also "due to

the maintenance of archaic words". Despite the comprehension difficulties arising from lexical 'peculiarities', as the same researcher states "the phonology of the dialect is perhaps what sounds more striking to the ears of Standard Greek speakers" (p. 20). For example, palatal sounds /ʒ/, /ʤ/, /ʃ/ and /ʧ/ are absent from SMG and appear in CG in the place of /z/, /k/, /s/ (or /x/) and /ts/ (or /k/) respectively, in certain environments. For instance, /ʃ/ replaces /x/ when it precedes a front vowel (e.g. *χελιδόνι* /xeli'ðoni/ 'swallow' becomes /ʃeli'onin/). Then, /z/ changes into /ʒ/ when followed by the sound /ʲi/, such as in *νάζια* /'nazʲa/ 'coquettish behaviour' which is uttered as /'naʒa/ in CG. As for /ʧ/, it is the CG correspondence of /k/ when found between a consonant and a front vowel or intervocalically, as in *σακί* /sa'ki/ 'sack' and /sa'ʧin/. Finally, /ʤ/ appears when /k/ is word-initial and a front vowel follows or intervocalically (*φακή* /fa'ki/ 'lentil' becomes /fa'ʤi/). As Newton (1972) states, /ʤ/ constitutes the most characteristic aspect of GC speech, since "one often hears remarks such as /milá me to če/ 'he speaks with /če/' (/ke/ 'and' being standard […])" (p. 21).

What is also important to mention is that Greek Cypriots tend to pronounce double consonants appearing in writing and even geminate single ones that are found intervocalically. Arvaniti and Tserdanelis (2000), as well as Arvaniti (2001a, b), observed that geminates are longer than single consonants. Malikouti-Drachman (2009) distinguished between three categories of gemination found in CG: a) geminates inherited from earlier stages of the language, as in *θάλασσα* /'θalas:a/ 'sea', by contrast to SMG /'θalasa/, b) loan geminates, like in the Italian loanword *καπέλο* /ka'pʰ:el:o/ 'hat', by contrast to SMG /ka'pelo/, and c) *spontaneous gemination* (earlier proposed by Newton 1968), like *ποτέ* /po'tʰ:e/ 'never', instead of /po'te/. Moreover, intervocalic sounds /v/, /ɣ/ and /ð/ are deleted, such as in /'poin/ instead of /'poðin/ 'leg', /l/ and /r/ are often used interchangeably (/xa'rkos/ instead of /xa'lkos/ 'copper'), and consonant clusters undergo changes, like in /a'vɣo/ 'egg', where the second consonant which is an obstruent becomes a stop and the first one is devoiced, ending up as /a'fkon/. (Kolitsis 1986, Varella 2006a)

On the morphological level, CG uses inflectional morphemes that are absent from SMG but are derived from Ancient Greek; for example, the ending /usin/ instead of /un/ in the third person plural form (SMG *μιλούν* /mi'lun/ 'they talk' becomes *μιλούσιν* /mi'lusin/) and /asin/ instead of /an/ in the past form (*είπαν* /'ipan/ 'they said' is *είπασιν* /'ipasin/). Furthermore, in past passive, the ending /otan/ is replaced by

/etun/ in cases such as *ντυνόταν* /ⁿdi'notan/ (‘he was getting dressed’) which becomes /e'ⁿdinetun/. In second and third person singular past passive forms like *ντύθηκες* /'ⁿdiθikʲes/ (‘you got dressed’) and *ντύθηκε* /'ⁿdiθikʲe/ (‘he got dressed’), the endings /ikʲes/ and /ikʲe/ become /is/ and /in/ respectively (/e'ⁿdiθis/ and /e'ⁿdiθin/). Additionally, imperative forms ending in /su/ (*πλύσου* /'plisu/ ‘Wash yourself’) end in /θ:u/ in CG (*πλύθθου* /'pliθ:u/). Regarding CG morphology, speakers also tend to add /e/ verb-initially to form past tenses. For instance, *καταλάβω* /kata'lavo/ ‘I understand’ becomes *εκατάλαβα* /eka'talava/ ‘I understood’, instead of the standardised form *κατάλαβα* /ka'talava/. (Varella 2006a)

Another distinctive characteristic of CG adopted from Ancient Greek is the addition of a final /n/ sound in the accusative singular form of nouns, as well as in some verb forms (e.g. *μέλιν* /'melin/ ‘honey’, *ημέραν* /i'meran/ ‘day’, *είπαμεν* /'ipamen/ ‘we said’ etc). Concerning nouns, CG diminutives tend to end in /uðin/ or /uin/, whereas their standard counterparts end in /akʲi/, like *αρνού(δ)ιν* /a'rnuðin/ versus /a'rnakʲi/ ‘little lamb’. On the other hand, /u/ is a productive ending for CG feminine diminutives (e.g. *καττού* /ka't^{h}:u/ ‘kitty’, *κατσελλού* /katse'l:u/ ‘young cow’ etc). Furthermore, *εν* /en/ is used in CG to form a negative sentence instead of the standard *δεν* /ðen/. At last, as far as syntax is concerned, the main difference between CG and SMG is that CG adopted a different word-order in sentences where there is an object pronoun. That means, while the sentence ‘I told you’ is delivered as *σου είπα* /su 'ipa/ in SMG, in CG, it is mostly used as *είπα σου* /'ipa su/ (Symeonides 2006, Varella 2006a).

4.3 The linguistic background of the Greek-Cypriot community

4.3.1 The sociolinguistic situation between Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek

Cyprus’ complex historical past contributed in the GC community’s development of its own linguistic communication. On the one side, SMG is officially recognised as the language used in formal environments such as school, media, administration and written communication. On the other side, CG is used in casual domains of everyday life, including oral communication, among friends and family members, in folk literature, as well as in TV series, especially to create a humorous effect. SMG

is the language spoken by all Greeks around the world and it is a symbol of national identity, while CG is the unique code that has been born on the island. It encloses all the subsequent contacts with a dozen or so other nations and cultures, discussed earlier. As an addition to the already complex linguistic profile of the GC community, English comes to occupy a significant position in Greek Cypriots' language, especially in tourism, administration and private institutions of secondary and tertiary education.

An aspect of the linguistic identity of Greek Cypriots that has attracted the linguists' attention is the form the two native codes—SMG and CG—take within the GC setting. Historical events constituted determining factors for the linguistic identity of people. The major one was the Turkish invasion in 1974 that forced 200 000 refugees to move from the northern part of the island to the south. Furthermore, the trend of abandoning village life and moving to the cities, and the introduction of legislation for obligatory secondary education that is associated with the pressure to use SMG, led people to abandon regional varieties which underwent some kind of *levelling* and form a homogeneous variety the CG *koine* (Arvaniti 2006, Tsiplakou et al. 2006). The linguistic situation of the GC community has been extensively studied and disputed by many experts and non-experts in language issues.

Some researchers claim that Ferguson's description of diglossia is observed (Pavlou 1992, Moschonas 1996, Arvaniti 2006). The two linguistic codes—SMG and CG—are used, although with a different social status and functions. SMG corresponds to the H variety which is recognised as the official language of the state since 1960 and it is used in formal contexts like education and media. On the other hand, CG, which is the L variety, tends to be used in informal contexts when the speaker addresses a friend or a family member in their everyday life (Ferguson 1996). Additionally, based on Di Pietro's definition (1973) of bidialectal speakers, "as those who possess both a socially stigmatised and a prestige variety of the same language", the GC community can be regarded as a bidialectal one. SMG is the prestigious variety used in the contexts mentioned above and it is associated with "a national state, a standardized writing system and a body of literature" (p. 5). CG possesses a lower social status and social stigmatisation may be found within the sub-varieties of CG.

As previously mentioned, for political and cultural reasons (the absence of a standardised writing system), CG is regarded as a dialect of SMG. Christodoulou (1997) opposes to this statement, claiming that in order to call a linguistic variety a dialect of a language, it means that both codes are acquired as first languages at the same time. He explains that this situation does not apply in the case of the GC setting since no one in Cyprus speaks SMG in natural speech, either because they do not want to or because they cannot use it. SMG is only used in set-up environments, but again the interlocutor can discern a Cypriotised version of it. By contrast to other dialects, CG puts up its distinct dialectal sounds as a 'shield', so as not to be identified with the standard variety. Christodoulou's conclusion is that in reality CG functions as a language.

Although many researchers present the state of SMG and CG in Cyprus as a 'complementary distribution' of two distinct codes (Moschonas 1996, Papapavlou & Pavlou 1998), some researchers have claimed that the picture is not so clear. According to Karyolemou (1994), CG speakers perceive the distinction between SMG and CG as a dichotomous one, but, in usage, there are no such varieties used in complementary distribution. Greek Cypriots use a mixture of the two, combining features to the extent they are 'allowed' to by the specific situation, since they are aware of the differences between the two varieties. Therefore, she proposed the idea of *perceptual diglossia* in the case of Cyprus which turns into a continuum in usage, based on the degree of mixing of the two codes.

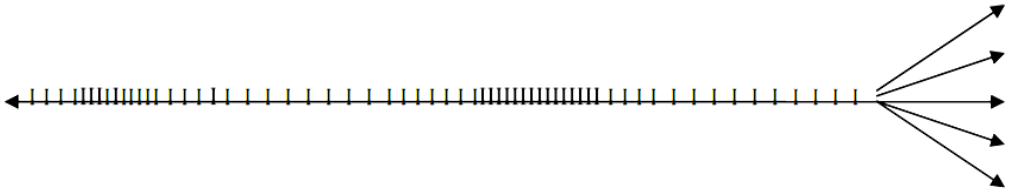
In another study, Karyolemou (2000) mentions that salient features of both CG and SMG are avoided by CG speakers or have faded away, therefore, they mainly use an urban version of the dialectal code called *Cypriot Koine*. The same researcher attributes this situation to the diglossia that appeared in Greece with the shift from Katharevousa to Demotic Greek (Karyolemou 2006). The structural distance between CG and Katharevousa protected the former from attrition and with the loss of local features with the introduction of Demotic Greek, CG was brought closer to SMG. Additionally, Arvaniti (2006) states that SMG is not a variety used within the GC community since, even in its more acrolectal level, it is not the same as SMG— the native language of Greece. In her viewpoint, this may happen because Cypriots are 'reluctant' to recognise the differences between the two codes, since this would be a divergence from Greek ethnicity. Not sharing the same language with the

motherland makes the bonds with it become loose. Arvaniti (2006) calls SMG spoken in Cyprus *Cypriot Standard Greek*.

For many years, scholars have failed to recognise that CG is not a homogeneous code used within the GC community, but Greek Cypriots' language constitutes a continuum with different levels of the dialect spoken inter-speaker and intra-speaker, all over the island. As Karyolemou (2006) alleges, the inability of linguists (and speakers) to recognise the appearance of a continuum led to the disagreement on where SMG stands in Greek Cypriots' speech. While initially the situation was described by Newton (1972) as one of a 'dialect continuum' (linguistic variation due to the appearance of regiolects of the different geographical areas), later linguists claimed that dialect levelling and koineisation, as a result of geo-socio-political factors, led to the loss of various marked features and gave birth to a 'register continuum' (Tsiplakou et al. 2005). That means Greek Cypriots' language ranges from a heavy dialectal variety (the 'peasant talk' called '*χωρκάτικα*'), to a more SMG variety (the 'pen-pusher talk' referred to as '*καλαμαρίστικα*'), with two middle levels (the 'correct' or 'tidied-up Cypriot' called '*συσταρισμένα*' and the 'polite Cypriot' called '*ευγενικά*'). However, sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the different registers since not always there is 'one-to-one correspondence', especially on the lexical level (Sivas 2003, Tsiplakou et al. 2005, Terkourafi 2007).

In earlier studies, Davy, Ioannou and Panayiotou (1996), as well as Karyolemou and Pavlou (2000), cut three levels across the continuum: the local varieties, the urban Cypriot variety and SMG. Similarly, after she provided evidence on the appearance of a continuum rather than diglossia in Cyprus in her study in 2002, Sivas (2003) distinguished between a variety similar to SMG used in formal situations and urban CG used by urban people in everyday communication, while rural people use more regional varieties of CG. That is how the continuum comes to the surface and puts an end to the dichotomous relationship between CG and SMG as the varieties spoken within the GC community. The researcher adds that the speakers themselves do not realise the presence of different levels of CG, but, they believe in a diglossic or bidialectal situation, although some of them are able to distinguish between intermediate levels.

Figure 4-1. The sociolinguistic situation in Cyprus (Sivas 2003)



Cypriot Koine *Urban Cypriot dialect* *Local varieties*

Whatever the case is, existing research has shown that CG is used in different domains of life, even formal ones such as education, and this has been proven to be beneficial for the speakers. For instance, Ioannidou (2007) observed that both codes are used in a GC classroom. SMG was associated "with issues of formality and dominance [whereas] the Dialect was the predominant variety in all the other classroom interactions" (p. 186). Using CG in the classroom has been found to be beneficial for further explanation (Pavlou & Papapavlou 2004), psychological reasons (Ioannidou 2007, Papapavlou & Pavlou 2007, Pavlou 2007), the improvement of writing skills (Yiakoumetti 2007a) and the increase of linguistic awareness. Being aware of the different features of SMG and CG, students are able to produce SMG more effectively (Yiakoumetti et al. 2005, Yiakoumetti 2007b). As said by Papapavlou and Kouridou (2007), speakers of two linguistic codes can "think more creatively, are not constrained by restrictions [...] of one language and, if necessary, can recognise and select several grammatical options". Also, they can make judgments on linguistic material (p. 224).

The 'problematic' character of the GC linguistic setting brought at times ethnic identity crisis. Since Cyprus' independence—overloaded by the different historical events and reinforced by the opposing political ideologies shared by people—people were led to oscillate between their Cypriot state identity and Greek ethnic identity (Karoulla-Vrikki 2009). Cyprocentric and Hellenocentric feelings made people focus more either on their Cypriot identity, as citizens of an independent state, or on the common identity of the whole Greek nation. As Karoulla-Vrikki explains this is not a matter of dichotomy between the two identities, but a matter of greater emphasis either on the one aspect or the other. "The boundaries between the two poles of identity should be seen as blurred and ambiguous because the two ideologies co-existed and have often overlapped" (2009: p. 189).

As Sciriha (1996) claims, on the one hand, CG is the variety widely used in people's everyday interactions and "it is undeniably the most visible marker of the respondents' identity as Cypriot" (p. 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 cultivated by political parties. Supporters of the Cypriot identity are generally more in favour of the dialect, whereas those who defend the Greek identity hold more positive stances towards the standard variety (Karyolemou 2002). However, there have been cases in the history of Cyprus where people in favour of Greek identity—the right wing—fought for the use of the dialect and vice versa; e.g. the Council of Ministers in standardising and transliterating toponyms (see Papapavlou 2006). The ethnic identity of Greek Cypriots has been further affected by English. The impact of English on the local language as permitted by people's favourability brought fears of distortion of identity (Papapavlou 1997, McEntee-Atalianis & Pouloukas 2001).

According to Christodoulou (1997), SMG could have become the mother tongue of Greek Cypriots if it was not for the British intervention. During Cypriots' conflict with the British colonisers, the locals used the dialect as a means to show their Greek identity. But, the colonisers regarded the dialect as a 'corrupted' version of Greek which shared similar sounds with English (i.e. /ʃ/, /ʧ/, /ʤ/). Hence, they used the dialect to deliver the message to people that it is not just the language spoken within the agricultural society of the island, but a widely accepted means of communication. For Christofides (2010):

> "[…] Greek identity in Cyprus can be described as both graphocentric and grammatocentric. Demotic does not represent speech in Cyprus, does not, without agency, represent spoken signifiers. Instead, it reproduces the speech of the Greek Other, reproduces the signifier of the Greek Other's first signifier. This reproduction attempts to extinguish the trace of the Oriental Other marked in the selfsame by Cypriot Greek." (p. 422)

4.3.2 Language policy and planning throughout the years

From what has been said so far, it is inferred that, except for the two main linguistic varieties that prevail in Cyprus (i.e. CG and SMG), English has always been holding a distinctive place on the linguistic portrait of the country. Until the early years of the

establishment of the state's independence, language planning in Cyprus favoured English over Greek as a way to opt for the local Cypriot identity, whereas later historical events made people want to strive for their Greekness. This *linguistic protectionism* (Karyolemou 2010) guided language policy practitioners' decisions during sensitive periods of historical—and subsequently ethno-political—reformations.

After 1960 when Cyprus gained its independence and with the co-existence of different ethnic groups, the official languages of the state were Standard Greek and Standard Turkish as they were the languages of the two main communities. However, English never ceased occupying an important place in Cyprus' linguistic setting. Even though at that time Cyprus was an independent state and could develop its own legal system, people kept the British one which was introduced in 1878 and was composed in English. Similarly, the new legislation introduced allowed for the use of English and although court documents should be delivered in the language of the people concerned with (if they addressed Greek people, in Greek, and if they were intended for Turkish people, in Turkish), they were still written in English. Additional to this, although the provisions of the Constitution secured people's linguistic rights, in 1965 a new law was introduced that enabled the use of any language being used in the court (i.e. English). English was thought to be a requirement in the court since communication was carried out in English, until mid-1980s. If someone did not speak English, they should wait until someone interpreted what was said. And sometimes this was not done until the verdict, despite of the violation of people's rights (Karoulla-Vrikki 2009, Hadjioannou et al 2011).

The co-existence of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, along with that of their languages, ceased after the Turkish invasion in 1974. Greek Cypriots and the Greek language were displaced to the southern part of Cyprus, while Turkish Cypriots and the Turkish language were restricted to the north. Even after 2003 that the administration of northern Cyprus allowed the passage of Greek Cypriots to the areas under their control, communication between the two communities is almost non-existent (Hadjioannou et al. 2011). Political tension enabled the replacement of Turkish as a second language within the GC community by English. Official governmental documents, place names and street names are written in English—

Romanised spelling—as well as the first foreign language to be learned at school is English (Sciriha 1996).

Nevertheless, in an effort to revive the Greek identity of Cypriots and the use of the Greek language in a forgotten native Greek-speaking environment, there has been a great turn in language policy during 1980s. Place names started being rendered in SMG, bringing a ten-year disagreement in rendering CG sounds like /ʧ/ in names like *Λατσιά* /la'ʧa/ that ended up being codified as *Λακκιά* /la'cʰ:a/ (Karyolemou 2010). In 1988, there has been enactment of a law concerning the official languages of the state, with which Greek and Turkish replaced English as the court language. Thus, people entering the court should be able to master one of the official languages, verdicts and decrees were given in Greek or Turkish, and laws started being translated. As for the civil service, the replacement of English by Greek (as the official language spoken in the southern areas) in official documents was completed in 1994. Hence, passports, identity cards, driving licenses and street names should be in Greek and the English use was restricted to some documents of governmental and 'semi-governmental' organisations (Karoulla-Vrikki 2009).

Concerning the language of education, up until 1976, Katharevousa has been the language of primary and secondary education in Cyprus, surely for writing and mostly for instruction by the teachers, which has later been replaced by Demotic Greek. Recently, teachers have started using the dialect in the classroom for certain purposes (Ioannidou 2007). During the struggle against the British rule (1955-1959) and the years that followed Cyprus' independence, education in Cyprus—which was in the hands of two Communal Chambers as the legislative bodies of the GC and TC communities, until 1965 when the Ministry of Education was created—served as a means to promote each community's ethnic identity. As for the GC community, it was believed that promoting the Greek and Christian identity of the island would strengthen the bonds with the motherland. Also, that was thought to be the best way to get rid of any British remnants. English was not taught at schools and, along with SMG, students studied Ancient Greek, since the Minister of Education Costantinos Spyridakis regarded it as "the ancestral heritage that 'had been nurturing' the entire world" (Karoulla-Vrikki 2009: p. 198). Private schools whose language of instruction was English were not officially recognised because they harmed people's Greekness. CG had no place in the ideal hellenocentric educational system and in

any other domain in Cyprus. It was thought to be associated with poor education and low social status.

But, people's beliefs and ideals seem to have undergone a change after Turkish invasion in 1974. When SMG became the officially recognised language of Greece in 1975, at the same time, SMG became the language of education in southern Cyprus too. Yet, Greek Cypriots' disappointment, because of Greece's backing of the coup against president Makarios and the subsequent failure to counter the Turkish invasion, led people turn towards more Cyprocentric views. Initially, an anthology of GC literature written in CG was published and studied as part of Modern Greek lessons. In addition, the use of CG in the classroom to ensure students' understanding was no more prohibited. Although the replacement of the archaic variety by the spoken one in Greece offered the opportunity to CG to gain "some legitimacy in the Cypriot school curriculum […] no formal attempt was ever made to introduce contemporary CG as a vehicle for school literacy" (Hadjioannou 2011: p. 530). Up until recently, in studying language in the classroom, Pavlou (2007) found that teachers correct students and themselves too when they use CG during the lesson. Teachers have been also observed to correct students when using CG or ask students to correct themselves, by Ioannidou and Sophocleous (2010).

The policy favouring Cypriotisation lasted until the 1990s when the government of that time returned to the promotion of the belief that Greek identity is over the state identity, and this would be achieved through the preservation of the (standard) Greek language. Klairi Angelidou, the Minister of Education, praised the contribution of the Greek language in the enrichment of the vocabulary of other languages and wanted the students to believe that the better they could command the standard variety, the easier they could learn foreign languages. At the same time, Ancient Greek texts were studied in their original version (Karoulla-Vrikki 2009). According to the curriculum implemented at present, the textbooks used are published by the Ministry of Education in Greece, (standard) Greek instruction ranges from six to ten hours per week throughout school years, English lessons last about two hours per week (from elementary school), and CG is formally found nowhere in education. After linguists' efforts to provide scientific evidence for the beneficial role of the introduction of Greek Cypriots' mother tongue (i.e. CG) in the classroom, curriculum reformations in 2010 recognised the importance of the acquisition of CG, in relation

to SMG, in the development of students' metalinguistic and sociolinguistic awareness (Hadjioannou et al. 2011).

The language policy tension, arousing from identity concerns, was intensified when the University of Cyprus (the first public university in Cyprus) was to be established. Before Turkish invasion, the notion of a 'national university' whose language of instruction would be only SMG was preferred. But, after the Turkish invasion, with the feeling of disappointment towards the motherland, Greek Cypriots envisioned a 'state university' whose official languages would be SMG, Turkish and English that would offer opportunities to all Cypriot and foreign students. The latter option including English brought fear of corruption of people's Greek identity and finally, in 1989, led to the decision of the creation of a bi-communal university whose official languages would follow the provisions of the Constitution. Thus, as for the present situation in tertiary and higher education, the official languages of the University of Cyprus and the Cyprus University of Technology are Greek (SMG) and Turkish, although Greek is the one that is exclusively used, with the exception of the Department of Turkish Studies. French and English are the languages of instruction for the Departments of French Studies and English Studies respectively. English is also used in private institutions, the Higher Hotel Institute and the Higher Technical Institute—until it ceased to exist in 2009 (Karyolemou 2001).

4.4 Greek Cypriots' language attitudes

4.4.1 Attitudes towards Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek

Papapavlou (1998) is one of the first linguists who investigated Greek Cypriots' language attitudes. The study measured attitudes towards SMG and CG and made use of the matched-guise technique. Five speakers, who were highly competent in both codes, took part in ten recordings using SMG and CG to talk about an accident, going on a trip, accepting an invitation etc. Then, the recordings were played to GC university students who were asked to evaluate the speakers on a semantic differential scale of bipolar adjectives, like sincere-insincere, attractive-unattractive, dependable-undependable etc. The findings showed that the participants were more in favour of SMG rather than CG, since SMG was evaluated more positively in eight out of twelve pairs of adjectives. Speakers of CG were considered

completely uneducated, whereas when the same people talked in SMG, they were characterised as educated by all subjects. Moreover, speakers of the standard were thought to obtain a higher degree of attractiveness, ambition, intelligence, interestingness, modernity, dependability and pleasantness. On the contrary, these speakers were not perceived as friendlier, kinder, more humorous or more sincere than speakers of CG. Papapavlou explains this by saying that these are characteristics given to people who are close to the individual and, in this case, these are people who use the dialect. The admiration towards the standard variety most probably derives from the fact that it is "something that they have never been able to master completely" (1998: p. 25).

An attempt to find out what aspect of CG is that which makes it unattractive, unpleasant, boring and old-fashioned was made by Papapavlou (2001). This study focused on the phonology of the language and whether sounds /ʤ/ (e.g. for weather /ʤeˈros/) and /ʃ/ (e.g. for hand /ˈʃeri/), which correspond to SMG /k/ (e.g. /keˈros/) and /x/ (e.g. /ˈxeri/), make CG sounds unpleasant to the Greek Cypriots' ear. Therefore, university students were randomly selected to participate in the experiment and were asked to evaluate the speakers of two versions of a story and the language they used. The two versions were in CG, but while in the first version /ʤ/ replaced /k/, in the second version /ʃ/ replaced /x/. After listening to the story, the participants should indicate the following: the broadness of the speaker's accent, the speaker's educational level and the degree of comprehensibility of the speech. Although both /ʤ/ and /ʃ/ are characteristics of CG that phonologically distinguish it from SMG, /ʃ/ seems to sound harsher than /ʤ/ according to Greek Cypriots who find its users less educated and even less comprehensible. The question that remains unanswered is what makes /ʃ/ less pleasant than /ʤ/ and whether this perception leads speakers of CG avoid using /ʃ/ more often than /ʤ/, in their effort to accommodate their speech in formal contexts where SMG is expected.

Tsiplakou's study (2003) comes as a counterargument to the above studies which concluded that Greek Cypriots hold more positive attitudes towards the standard rather than the dialect. Again, the aim was to investigate attitudes towards the two varieties spoken across the island, but, based on what had already been found, this study's results were not expected. The population under investigation consisted of secondary-school, high-school and university students. For the data collection, questionnaires and interviews were used. By contrast to the previous studies, these

people not only were not in favour of SMG, but they found CG slightly more superior, attributing it higher degree of 'sincerity' and 'directness', as well as equal degree of 'richness of language' and 'attractiveness', compared to SMG. What is more is that this probably derives from the fact that they feel they have completely acquired SMG and they can successfully code-switch between the two varieties according to the situation and the topic of the discussion. Nevertheless, during the interviews, the participants revealed that in some cases they cannot say whether they speak in SMG or CG. Tsiplakou attributes young people's favourable attitudes towards CG to the fact that the media use the dialect more and more, although it is in comedies and satire rather than factual information programmes. Another possible explanation is that young people do this as a way to resist what is imposed to them by the language policy; that the official language of the state is SMG.

Ioannidou (2004) studied GC students' attitudes and found out that language attitudes held by people and their ethnic identity are strongly interwoven, although there is not a straightforward relationship between the two. A linguistic variety may be favoured or unfavoured, regardless the ethnic identity associated with it. The investigator's conclusion was 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)

In 2007, Papapavlou investigated GC university students' language attitudes towards CG in relation to language policy and planning and, more specifically, the possibility of introducing the dialect as the language of instruction at school. The measurement tool used was a questionnaire where the subjects expressed their favourability of dialectal and bidialectal education, their opinion on the difficulties the ministry would encounter if such a measure would be implemented, and their agreement/disagreement on possible effects this change would bring. Negative attitudes towards CG were obtained in this study too, as far as the idea of dialectal education is concerned. The participants in this experiment expressed

disagreement in the idea of dialectal education, although most of them believe that CG can satisfy children's needs. On the other hand, the majority of them support bidialectal education. Regarding the problems that may arise, people alleged that these mainly relate to textbooks, grammars and dictionaries. Finally, it was claimed that such a measure might bring feelings of freedom of oral expression, self-confidence, belongingness and creativity, as well as "linguistic impoverishment and cultural isolation" (p. 205).

At the same time, Themistocleous (2007) studied attitudes towards an online written form of CG. As already mentioned, CG has no standardised writing system of its own, although it has been traditionally using the Greek alphabet with several diacritics and occasionally some symbols taken from the Roman alphabet (Armostis et al. 2014). As for online (informal) communication, GC internet users tend to use the dialect written in the Roman alphabet (a Cypriotised form of *Greeklish*). GC internet users participated in Themistocleous' study and were asked to answer an online questionnaire of open and Likert-scale questions. The researcher obtained a similar picture to that of Tsiplakou (2003); positive attitudes are held towards CG. Internet users said that they prefer to use CG in online communication rather than SMG, since it "sounds more natural and because they can express themselves better" (Themistocleous 2007: p. 482). Although being written, online communication resembles oral everyday communication and, as the participants reported, they use CG for their everyday communication, thus, they use it for online communication too. For this, the more they use the internet, the more competent they become in this Romanised written form of CG. Moreover, the use of Roman characters, instead of Greek ones, was justified as easier to use and more accurate in transferring CG sounds. At last, even this existing form of written CG is not enough to convince Greek Cypriots that at some time it will be developed into a proper writing system that can satisfy their needs in all aspects of written communication.

Recently, another effort was made to investigate Greek Cypriots' language attitudes towards SMG and CG by Papapavlou and Sophocleous (2009). This study did not consider the dialect as one cohesive code, but as a dialect continuum with four different levels: from 'heavy' CG (*βαρετά Κυπριακά)* to the most acrolectal level of SMG. The questions posed were how Greek Cypriots express their attitudes towards a code and how they differentiate themselves from the speakers of an unfavourable code, through the use of deixis. People under investigation were

university students who were divided in three focus groups, after participating in a preliminary survey to confirm their awareness of the different registers. According to the method employed, they listened to eight speakers narrating an experience using one of the four dialect levels, before evaluating their register with the aid of a table that contained descriptions of each register. Then, the three focus groups took part in a discussion for the experimenters to elicit their language attitudes. The participants expressed negative feelings towards the broadest level of CG and tried to socially differentiate themselves from the speakers using it, through the use of 'them' and 'us'. 'Them' referred to the speakers of the basilect who were thought to be "construction workers or people who just finished the army and do not attend tertiary education [or] peasants driving a crew cab or villagers" and 'us' referred to educated people (p. 11). However, they did not seem to be in favour of using SMG, since they felt "like acting" (p. 13), and they used CG during their discussion with the experimenter. The ideal for them is a combination of the two varieties which makes you feel like home on the one hand, and accepted by society on the other hand, since you do not use stigmatised features.

4.4.2 Attitudes towards other languages

Apart from the studies conducted on the native language used on the island, some researchers have investigated the role of another language that plays an important role in Cyprus; that of English. Papapavlou's study (1994) provided evidence for the vast number of English loanwords that invaded Cypriots' speech, due to historical reasons. On the other hand, Goutsos (2005), analysing Greek Cypriots' speech, observed that they switch into English very often for stylistic, argumentative or narrative reasons. English does not indicate a high social status and such kind of switching is also done by people who do not speak English fluently. For this, it is inferred that the identity of Greek Cypriots has been inevitably affected by English.

Additionally, McEntee-Atalianis and Pouloukas (2001) studied Greek Cypriots' attitudes towards SMG, CG and English. The aim was to examine Greek Cypriots' perception of their linguistic identity, their attitudes towards the three codes and the role that the cultural, symbolic and economic value of these codes plays in the formation of language attitudes and language alteration. Hence, Greek Cypriots over the age of sixteen were asked to fill a questionnaire, where they should express agreement/disagreement to a number of statements indicating their attitudes and

report which code they use in different situations. The findings of this experimental study revealed that while English possesses a high position in mainly professional domains, Greek Cypriots support their native codes and wish to protect CG from English influence since it stands as a symbol of their identity. Those who had less contact with English throughout their lives find English more necessary and useful than those who grew up with more English around them. Moreover, younger generations seem to use English more, since it offers them greater access to technology, education and travel. However, the authors argue that this must not be viewed as an alarm, since "GCD/SMG are reported to be predominantly used in all domains by all groupings" (p. 34).

4.5 Greek-Cypriot children's language attitudes

The primary investigation of language attitudes in early childhood within the GC setting was conducted by Pavlou (1999). This effort constituted a pilot study which tried to investigate GC children's linguistic preferences towards SMG and CG. A similar methodology to that of Rosenthal (1974) was followed and children of 4;5 to 5;7 years old participated in three tasks. At first, the researcher checked the children's ability to discriminate between two languages and, then, between two varieties of the same language (SMG and CG) that differ in terms of phonology and grammar. For the second task, to measure whether children make associations between language and social status, the children listened to eight speeches and were asked to associate each speaker with a picture of a rich or a poor child. Finally, Task 3 consisted of a version of the matched-guise technique adjusted to children's needs; the 'Magic Boxes' discussed earlier in Rosenthal's study (1974).

The most important result of Pavlou (1999) is that even at this age children hold language attitudes. GC children's attitudes were not found to be more positive towards the one variety than the other. In the 'Magic Boxes', some of them preferred SMG, but some others preferred CG. What is significant about the results is that those who preferred the SMG guise liked her voice, whereas those in favour of the CG guise found this speaker more comprehensible. As far as Task 2 is concerned, children did not associate the dialect with the poor child and the standard with the rich child as expected. As Pavlou explains, it might be because of the particular

pictures used, since the rich child possessed things that most people have nowadays.

More than ten years later, Sophocleous and Wilks (2010) made an effort to approach attitudes towards SMG and CG in the kindergarten. Specifically, the aim of the study was to investigate kindergarten teachers' attitudes towards and use of the two varieties in the classroom, as well as the existence of children's attitudes at the age of four to six through their language use. For data collection, classroom observations were conducted taking notes, accompanied by interviews with the teachers. What was observed is that teachers use the standard variety in teaching and modeling the 'correct' language, but they use the dialect in less formal interactions with the children to make them feel comfortable with expressing themselves. Although teachers claimed that they are flexible with the use of the dialect, "the approaches the latter employ […] train children to distinguish one variety from the other and to recognise in which interactions in the classroom the standard variety is considered more 'appropriate' to use than the dialect" (p. 65).

Late childhood attitudes constituted the research topic of Kounnapi (2006). In an effort to investigate the attitudes held towards the use of SMG and CG by GC sixth-grade primary-school students (aged eleven to twelve), living in the town and the district of Limassol, she employed a combination of the 'Magic Boxes' and questionnaires for students to report their perception and preference of the two codes. At the same time, gender, socioeconomic status, place of residence and political orientations were tested to detect whether these factors influence children's language attitudes. The results showed that children at this age are aware of the difference between the two codes and they are more in favour of the standard variety than the dialect, although in less degree in comparison to pre-school children (Pavlou 1999) or adults (Papapavlou 1998). Also, for most of the traits, "girls, lower socioeconomic class children, children living in urban areas and students with a left-wing political orientation [i.e. communism] showed preference for the Cypriot dialect whereas boys, middle and upper class children, children living in rural areas and students with a right-wing political orientation [i.e. nationalism] showed preference for the Standard Modern Greek language" (Kounnapi 2006: p. 696). Kounnapi's findings are contradictory to those of Sergidi and Evripidou (2014). In an effort to investigate GC primary-school children's attitudes through a matched-guise experiment, these researchers observed that children at this age are aware of the

differences between SMG and CG, and they do not favour the standard variety more than the dialect.

In another study, Yiakoumetti, Evans and Esch (2005) investigated the language attitudes of children aged eleven towards the standard and non-standard variety present within the GC community. The actual purpose of this study was to test how GC students' language awareness affects their language use and language attitudes. For this, the experimenters implemented a language-learning programme to improve students' oral performance of the standard variety (as a second language) by abandoning dialect interference and to test changes in the children's attitudes towards the two codes. The post-treatment interview revealed that the students' oral production of SMG was significantly improved. The questionnaire measuring children's attitudes towards the two varieties—distributed both before and after the implementation of the programme—showed that "prior to the application of the programme, both groups held negative attitudes towards the CD. After the completion of the intervention programme, both groups responded positively towards the CD and SMG" (p. 258). What is also worth-mentioning is that, in the end, rural children favoured CG more than urban children.

4.6 Summary

By contrast to other Greek dialects, CG continued to be used through years and gradually entered different domains of life, even formal ones. The geographical distance, along with the political independence, let it survive, not be absorbed by the standard variety and stand as a linguistic code of equal value as all non-standard varieties should do. Like in any other multifaceted linguistic setting, the association of language with historical events and identity issues has played a significant role in the formation and re-formation of the present state of CG. At times GC people aimed at promoting their Hellenization, language policy strove for the promotion of SMG. But, at times they wanted to strengthen their Cypriot identity, they shifted to Cyprocentric views supporting the dialect. In this way, the GC community ended up with a complex linguistic identity that, in relation to various socio-political ideologies, affected people's attitudes towards the linguistic varieties that compose the community.

Having set the necessary background on which the present study is based, Chapter 5 gives all the information concerning the experimental part of the thesis. The research questions and hypotheses are reported first. Then, the discussion moves to the methodology and procedure followed, taking into account several methodological considerations which have been raised in previous studies.

CHAPTER 5

The study

5.1 Introduction

People's language attitudes are more sensitive during childhood, since at this stage bonds with the family, teachers and peers are stronger. Getting older, a person's attitudes seem to stabilise and resist external forces, except for cases of social and political integration. Further, it is believed that "throughout childhood, at different developmental stages, different aspects of language variation play important roles [and] subsequently, in adulthood language attitudes remain rather stable" (Rakić & Steffens 2013: p. 52). Based on the relevant literature, the present experimental study aims at shedding light on Greek Cypriots' perception of variation in CG and the development of language attitudes towards different dialect levels at the age of five to seven. Initial research on the onset of language attitudes showed that children are able to discriminate between different languages earlier than between varieties of the same language (Rosenthal 1974).

The aim of the present chapter initially is to report the research questions and hypotheses that compose the purpose of the study. After taking into account several methodological considerations derived from earlier similar studies, the experimental part is analysed. First, the preliminary experiment to define the CG continuum will be explained and, then, the discussion moves to the main study, where reference is made to the instrument and its piloting, the participants in the experiment and the exact procedure followed.

5.2 Research questions and hypotheses

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the development of Greek Cypriots' language attitudes (and possibly the onset) through the stages of age five, six and seven towards their native linguistic profile. As already mentioned, the present study considers the GC community as a case of a dialect/register continuum with different levels of the non-homogeneous variety called CG. Although there is no universal agreement on the number of these levels—and most probably there will never be, since lexical items or utterances in CG may appear in three, five or even seven different versions—the experimenter chose to study the continuum in terms of three levels.

In particular, the present thesis aims at providing answers to the following questions:

1) Do GC children hold attitudes towards various levels of CG in different stages of early sociolinguistic development?
2) Do GC children make associations between language and non-language variables such as physical appearance (different hairstyle, makeup and facial characteristics), or context (farm, classroom or park)? Do these associations reveal attitudinal stances?
3) Does children's gender play a role in the sociolinguistic development of GC children?

It is believed that as young as aged three children are able to discriminate between languages, whereas "discrimination between two varieties of the same language develops between the ages of four and five" (Rosenthal 1974: p.56). Also, by the age of five, children growing up in bi-/multi- dialectal settings are fully aware of the varieties used within the community which they are part of. Overall, based on already existing literature concerning the issues of children's language attitudes, attitudes towards standard and non-standard varieties, children's language awareness and gender differences related to language discussed in previous chapters, the following hypotheses have been formed:

a) Older GC children are more in favour of the acrolectal level of CG than younger children.
b) Female GC children are more aware of the variation in CG, thus they hold more clear language attitudes which are developed earlier than those of males.

c) Female GC children are more in favour of the acrolectal level than males.
d) While the acrolectal level of CG is mostly associated with elegance and formality, the basilectal level of CG is mostly associated with untidiness and informality.

5.3 Methodological considerations

As introduced by Rosenthal (1974), the method of indirectly measuring children's language attitudes from age three, called 'Magic Boxes', includes three tasks with multiple subtasks. This method has been implemented by several researchers in different settings, including Pavlou (1999) in Cyprus. The differences between the original implementation of the methodology and that of Pavlou are discussed in this section, drawing emphasis on what has been done in the present study to avoid problems faced by previous experimenters.

Rosenthal's proposal (1974) is that the first task measures children's discrimination ability at different levels with the use of pictures. Similar to Rosenthal's study on SE and BE, Pavlou (1999) measured: a) same/different discrimination on a concrete picture level, b) same/different discrimination between sentence pairs in Greek and a foreign language (English), c) differences between sentence pairs in CG and SMG in terms of grammar, d) differences between sentence pairs in CG and SMG in terms of phonology, and e) rightness/wrongness of CG and SMG sentences based on the presence/absence of linguistic variables. The problems identified by Pavlou regarding Task 1 concerned the fifth subtask. The researcher faced problems with the children's understanding of the terms 'right' and 'wrong'. "The children had the notion of correct and wrong in terms of language, but most of them were accustomed to refer to this dichotomy using a variety of terms" (p. 888). The confusion created by this and, consequently, the experimenter's intervention to explain, leave a doubt about whether the children gave true answers. The present study does not include a discrimination ability task since it engages with children over five years old, not from the age of three. Based on Rosenthal's claims, by this age, children are already able to distinguish between different languages, as well as between varieties of the same language.

Task 2 aimed at making associations between language and non-language features. Rosenthal's associations (1974) were between SE or BE and white faces or black faces, respectively. Pavlou (1999) tried to check if children associate language with social class. While Rosenthal's non-language features associated with the two varieties under investigation were clear (black vs. white), for Pavlou (1999), it was difficult to select the kind of commodities that represent richness (upper class) and poverty (lower middle class). It must be taken into consideration that there are wealthy people who do not show off their wealth and people who possess expensive commodities even though they are not wealthy. The present study tests whether children at this age make associations between language and physical appearance of the speaker, as well as between the linguistic code and the setting where it is used.

Two further methodological problems pointed out by Pavlou (1999) concerned the linguistic varieties under investigation. First of all, from what has been argued in the literature, there is no clear-cut distinction between CG and SMG in Cyprus. Even more, it is claimed that SMG does not appear in its original standardised form in Cyprus (Arvaniti 2006) and CG is not a unified code, but a dialect continuum (Tsiplakou et al. 2005). Pavlou (1999) chose to investigate SMG and one level of CG. Then, Pavlou faced the problem about which variety should be used by the experimenter so as not to affect the results. Therefore, the present study is based on the belief that there is a continuum within Greek Cypriots' speech. Since no studies have clearly defined it yet, a preliminary study helped the experimenter to decide on the items that should go under each level of this continuum. The possibility of the language used by the experimenter intervening in the participants' choices still remains an unsolved matter.

5.4 Defining the continuum under investigation: The preliminary study

As already mentioned in earlier chapters of this thesis, long discussion and disagreement has been raised concerning the linguistic profile of the GC community. Although most of the empirical research conducted in this setting regarded it as a bidialectal or diglossic one, the present study has been based on the belief that there is no use of two clearly distinct dialectal varieties inter- and intra- speaker, but

CG constitutes a case of a dialect/register continuum (Sivas 2003, Tsiplakou et al. 2005, Terkourafi 2007). But, inadequate work on defining the continuum—how many levels there are and what belongs to which level—led the researcher to carry out a preliminary experiment on non-expert native speakers for the choice of the linguistic input to be used in the main study. Additionally, the experimenter consulted the database of CG of the University of Cyprus (http://lexcy.library. ucy.ac.cy/).

A prior decision made was that the continuum under study must be restricted in three levels for the ease of the study, since not all lexical items have more than three versions and the study aims at children who are less sensitive to linguistic issues. As claimed by Pavlou and Christodoulou (2001), "the most obvious differences [between CG and SMG] are found in the phonology" (p. 78). Thus, it was decided to consider the different levels of the continuum only in terms of phonology. Besides, as Andersen (1992) alleges, "the most detailed evidence of sex differences has been provided at the phonological level" (p. 41).

The initial matter concerned was to establish a set of criteria which the selection of the linguistic input to be used in the study would be based on. Karyolemou (2006) argues that the existence of distinct varieties of a dialect is assured by 'systematicity', 'focusing' and 'unlocalizability'. This means that the certain features are used systematically by the speakers and are not characteristics of a specific geographical area. Sivas' research (2002) showed that although Greek Cypriots use features systematically, there is no evidence of focusing since they do not combine them the same way. The lack of adequate evidence to affirm that certain linguistic features (of any language level) belong to a certain level of the CG continuum led the researcher to conduct a preliminary study on native speakers of CG. The selection of linguistic input was based on proposed versions of lexical items included in the repertoire of a native CG speaker, rather than on features that would drive the compilation of linguistic items.

For this, during the spring semester 2013-14, 37 fourth-year students of the Department of English Studies of the University of Cyprus, native speakers of CG, were asked to give their feedback on three CG versions of thirty lexical and phrasal items. The list was distributed in the form of a questionnaire, where the participants were asked to express whether they agreed with the three suggested versions of each item, giving possible alternatives in cases of disagreement (see Appendix I).

The items appearing on the list could vary either on the phonological, lexical, syntactic or morphological level. Phonological counterparts are the only ones that can easily give multiple versions of the same item being distinguished on the same level. For the rest levels, one of the three versions differed in terms of phonology. What is worth-mentioning is that differences solely on the lexical level appear to be mostly cases of bidialectism with two versions, one belonging to the standard variety and the other one to CG. This constituted the main reason why the experimenter eventually preferred the linguistic stimuli to be based only on the phonological variable.

Analysing the data obtained in percentages of agreement per item, seventeen of the items that differentiated only on the phonological level were used (some of them more than once) to compose the guises' speeches, undergoing slight changes such as in number, case, etc., but maintaining the special phonological characteristics of the original proposals. From a pool of alternatives created, as the participants made their own proposals as well, the researcher chose the three phonologically most distinctive versions of each lexical item to represent the acrolectal, the mesolectal and the basilectal level of CG. The linguistic input used to trigger the participants' attitudes in the main study appears in the following table in alphabetical order, under the categories of acrolect, mesolect and basilect.

Table 5-1. Linguistic input of the study

Lexical items		Acrolect	Mesolect	Basilect
αδέρφια	= siblings	aˈðerɾʃja	aˈðerɾca	aˈerca
άνθρωποι	= people	ˈanθropi	ˈaθropi	ˈaðropi
ανοίγω	= (I) open	aˈniɣo	aˈn:iɣo	aˈn:io
άφησαν	= (they) left	ˈafisan	ˈafikan	ˈaikan
βγαίνω	= (I) go out	ˈvʝeno	ˈvʝen:o	ˈfken:o
δαγκώνω	= (I) bite	ðaˈŋgono	ðaˈkʰ:an:o	aˈkʰ:an:o
έρχονται	= (they) come	ˈerxonde	ˈerxunde	ˈerkunde
έκανα	= (I) did	ˈekana	ˈekamna	ˈekam:a
κάθονται	= (they) sit	ˈkaθonde	ˈkaθunde	ˈkaxunde
καινούργιου	= (of the) new	keˈnuɾʝu	ʤeˈnuɾku	ʤiˈnuɾku
κάνοντας	= doing	ˈkanondas	ˈkamnondas	ˈkam:ondas
κοιμόμουν	= (I) was sleeping	kiˈmomun	kiˈmumun	ʤiˈmumun
μάτια	= eyes	ˈmatʝa	ˈm:aθca	aˈm:aθca
μύτη	= nose	ˈmiti	ˈmitʰ:i	ˈmutʰ:i
ντρεπόμουν	= (I) was shy	ndreˈpomun	ˈndrepumun	aˈndrepumun
πηγαίναμε	= (we) were going	piˈʝename	piˈʝen:amen	piˈen:amen
πηδήξω	= (to) jump	piˈðikso	pʰ:iˈðiso	apʰ:iˈiso
σοκολάτα	= chocolate	sokoˈlata	ʃokoˈlatan	ʃokʰ:oˈl:atan

Studying how each lexical item changes from one level to the other, a number of phonological processes are observed. These include the following:

a) Intervocalic gemination from the acrolectal level to the mesolectal level maintained to the basilectal level, or it appears from the mesolectal to the basilectal level:

(1) aˈniɣo aˈn:iɣo aˈn:io

(2) ˈvʝeno ˈvʝen:o ˈfken:o

(3) piˈʝename piˈʝen:amen piˈen:amen

(4) sokoˈlata ʃokoˈlatan ʃokʰ:oˈl:atan

b) Replacing of /k/ by voiced affricate /ʤ/ word-initially preceding a front vowel, from the acrolectal level to the mesolectal level and maintained to the basilectal level, or from the mesolectal to the basilectal level:

(5) keˈnuɾʝu ʤeˈnuɾku ʤiˈnuɾku

(6) kiˈmomun kiˈmumun ʤiˈmumun

c) Replacing of /s/ by /ʃ/ word-initially from the acrolectal level to the mesolectal level and maintained to the basilectal level:

(7) sokoˈlata ʃokoˈlatan ʃokʰ:oˈl:atan

d) Loss of intervocalic fricatives from the mesolectal to the basilectal level:

(8) aˈðeɾfca aˈerca

(9) aˈn:iɣo aˈn:io

(10) ˈafikan ˈaikan

(11) pʰ:iˈðiso apʰ:iˈiso

(12) piˈjen:amen piˈen:amen

e) Vowel prosthesis from the mesolectal to the basilectal level:

(13) ˈndrepumun aˈndrepumun

(14) pʰ:iˈðiso apʰ:iˈiso

f) Assimilation of sounds from the acrolectal level to the mesolectal level and maintained to the basilectal level:

(15) kiˈmomun kiˈmumun ʤiˈmumun

(16) ndreˈpomun ˈndrepumun aˈndrepumun

g) Dissimilation of sounds from the mesolectal to the basilectal level:

(17) ˈmitʰ:i ˈmutʰ:i

h) Labialisation of sounds from the acrolectal to the mesolectal level and the maintained to basilectal level:

(18) ˈerxonde ˈerxunde ˈerkunde

(19) ˈkaθonde ˈkaθunde ˈkaxunde

i) Aspiration of /p/, /t/, /k/ from the acrolectal to the mesolectal level and maintained to the basilectal level, or from the mesolectal to the basilectal level:

(20) ˈmiti ˈmitʰ:i ˈmutʰ:i

(21) piˈðikso pʰ:iˈðiso apʰ:iˈiso

(22) sokoˈlata ʃokoˈlatan ʃokʰ:oˈl:atan

All three speeches were exactly the same, but differentiated on the use of the three versions of each of the lexical items. The speeches were given to one of the three guises that corresponded to the three levels of the CG continuum. They constituted 28-second recorded narrations of a personal experience of a setting (that of the beach) and a central object (a chocolate) of interest to the children, with a funny ending of playing a trick.

ACROLECT: Είμαι η Μία. Μια μέρα πηγαίναμε με τα αδέρφια μου στην παραλία. Φτάνοντας, ανοίγω την πόρτα του καινούργιου μας αυτοκινήτου. Βγαίνω έξω. Κάποιοι άνθρωποι κάθονται κάνοντας φασαρία. Ντρεπόμουν να πηδήξω στο νερό. Είχα μια σοκολάτα που άφησαν τα αδέρφια μου. Μόλις τη δαγκώνω, έρχονται. Έκανα πως κοιμόμουν. Ξαφνικά, ένιωσα

κάτι στη μύτη. Όταν ανοίγω τα μάτια, ήμουν μόνη στην παραλία.

MESOLECT: Είμαι η Νία. Μια μέρα πηγαίνναμεν με τα αδέρφκια μου στην παραλία. Φτάνοντας, αννοίγω την πόρτα του τζαινούρκου μας αυτοκινήτου. Βγαίννω έξω. Κάποιοι άθρωποι κάθουνται κάμνοντας φασαρία. Ντρέπουμουν να ππηδήσω στο νερό. Είχα μια σϊοκολάταν που άφηκαν τα αδέρφκια μου. Μόλις τη δακκάννω, έρχουνται. Έκαμνα πως κοιμούμουν. Ξαφνικά, ένιωσα κάτι στη μύττην. Όταν αννοίγω τα μμάθκια, ήμουν μόνη στην παραλία.

BASILECT: Είμαι η Λία. Μια μέρα πηαίνναμεν με τα αέρκια μου στην παραλία. Φτάνοντας, αννοίω την πόρτα του τζίνούρκου μας αυτοκινήτου. Φκαίννω έξω. Κάποιοι άδρωποι κάχουνται κάμμοντας φασαρία. Αντρέπουμουν να αππηήσω στο νερό. Είχα μια σϊοκκολλάταν που άηκαν τα αέρκια μου. Μόλις την ακκάννω, έρκουνται. Έκαμμα πως τζοιμούμουν. Ξαφνικά, ένιωσα κάτι στη μούττην. Όταν αννοίω τα αμμάθκια, ήμουν μόνη στην παραλία.

I'm ... . One day I went to the beach with my siblings. As soon as we arrived there, I opened the door of our new car. I got out. Some people were sitting making noise. I was shy with jumping into the water. I had a chocolate which my siblings left. As I bit it, they came. I pretended that I was sleeping. Suddenly, I felt something on my nose. When I opened my eyes, I was alone on the beach.

After being composed by the experimenter, the three stories were given to a preschool teacher—native speaker of CG—to whom the experimenter explained the purpose and the methodology of the present study, clarifying the difference between the items under each level of the continuum composed for the study. Then, the preschool teacher recorded herself, with an Olympus digital voice recorder VN-5500PC, reading the stories in a way that sounds authentic and attractive to the children. After the recordings were studied carefully and approved for clearly containing the features under study, they were transferred on a computer and used as audio files which were uploaded on the website used to run the experiment.

5.5 Measurement of Greek-Cypriot children's language attitudes

5.5.1 Designing the instrument

In an attempt to approach the issue under investigation, it was decided to adopt a mainly quantitative descriptive method of indirect measurement of language attitudes by questioning participants in a deceptive way that does not reveal the true purpose of the study (Dawes & Smith 1985). More specifically, the method used constituted an adaptation of Rosenthal's 'Magic Boxes' (1974), which encloses the philosophy of the formerly introduced 'matched-guise technique' (Lambert et al. 1960) and it is carried out in the form of a structured interview between the experimenter and the participants one by one. Also, some qualitative data were collected, too. Participants were asked to express the driving force behind their choices.

Despite the disadvantages of such a kind of attitude measurement (evaluation of set-up events, repetition of the same message, non-authentic speeches, evaluation items perceived differently and ethical consideration), this kind of measurement was accepted as the best one for the present experiment. The fact that the participants were children facilitates 'deceiving' them about the 'fake' stories, as well as the true purpose of the study. The latter issue, since it constitutes a matter of ethical consideration, was solved by debriefing the participants via their parents, who gave their prior consent for their children to take part in the experiment, after being informed about both the purpose of the study and the methodology followed. Thus, indirectly approaching the children's attitudes enabled the participants express their true feelings, being free from social impositions.

The experiment was inspired by the Magic Boxes' philosophy, but, since that instrument was used a long time ago, the experimenter made an effort to modernise it and develop an alternative method that would be more up-to-date and, subsequently, more attractive to children. As Rosenthal's instrument is rather old, it was thought to alter the Magic Boxes into a computer-mediated format of guises. For this, the experimenter used the website www.voki.com to create speaking avatars called 'vokis' that would serve as guises for the delivery of the linguistic stimuli. This website is used for educational purposes as an interactive tool where

the students can do projects and the teachers can give instructions or create audio-visual material of any kind.

The website includes three main services: Voki, Voki Classroom and Voki Presenter. Whereas the first one can be used for free by simply creating a user's account, for the other two, the user must pay subscription fees to become a member. The difference between the three services is that, with the Voki Classroom, a teacher can create a kind of community with the students, by offering them access to the same account, where he/she can prepare the lesson and assign homework for all students to view and even complete online. The teacher, then, can review the assignments and have automatically different webpages, corresponding to different lessons and displaying the students' work like a language portfolio. On the other hand, the Voki Presenter enables the user to create presentations and have slide-show view of them. The slides can be duplicated, the voki's speech can be queued up in different slides and the presentations can be shared. The image the user can get on the slide-show view is bigger than in the ordinary Voki service, hence the voki appears in bigger size and one can have a better view of the background, where colours, headings and pictures are customised accordingly.

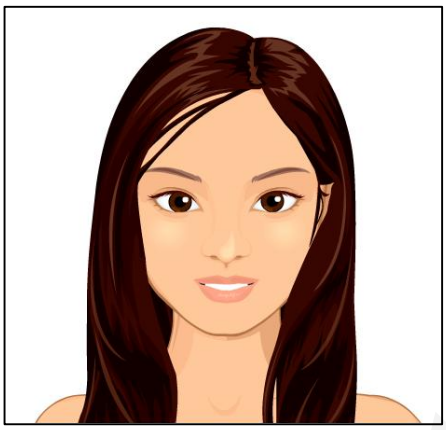
Despite the differences, the main idea in all three services is the same. The website enables someone to create avatar characters which can talk moving their lips, head and eyes. The creator can add speech either by typing a message and choosing an accent of twenty-five languages, by making a recording at the same moment, or by uploading an existing audio file. First, the user selects the character from the list and, then, it is customised; choice of hair, nose, mouth, eyes, face shape, skin colour, makeup, clothing and accessories. Also, it is possible to add background to the scene, by choosing from the list provided or by uploading a picture. Once finished and given a voice, the voki can be saved in the user's account with the option to be edited later or shared.

Figure 5-1. The voki website

For the present study, the experimenter decided that it was better to use the Voki Presenter, instead of the ordinary Voki service, because of the advantage of bigger character size and slide-show view. Three vokis were created to correspond to the three levels of the CG continuum. All characters were female, since it has been claimed that women sound friendlier than men, therefore they are preferred in studying children's language attitudes (Day 1980). All three vokis were given the same physical appearance, one that was thought to be neutral and represent a common everyday image of an average GC woman; shoulder-length, brown, straight hair, brown eyes, medium-sized nose, lips of ordinary shape and thickness, and no makeup. With this, the participants in the study would be better persuaded that the speech was an authentic one, coming out of the mouth of a native speaker in her everyday-life (oral) communication. Additionally, such an appearance would enable the creation of alternative ones to run Task 2, where associations between language and physical appearance of the speaker are tested. Since the picture created is a portrait, the girls were given the same summer clothing (a white strap T-shirt) which was almost invisible, so as not to raise colour or other favourability issues. For all the slides, the background was white and only the names of the characters were written in the left top corner. The three recorded stories were

uploaded on each character and they were given the following names: Mia (acrolectal level), Nia (mesolectal level) and Lia (basilectal level).

Figure 5-2. The voki representation of the guises



An additional voki was introduced at the beginning of the task, as an initial familiarisation of the participants with the instrument. That was a boy, with light brown hair and dark green eyes, thin lips, round nose and winter clothing in blue and green colour. He was called Nicolas and his familiarisation speech was the following:

NICOLAS: Γεια σου! Είμαι ο Νικόλας!

Hi! I'm Nicolas!

This short greeting was chosen for the familiarisation task, because it revealed nothing about what was to follow and included no special linguistic characteristics that are distinctive in each of the levels of CG. This text was transferred to the voki through typing and was given a young boy's accent.

Figure 5-3. The familiarisation task

5.5.2 The pilot study

Once the instrument was completed, it was decided to be piloted for clarity of language and attractiveness of the instrument, before data collection. Eight children five to seven years old, three male and five female, were randomly selected to participate in the pilot study. The main points arising from the pilot study that needed revising concerned the questions posed for measuring children's language attitudes. First, it was observed that the word 'ευχάριστη' [pleasant] was absent from most of the children's vocabulary, raising problems such as avoiding or hesitating to answer due to incomprehensibility. Thus, the question asking 'Ποια (ιστορία) είναι πιο ευχάριστη;' ['Which (story) is more pleasant?'] was changed into 'Ποια ιστορία σου αρέσει πιο πολύ;' ['Which story do you like best?'].

Moreover, although asking about attributing positive and negative characteristics to the speakers interchangeably, the questions were decided to be posed in different order each time posed to avoid all participants being sensitised to the same first question—or couple of first questions—and adjust their answers accordingly. In this way, the results could not be biased by the order of presentation.

5.6 The main study

5.6.1 Participants

A total of 260 children participated in the present study. All participants were native speakers of CG, born and raised in Cyprus by GC parents, attending pre-primary and primary schools within the city and district of Nicosia. To facilitate data collection, entering schools and carrying out the experiment during lessons was thought to be the best way to obtain an adequate number of children. The schools that participated in the study were randomly selected from a list of schools provided by the Ministry of Education (http://www.moecschools.gov.cy/dde/katalogoi_sxoleion.html). These included two primary schools within the city of Nicosia and two primary schools within the district of Nicosia, along with their corresponding pre-primary schools. In total, 137 children from the city and 123 children from the district of Nicosia participated in the study.

The participants were divided into three age groups: 78 five-year-olds (pre-primary school students who ranged from 5;0 to 5;10), 89 six-year-olds (first-grade primary school students who ranged from 6;0 to 6;10) and 93 seven-year-olds (second-grade primary school students who ranged from 7;0 to 7;10). 132 were boys and 128 were girls. The students who attended those classes but did not satisfy either age or origin/language criteria were eliminated from the study. All the demographic information of the participants is presented in Table 5-2 in full detail.

Table 5-2. Demographic features about selected participants

Area	City of Nicosia						District of Nicosia						
School	pre-pr1	pr1		pre-pr2	pr2		pre-pr1	pr1		pre-pr2	pr2		
Age	5	6	7	5	6	7	5	6	7	5	6	7	
Male	6	10	10	12	19	11	8	7	3	9	13	24	=132
Female	9	8	6	13	15	18	12	6	9	9	11	12	=128
N	15	18	16	25	34	29	20	13	12	18	24	36	=*260*

5.6.2 Procedure

Since it was decided to run the experiment in pre-primary and primary schools during lessons, it was necessary to seek permission to enter schools from the Centre of Educational Research and Evaluation (KEEA) of the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute. Special forms were completed and submitted with all necessary documents on www.pi.ac.cy during summer 2014. By the beginning of the autumn, the Ministry granted permission to conduct the experiment (see Appendix II).

The schools selected to take part in the study were approached, informing the head teachers about the purpose and the exact procedure of the data collection. Once the administration of the schools permitted participation in the study, letters were prepared to inform the teachers whose students were selected as participants. Then, letters of parental consent were distributed to all pre-school, first-grade and second-grade students attending the particular schools (see Appendix III for the letters). After the collection of the letters, the experimenter checked whether the children satisfied the age and origin/language requirements. About 200-250 letters were distributed for each age group and about half of them were returned. Some

children were eliminated as they were younger or older than required, or one or both parents were not of GC origin.

The data collection process was completed during autumn-winter 2014. The participants were tested individually in classrooms where there was internet access. The experimental task lasted about eight to ten minutes depending on the individual. By entering the room, each child was seated in front of a computer. The experimenter used a rather mesolectal level of CG in instructing the participants, avoiding the use of either a *καλαμαρίστικη* [kalamaristiki] SMG accent ('pen-pusher talk') or heavy dialectal features. As prepared on the interview questionnaire, each child was primarily given the following instructions:

INTERVIEWER: Βλέπεις αυτά τα αθρωπάκια; Ξέρεις τί κάνουν; Μιλούν! Άκου…"

Can you see these little people? Do you know what they do? They talk! Listen…

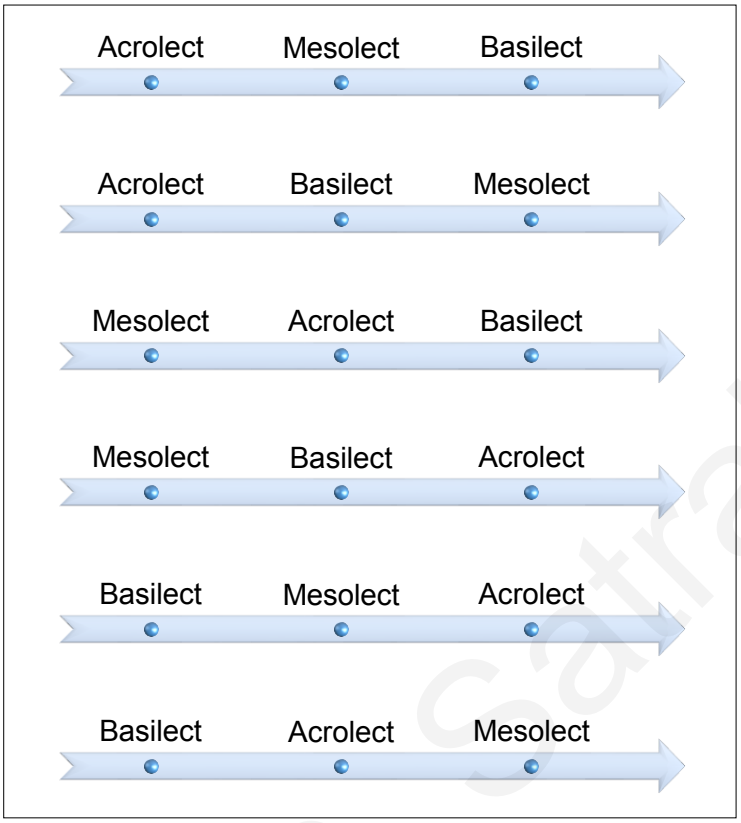
At this point, they listened to Nicolas—the familiarisation voki. Then, they were told the following:

INTERVIEWER: Τώρα θα ακούσουμεν τρία κοριτσάκια. Η πρώτη είναι η Μία, η δεύτερη είναι η Νία και η τρίτη είναι η Λία. Η κάθε μια λέει την δικήν της ιστορία. Αφού ακούσεις τες ιστορίες, θα σου ζητήσω να διαλέξεις αυτήν που σου άρεσεν παραπάνω. Ας ακούσουμεν!

Now, we are about to listen to three girls. The first one is Mia, the second one is Nia and the third one is Lia. Each of them tells her own story. After listening to the stories, I will ask you to select the one you liked best. Let's listen!

In order for the results not to be biased by the order of the guises presented, the recordings were played in a different order each time, as illustrated in Figure 5-4:

Figure 5-4. Order of the guises in the study



Listening to all three guises, the one after the other, the participants were engaged in a structured interview. For Task 1, they were asked the questions that follow in a random order each time.

1. Ποια ιστορία σου αρέσει πιο πολύ;
   Which story do you like best?
2. Ποια λέει ψέματα;
   Who lies?
3. Με ποιαν θα ήθελες να γίνετε φίλοι; Γιατί την …;
   Who would you like to be friends with? Why with …?
4. Ποια μιλά πιο ωραία;
   Who talks the best?
5. Ποια είναι πιο ττεμπέλα;
   Who is the laziest?
6. Ποια είναι πιο άταχτη;
   Who is the naughtiest?
7. Ποια είναι πιο αστεία;
   Who is the funniest?
8. Ποια είναι πιο έξυπνη;
   Who is the cleverest?
9. Ποια είναι η καλύτερη μαθήτρια;

Who is the best student?

10. Ποια θα ήθελες να παίξει μαζζί σσου; Γιατί την ...;
    Who would you like to play with? Why with …?

After the completion of Task 1, the participants were instructed as follows, for the second task:

INTERVIEWER: Τώρα, τα κοριτσάκια αυτά θέλουν εσύ να διαλέξεις σε ποιο χώρον είναι καλύτερα να πει η κάθε μια την ιστορίαν της και ποια εμφάνιση ταιριάζει παραπάνω στην κάθε μια. Ας τες ακούσουμεν ξανά μία-μία πριν διαλέξουμεν.

Now, the three girls want you to choose which place is the best for each of them to tell her story and which appearance is the most suitable one for each of them. Let's listen to them once more, one by one, before choosing.

The children listened only to the first story and they were asked first the questions concerning the setting of the speech event and, then, the questions concerning the speaker's appearance, placing printed visual material before them, as options for the participants to choose one each time. As far as the setting is concerned, they were given the options of: a) a classroom which is characterised by formality, rules, quietness and seriousness, b) a park-playground which is characterised by casualness, friendliness, solidarity, freedom and fun, and c) a farm which is characterised by casualness, village life and mess (see Appendix IV for the actual visual material). Regarding the appearance, the participants had to choose between: a) normal one (the voki was kept as it was and it was characterised by neutrality and passivity), b) a more 'beautiful' one (the voki had lighter skin, hair and eye colour, a more elegant hairstyle and more intense makeup), and c) an 'uglier' one (the voki had darker skin, hair and eye colour, messy hair and braces). First of all, the participants were instructed as follows, being given the pictures appearing on the next page.

INTERVIEWER: Σε ποιο χώρον είναι καλύτερα να πει την ιστορία της η …; Στην τάξη; Στο πάρκο; Ή στην φάρμα;

Which place is the best for … to tell her story? In the classroom? At the park? Or at the farm?

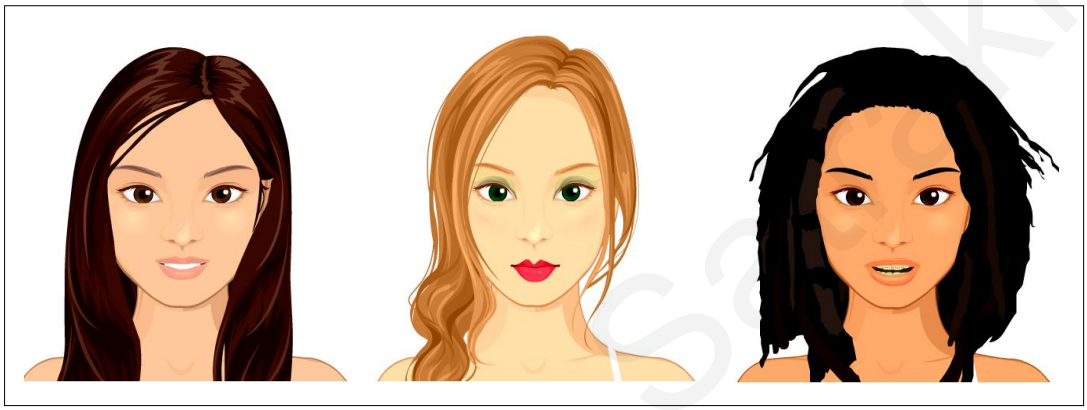
After choosing the most suitable setting for each of the levels, in order to choose the best physical appearance for each voki, the participants were asked:

INTERVIEWER: Σε ποιαν εμφάνιση θα ήθελες να δεις τη Μία; Να την κρατήσουμε όπως είναι; Να την κάνουμεν πιο ομορφούλλα; Ή πιο ασχημούλλα;

Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for …? Shall we keep her as she is? Shall we make her more beautiful? Or uglier?

The pictures shown to the participants to select one appear in Figure 5-5.

Figure 5-5. Visual stimuli for association between language and physical appearance



The same process was repeated for all three guises, each time collecting the pictures, for the child's attention not to be distracted while listening to the other guises. The pictures were shown in different order to each child for both subtasks, so as the experimenter did not predetermine any associations. When the second task was completed, the participants were asked again the questions of Task 1 in different order. For this task, Task 3, they were instructed as follows:

INTERVIEWER: Τώρα που ξανακούσαμεν και τες τρεις ιστορίες, θέλω να σε ξαναρωτήσω...

Now that we listened to the three stories again, I want to ask you again…

The whole interview session was recorded with an Olympus digital voice recorder VN-5500PC to save time during the experiment and facilitate later data recording and analysis.

5.7 Summary

In this chapter, having explained the purpose of the present thesis and the hypotheses drawn, the methodology followed in the study has been extensively described. The experiment constitutes a modernised, computer-mediated adaptation of Rosenthal's 'Magic Boxes' (1974). The quantitative data were collected through structured one-to-one interviews, triggered by audio-visual material called vokis which served as guises of three levels of the CG continuum. An effort was made by the experimenter to develop an innovative approach to children's language attitudes and overcome problems faced in previous research conducted on the same issue. Additionally to previous studies, the experimenter decided to incorporate in the experimental design the testing of children's possible associations between language and non-language features, such as the physical appearance of the speaker and the setting of the speech event, as well as the testing of possible switch in the judges' attitudes after being further sensitised to the linguistic input and the actual purpose of the experiment.

The following chapter presents the process of data codification and analysis and demonstrates the results obtained in the experiment from children aged of five, six and seven. Both descriptive and inferential statistics have been used to analyse the data and draw conclusions. In this way, an attempt was made to provide answers to the research questions and verify statistically the hypotheses posed earlier in this chapter.

CHAPTER 6

Presentation of results: Age variable

6.1 Introduction

Since the methodological procedure of the present experimental study has already explained in the preceding chapter, this chapter and the following one present the results of the study based on the obtained data. Chapter 6 examines whether GC children hold different attitudes towards their native dialect continuum in different stages of their life: initial period of pre-schooling —which, according to Rosenthal (1974), is reported to be the time when bidialectal children are able to distinguish even between different varieties of the same language—initial period of first grade and having completed one year of schooling.

Therefore, the chapter begins with reference to how data have been codified and recorded to facilitate analysis. Then, explaining the procedure of data analysis, the experimenter proceeds to present the findings in terms of age. The results for each task appear in distinct tables under different subsections and, with the aid of figures, several comparisons are made. In the first subsection, the results obtained from Task 1 concerning children's language attitudes are presented. The next subsection demonstrates the findings of Task 2, on the relationship between language and setting or physical appearance of the speaker. The last subsection presents the results of Task 3, highlighting how children's language attitudes undergo a change from Task 1 to Task 3, after being further sensitised to the linguistic input and the purpose of the study. Finally, the qualitative data obtained from the experiment is

presented, in an effort to provide an explanation for participants' favourability towards each of the levels of the CG continuum.

6.2 Data recording and analysis

The recorded data were transferred into written questionnaires to facilitate data analysis (Appendix V). For the ease of the statistical analysis, the data was codified in the following way. For Tasks 1 and 3, the answers 'Mia' (acrolect), 'Nia' (mesolect) and 'Lia' (basilect) were given the codes 1, 2 and 3, respectively. For Task 2a, the answers were codified as 1 for 'classroom', 2 for 'park' and 3 for 'farm', and for Task 2b, as 1 for 'more beautiful', 2 for 'remain as it is (normal)' and 3 for 'uglier'. Gender was also codified as 1 for 'Male' and 2 for 'Female', and age as 1 for '5-year-old', 2 for '6-year-old' and 3 for '7-year-old' to facilitate inferential statistical analyses. All quantitative data, then, underwent Microsoft Excel processing, so as to be able to make calculations easily. Each answer (1, 2 or 3) of every participant was inserted in a separate row after the categories of: number of questionnaire, participant's name (e.g. 5UM001), school name, area of residence (R[ural] or U[rban]), gender (M[ale] or F[emale]), age (e.g. 5 3/12), task (1, 2 or 3) and question. On the contrary, the qualitative data were transferred on a Microsoft Word document to be studied and categorised by the experimenter, in order to facilitate presentation and discussion.

The Excel and, then, SPSS processing enabled the experimenter to run descriptive and inferential statistics. The descriptive statistical analysis of all data in sums (Σ), percentages (%) and means (m) appear in tabular form for each task, in this chapter and the following one. Figures also depict the scores for each level in each question posed, as well as the differences between the three age groups and between the attitudes obtained in Task 1 and Task 3. Although the data are nominal, three types of parametric tests were run to draw further conclusions on the results: a series of one-way ANOVA tests with age as independent variable and all questions as dependent variables, a series of t-tests with gender as independent variable and all questions as dependent variables, and an inter-correlation matrix of all the questions in Task 1 and Task 3.

6.3 Task 1: Children's language attitudes

The first section shows GC children's attitudes towards the three levels of CG and how they vary along the age of five, six and seven. The data obtained from the ten favourability questions appear in tabular form below. Table 6-1 presents the responses of five-year-olds, Table 6-2 illustrates the answers of six-year-olds and Table 6-3 considers seven-year-olds' responses. They all depict the children's favourability towards the acrolect, the mesolect and the basilect. Both the sums of responses and percentages appear on each table for each level on each trait.

Table 6-1. Language attitudes of 5-year-olds

TASK 1			
Questions	**Age 5 Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Acro	**Meso**	**Basi**
1. Which story do you like best?	45 57.69%	11 14.10%	22 28.21%
2. Who lies?	21 26.92%	17 21.79%	40 51.28%
3. Who would you like to be friends with?	40 51.28%	14 17.95%	24 30.77%
4. Who talks the best?	36 46.15%	11 14.10%	31 39.74%
5. Who is the laziest?	20 25.64%	27 34.62%	31 39.74%
6. Who is the naughtiest?	18 23.08%	27 34.62%	33 42.31%
7. Who is the funniest?	24 30.77%	25 32.05%	29 37.18%
8. Who is the cleverest?	38 48.72%	15 19.23%	25 32.05%
9. Who is the best student?	29 37.18%	22 28.21%	27 34.62%
10. Who would you like to play with?	39 50.00%	19 24.36%	20 25.64%

Table 6-2. Language attitudes of 6-year-olds

TASK 1			
Questions	**Age 6 Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Acro	**Meso**	**Basi**
1. Which story do you like best?	62 69.66%	11 12.36%	16 17.98%
2. Who lies?	18 20.22%	27 30.34%	44 49.44%
3. Who would you like to be friends with?	58 65.17%	12 13.48%	19 21.35%
4. Who talks the best?	61 68.54%	15 16.85%	13 14.61%
5. Who is the laziest?	16 17.98%	23 25.84%	50 56.18%
6. Who is the naughtiest?	22 24.72%	26 29.21%	41 46.07%
7. Who is the funniest?	27 30.34%	28 31.46%	34 38.20%
8. Who is the cleverest?	50 56.18%	18 20.22%	21 23.60%
9. Who is the best student?	44 49.44%	25 28.09%	20 22.47%
10. Who would you like to play with?	50 56.18%	21 23.60%	18 20.22%

Table 6-3. Language attitudes of 7-year-olds

TASK 1			
Questions	**Age 7 Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Acro	**Meso**	**Basi**
1. Which story do you like best?	72 77.42%	10 10.75%	11 11.83%
2. Who lies?	15 16.13%	19 20.43%	59 63.44%
3. Who would you like to be friends with?	72 77.42%	10 10.75%	11 11.83%
4. Who talks the best?	72 77.42%	11 11.83%	10 10.75%
5. Who is the laziest?	12 12.90%	27 29.03%	54 58.06%
6. Who is the naughtiest?	12 12.90%	32 34.41%	49 52.69%
7. Who is the funniest?	18 19.35%	25 26.88%	50 53.76%
8. Who is the cleverest?	61 65.59%	22 23.66%	10 10.75%
9. Who is the best student?	63 67.74%	15 16.13%	15 16.13%
10. Who would you like to play with?	66 70.97%	14 15.05%	13 13.98%

One-way ANOVA determined that there is a statistically significant difference between the three age groups on the following traits: 'best story' $F(2, 257) = 4.55$, $p < 0.05$, 'preferred friend' $F(2, 257) = 6.78$, $p < 0.01$, 'lazy' $F(2, 257) = 3.79$, $p < 0.05$, 'funny' $F(2, 257) = 3.35$, $p < 0.05$, 'best talk' $F(2, 257) = 13.78$, $p < 0.01$, 'preferred person to play with' $F(2, 257) = 3.81$, $p < 0.05$, 'best student' $F(2, 257) = 7.89$, $p < 0.01$ and 'clever' $F(2, 257) = 4.91$, $p = < 0.01$. This entails that these questions brought forth more extreme results.

Consequently, despite the three age groups' agreement that the acrolectal speaker is the one who tells the best story, who talks the best, who is the most preferred friend, the best student and the cleverest person, their assignment of these traits differ significantly revealing instability in children's attitudes from age five to age six and seven. However, these deviations do not change the general pattern of favourability, instead they make it clearer and stronger among older children than among the youngest ones. Similarly, the three age groups' responses differ significantly in the cases of the laziest and funniest person, who is mostly believed to be the basilectal speaker. Once again, it seems that despite the children's highest

assignment of these traits to the basilectal speaker, the results become clearer among the older cohort. This does not seem to happen with the characteristics of 'lies' and 'naughty', whose highest assignment to the basilectal speaker does not change significantly from one age group to the other. Such rather stable scores may reveal either earlier decisiveness on who mostly and least possesses these attributes, or the picture is equally blurry as moving from age five to age seven.

Studying the scores appearing in Tables 6-1 to 6-3, what is observed is that for half of the questions the three age groups present the same pattern in their responses. For the attributes 'best story' and 'preferred friend', the highest score is obtained by the acrolectal speaker, followed by the basilectal and then the mesolectal one. Studying the findings obtained from each age group separately, it may be inferred that the older the children: a) the more they are in favour of the acrolectal level as a pleasant narration and as the way of talking of a preferred friend, and b) the less they are in favour of the basilectal and, even less, of the mesolectal narration and friend. Also, the lower the favourability towards a speaker, the less the deviation seems to be between the percentages of the responses of the three groups.

The other three questions that seem to present the same pattern in the three age groups' responses concern the laziest, the naughtiest and the funniest person. For these three personality traits, the basilectal speaker scored the highest in all age groups' responses, followed by the mesolectal and last the acrolectal speaker. The children's highest scores lead again to the previous remark that the older the child, the more likely it is to perceive the basilectal level of CG as the language of a lazy, funny and naughty person. Additionally, the older the child, the less likely it is to regard the acrolectal speaker as the laziest and the funniest one, or the mesolectal speaker as the funniest one. As for the rest of the questions, the participants' responses seem to present similarities between some attributes. For instance, for the questions 'Who talks the best?' and 'Who would you like to play with?', each group expressed the same preference for both. The pattern is the following: the five-year-olds favoured first the acrolectal speaker, then the basilectal speaker and last the mesolectal speaker. On the contrary, the six- and seven-year-olds favoured the acrolectal speaker most, then the mesolectal speaker and last the basilectal speaker.

Concerning the attribute ‘best student’, the results reveal a very similar picture to the one discussed so far, since all three age groups claimed that the acrolectal speaker is the most likely to be the best student. The mesolectal guise is last in five-year-olds’ choice for this attribute and second in six-year-olds’ responses. Moreover, the basilectal speaker follows the acrolectal in five-year-olds’ favourability, whereas she comes last in six-year-olds’ choices. But, for seven-year-olds, the mesolectal and the basilectal speakers are equally the least likely to be awarded as the ‘best student’. Once again, it is observed that the older the children, the more they are in favour of the acrolectal level and the less they are in favour of the basilectal speaker, for the attributes ‘best talk’, ‘preferred person to play with’ and ‘best student’. Favourability towards the mesolectal guise also appears to decrease as the children grow older, as the best student and a preferred person to play with.

Last to be compared are the results of Task 1 obtained from the three age groups for the questions ‘Who lies?’ and ‘Who is the cleverest?’. Concerning the trait ‘clever’, it is mostly attributed to the acrolectal speaker by all age groups and appears to increase as moving to older children. For the two younger groups, the basilectal speaker is the one who follows, while the mesolectal speaker is the last to be regarded as clever. On the other hand, for seven-year-olds, the mesolectal guise comes second and the basilectal guise is last in their choice for the cleverest person. Therefore, for one more positive characteristic, it is observed that the older the child, the less likely it is to attribute it to the basilectal speaker of CG. On the contrary, for the negative characteristic of ‘lies’, it seems that the older the child, the less likely it is to attribute it to the acrolectal speaker. All age groups mostly believe that the speaker who most probably lies is the basilectal speaker. For the two older groups, the acrolectal speaker is the least possible to lie, whereas the mesolectal speaker holds the middle place. By contrast, most of the youngest ones believe that it is more likely that the acrolectal speaker lies rather than the mesolectal speaker.

6.4 Task 2: Associations between language and non-language features

6.4.1 Association between language and setting

In this subsection, as well as the following one, the participants’ responses for Task 2 are presented in tabular form for each age group separately. Tables 6-4 to 6-6

illustrate children's association between the language used by the speaker and the setting in which each of the proposed levels of CG (acrolectal, mesolectal and basilectal) is used.

Table 6-4. 5-year-olds' association between language and setting

TASK 2a			
Questions	**Age 5 Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Class	**Park**	**Farm**
1. Which place is the best for Mia [acrolect] to tell her story?	38 48.72%	25 32.05%	15 19.23%
2. Which place is the best for Nia [mesolect] to tell her story?	24 30.77%	28 35.90%	26 33.33%
3. Which place is the best for Lia [basilect] to tell her story?	25 32.05%	21 26.92%	32 41.03%

Table 6-5. 6-year-olds' association between language and setting

TASK 2a			
Questions	**Age 6 Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Class	**Park**	**Farm**
1. Which place is the best for Mia [acrolect] to tell her story?	40 44.94%	36 40.45%	13 14.61%
2. Which place is the best for Nia [mesolect] to tell her story?	28 31.46%	37 41.57%	24 26.97%
3. Which place is the best for Lia [basilect] to tell her story?	30 33.71%	26 29.21%	33 37.08%

Table 6-6. 7-year-olds' association between language and setting

TASK 2a			
Questions	**Age 7 Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Class	**Park**	**Farm**
1. Which place is the best for Mia [acrolect] to tell her story?	48 51.61%	33 35.48%	12 12.90%
2. Which place is the best for Nia [mesolect] to tell her story?	26 27.96%	45 48.39%	22 23.66%
3. Which place is the best for Lia [basilect] to tell her story?	22 23.66%	17 18.28%	54 58.06%

Studying the results obtained, it is evident that all age groups make the same associations: a) the acrolect is mostly preferred for the most formal setting, that of the classroom, b) the mesolect is mostly thought to be suitable for a friendly environment, that of the park/playground, and c) the basilect is mainly regarded as

the language of the least formal setting, that of the farm. The participants' preferences seem to present further similarities in that for all age groups: a) the acrolectal level is regarded more suitable to be used in the park than at the farm, and b) the basilectal level is associated more with the setting of the classroom than with that of the park.

What is further inferred from these percentages is that the seven-year-olds are the ones who express higher homogeneity in their responses, especially as far as the levels found at the edges of the continuum are concerned (acrolect and basilect). Also, the participants' answers reveal some patterns. Regarding the mesolect, the older the child, the more likely it is to prefer the use of the mesolectal level of CG in the setting of the park. As for the acrolect, the older the child, the less likely it is to associate the acrolectal level of the continuum with the least formal setting, that of the farm. What is statistically significant is that the three age groups' preferences appear to significantly differ only in the case of the basilectal speaker, at the level of $F(2, 257) = 3.46$, $p < 0.05$. Although all three age groups believe that the basilectal level of CG is mostly suitable for the farm, the scores obtained at age seven for each option are more extreme than at the age of six or five and compared to the three age groups' answers concerning the acrolectal and the mesolectal speaker.

6.4.2 Association between language and physical appearance

As for children's association between language use and the speaker's physical appearance, the results are found in Tables 6-7 to 6-9 below, as they have been obtained from Task 2. Each of the three tables corresponds to the responses of each age group—age five, six and seven—separately. This enables inferences on the differences along the investigated age span.

Table 6-7. 5-year-olds' association between language and physical appearance

TASK 2b			
Questions	**Age 5 Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Beautiful	**Normal**	**Ugly**
1. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Mia [acrolect]?	53 67.95%	19 24.36%	6 7.69%
2. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Nia [mesolect]?	35 44.87%	25 32.05%	18 23.08%
3. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Lia [basilect]?	30 38.46%	30 38.46%	18 23.08%

Table 6-8. 6-year-olds' association between language and physical appearance

TASK 2b			
Questions	**Age 6 Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Beautiful	**Normal**	**Ugly**
1. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Mia [acrolect]?	59 66.29%	20 22.47%	10 11.24%
2. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Nia [mesolect]?	35 39.33%	29 32.58%	25 28.09%
3. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Lia [basilect]?	34 38.20%	28 31.46%	27 30.34%

Table 6-9. 7-year-olds' association between language and physical appearance

TASK 2b			
Questions	**Age 7 Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Beautiful	**Normal**	**Ugly**
1. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Mia [acrolect]?	58 62.37%	31 33.33%	4 4.30%
2. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Nia [mesolect]?	25 26.88%	51 54.84%	17 18.28%
3. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Lia [basilect]?	16 17.20%	37 39.78%	40 43.01%

Compared to the previous subtask, children's associations between language and physical appearance at different age stages present less similarities than the associations between language and setting. What is generally noticed is that the majority of the participants in all three age groups associate the acrolectal level of CG with a beautiful appearance of the speaker, then with a normal one and last with an ugly person. In addition to this, it seems that the younger the child, the more likely it is to associate the acrolect with the most beautiful person. As for the mesolectal speaker, it is the least likely to be associated with an ugly appearance at any age, although she is mainly associated with a more beautiful appearance at the age of five and six. But, at the age of seven, it is thought to be the language of a person with an ordinary, everyday appearance. Finally, the basilect is thought to be accompanied by an ugly look, at the age of seven, although at the age of six it is mostly regarded as the language of a beautiful person and, at the age of five, it is equally associated with a beautiful and a normal appearance.

Further worth-noticing remarks that can be made from children's responses in the second part of Task 2 include the following. As the child grows older, it is less likely

to associate the mesolectal level with a beautiful person, whereas it is more possible to associate such a speaker with an ordinary appearance. Additionally, the older the child, the less likely it is to link the basilect with a beautiful appearance, while the more likely it is to associate this level with an ugly person. Once again, the difference between the three age groups' assignment of appropriate appearance is statistically significant only in the case of the basilectal speaker, $F(2, 257) = 6.98$, $p = < 0.01$. As the children grow older, they make a significantly stronger association between the basilect and an ugly person.

6.5 Task 3: Language attitudes after repetition

At this point, the analysis of the participants' responses in Task 3 may reveal important findings on whether the children's attitudes towards the three levels of the CG continuum differ if measured again after repetition of the task, at different stages during childhood. For this, it was preferred to present the children's responses in Task 3 in tables of sums and percentages, as it was done with Task 1 previously, and draw figures that facilitate the comparison of the results obtained in the two tasks.

Table 6-10. Language attitudes of 5-year-olds after repetition

TASK 3			
Questions	**Age 5 Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Acro	**Meso**	**Basi**
1. Which story do you like best?	48 61.54%	9 11.54%	21 26.92%
2. Who lies?	18 23.08%	26 33.33%	34 43.59%
3. Who would you like to be friends with?	43 55.13%	11 14.10%	24 30.77%
4. Who talks the best?	48 61.54%	14 17.95%	16 20.51%
5. Who is the laziest?	16 20.51%	23 29.49%	39 50.00%
6. Who is the naughtiest?	12 15.38%	32 41.03%	34 43.59%
7. Who is the funniest?	26 33.33%	20 25.64%	32 41.03%
8. Who is the cleverest?	38 48.72%	20 25.64%	20 25.64%
9. Who is the best student?	39 50.00%	9 11.54%	30 38.46%
10. Who would you like to play with?	42 53.85%	15 19.23%	21 26.92%

Table 6-11. Language attitudes of 6-year-olds after repetition

TASK 3			
Questions	**Age 6 Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Acro	**Meso**	**Basi**
1. Which story do you like best?	66 74.16%	10 11.24%	13 14.61%
2. Who lies?	8 8.99%	33 37.08%	48 53.93%
3. Who would you like to be friends with?	70 78.65%	8 8.99%	11 12.36%
4. Who talks the best?	66 74.16%	9 10.11%	14 15.73%
5. Who is the laziest?	9 10.11%	32 35.96%	48 53.93%
6. Who is the naughtiest?	11 12.36%	31 34.83%	47 52.81%
7. Who is the funniest?	26 29.21%	28 31.46%	35 39.33%
8. Who is the cleverest?	61 68.54%	18 20.22%	10 11.24%
9. Who is the best student?	54 60.67%	20 22.47%	15 16.85%
10. Who would you like to play with?	69 77.53%	5 5.62%	15 16.85%

Table 6-12. Language attitudes of 7-year-olds after repetition

TASK 3			
Questions	**Age 7 Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Acro	**Meso**	**Basi**
1. Which story do you like best?	67 72.04%	13 13.98%	13 13.93%
2. Who lies?	9 9.68%	22 23.66%	62 66.67%
3. Who would you like to be friends with?	71 76.34%	14 15.05%	8 8.60%
4. Who talks the best?	82 88.17%	5 5.38%	6 6.45%
5. Who is the laziest?	6 6.45%	32 34.41%	55 59.14%
6. Who is the naughtiest?	9 9.68%	26 27.96%	58 62.37%
7. Who is the funniest?	15 16.13%	20 21.51%	58 62.37%
8. Who is the cleverest?	63 67.74%	17 18.28%	13 13.98%
9. Who is the best student?	66 70.97%	15 16.13%	12 12.90%
10. Who would you like to play with?	67 72.04%	12 12.90%	14 15.05%

Comparing the three age groups' responses in Task 3, the inferential statistics show that the difference between the age groups' favourability and disfavourability is highly significant for: 'clever' $F(2, 257) = 5.15$, $p < 0.01$, 'best student' $F(2, 257) = 7.31$, $p < 0.01$, 'preferred friend' $F(2, 257) = 9.10$, $p < 0.01$, 'funny' $F(2, 257) = 6.26$, $p < 0.01$, 'best talk' $F(2, 257) = 7.28$, $p < 0.01$, 'preferred person to play with' $F(2, 257) = 4.52$, $p < 0.05$ and 'lies' $F(2, 257) = 5.81$, $p < 0.01$.

Although the acrolectal speaker is favoured the most as the cleverest person, the best student, the most preferred friend and person to play with, as well as the one who talks the best, the degree of the participants' favourability of the acrolectal level of CG differs at a significant level from age five to age six and seven. As observed in Tables 6-10 to 6-12, and as further discussed below, favourable attitudes towards the acrolect increase as the children grow older. Compared to the results obtained in Task 1, it appears that the three groups' scores differ significantly on one more trait in Task 1 than in Task 3. This can be explained by the fact that the three age groups' responses towards favourability of the acrolectal speaker become slightly more unified after repetition of the task. 'Funny', which is mainly assigned to the

basilectal speaker, also reveals significant deviations between the three groups' responses, as in Task 1, mainly because of the high score of the seven-year-olds (see Table 6-12). The same is noticed for 'lies' which reveals statistical significance too. 'Lazy' and 'best story' appear to be more uncertain before further familiarisation to the linguistic input, by contrast to what has been reported in Task 1. The characteristic of 'naughty' raises less unified patterns of favourability as in Task 1.

Studying the above tables closer, it is noticed that for half of the questions the three age groups present the same pattern in their responses. For the attributes 'best talk' and 'preferred person to play with', the acrolectal speaker comes first, followed by the basilectal and then the mesolectal one. In Task 1, such a pattern was observed in the attributes 'best story' and 'preferred friend'. Studying the scores obtained, the conclusion drawn is that the older the children: a) the more they are in favour of the acrolectal speaker's way of talking, b) the less they are in favour of the mesolectal speech, and c) the less they are in favour of the basilectal speaker as talk and preferred person to play with.

Other questions that seem to follow a similar pattern in the three age groups' responses concern the laziest person, the naughtiest person and the one who lies. For these traits, the basilectal speaker scored the highest, followed by the mesolectal and then the acrolectal speaker. In Task 1, such a pattern was drawn in the participants' responses for the laziest, the naughtiest and the funniest person. It seems that the older the child, the more likely it is to think of the basilectal speaker of CG as a person who is lazy, naughty and tells lies. Moreover, the older the child, the less likely it is to attribute the trait 'naughty' to the acrolectal or the mesolectal speaker and 'lazy' to the acrolectal speaker. Although it presents the same pattern from one age group to the other, the trait 'funny' was attributed at a higher degree to the basilectal speaker by all age groups in Task 3. It appears that the older the child, the less likely it is to think of the acrolectal speaker as the funniest one.

As for the rest of the traits, the participants of all age groups mostly attributed them to the acrolectal speaker, as in Task 1. Thus, the acrolectal story is the one most liked, while at the same time the acrolectal speaker is regarded as the cleverest person and the best student, and she is the most preferred friend. For the attributes 'best story' and 'preferred friend', the basilectal speaker comes second in the participants' preference at age five and six, followed by the mesolectal speaker. At

age seven, the mesolectal and basilectal speakers scored the same for the characteristic 'best story', but for the 'preferred friend', the mesolectal speaker received higher favourability than the basilectal speaker. Additionally, the mesolectal speaker was chosen by more participants aged six and seven as the best student and the cleverest person than the basilectal speaker. On the other hand, the basilectal speaker received a higher score than the mesolectal speaker in the five-year-olds' attribution of 'best student'. What is more, the five-year-olds expressed equal favourability towards the mesolectal and the basilectal speaker for the quality 'clever'. Therefore, it appears that the older the children, the more they are in favour of the acrolectal story and the less they are in favour of the mesolectal and basilectal stories. Also, the older the child, the more likely it is to consider the acrolectal speaker as the best student, as well as the less likely it is to associate the basilectal level with the best student, the cleverest person and the most preferred friend. The link between the mesolectal level and a clever person also declines as the child grows older.

From what has been discussed so far regarding Task 3, it is obvious that the participants' attitudes as measured in Task 1 and then in Task 3, after being further sensitised to the actual purpose of the experiment and the linguistic stimuli, somehow differ. Such differences better arise in the figures that follow which juxtapose the data obtained from the same question in the two tasks, depicting at the same time how each age group behaves. Figures 6-1 to 6-6 refer to the questions in which the acrolectal speaker was generally favoured most (i.e. best story, preferred friend, best talk, cleverest person, best student and most preferred person to play with).

Figure 6-1. Children's attitudes before and after repetition: Question 1

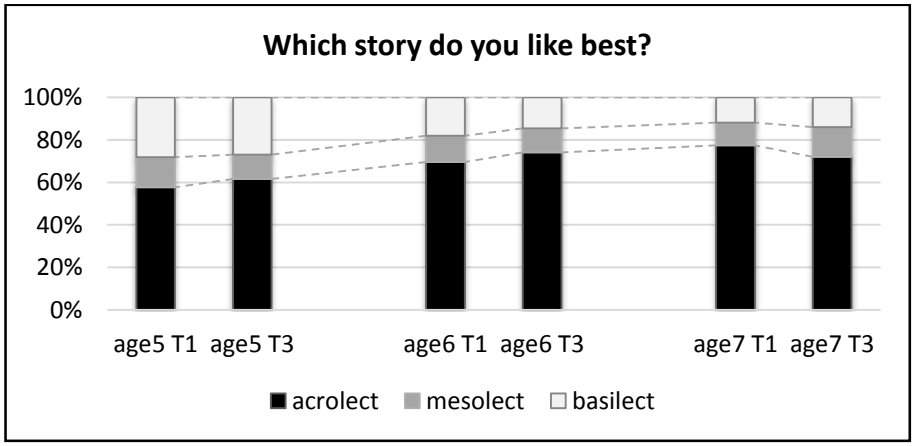


Figure 6-2. Children's attitudes before and after repetition: Question 3

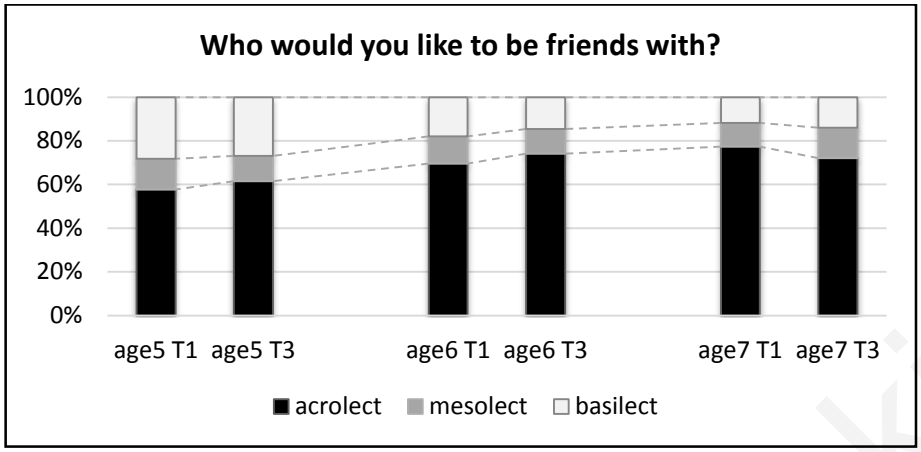


Figure 6-3. Children's attitudes before and after repetition: Question 4

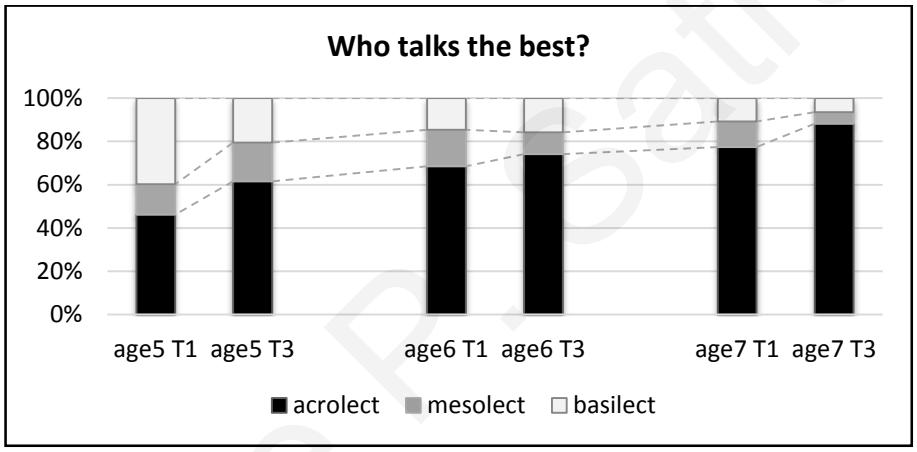


Figure 6-4. Children's attitudes before and after repetition: Question 8

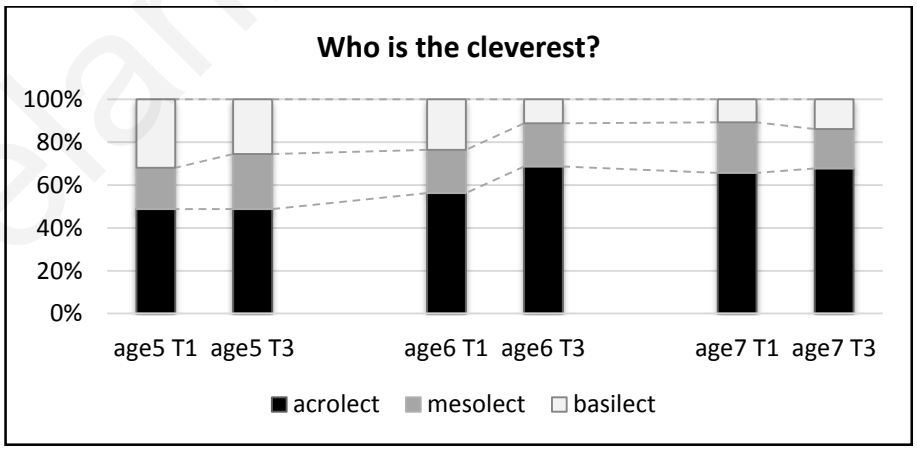


Figure 6-5. Children's attitudes before and after repetition: Question 9

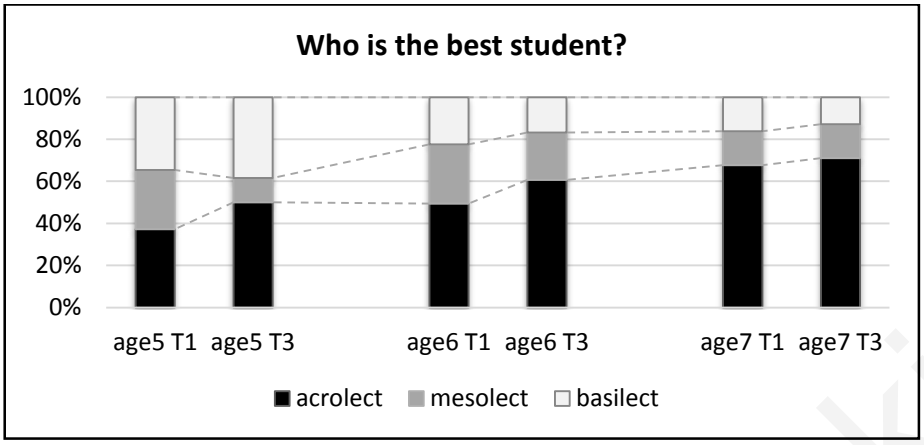
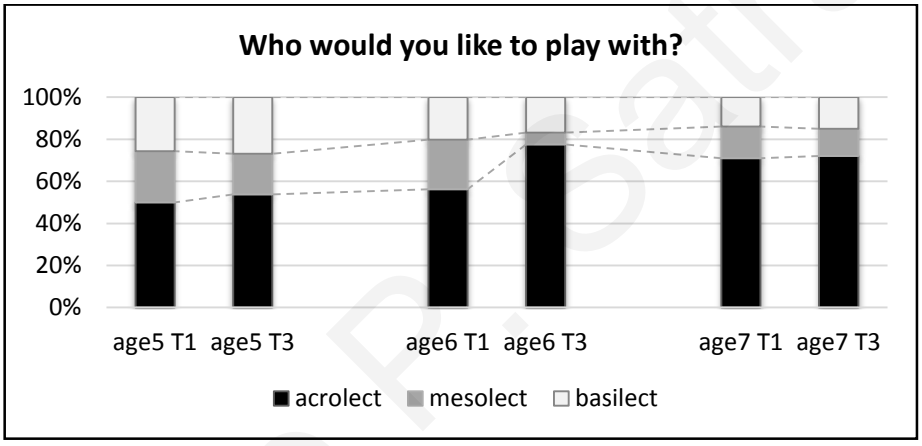


Figure 6-6. Children's attitudes before and after repetition: Question 10



Comparing the three age groups' responses in Task 1 and Task 3, it is observed that as for the attributes 'best story' and 'preferred friend', preference towards the acrolectal speaker increases at age five and six when asked the same question for the second time, whereas it decreases at age seven. The opposite happens with the acrolectal and mesolectal speakers; favourability decreases at age five and six, and increases at age seven. The same pattern appears in the favourability of the basilectal speaker for 'clever'. On the other hand, the belief that the acrolectal speaker is the cleverest person remains stable at age five, although it increases at age six and seven. Then, the corresponding results of the mesolectal speaker present a rising pattern at age five, a falling pattern at age sevenand remain stable at age six. Concerning the questions on 'best talk', 'best student' and 'preferred person to play with', the acrolectal speaker is increasingly favoured from Task 1 to Task 3 by all age groups. The mesolectal speaker is favoured less from one task to the other by all age groups as the best student and preferred person to play with, but as for the person who talks best, decrease between the two tasks is observed

at age six and seven, while at age five, it increases. 'Best student' and 'preferred person to play with' are increasingly attributed to the basilectal level at age five and decreasingly assigned to it at age six. At age seven, the pattern is a decreasing one concerning the best student and an increasing one concerning the preferred person to play with. At last, the basilectal level is decreasingly thought to be the best talk at age five and seven, and increasingly believed to be the best talk at age six.

In a similar way, the findings of the rest of the questions posed in Tasks 1 and 3, in which the basilectal speaker generally received higher scores, appear contrastively in Figures 6-7 to 6-10.

Figure 6-7. Children's attitudes before and after repetition: Question 2

Figure 6-8. Children's attitudes before and after repetition: Question 5

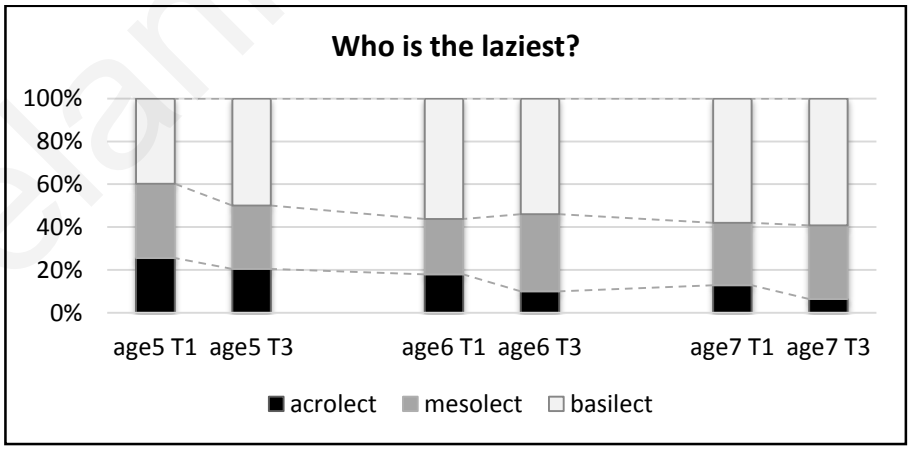


Figure 6-9. Children's attitudes before and after repetition: Question 6

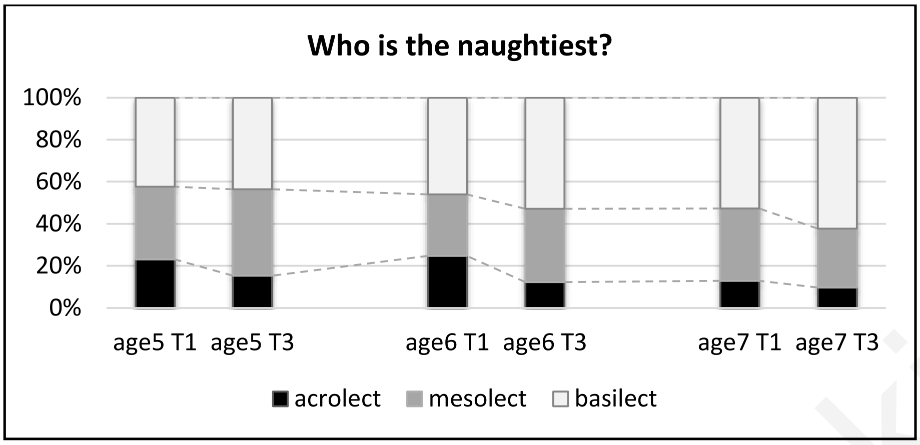
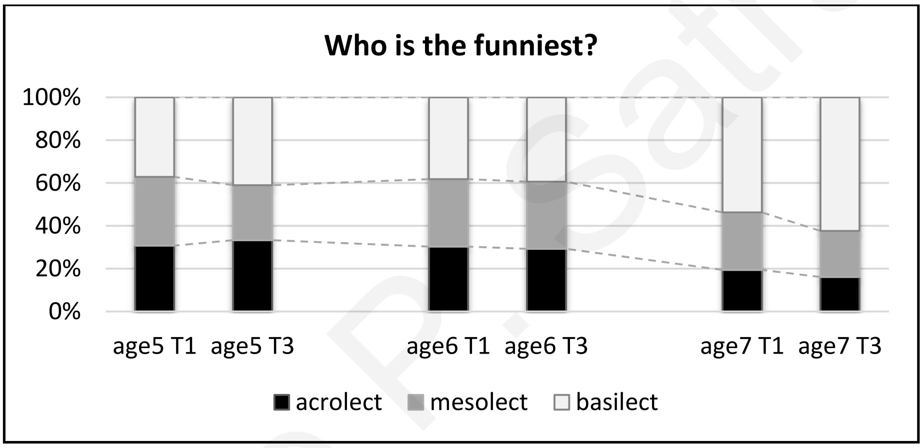


Figure 6-10. Children's attitudes before and after repetition: Question 7



What is mainly noticed in the above figures is that the assignment of the negative traits 'lies', 'lazy' and 'naughty' to the acrolectal speaker decreases from Task 1 to Task 3 by all age groups. As for the characteristic 'funny', it appears to have an increasing value at age five which again presents a falling pattern at age six and seven. On the contrary, the basilectal speaker receives higher scores in Task 3 than in Task 1 as being the naughtiest and the funniest person in all age groups' perception. It is also increasingly believed at age six and seven that the basilectal speaker is the one who lies, but the opposite happens in the five-year-olds' responses (i.e. the results obtained decrease from one task to the other). Furthermore, the basilectal level appears to increase in five- and seven-year-olds' selection of the laziest person, although less six-year-olds attribute the trait 'lazy' to the basilectal speaker in Task 3 than in Task 1. As far as the mesolectal speaker is concerned, the patterns that come to the surface from these four figures are far from unanimous. She is more expected to lie in Task 3 than in Task 1, by all age groups. An increasing pattern in the mesolectal speaker's scores is also revealed in the

responses in Tasks 1 and 3 for the trait 'lazy' at age six and seven, while at age five the scores decrease. The mesolectal speaker's scores for 'funny' decrease too at age five and age seven, and they remain stable at age six. As for the naughtiest person, more five- and six-year-olds believe that this is the mesolectal speaker in Task 3 than in Task 1, although the seven-year-olds' responses for this trait for this speaker show a decreasing pattern.

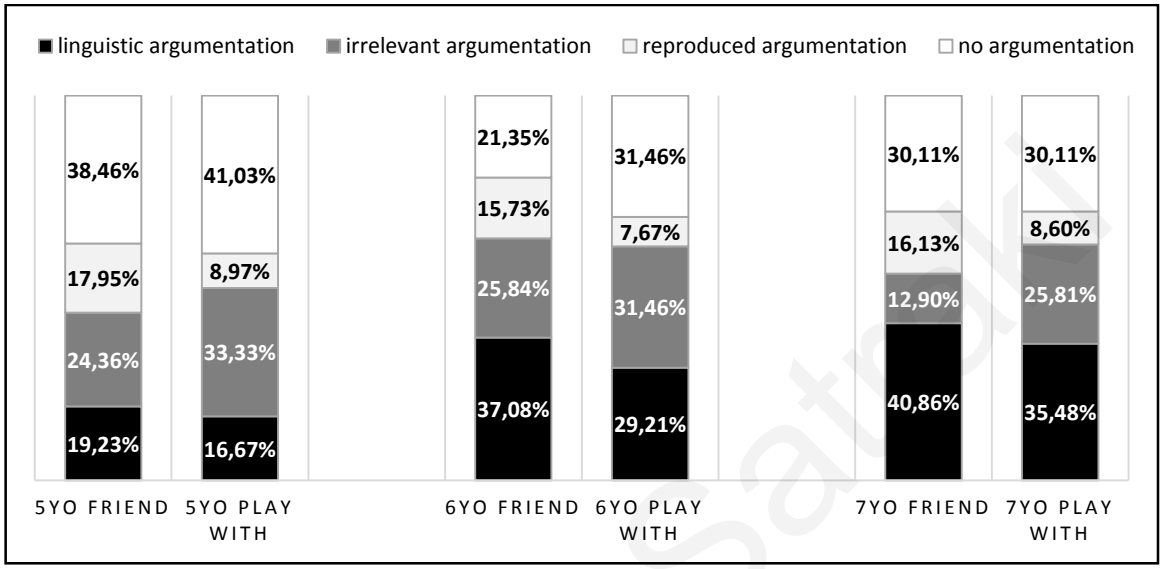
6.6 Analysis of qualitative data

Two of the questions of Task 1 asked the participants to provide reasons for their choice: 'Who would you like to be friends with? Why her?' and 'Who would you like to play with? Why her?'. Analysing the qualitative data obtained, it was observed that a large number of children did not give an answer at all. This is may be due to the fact that the children's metalanguage skills have not been developed yet to an extent that enables them to make such judgments. As claimed by many researchers this happens after age seven or eight (Edwards & Kirkpatrick 1999). However, examining the arguments given, it was realised that some referred to linguistic variables, but some others to non-linguistic aspects or irrelevant arguments—like ones that related to distinctive features of the content of the certain speaker's story or her physical appearance. Still, there were children who produced statements taken from previous questions posed by the interviewer and others who were able to provide valid linguistic argumentation that related to the guises' way of talking.

For the question 'Why would you like to be friends with …?', 61.54% of five-year-olds, 78.65% of six-year-olds and 70.97% of seven-year-olds gave an answer. For the question 'Why would you like to play with …?', 58.97% of five-year-olds, 68.64% of six-year-olds and 69.89% of seven-year-olds justified their choice. Figure 6-11 below illustrates the percentages of children who justified their choice linguistically, those who based it on non-linguistic variables, and those whose argumentation was a reproduction of already asked questions by the interviewer. Argumentation in favour of the acrolectal, the mesolectal or the basilectal speaker claiming that she talks in a nice way, she is clever or a good student, she did not lie or they liked her story best, as reproductions of questions previously posed to the participants ('Who talks the best?', Who lies? etc.) is not further discussed. The reason for this is that it is assumed that the participants' answer might have been affected by the

interviewer's attributes mentioned in the questions, which might have been perceived as set criteria by the interviewee. Linguistic criteria that the children referred to are reported below.

Figure 6-11. Children's justification of favourability



Five-years-olds who chose a certain speaker based on linguistic criteria claimed that they chose her because she told the story in a nicer way, she talks more nicely, clearly, correctly or differently than the others, and they liked her voice. Moreover, from those who preferred the acrolectal speaker, some of them reported that this speaker is more attentive ('*συγκεντρωμένη*'), while the other two speakers did not talk in a kind way or they talked in an angry way. Five-year-olds' main argumentation in favour of the three dialectal levels appear in Table 6-13 below, grouped under the evaluation criteria of: pleasantness, superiority/dynamism and correctness (proposed by Poropat Jeletic 2013). As it is evident, most of the children used support that is related to the pleasantness/attractiveness of the speaker, very few arguments that referred to the varieties' superiority against the rest, and even less that have to do with correctness. This observation is stronger in the case of favourability towards the mesolectal and the basilectal speaker, whereas the acrolectal speaker is more favourable because of using a more superior or correct level of CG.

Table 6-13. 5-year-olds' support for favourability of linguistic variety

Acrolect	Mesolect	Basilect
Pleasantness		
Άρεσεν μου η ιστορία της. [I liked her story.]	Κάμνει ωραίες ιστορίες. [She creates beautiful stories.]	Άρεσεν μου τζείνον που είπεν. [I liked what she said.]
Είπεν τα πιο ωραία τα λόγια της. [She used nicer words.]	Είπεν τα πιο ωραία. [She told it more nicely.]	Άρεσεν μου η φωνή της. [I liked her voice.]
Λέει πολύ ωραία παραμυθάκια. [She tells beautiful fairy tales.]	Άρεσεν μου η φωνή της. [I like her voice.]	Ήταν λλίον πιο ωραίον που τες άλλες. [It was a little more beautiful than the rest.]
Άρεσεν μου η φωνή της. [I liked her voice.]		
Ένιωσα να μιλά πιο ωραία. [I felt that she speaks more nicely.]		
Superiority/Dynamism		
Οι δύο εμιλούσαν όχι ευγενικά. [The two did not talk kindly.]	Λαλεί τα έτσι πιο καθαρά. [She tells it clearly.]	Είπεν τα πιο καθαρά. [She told it clearly.]
Εν πιο συγκεντρωμένη. [She is more attentive.]		
Μιλά έτσι καθαρά χωρίς να καμνει τα λόγια της έτσι σαν τους άλλους θυμωτά. [She talks clearly without making her words 'angry' like the rest.'		
Correctness		
Λαλεί τες σωστά τες λέξεις. [She pronounces the words correctly.]		

However, there were five-year-olds who preferred the acrolectal, the mesolectal or the basilectal speaker and gave irrelevant justification for their choice, such as because: it was the first time they met her, they knew a girl with the same name or they liked her name. Also, because they liked the chocolate, they liked the fact that she opened the car door or that she was alone at the beach, she is beautiful or kind, she was the first or the last speaker, or the other speakers made fun. A child said that she liked the speaker because she resembles his mother.

As for six-year-olds, the children said that they preferred one of the three speakers (acrolectal, mesolectal or basilectal) because she talks in a nice, clear or correct way, she has a nicer voice than the rest, or they liked the way the certain speaker talked. As for the participants who preferred the acrolectal speaker, they also did it because: she talks in a normal way, she uses nice words, she speaks correct or nice Greek, or the other two speakers talk 'weirdly', 'child-like', 'something like CG'

or '*χωριάτικα/χώρκατα*' (i.e. village-like). On the other hand, one of the participants claimed to like the fact that the basilectal speaker had a 'village-like' accent, because he comes from a village himself. Also, the basilectal speaker was preferred because she talks CG and because her language sounds more Greek. The general picture obtained is similar to that of five-year-olds: most arguments are driven by the pleasantness of the speaker and less by the superiority or correctness of her language. Such arguments are even less visible in the cases of the mesolectal and the basilectal speaker.

Table 6-14. 6-year-olds' support for favourability of linguistic variety

Acrolect	Mesolect	Basilect
Pleasantness		
Μιλά πιο ωραία ελληνικά. [She talks nicer Greek.]	Εμίλησεν ωραία. [She talked nicely.]	Εμίλησεν πολύ ωραία. [She talked very nicely.]
Είπεν με πιο ωραία λόγια την ιστορία. [She told the story with more beautiful words.]	Άρεσεν μου πιο πολλά η φωνή της. [I liked her voice more.]	Εν πιο ωραία η φωνή της. [Her voice is more beautiful.]
Μιλά πιο καλά. [She talks more nicely.]	Άρεσεν μου έτσι που εμιλούσεν. [I liked the way she talked.]	
Άρεσεν μου η φωνή της. [I liked her voice.]		
Superiority/Dynamism		
Εν εμιλούσεν χωριάτικα. [She didn't talk village-like.]	Μιλά λλίον καθαρά. [She talks a bit more clearly.]	Μιλά πιο ελληνικά. [She speaks more Greek.]
Οι άλλες μιλούν πιο μωρίστικα. [The others talk in a child-like manner.]		Μιλά έτσι χωρκάτικα. Και'γω είμαι που το χωρκό. [She talks village-like. I am from a village too.]
Εν εμιλούσεν όπως τες άλλες έτσι παράξενα. [She didn't talk weirdly like the others.]		
Οι άλλες δύο δε θα καταλάββαινα τι θα έλεγαν. [I wouldn't understand what the other two would say.]		
Μιλά καθαρά. [She talks clearly.]		
Οι άλλες εμιλούσαν κάτι σαν κυπριακά. [The other two spoke something like Cypriot.]		
Correctness		
Αυτή μίλησε πιο σωστά ελληνικά. [She spoke more correct Greek.]		Είπεν πολύ σωστά τα λόγια της. [She used correct words.]
Μιλά κανονικά. [She talks normally.]		

Further support that the six-year-old participants gave for their choice of the acrolectal guise included irrelevant arguments like because: she used more words, she said something different, she behaved in the right way, she closed her eyes or she went to the beach, she is first, she is nice or friendly, she has a beautiful face or she plays well. Irrelevant argumentation in favour of the mesolectal speaker included the fact that: she has beautiful hair or she did not eat the chocolate, by contrast to the other two girls. At last, the basilectal speaker is preferred because: she tells a nice story, she is kind, beautiful and she has a nice body, she has the chocolate, she was frightened, she was smiling, she pretended that she was sleeping, her name sounds either familiar or different to the participant. Also, some of the participants mentioned that they prefer the basilectal speaker to play with, because she is crazy or to see what kind of naughty behaviour she will act out.

Finally, the seven-year-olds claimed to be in favour of the acrolectal speaker because her way of talking is kind, beautiful, sweet, serious, clear and correct, and she speaks 'Greek' or 'more Greek', by contrast to the other two guises. It is not village-like speech and she does not say 'bad words' or 'insults'. She says /ˈmːatʝa/—although it was /ˈmatʝa/—instead of /ˈmːaθca/ and /ʤe/. The mesolectal and basilectal speakers' language is considered CG or 'fake CG', weird, village-like, ugly, rude and incomprehensible. On the other hand, those who prefer the mesolectal speaker reported that she talks the best, or she is the one who speaks CG or both Greek and CG. An additional reason for preference is that she talks in a funny way. The basilectal speaker is favoured by some participants because of her village-like, clear, perfect CG language.

What is obvious in Table 6-15 below is that correctness argumentation raised is little like in the other two age groups. Seven-year-olds favour the acrolectal speaker for more superiority/dynamism reasons than five- and six-year-olds. Also, it is worth-mentioning that the basilectal speaker is favoured by none of the seven-year-old informants due to her pleasantness.

Table 6-15. 7-year-olds' support for favourability of linguistic variety

Acrolect	Mesolect	Basilect
Pleasantness		
Μιλά ωραία. [She talks nicely.]	Μιλά πιο ωραία. [She talks better.]	
Εμιλούσε γλυκά. [She talked in a sweet manner.]	Είπεν το λλίγον πιο καλά. [She told it a little better.]	
Η δεύτερη εν εμιλούσεν καλά τζαι η τρίτη ακόμα πιο άσχημα. [The second one wasn't talking nice and the third one was talking even worse.]	Έσ̆ει χάζιν πως μιλά τζαι εν να γελώ. [The way she talks is funny and I will laugh.]	
Εν θα μου μιλά άσ̆σ̆ημα. [She won't talk to me in a bad way.]		
Superiority/Dynamism		
Άμαν έθελα να παίξω έναν παιχνίδιν τζαι εμίλαν μου κυπριακά, εγώ εν θα το καταλάββαιννα. [If I wanted to play a game and she talked to me in Cypriot, I wouldn't understand.]	Μιλά τζαι ελληνικά τζαι κυπριακά. [She speaks both Greek and Cypriot.]	Μιλά τέλεια κυπριακά τζαι εν πιο καλή. [She speaks Cypriot fully and she is better.]
Οι άλλες μιλούν ψεύτικα κυπριακά. [The others speak fake Cypriot.]		Είπεν το πιο χωριάτικα. [She told it more village-like.]
Εν θα μου λαλεί συνέχεια βρισ̆ιές. [She won't say insults to me.]		Ξέρει να μιλά καθαρά. [She knows how to speak clearly.]
Μιλά σοβαρά. [She talks seriously.]		
Οι άλλες εν μιλούσιν καθαρά. [The others don't talk clearly.]		
Εν λαλεί αταξίες λέξεις. [She doesn't say naughty words.]		
Οι άλλες μιλούν χωρκάτικα ενώ η πρώτη μιλά ελληνικά. [The others talk village-like while the first one speaks Greek.]		
Εν τα λαλούσεν κυπριακά. [She didn't tell it in Cypriot.]		
Οι άλλες δύο έχουν έτσι περίεργην προφορά. [The other two have a weird accent.]		
Εμιλούσεν ευγενικά. [She was talking in a kind way.]		
Correctness		
Μιλούσεν σωστά. [She talked correctly.]		

The irrelevant support provided by seven-year-olds for their favourability towards a particular speaker included statements like the following. The acrolectal speaker is nicer, calmer and more beautiful than the others, she ate the chocolate, she plays better and she has a nice name or better manners. Whereas the other two guises are not preferred over the acrolectal one because they come from another country. The mesolectal guise is claimed to be favoured because she is beautiful, while the basilectal guise is preferred for being tall. Further argumentation on why to play with the basilectal speaker is that the child believes that she will beat her all the time.

Although not all the participants were able to justify their choices in linguistic terms, interesting observations have been made from asking the participants to explain why they want a certain speaker as their friend or to play with. Many of them based their views on the speaker's nice, clear or correct language use or voice. The associations that can be made between the three levels of the CG continuum and how the children described the speaker or the speech are the following. The acrolectal level is normal, nice, kind, beautiful, sweet, serious, clear, correct and Greek, whereas the mesolectal and basilectal levels are weird, child-like, village-like, rude, ugly, incomprehensible and are used to express anger or to say bad words and insults. On the contrary, the mesolectal speaker is considered to be privileged since she speaks both Greek and CG, and she is funny. Although the basilectal speaker is negatively characterised as village-like by some participants, some others like the fact that this speaker probably comes from a village and it is believed that she is the one who speaks clear and perfect CG. The fact that the more dialectal levels are described as incomprehensible contradicts Pavlou's results (1999), where the children preferred the dialectal variety because it was more comprehensible for them than the standard variety (see Chapter 4).

What is worth-noticing is that many of the participants contradict their own attitudes, by using a level of the continuum that is far from the acrolectal edge to disfavour the mesolectal and basilectal speech. The opposite was also attested; i.e. the acrolectal level was used to express favourability of the basilectal speaker. Moreover, it is important to note that one of the children seems to distance herself not only from the CG speech, but other aspects of the GC culture too ('*άλλον τα παιχνίδια μας εμάς τζαι άλλον τα κυπριακά*', our games is one thing and Cypriot games is another thing). This remark agrees with Papapavlou and Sophocleous (2009), where the participants used 'them' to refer to basilectal speakers of the dialect and differentiate

themselves (see Chapter 4). Also, it affirms Tajfel and Turner's claim (1979) that, in stereotyping, people tend to exaggerate concerning the differences between two groups. What is more, it was noticed that many children distinguish between Greek ('*ελληνικά*'), which is regarded as what the acrolectal speaker uses, and CG ('*κυπριακά*'), the language of the mesolectal and basilectal speaker, as two distinct entities. Even more, a child regards the mesolectal and the basilectal speakers as foreigners.

6.7 Discussion

The findings presented in this chapter reveal how GC children's attitudes towards three levels of the CG continuum develop at the age of five, six and seven. The above presentation brings patterns to the surface that enable to answer the research question on whether GC children hold attitudes towards various levels of CG in different stages of early sociolinguistic development. Additionally, it is enabled to provide answers on whether the same children make associations between language and non-language variables, such as the physical appearance of the speaker (hairstyle, makeup, facial characteristics) or the context of the speech event (farm, classroom, park), that further reveal attitudinal stances.

6.7.1 The development of Greek-Cypriot children's attitudes towards Cypriot Greek

On investigating GC children's attitudes towards the three proposed levels of CG during age five to seven, it was hypothesised that older GC children are more in favour of the acrolectal level of CG than younger children. Based on previous experimental studies (Rosenthal 1974), it was taken for granted that children by the age of five express favourability towards different linguistic varieties. Since the present research does not deal with different varieties of the same language, but different levels of the same dialectal variety, children's possible expression of linguistic (un)favourability may also verify that children by the age of five are able to distinguish between levels of a dialect continuum and hold attitudes towards them. The participants' assignment of different traits (of similar nature—positive or negative), that are in agreement with the findings of similar studies, seem to provide support for the first hypothesis.

From the analysis of Tasks 1 and 3, it was found that all three age groups mostly attributed all of the positive traits to the acrolectal speaker, except for 'funny' which is mainly assigned to the basilectal speaker, along with the negative traits. For the characteristics 'best story' and 'preferred friend', the highest score in Task 1 was achieved by the acrolectal speaker, followed by the basilectal and then the mesolectal one. In Task 3, although these traits were again mostly assigned to the acrolectal speaker, seven-year-olds' preference of the mesolectal level increased, reaching higher or equal scores to the basilectal level. For the questions 'Who talks the best?', 'Who would you like to play with?', 'Who is the best student?' and 'Who is the cleverest?', the acrolectal speaker was the one favoured most in both tasks by all age groups, although the other two speakers brought disagreement among the three groups. Then, the results of Tasks 1 and 3 obtained for the person who lies, the laziest, the naughtiest and the funniest person revealed that the basilectal speaker scored the highest in the three age groups' preferences. For 'lazy' and 'naughty', the basilectal speaker is followed by the mesolectal and, last, the acrolectal speaker in both tasks. The same appears for all groups in Task 3 and for six- and seven-year-olds in Task 1 with the question 'Who lies?'. The trait 'funny' was last attributed to the acrolectal speaker by all groups in Task 1 and six- and seven-year-olds in Task 3, whereas in Task 3, the acrolectal speaker scored higher than the mesolectal one among five-year-olds.

From both attitude measurement tasks of the present study—Task 1 and Task 3—it is inferred that the older the children: a) the more they are in favour of the acrolectal level as a pleasant narration and pleasant talk, as the way of talking of a preferred friend or a person to play with and of a good student, b) the less they are in favour of the basilectal speaker for the same traits, and even less of the mesolectal story, speech and friend, c) the less likely it is to attribute 'clever', 'best student' or 'preferred friend' to the basilectal speaker of CG, d) the more likely it is to perceive the basilectal level of CG as the language of a lazy, naughty, funny and lying person, e) the less likely it is to attribute 'lies', 'lazy' and 'funny' to the acrolectal speaker, and f) the less likely it is to regard the mesolectal speaker as the funniest, cleverest or naughtiest person, the best student and a preferred person to play with.

Previous studies on Greek Cypriots' attitudes revealed similar findings, although they dealt with older people and regarded the linguistic profile of the population as a bidialectal one. For example, the adult participants in Papapavlou's study (1998)

perceived the SMG speaker as pleasant, attractive and intelligent, and the CG speaker as humorous. But, additionally, they associated the CG speaker with sincerity, friendliness and kindness. In the present study, in both Task 1 and Task 3, the majority of the children preferred the acrolectal speaker as their friend, while they thought that it was more likely for the basilectal speaker to lie. Being asked why they preferred the acrolectal speaker as their friend or to play with, many children claimed that this speaker is kind. As for the role of the age factor in children's attitudes, Kounnapi (2006) claimed that sixth-graders (age eleven to twelve) in her study were more in favour of the standard variety than the dialect, but in less degree in comparison to pre-school children (age five) or adults (Papapavlou 1998, Pavlou 1999). However, the findings of the present study support that older children express more positive attitudes towards the acrolectal speaker, as well as more negative attitudes towards the basilectal speaker than younger children. This agrees in a great extent with Day's conclusion (1980) that younger children favour the dialect more than older children who prefer the standard variety more (see Chapter 3).

6.7.2 The development of Greek-Cypriot children's associations between language and non-language features

Along with approaching GC children's language attitudes, it was investigated whether the children's sociolinguistic development at the age of five to seven enables them to go a step further and associate a certain linguistic code with non-language factors of the speech event. Pre-experimentally, it was hypothesised that while the acrolectal level of CG is mostly associated with an elegant appearance and a formal setting, the basilectal level of CG is mostly associated with untidiness, ugliness and informality. The obtained data provided support to this hypothesis in the following way.

Concerning the setting, all age groups mainly associated: a) the acrolect with the most formal setting, b) the mesolect with the friendly environment, and c) the basilect with the most casual setting. Also, the acrolectal level is regarded more suitable to be used in the park rather than at the farm, while the basilectal level is associated more with the classroom rather than with the park. Then, it appeared that the older the child, the more likely it is to prefer the use of the mesolectal level in a friendly setting, and the less likely it is to associate the acrolectal level with the least formal setting. As far as the physical appearance of the speaker is concerned,

the majority of the participants associated: a) the acrolectal level with a beautiful appearance, then with the normal one and last with the ugly person at all age levels, b) the mesolect with a beautiful appearance at the age of five and six, but with an everyday appearance at the age of seven, and c) the basilect with an ugly appearance at age seven, a beautiful one at age six and at an equal degree with a beautiful and a normal appearance at age five. It seems that the younger the child, the more likely it is to make an association between the acrolect and the most beautiful person. Moreover, the older the child, the less possible it is to associate the mesolectal or the basilectal level with a beautiful person, whereas the more possible it is to associate the mesolectal speaker with an ordinary appearance or the basilectal speaker with an ugly person.

Taking all factors together, GC children's associations of the three levels of the CG continuum with the context to be used are clearer than with the physical appearance of the speaker. Although it can be thought that the selection of the distinct facial features of each appearance was not the appropriate one to correspond to different degrees of beauty-ugliness, it may be well the case that children develop language-physical appearance links later than language-setting. This is evident in that seven-year-olds' responses present a more cohesive pattern than the blurry picture in five- and six-year-olds' choices for the mesolect and the basilect, compared to the acrolect. For seven-year-olds, the acrolect denotes beauty, the mesolect denotes an everyday look and the basilect denotes ugliness. Such results come in accordance with the attitudes expressed in the previously discussed tasks; the acrolectal level is the one associated with positive characteristics, while the basilectal level is given negative attributes.

6.8 Summary

In Chapter 6, an effort was made to portrait GC children's attitudes towards three levels of the CG continuum at the age of five, six and seven, as they were investigated in the present study, and as they were presented and discussed in this chapter. Additionally, it was attempted to shed light on these children's ability to associate each of the dialectal levels with certain physical appearance or setting. In particular, it has been shown that children at these age stages generally hold the

same attitudes. They mostly favour the acrolectal level of CG and this attitude becomes stronger as the child becomes older. Furthermore, the basilectal speaker is assigned all the negative traits and it is considered the funniest speaker of all, at a greater extent at later stages in a child's life.

Since the age factor is not the only crucial one in the formation and differentiation of language attitudes, the aim of the following chapter is to deal with the gender factor in GC children's attitudes towards the CG continuum. Thus, the three experimental tasks will be presented and discussed for males and females separately, drawing comparisons between the attitudes expressed by the two genders.

CHAPTER 7

Presentation of results: Gender variable

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the role of gender in GC children's language attitudes will be examined. Many researchers around the world have been engaged with how gender influences people's language development, use and perception. What is important to be kept in mind is that females have been found to be more sensitive to the distinction between standard and non-standard varieties, target more to a high social status which is associated with the standard language, and feel that a standard variety is more 'correct' or acceptable (Chapter 2).

A different analysis of the obtained data, distinguishing between male responses and female responses, is presented in Chapter 7 that enables the comparison between the two gender groups at the age of five, six and seven. The results of each task are illustrated in tables of sums and percentages of responses that correspond to males' and females' favourability towards the different levels of CG on certain attributes, separately for each age cohort. Thus, the first part of Chapter 7 presents the results of Task 1 which measures language attitudes, the second section concerns Task 2 that engages with the children's association between language and non-language features, and the last section includes the results of Task 3 comparing the attitudes measured before and after further familiarisation with the linguistic stimuli.

7.2 Task 1: Children's language attitudes

This first section of Chapter 8 presents GC children's attitudes towards the three levels of CG, as obtained in Task 1, in terms of gender. The data obtained from the ten questions appear in the tables below. Table 7-1 presents the responses of 35 male and 43 female participants aged five, Table 7-2 presents the responses of 49 male and 40 female participants aged six, while Table 7-3 includes 48 male and 45 female participants' responses aged seven. In this way, each gender group's favourability of the acrolectal, the mesolectal and the basilectal level of CG is depicted, revealing gender differences at different age levels. Both the sums of responses and percentages appear on each table for each level on each trait.

Table 7-1. Language attitudes of male vs. female 5-year-olds

TASK 1						
Questions	**Male Responses (Σ/%)**			**Female Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Acro	**Meso**	**Basi**	**Acro**	**Meso**	**Basi**
1. Which story do you like best?	20 57.14%	6 17.14%	9 25.71%	25 58.14%	5 11.63%	13 30.23%
2. Who lies?	9 25.71%	9 25.71%	17 48.57%	12 27.91%	8 18.60%	23 53.49%
3. Who would you like to be friends with?	18 51.43%	7 20.00%	10 28.57%	22 51.16%	7 16.28%	14 32.56%
4. Who talks the best?	18 51.43%	1 2.86%	16 45.71%	18 41.86%	10 23.26%	15 34.88%
5. Who is the laziest?	8 22.86%	12 34.29%	15 42.86%	12 27.91%	15 34.88%	16 37.21%
6. Who is the naughtiest?	9 25.71%	9 25.71%	17 48.57%	9 20.93%	18 41.86%	16 37.21%
7. Who is the funniest?	6 17.14%	15 42.86%	14 40.00%	18 41.86%	10 23.26%	15 34.88%
8. Who is the cleverest?	21 60.00%	3 8.57%	11 31.43%	17 39.53%	12 27.91%	14 32.56%
9. Who is the best student?	11 31.43%	11 31.43%	13 37.14%	18 41.86%	11 25.58%	14 32.56%
10. Who would you like to play with?	18 51.43%	9 25.71%	8 22.86%	21 48.84%	10 23.26%	12 27.91%

Table 7-2. Language attitudes of male vs. female 6-year-olds

TASK 1						
Questions	**Male Responses (Σ/%)**			**Female Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Acro	**Meso**	**Basi**	**Acro**	**Meso**	**Basi**
1. Which story do you like best?	34 69.39%	6 12.24%	9 18.37%	28 70.00%	5 12.50%	7 17.50%
2. Who lies?	6 12.24%	16 32.65%	25 51.02%	10 25.00%	11 27.50%	19 47.50%
3. Who would you like to be friends with?	30 61.22%	9 18.37%	10 20.41%	28 70.00%	3 7.50%	9 22.50%
4. Who talks the best?	34 69.39%	8 16.33%	7 14.29%	27 67.50%	7 17.50%	6 15.00%
5. Who is the laziest?	10 20.41%	14 28.57%	25 51.02%	6 15.00%	9 22.50%	25 62.50%
6. Who is the naughtiest?	9 18.37%	12 24.49%	28 57.14%	13 32.50%	14 35.00%	13 32.50%
7. Who is the funniest?	14 28.57%	15 30.61%	20 40.82%	13 32.50%	13 32.50%	14 35.00%
8. Who is the cleverest?	28 57.14%	8 16.33%	13 26.53%	22 55.00%	10 25.00%	8 20.00%
9. Who is the best student?	23 46.94%	17 34.69%	9 18.37%	21 52.50%	8 20.00%	11 27.50%
10. Who would you like to play with?	28 57.14%	12 24.49%	9 18.37%	22 55.00%	9 22.50%	9 22.50%

Table 7-3. Language attitudes of male vs. female 7-year-olds

TASK 1						
Questions	**Male Responses (Σ/%)**			**Female Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Acro	**Meso**	**Basi**	**Acro**	**Meso**	**Basi**
1. Which story do you like best?	35 72.92%	4 8.33%	9 18.75%	37 82.22%	6 13.33%	2 4.44%
2. Who lies?	9 18.75%	8 16.67%	31 64.58%	6 13.33%	11 24.44%	28 62.22%
3. Who would you like to be friends with?	35 72.92%	6 12.50%	7 14.58%	37 82.22%	4 8.89%	4 8.89%
4. Who talks the best?	32 66.67%	7 14.58%	9 18.75%	40 88.89%	4 8.89%	1 2.22%
5. Who is the laziest?	7 14.58%	12 25.00%	29 60.42%	5 11.11%	15 33.33%	25 55.56%
6. Who is the naughtiest?	8 16.67%	17 35.42%	23 47.92%	4 8.89%	15 33.33%	26 57.78%
7. Who is the funniest?	11 22.92%	13 27.08%	24 50.00%	7 15.56%	12 26.67%	26 57.78%
8. Who is the cleverest?	28 58.33%	13 27.08%	7 14.58%	33 73.33%	9 20.00%	3 6.67%
9. Who is the best student?	31 64.58%	8 16.67%	9 18.75%	32 71.11%	7 15.56%	6 13.33%
10. Who would you like to play with?	31 64.58%	9 18.75%	8 16.67%	35 77.78%	5 11.11%	5 11.11%

The t-test run on the data to detect gender differences showed that males' and females' responses significantly differ in one question among five-year-olds ('best talk' $t(76) = 0.06$, $p < 0.05$), in none question among six-year-olds and in three questions among seven-year-olds ('best story' $t(91) = 1.68$, $p < 0.01$, 'best talk' $t(91) = 2.92$, $p < 0.01$ and 'clever' $t(91) = 1.63$, $p < 0.05$). This is because females' scores in the reported questions are more extreme towards favourability of the acrolectal speaker and disfavourability (of any) of the other two. Such results are more apparent in the case of seven-year-olds than among five- and six-year-olds. Thus, it seems that seven-year-old girls express the firmest positive attitudes towards the acrolectal level and the least positive ones towards the mesolectal and the basilectal level of CG. Most probably this group is the one with the most developed linguistic awareness and attitudes, showing that not only as the children grow older, they are more able to express attitudes, but either this happens earlier in females than in males, or females' pro-acrolectal views are more absolute.

In Tables 7-1 to 7-3, it is observed that the highest favourability for most of the traits is attributed to the same speaker by both males and females of all age groups.

Particularly, there is not a case of disagreement between the two gender groups in the most preferred speaker among the participants aged seven, whereas there is only one among children aged six (‘naughty’) and three among those aged five (‘naughty’, ‘funny’ and ‘best student’). Once again, this provides evidence that around this age children start holding language attitudes that seem to stabilise by age seven. The same conclusion cannot be drawn concerning the level least chosen for each trait, since for all age groups, on about half of the traits, there has been disagreement on the speaker who is the least favourable.

In detail, five-year-old males and females mostly believe that the acrolectal speaker tells the best story, she talks the best, she is the cleverest person and they would like to play and be friends with her. On the contrary, they think of the basilectal speaker as being the laziest person. Despite the agreement in their responses, it seems that the percentage of male children who attributed ‘clever’ to the acrolectal speaker is much higher than that of females. A note-worthy deviation is also observed in the two scores relating to the ‘best talk’. As for the negative characteristic ‘naughty’, male children mostly attribute it to the basilectal speaker, whereas female children mostly attribute it to the mesolectal speaker. Male participants also attribute the positive trait ‘best student’ to the basilectal speaker at most, while females assign it to the acrolectal speaker. Then, most of the boys perceive the mesolectal speaker as the funniest one, while most of the girls perceive the acrolectal speaker as the funniest one. For this, it appears that female five-year-olds are even more in favour of the acrolectal speaker than male five-year-olds, since they assign to her all the positive traits, whereas males mostly attribute ‘funny’ to the mesolectal speaker and ‘best student’ to the basilectal speaker.

Examining the lowest favourability, it is observed that for all age cohorts there is disagreement between males and females on half of the traits. The majority of five-year-old boys and girls expressed the lowest favourability towards the mesolectal speaker—lower than that towards the basilectal speaker who holds the middle place—in the questions concerning the ‘best story’, ‘preferred friend’, ‘best talk’ and ‘clever’. On the other hand, they least assigned ‘lazy’ to the acrolectal speaker and then to the mesolectal one. As for the positive traits of ‘funny’, ‘best student’ and ‘preferred person to play with’, females assign them less to mesolectal speaker than to the basilectal speaker. Males consider the acrolectal speaker as the least funny, the basilectal speaker as the least preferred person to play with, and the acrolectal

and mesolectal speakers as equally worse students than the basilectal speaker. As for the negative traits of ‘naughty’ and ‘lies’, they are equally least attributed to the acrolectal and the mesolectal speaker by males, whereas the female participants perceive the mesolectal speaker as the least possible one to lie and the acrolectal speaker as the least naughty one. Similar to what has been discussed earlier concerning five-year-olds, females seem to disfavour the mesolectal speaker more than males since they least assign to her all the positive characteristics, although they mostly attribute only one of the three negative traits to her (while boys assign none of them to her).

Concerning six-year-olds, the majority of both male and female participants assign all positive characteristics, except for ‘funny’, to the acrolectal speaker of CG. She tells the best story, she is the most preferred friend and the most preferred person to play with, she talks the best, and she is the cleverest and the best student. By contrast, the same participants regard the basilectal speaker as the one who lies, the laziest and the funniest one. As it is obvious, the percentage of females who prefer the acrolectal speaker as their friend and perceive the basilectal speaker as the laziest one is notably higher than that of males. As for the trait ‘naughty’, males mainly assign it to the basilectal speaker, while females assign it mostly to the mesolectal speaker, noting considerable deviation between the two scores. Thus, six-year-old boys’ attitudes do not differ much from those of girls. The only difference observed is that males believe that the basilectal speaker is the naughtiest one (being assigned all other negative characteristics by both groups), while females think that the mesolectal speaker is the naughtiest one.

Six-year-olds’ unanimous lowest favourability is expressed towards the mesolectal level of CG on the traits ‘preferred friend’ and ‘best story’, leaving the basilectal speaker in the second place of preference. As for the person who talks the best, the basilectal speaker received the lowest favourability by both boys and girls. Further agreement between the two age groups’ attitudes is noticed in the questions about the person who most likely lies and the laziest one. The least possible to possess these characteristics is the acrolectal speaker. Differences are detected in males’ and females’ responses in the positive traits of ‘funny’, ‘clever’, ‘best student’ and ‘preferred person to play with’. The last two are least assigned to the basilectal speaker by males, while ‘clever’ is last attributed to the mesolectal speaker and ‘funny’ to the acrolectal speaker. Females last assigned ‘clever’ to the basilectal

speaker who is also the least preferred friend too, along with the mesolectal speaker. The mesolectal speaker is the worst student and the least funny person too, along with the acrolectal speaker, according to females' view. The acrolectal speaker is also thought to be the least naughty for boys and equally naughty to the basilectal speaker for girls. All in all, it can be said that girls at the age of 6 may disfavour the mesolect a bit more than males for whom it is somehow more favourable than the basilect.

Regarding seven-year-olds, both gender groups mostly followed the overall favourability pattern reported so far. The acrolectal level is the most favoured one since it corresponds to the best story, the language of the most preferred friend, the best talk, the language of the cleverest person, the best student and the most preferred person to play with. Compared to what has been mentioned about all age groups' results, it is inferred that seven-year-old males' and females' results deviate the most on all these traits attributed to the acrolectal speaker. Female participants seem to attribute them to the acrolectal speaker at a higher degree than male participants. This further reveals higher favourability. As for the negative traits 'lies', 'lazy' and 'naughty', they are mainly assigned to the basilectal speaker by males and females. But, it appears that males attribute the most negative characteristic (that of 'naughty') to the basilectal speaker at a lower degree than the other—less negative—characteristics and at a lower degree than females do. 'Funny' is similarly mostly possessed by the basilectal speaker for both males and females.

At last, seven-year-olds' expression of disfavourability seems to be the most interesting one, although their favourability pattern mentioned is the most unanimous between males and females. The acrolect seems to signify the least lazy, naughty and funny person. Additionally, both gender groups support that the basilectal speaker is the least clever person. At this point, it is observed that females assign the aforementioned negative attributes and 'funny' to the acrolectal speaker at an even lower degree than males, as well as they assign the positive trait of 'clever' to the basilectal speaker at a lower degree than males. For the rest of the questions, males and females seem to hold different attitudes concerning the speaker least associated with each of the traits. For the traits 'best story', 'best talk' and 'best student', the mesolectal speaker is the least favourable for males, while the basilectal speaker is the least favourable for females. This does not only reveal males' preference of the basilect over the mesolect and females' preference of the

mesolect over the basilect, but it also shows that females' disfavourability towards the basilect is higher than males' disfavourability towards the mesolect. Males' lowest preference of the mesolectal speaker is obvious in the question about the 'preferred friend' too, where females expressed equal disfavourability towards the mesolectal and the basilectal speaker. Similar negative attitudes are expressed by female participants in the question about the 'preferred person to play with', where males expressed the lowest favourability towards the basilectal speaker. Finally, males regard the mesolectal speaker as the least possible to lie, whereas females believe that the acrolectal speaker is the least possible to lie. This last observation strengthens more females' positive attitude towards the acrolectal level of CG.

7.3 Task 2: Associations between language and non-language features

7.3.1 Association between language and setting

The first part of this section deals with males' and females' associations between the language used and the setting in which it is used, as approached in Task 2 of the study. Tables 7-4 to 7-6 demonstrate the participants' associations at the age of five, six and seven respectively, in sums and percentages, distinguishing between males' and females' responses.

Table 7-4. Male vs. female 5-year-olds' association between language and setting

TASK 2a						
Questions	**Male Responses (Σ/%)**			**Female Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Class	**Park**	**Farm**	**Class**	**Park**	**Farm**
1. Which place is the best for Mia [acrolect] to tell her story?	15 42.86%	11 31.43%	9 25.71%	23 53.49%	14 32.56%	6 13.95%
2. Which place is the best for Nia [mesolect] to tell her story?	9 25.71%	12 34.29%	14 40.00%	15 34.88%	16 37.21%	12 27.91%
3. Which place is the best for Lia [basilect] to tell her story?	11 31.43%	10 28.57%	14 40.00%	14 32.56%	11 25.58%	18 41.86%

Table 7-5. Male vs. female 6-year-olds' association between language and setting

TASK 2a						
Questions	**Male Responses (Σ/%)**			**Female Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Class	**Park**	**Farm**	**Class**	**Park**	**Farm**
1. Which place is the best for Mia [acrolect] to tell her story?	22 44.90%	18 36.73%	9 18.37%	18 45.00%	18 45.00%	4 10.00%
2. Which place is the best for Nia [mesolect] to tell her story?	12 24.49%	23 46.94%	14 28.57%	16 40.00%	14 35.00%	10 25.00%
3. Which place is the best for Lia [basilect] to tell her story?	20 40.82%	14 28.57%	15 30.61%	10 25.00%	12 30.00%	18 45.00%

Table 7-6. Male vs. female 7-year-olds' association between language and setting

TASK 2a						
Questions	**Male Responses (Σ/%)**			**Female Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Class	**Park**	**Farm**	**Class**	**Park**	**Farm**
1. Which place is the best for Mia [acrolect] to tell her story?	27 56.25%	15 31.25%	6 12.50%	21 46.67%	18 40.00%	6 13.33%
2. Which place is the best for Nia [mesolect] to tell her story?	13 27.08%	22 45.83%	13 27.08%	13 28.89%	23 51.11%	9 20.00%
3. Which place is the best for Lia [basilect] to tell her story?	10 20.83%	11 22.92%	27 56.25%	12 26.67%	6 13.33%	27 60.00%

Comparing the three tables, it is observed that seven-year-old males and females are the ones who totally agree in their preferences. The acrolectal level is thought to be the most suitable variety to be used in the classroom, the mesolectal level is properly used at the park and the basilectal level suits the farm setting. Therefore, whereas females are more firm than males concerning their choice of setting for the mesolectal and the basilectal level, males are more sure than females on their choice on the proper setting for the acrolectal level. For both gender groups, the farm is the least associated with the acrolectal speaker. However, as for the mesolect, the girls least associate it with the farm, while for boys the farm and the classroom are equally the least suitable settings for the mesolect to be used. The classroom is also perceived by males as the least suitable setting for the basilectal level, whereas the girls place it in the middle place, leaving the park last in their selection with an even lower percentage than that of males.

Five-year-old males and females expressed contradictory views concerning the mesolectal level of CG. Similar to the seven-year-olds, they prefer the acrolectal level to be used in the classroom and the basilectal level at the farm, noting that females' percentages are higher than those of males. At the same time, the acrolect is the least preferred variety to be used at the farm and the basilect is the least preferred to be used at the park, with females' results being stronger than those of males once again. As for the mesolectal level, the male participants believe that it is more suitable for the setting of the farm, then for the park and last for the classroom, whereas females believe that it is more proper to use it in the setting of the park, followed by the classroom and then the farm. Therefore, while female five-year-olds follow a pattern of preference similar to that of the older cohort, male five-year-olds seem to associate the two more dialectal levels with casualness. This indirectly corresponds to negative attitudes that are more apparent in the case of the mesolect which is the least associated with a formal setting.

At last, the six-year-olds are the ones who present the highest deviation between males' and females' responses. According to males, the classroom is the most suitable setting for a speaker to use the acrolectal and the basilectal level of CG. The park and then the farm complete males' pattern concerning the acrolect, whereas the opposite order is observed in the case of the basilect. As for the mesolect, the boys prefer its use at the park, then at the farm and last in the classroom. On the other hand, female participants regard the classroom and the park as equally the most suitable environments for the acrolect. The classroom is also the most suitable setting for the mesolect, followed by the park and leaving the farm again in the last place. The basilect is best used at the farm, as it was claimed by the rest of the age groups too.

Running the inferential statistics, it was revealed that the two gender groups' responses do not differ significantly for any of the associations of each of the speakers with the proposed settings. This reveals that the two genders' assignment of appropriateness of language according to the setting resemble, as found in this task.

7.3.2 Association between language and physical appearance

In the second sub-section concerning children's association between language and non-language features, the results of males' and females' association between language and physical appearance of the speaker are presented. Tables 7-7 to 7-9 depict whether gender plays a role in making such associations during children's age five, six and seven.

Table 7-7. Male vs. female 5-year-olds' association between language and physical appearance

TASK 2b						
Questions	**Male Responses (Σ/%)**			**Female Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Beaut.	**Normal**	**Ugly**	**Beaut.**	**Normal**	**Ugly**
1. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Mia [acrolect]?	20 57.14%	10 28.57%	5 14.29%	33 76.74%	9 20.93%	1 2.33%
2. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Nia [mesolect]?	15 42.86%	12 34.29%	8 22.86%	20 46.51%	13 30.23%	10 23.26%
3. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Lia [basilect]?	8 22.86%	16 45.71%	11 31.43%	22 51.16%	14 32.56%	7 16.28%

Table 7-8. Male vs. female 6-year-olds' association between language and physical appearance

TASK 2b						
Questions	**Male Responses (Σ/%)**			**Female Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Beaut.	**Normal**	**Ugly**	**Beaut.**	**Normal**	**Ugly**
1. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Mia [acrolect]?	28 57.14%	13 26.53%	8 16.33%	31 77.50%	7 17.50%	2 5.00%
2. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Nia [mesolect]?	21 42.86%	15 30.61%	13 26.53%	14 35.00%	14 35.00%	12 30.00%
3. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Lia [basilect]?	21 42.86%	14 28.57%	14 28.57%	13 32.50%	14 35.00%	13 32.50%

Table 7-9. Male vs. female 7-year-olds' association between language and physical appearance

TASK 2b						
Questions	**Male Responses (Σ/%)**			**Female Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Beaut.	**Normal**	**Ugly**	**Beaut.**	**Normal**	**Ugly**
1. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Mia [acrolect]?	28 58.33%	16 33.33%	4 8.33%	30 66.67%	15 33.33%	0 0.00%
2. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Nia [mesolect]?	17 35.42%	23 47.92%	8 16.67%	8 17.78%	28 62.22%	9 20.00%
3. Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Lia [basilect]?	7 14.58%	17 35.42%	24 50.00%	9 20.00%	20 44.44%	16 35.56%

Examining carefully the above tables and comparing them to the previous subtask, it may be inferred that children at the age of five and six make clearer associations between language and context, rather than between language and physical appearance. But, at the age of seven, it seems that they better distinguish between language-appearance links. Explaining further, female five-year-olds mostly associate the acrolect, the mesolect and the basilect with a beautiful face and least with the ugly one. Quite similarly, with lower percentages, males mainly associate the acrolect and the mesolect with a beautiful speaker, and the basilect with an ordinary appearance. The acrolectal and the mesolectal speaker are the least expected to be ugly, while the basilectal is the least expected to be beautiful. What is worth-mentioning is that while for females appearance does not seem to be connected to someone's language use, males make some distinctive associations between the two. Moreover, these associations and dissociations appear stronger in the case of the acrolectal speaker, than the basilectal and last the mesolectal one, especially among the female participants.

At the age of six, males follow a similar pattern as at the age of five and it is exactly what five-year-old females express; a beautiful physical appearance can be a characteristic of an acrolectal, a mesolectal and a basilectal speaker as well. The lowest association is found between the acrolect or the mesolect and an ugly person, and between the basilect and an ugly or ordinary appearance. On the other hand, six-year-old females' views resemble those of five-year-old males. That is, the acrolect is mostly associated with a beautiful appearance and the basilect with an

ordinary one. Nevertheless, the mesolect is equally regarded as matching either a beautiful speaker or an ordinary one. An ugly face is the least acceptable for a person who uses the acrolect or the mesolect and it is equally unacceptable with a beautiful face for a person who uses the basilectal level. Once again, it is important to highlight that the strongest association made by both boys and girls is between the acrolect and a beautiful person, and the strongest dissociation is made between the acrolect and an ugly person. The scores are even higher in the case of girls than boys.

At last, seven-year-old males and females make the same associations between two levels of the CG continuum and the physical appearance of the speaker: the beautiful face is the most suitable one for the acrolectal speaker and the ordinary one is the most suitable for the mesolectal speaker. Again, these associations are expressed in a higher degree among girls than boys. The ugly appearance is considered by both groups the least appropriate one for the acrolectal speaker. Males also support that such an appearance is the least appropriate one for the mesolectal speaker, although females believe that the least appropriate appearance for the mesolectal speaker is the beautiful one. Regarding the basilectal level, male participants mainly associate it with an ugly person and last with a beautiful one. Female participants also dissociate the basilect with a beautiful appearance, but they mostly prefer this variety to be used by a person with an ordinary appearance.

What is highly statistically significant from the children's association between language and physical appearance is the difference between males' and females' responses concerning the acrolectal level of CG. Concerning the group of the five-year-olds, the significance is at the level of $t(76) = 2.25$, $p < 0.01$, for the six-year-olds is at the level of $t(87) = 2.20$, $p < 0.01$, and for the seven-year-olds is at $t(91) = 1.40$, $p < 0.01$. The interpretation may be that both gender groups highly associate the acrolectal speaker with a beautiful appearance and at the same time they dissociate her with an ugly one. And this is more evident among females who provide more extreme scores. Thus, the acrolectal speaker seems to have raised clearer associations among the groups. Additionally, seven-year-olds' males and females appear to differ significantly in their choices of the mesolectal speaker's appearance too, $t(91) = -1.52$, $p < 0.05$. Females' associations seem stronger since they associate this speaker with a normal appearance at a much higher degree than

males, while at the same time they dissociate her with a beautiful appearance more than males do.

7.4 Task 3: Language attitudes after repetition

The final section of Chapter 7 presents the participants' responses in Task 3. The repetition of the questions posed initially in the experiment enables the comparison and juxtaposition of language attitudes obtained before and after further familiarisation that brings out differences and offers a more complete picture of the attitudes of the population under investigation. The tables that follow distinguish between such attitudes expressed by males and females at the age of five, six and seven.

Table 7-10. Language attitudes of male vs. female 5-year-olds after repetition

TASK 3						
Questions	**Male Responses (Σ/%)**			**Female Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Acro	**Meso**	**Basi**	**Acro**	**Meso**	**Basi**
1. Which story do you like best?	23 65.71%	4 11.43%	8 22.86%	25 58.14%	5 11.63%	13 30.23%
2. Who lies?	5 14.29%	12 34.29%	18 51.43%	13 30.23%	14 32.56%	16 37.21%
3. Who would you like to be friends with?	18 51.43%	6 17.14%	11 31.43%	25 58.14%	5 11.63%	13 30.23%
4. Who talks the best?	20 57.14%	8 22.86%	7 20.00%	28 65.12%	6 13.95%	9 20.93%
5. Who is the laziest?	5 14.29%	10 28.57%	20 57.14%	11 25.58%	13 30.23%	19 44.19%
6. Who is the naughtiest?	5 14.29%	14 40.00%	16 45.71%	7 16.28%	18 41.86%	18 41.86%
7. Who is the funniest?	10 28.57%	10 28.57%	15 42.86%	16 37.21%	10 23.26%	17 39.53%
8. Who is the cleverest?	17 48.57%	10 28.57%	8 22.86%	21 48.84%	10 23.26%	12 27.91%
9. Who is the best student?	16 45.71%	4 11.43%	15 42.86%	23 53.49%	5 11.63%	15 34.88%
10. Who would you like to play with?	16 45.71%	10 28.57%	9 25.71%	26 60.57%	5 11.63%	12 27.91%

Table 7-11. Language attitudes of male vs. female 6-year-olds after repetition

TASK 3						
Questions	**Male Responses (Σ/%)**			**Female Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Acro	**Meso**	**Basi**	**Acro**	**Meso**	**Basi**
1. Which story do you like best?	35 71.43%	7 14.29%	7 14.29%	31 77.50%	3 7.50%	6 15.00%
2. Who lies?	5 10.20%	17 34.69%	27 55.10%	3 7.50%	16 40.00%	21 52.50%
3. Who would you like to be friends with?	37 75.51%	5 10.20%	7 14.29%	33 82.50%	3 7.50%	4 10.00%
4. Who talks the best?	36 73.47%	5 10.20%	8 16.33%	30 75.00%	4 10.00%	6 15.00%
5. Who is the laziest?	5 10.20%	18 36.73%	26 53.06%	4 10.00%	14 35.00%	22 55.00%
6. Who is the naughtiest?	9 18.37%	18 36.73%	22 44.90%	2 5.00%	13 32.50%	25 62.50%
7. Who is the funniest?	12 24.49%	15 30.61%	22 44.90%	14 35.00%	13 32.50%	13 32.50%
8. Who is the cleverest?	31 63.27%	10 20.41%	8 16.33%	30 75.00%	8 20.00%	2 5.00%
9. Who is the best student?	29 59.18%	12 24.49%	8 16.33%	25 62.50%	8 20.00%	7 17.50%
10. Who would you like to play with?	36 73.47%	2 4.08%	11 22.45%	33 82.50%	3 7.50%	4 10.00%

Table 7-12. Language attitudes of male vs. female 7-year-olds after repetition

TASK 3						
Questions	**Male Responses (Σ/%)**			**Female Responses (Σ/%)**		
	Acro	**Meso**	**Basi**	**Acro**	**Meso**	**Basi**
1. Which story do you like best?	30 62.50%	7 14.58%	11 22.92%	37 82.22%	6 13.33%	2 4.44%
2. Who lies?	6 12.50%	14 29.17%	28 58.33%	3 6.67%	8 17.78%	34 75.56%
3. Who would you like to be friends with?	32 66.67%	9 18.75%	7 14.58%	39 86.67%	5 11.11%	1 2.22%
4. Who talks the best?	40 83.33%	2 4.17%	6 12.50%	42 93.33%	3 6.67%	0 0.00%
5. Who is the laziest?	4 8.33%	15 31.25%	29 60.42%	2 4.44%	17 37.78%	26 57.78%
6. Who is the naughtiest?	6 12.50%	17 35.42%	25 52.08%	3 6.67%	9 20.00%	33 73.33%
7. Who is the funniest?	11 22.92%	10 20.83%	27 56.25%	4 8.89%	10 22.22%	31 68.89%
8. Who is the cleverest?	33 68.75%	7 14.58%	8 16.67%	30 66.67%	10 22.22%	5 11.11%
9. Who is the best student?	30 62.50%	8 16.67%	10 20.83%	36 80.00%	7 15.56%	2 4.44%
10. Who would you like to play with?	31 64.58%	6 12.50%	1 22.92%	36 80.00%	6 13.33%	3 6.67%

Although the descriptive analysis of the results revealed that the difference between the two gender groups is higher among younger children than older ones, the t-test carried out on the mean values bring forth the following. Similar to Task 1, there are more cases of significant difference between males' and females' responses at the age of seven than at the age of six and five. As previously mentioned, in Task 1, significant statistical difference has been observed between male and female five-year-olds, in terms of 'best talk' and among seven-year-olds in terms of 'best story', 'best talk' and 'clever'. In Task 3, males' and females' responses differ significantly among six-year-olds in terms of 'clever' $t(87) = 1.58$, $p < 0.01$ and 'preferred person to play with' $t(87) = 1.33$, $p < 0.01$. As for seven-year-olds, the two genders' scores differ at a significant level in the questions of 'best story' $t(91) = 2.61$, $p < 0.01$, 'lies' $t(91) = -1.69$, $p < 0.05$, 'preferred friend' $t(91) = 2.56$, $p < 0.01$, 'best talk' $t(91) = 2.08$, $p < 0.01$, 'naughty' $t(91) = -1.98$, $p < 0.05$, 'funny' $t(91) = -1.71$, $p < 0.01$, 'best student' $t(91) = 2.35$, $p < 0.01$ and 'preferred person to play with' $t(91) = 2.09$, $p < 0.01$. This happens because seven-year-olds' preferences and dispreferences appear at more extreme scores (very high and very low percentages), thus their attitudes are clearer and express higher intergroup agreement.

More detailed analysis of the data in Tables 7-10 to 7-12 reveals that generally the five-year-olds are the ones who switch more their views from Task 1 to Task 3, followed by the six-year-olds and then the seven-year-olds, as also noted in the previous chapter. First of all, as far as the five-year-olds are concerned, in two of the three questions ('preferred friend' and 'lazy') that their favourability pattern remains the same in Task 1 and Task 3, it is observed that the highest attributes become even higher and the lowest ones get even lower. Therefore, the acrolectal speaker is even more preferred as a friend and the mesolectal speaker is more disfavoured after further familiarisation to the language, while the basilectal speaker is thought to be even lazier and the acrolectal speaker even less lazy. For the 'best story', the boys again render their highest preference—towards the acrolectal level—a higher score in Task 3 and their lowest one—towards the mesolectal level—an even lower score. But, girls' (dis)favourability towards the two remains stable. Moreover, it is observed that favourability towards the acrolectal speaker is increased more among females. In Task 3, males expressed even higher preference towards the acrolect than in Task 1 on the 'best story', 'best talk' and 'best student'. Females expressed higher preference to the acrolect on the 'preferred friend', 'best talk', 'clever', 'best student' and 'preferred person to play with'. Decreased attribution of positive traits to the basilectal speaker is equally observed among boys and girls. Females' give higher percentages to the basilectal level only on the traits 'funny' and 'best student', while males' corresponding percentages are increased on the 'preferred friend', 'funny', 'best student' and 'preferred person to play with'. As for the mesolect, girls' attribution of positive traits to this speaker decreases in almost all cases, except for two that remain stable, whereas boys expressed higher attribution in the cases of 'best talk', 'clever and 'preferred person to play with'. Therefore, males appear to accept the more dialectal levels more than females who prefer the acrolect more as they become further sensitised to language.

As for the traits that undergo an important increase from Task 1 to Task 3 and change the participants' favourability, it is noticed that female five-year-olds, who mostly attribute 'naughty' to the mesolectal speaker, in Task 3, the mesolectal and the basilectal speaker receive equal scores. Males' mostly attribute 'naughty' to the basilectal speaker in both tasks, but while in Task 1 the mesolectal and the acrolectal speaker received equal scores, in Task 3 the acrolectal speaker is perceived the least naughty one, deviating much from the mesolectal speaker.

Additionally, the characteristic 'funny' switches from males' attribution to the mesolectal speaker to the basilectal one, and from females' attribution to the acrolectal speaker to the basilectal one. In Task 3, the mesolectal speaker is regarded by male participants as equally the least funny with the acrolectal speaker. In addition, the acrolectal speaker becomes primary in males' preference for the 'best student' in Task 3—a place that was previously occupied by the basilectal speaker. The mesolectal speaker who was least considered by males as the best student in Task 1, in Task 3, she shares the last place with the acrolectal speaker. Additional switches from Task 1 to Task 3 include males' decreased favourability towards the basilectal level that further increases their favourability towards the mesolectal level, since they least associate 'best talk' and 'clever' with the mesolectal speaker in Task 1 and with the basilectal speaker in Task 3. At the same time, both groups dissociate 'lies' with the acrolectal speaker in Task 3 which were previously least attributed to the mesolectal speaker by females and equally least attributed to the mesolectal and the acrolectal speaker by males. Thus, from what has been said concerning five-year-olds, it can be inferred that five-year-old boys change their attitudes towards the three levels of CG more than girls, after being further sensitised to the actual purpose of being tested and to the linguistic input.

Concerning six-year-olds, on three of the traits ('lies', 'preferred friend' and 'lazy'), boys and girls maintain the same pattern of favourability as in Task 1. Males attribute the two negative characteristics mostly to the basilectal speaker and least to the acrolectal speaker. The highest scores get even higher in Task 3 and the lowest scores become even lower. Males' favourability towards the acrolectal speaker as 'preferred friend' is also increased, while their disfavourability towards the mesolectal is increased too. Females' association between the basilectal speaker and 'lies' is increased, while the acrolectal is increasingly dissociated with this trait. The acrolectal speaker is considered even less lazy in Task 1 than in Task 3 and the basilectal speaker, who is thought to be the laziest person, receives a higher score in Task 1 than in Task 3. Additionally, in Task 3, the female participants prefer the acrolectal speaker as a friend at a higher degree than in Task 1 and disfavourability towards the mesolectal speaker remains stable. Comparing the highest attribution of positive characteristics, it is observed that both groups' favourability towards the acrolectal speaker is increased from one task to the other. Males render higher scores to the basilectal speaker in Task 3 than in Task 1, in the

cases of ‘preferred person to play with’, ‘funny’ and ‘best talk’, while females either keep the same or reduced preference. Regarding the mesolect, the males’ attribution is increased on some of the traits and decreased or remains stable on the rest, whereas that of females is mostly decreased or remains stable. Hence, although both groups are negative towards the basilectal and the mesolectal level, six-year-old males hold more positive attitudes towards the basilectal and the mesolectal level than females.

The most important change in six-year-olds’ attitudes concerns the trait ‘funny’. While males’ highest preference is towards the basilectal speaker, then the mesolectal and last the acrolectal in both Task 1 and Task 3, females’ initial highest attribution to the basilectal speakers and then to the other speakers changes. In Task 3, the acrolectal speaker is the one who is thought to possess this positive characteristic the most too. The rest of the questions posed in Task 3 reveal switches in the participants’ attitudes from Task 1 to Task 3 in terms of the lowest scores. In Task 1, males consider the mesolectal speaker as the least clever and her story as the worst one narrated, whereas in Task 3, the basilectal speaker is regarded as the least clever person and, along with the mesolectal speaker, she is the least associated with the ‘best story’. On the other hand, males’ least preferred person to play with and least favourable talk in Task 1 is the basilectal one. But, in Task 3, this negativity is turned to the mesolectal level. Females’ lowest attribution of ‘best talk’ also switches from the basilectal level to the mesolectal level, although their least preferred person to play with is again the mesolectal speaker, who earlier received equal disfavourability with the mesolectal speaker. Furthermore, female participants least perceive the mesolectal speaker as the best student in Task 1 and the basilectal speaker in Task 3, although the percentage of responses for the mesolectal speaker remains stable. Finally, while the acrolectal and the basilectal speaker are equally least attributed the trait ‘naughty’, then the acrolectal speaker is regarded as the least naughty by females in Task 3. Generally, both gender groups seem to doubt the least favourable level of CG, before and after familiarisation, which is sometimes the mesolect and sometimes the basilect.

As already mentioned in the previous and the present chapter, seven-year-old boys’ and girls’ language attitudes are more stable from one task to the other. Neither boys nor girls changed their views much from Task 1 to Task 3, thus the greatest favourability is expressed towards the acrolectal level of CG and the least

favourability towards the basilectal level. For half of the questions, the patterns arising from Task 3 are the same as in Task 1, although in most of the cases favourability or disfavourability is increased. In more detail, both males and females attribute 'best talk' to the acrolectal speaker, but at a higher degree in Task 3 than in Task 1. Females also increased their favourability towards the acrolectal speaker in terms of the 'best student'. Increased disfavourability towards the basilectal speaker is noticed in the cases where males attribute 'naughty' to her at a higher degree and females attribute 'naughty' and 'lazy' to her at an even higher degree. As for the 'best story', although it is mostly attributed to the acrolectal speaker in all cases, males' preference towards this speaker decreases from Task 1 to Task 3, while that of females remains stable. Furthermore, in many cases it is observed that favourability towards the mesolectal level in Task 3 decreases; for males, in the cases of 'best talk', 'funny', 'clever' and 'preferred person to play with', and for females, in 'best talk' and 'funny'. Females' favourability towards the mesolectal level increases in the cases of 'preferred friend', 'clever' and 'preferred person to play with', while males' favourability towards the mesolectal level increases only in the cases of 'best story' and 'preferred friend'. At the same time, favourability towards the basilectal level increases in the cases of 'best story', 'funny', 'clever, 'best student' and 'preferred person to play with' among males, and only in the case of 'funny' among females. But, it decreases for males on 'best talk' and for females on 'preferred friend', 'best talk', 'best student' and 'preferred person to play with'. These results lead to the inference that females are even more in favour of the acrolect and even less in favour of the basilect than males, especially as they become more sensitive to language input.

In addition, there are changes in seven-year-olds' lowest attribution of half of the traits from Task 1 to Task 3. For instance, in Task 1, males support that the mesolectal speaker is the least possible to lie, but in Task 3, 'lies' were least assigned to the acrolectal speaker. Also, they switch from the acrolectal to the mesolectal speaker as being the least funny. Females least attribute both of these characteristics to the acrolectal speaker from the beginning. As for 'clever', both gender groups perceive the basilectal speaker as the least clever person in Task 1, whereas in Task 3, male participants believe that the mesolectal speaker is the least clever one. For the 'preferred friend' and 'preferred person to play with', both groups appear to switch their negative attitude that corresponds to the lowest percentage.

Girls equally least assign both traits to the mesolectal and the basilectal speaker in Task 1, but in Task 3, both traits are least attributed to the basilectal speaker. This reveals an effort to express more negative attitudes towards the basilectal level than the mesolectal one. On the other hand, male participants least assign the two traits interchangeably to the mesolectal and the basilectal speaker. In Task 1, the mesolectal speaker is the least preferred friend and the basilectal speaker is the least preferred person to play with, whereas in Task 3, the basilectal speaker is the least preferred friend and the mesolectal speaker is the least preferred person to play with.

7.5 Discussion

In this chapter, analyses of the results obtained in the study shed light to an important aspect of language attitudes, and language in general; that of gender. That is, whether there are gender differences in GC children's attitudes towards three levels of the CG continuum at the age of five, six and seven. The above findings demonstrate clearly that gender plays some role in the sociolinguistic development of GC children. It serves as an important factor in the formation of different attitudes towards various levels of CG. Moreover, answers can be provided on whether male and female children at the age of five to seven make different associations between language and non-language variables, such as physical appearance and context.

7.5.1 Gender role in Greek-Cypriot children's attitudes towards Cypriot Greek

On studying the gender role in children's language attitudes, it was hypothesised that female GC children are more sensitive to variation in CG and thus they hold more clear language attitudes which are developed earlier than those of males. Also, the direction of these attitudes was hypothesised to be more in favour of the acrolectal level among females than males. Although tremendous differences have not been detected between males' and females' general favourability, some interesting observations come to the surface that verify the above hypotheses. Such conclusions provide support to Schneiderman's work (1976), where the experimenter found that females are more stable in their preferences than males, females are in favour of the prestigious variety from an earlier stage than males and

by Grade 2 there is little deviation between males' and females' highest preference towards the prestigious variety.

As already mentioned, children's highest favourability is towards the acrolectal level of CG since it is attributed the most positive traits, and highest disfavourability is towards the basilectal level since it is attributed the most negative characteristics. However, in Task 1, while seven-year-old boys' and girls' highest attributions are homogeneous, six-year-old boys and girls express disagreement concerning the naughtiest person and five-year-olds disagree on the naughtiest person, the funniest person and the best student. Additionally, it is observed that at all age levels males and females express disagreement in their lowest favourability on half of the questions. What is also important is that the patterns that arise in Task 1 undergo some interesting changes after further familiarisation to the linguistic stimuli (Task 3) that bring to the surface more differences in males' and females' sociolinguistic development.

As can be seen in Task 1, while five-year-old males believe that the basilectal speaker is the naughtiest one, five-year-old females mostly attribute this characteristic to the mesolectal speaker. As for 'funny', boys mostly associate it with the mesolectal speaker and girls with the acrolectal speaker. Also, male participants of the same age group support that the basilectal speaker is the best student, whereas for females the best student is most likely the acrolectal speaker. Therefore, it seems that female five-year-olds are even more in favour of the acrolectal level than male five-year-olds. Meanwhile, five-year-old females seem to disfavour the mesolectal level more than males since they associate it with the least of all positive characteristics.

As for age six, the same pattern of preference is followed by both gender groups, but males and females disagree on the following traits. Males mainly assign 'naughty' to the basilectal speaker, while females assign it mostly to the mesolectal speaker. Differences are also detected between males and females in that for males the basilectal speaker is the worst student and the least preferred person to play with, while for females the basilectal and the mesolectal speakers are equally unwanted to play with and the mesolectal speaker is the worst student too. On the other hand, boys least attribute 'clever' to the mesolectal speaker and girls to the basilectal speaker. 'Funny' and 'naughty' are least attributed to the acrolectal

speaker by males. Females consider the acrolectal and the mesolectal speakers as equally least funny, and the acrolectal speaker equally least naughty with the basilectal speaker. For this, six-year-old females may disfavour the mesolect slightly more than males for whom it is more advantageous than the basilect. But, in general, six-year-old boys' attitudes do not differ much from those of girls.

Concerning children at the age of seven, both genders favour the acrolectal level the most and disfavour the basilectal level of CG. However, females seem to be even more in favour of the acrolect since they attribute it the positive characteristics at a higher degree and the negative ones at a lower degree than males. Negative traits like 'naughty' are attributed to the basilectal speaker by males at a lower degree than females, while the same speaker is assigned the positive trait of 'clever' at a lower degree by females than males. Furthermore, females believe that the acrolectal speaker is the least possible to lie, whereas males regard the mesolectal speaker as the least possible to lie. In addition, the mesolectal speaker is the least favourable for males in terms of 'best story', 'best talk' and 'best student', while females least associate these characteristics with the basilectal speaker. These observations show that seven-year-old males favour the basilect more than the mesolect, whereas females of the same age favour the mesolect more than the basilect.

In Task 3, it is noticed that the five-year-olds switch their attitudes more than six- and seven-year-olds, after being further sensitised to the actual purpose of the experiment. In all age groups, being asked the same questions again, both males and—even more—females expressed even higher preference towards the acrolect than in Task 1. Concerning five-year-olds, girls' favourable attitude towards the mesolect decreases in most cases or remains the same, whereas boys express higher attribution of positive characteristics to this speaker. Females give higher percentages to the basilectal level only on the traits 'funny' and 'best student', while males' corresponding percentages are increased on the 'preferred friend', 'funny', 'best student' and 'preferred person to play with'. Therefore, males appear to accept the more dialectal levels more than females do. Also, it can be inferred that five-year-old boys change their attitudes towards the three levels of CG more than girls, after being further sensitised to the purpose and language.

The most important change in six-year-olds' attitudes from Task 1 to Task 3 concerns 'funny'. While males' highest preference is towards the basilectal speaker in both tasks, females' initial highest attribution to the basilectal speaker moves to the acrolectal speaker in Task 3. Comparing further the two tasks, despite the negative attitudes, it is noticed that males express a more positive attitude towards the basilectal speaker in Task 3 than in Task 1, in a number of positive traits. By contrast, females either keep the same scores or their preference is reduced. As far as the mesolect is concerned, the males' attribution is increased on some of the traits, but that of females is only decreased or stabilised. Thus, although both male and female six-year-olds are negative towards the basilectal and the mesolectal level, the two levels appear to be more acceptable by males than females. What is for sure is that both groups seem to be indecisive on the least favourable level of CG; the mesolect or the basilect.

Seven-year-old boys' and girls' language attitudes are more stable from one task to the other; most favourable towards the acrolectal level of CG and least favourable towards the basilectal level. But, the scores obtained in both tasks lead to the inference that females are even more in favour of the acrolect and even less in favour of the basilect than males. In Task 1, males support that the mesolectal speaker is the least possible to lie, but in Task 3, 'lies' were least assigned to the acrolectal speaker. This may constitute an effort for males to 'adjust' their attitudes towards greatest favourability towards the acrolectal level, since they also switched from the acrolectal to the mesolectal speaker being the least funny. Females least attribute both of these characteristics to the acrolectal speaker from the beginning. Girls equally least assign positive traits to the mesolectal and the basilectal speaker in Task 1, which in Task 3 are least attributed to the basilectal speaker. This reveals an effort to express more negative attitudes towards the basilectal level than the mesolectal one. On the other hand, males least assign traits interchangeably to the mesolectal and the basilectal speaker.

7.5.2 Gender role in Greek-Cypriot children's associations between language and non-language features

The present chapter constituted an effort to check whether male and female GC children at the age of five to seven make different associations between language and non-language features. It has been generally hypothesised that the acrolectal

level of CG is associated with elegance of the speaker and formality of the setting, while the basilectal level is associated with untidiness of the speaker and informality of the setting. Gender was not expected to play a role in these associations.

As far as the context is concerned, seven-year-old males and females are the ones who expressed full agreement in their associations. The acrolectal level is thought to be the most suitable variety to be used in the classroom, the mesolectal level is expected to be used at the park and the basilectal level at the farm. Five-year-old males and females prefer the acrolectal level for the classroom and the basilectal level for the farm. As for the mesolectal level, males believe that it is more suitable for the farm, while females believe that it is more proper for the park. Therefore, female five-year-olds follow a pattern of preference similar to that of the older cohort. On the other hand, six-year-old males and females experience the highest deviation between their responses. According to males, the classroom is the most suitable setting for the acrolectal and the basilectal level of CG. As for the mesolect, boys prefer its use at the park, like the other age groups. On the other hand, female participants regard the classroom and the park as equally the most suitable environments for the acrolect. The classroom is also the most suitable setting for the mesolect and the basilect is best used at the farm, as it was claimed by the rest of the age groups too.

As for the association between language and physical appearance of the speaker, at the age of seven, it seems that the children make clearer association between the language a speaker uses and how she looks. Seven-year-old males and females both associate a beautiful face with an acrolectal speaker and the mesolectal speaker with the ordinary one. Boys mainly associate the basilectal level with an ugly person, but girls mostly prefer that this variety is used by a person with an ordinary appearance. On the other hand, female five-year-olds mostly associate the acrolect, the mesolect and the basilect with a beautiful face, while males mainly associate the acrolect and the mesolect with a beautiful speaker and the basilect with an ordinary appearance. But, at the age of six, males associate a beautiful appearance with an acrolectal, a mesolectal and a basilectal speaker. For six-year-old females, the acrolect is mostly associated with a beautiful appearance and the basilect with an ordinary one. The mesolect is equally regarded as being the language of a beautiful speaker or an ordinary one.

7.6 Summary

Chapter 7 analysed the data obtained from the present experimental study in order to enable the investigation of gender role in GC children's attitudes towards three levels of the CG continuum at the age of five, six and seven. Similar gender differences were studied in children's association between language and non-language features. Although the attitudes expressed by both gender groups at any age are the same, it is observed that the pattern of preference is much clearer in the case of seven-year-olds when attitudes seem to be stronger, steadier from one measurement to the other and more reinforced in the case of girls. Thus, female five-year-olds are even more in favour of the acrolectal level than male five-year-olds, five- and six-year-old females seem to disfavour the mesolectal level more than their male counterparts, six-year-old males and seven-year-old females favour the mesolect more than the basilect, while seven-year-old males favour the basilect more than the mesolect. Also, it is noticed that the five-year-olds—boys more than girls—switch their attitudes the most, after being further sensitised to the actual purpose of the experiment. But, most of the scores obtained after repetition lead to the inference that both groups—females even more than males—favour the acrolect and disfavour the basilect even more. Then, the younger the children, the less they seem to be capable of associating language and non-language features, especially in the case of males. Similar conclusions drawn in other studies reinforce gender differences in children's language attitudes.

Having presented and discussed the results from the experimental part of the study, in terms of age and gender, it is now possible to move to a general discussion of what has been done and what has been found in the present thesis. Hence, the purpose of Chapter 8 is to provide the reader with a review of what has been found on how GC children's attitudes towards the CG continuum are developed and differentiated at the age of five, six and seven, among females and males. An account of the implications, innovations, contributions, as well as possible limitations of the thesis, will be presented, in order to pass the baton to future experimenters on this issue, such as educators and language planners.

CHAPTER 8

General discussion and conclusions

8.1 Introduction

The aim of the last chapter is to draw general conclusions that arise from the presentation and discussion of the results of the present thesis. Therefore, summarising what has been reported in the last chapters, further inferences are made on how the language attitude profile of Greek-Cypriots is developed through age five, six and seven. Then, an effort is made to highlight the important aspects of the thesis, explaining the contribution and practical implications of it in the local and international framework that gave the impetus to the experimenter to conduct this research. This evaluation brings also forth the limitations of such an experimental piece of work. In this way, Chapter 8 closes this thesis and sets the floor for future research by giving suggestions on what still needs further investigation.

8.2 Summary of the findings

The present thesis investigated GC children's language attitudes at early stages of sociolinguistic development. The purpose was to study the attitudes held, if so, by GC children towards three levels of the CG dialect/register continuum at the stages of age five, six and seven. At the same time, it was attempted to detect possible associations between the language used by the speaker and non-language features such as the speaker's physical appearance and the setting in which the speech

event takes place. Gender and age variables were taken into account as possible factors that may influence the picture of children's attitudes. Based on the existing literature, it was hypothesised that older children are more in favour of the acrolectal level than younger children, that females express more clear attitudes and are more in favour of the acrolectal level than males, as well as that the acrolectal level is associated with elegance and formality while the basilectal level is associated with untidiness and informality.

The analysis of the data obtained verifies and expands on the conclusions of previous studies that children by age five are able to distinguish between different varieties of the same language (Rosenthal 1974, Mercer 1977). The gap that the present study fills in the local and international literature relates to the fact that it was found that children by this age are able to express attitudes towards different levels of the same (native) linguistic variety. Despite the preferences expressed, the low deviation between the scores received by each level of CG enables the experimenter to infer that the onset of language attitudes towards a continuum is around age five and children at this age are still in the process of becoming aware and expressing preferences of so similar varieties. On the other hand, by the age of seven, children's preferences are more homogeneous, and thus more extreme scores reveal a clearer picture of attitudes. Higher agreement possibly reveals stabilisation of attitudes and maybe conformity to social norms since linguistic sensitivity, as well as social membership and acceptance are more cultivated after a whole year of schooling. This inference becomes stronger, considering the fact that gender differences have been found to be more apparent at age five than at age seven.

Replicating past research conducted by Pavlou (1999)—although including a wider age range—the present thesis drawn clearer conclusions on the onset and direction of GC children's attitudes. Generally, it was found out that children mostly favour the acrolectal level rather than the basilectal level of CG. Such a conclusion is in accordance with earlier studies conducted within the GC community, where adults (Papapavlou 1998) and teenagers (Ioannidou 2004) were found to be more in favour of SMG than CG , or more in favour of the acrolectal level than the basilectal level (Papapavlou & Sophocleous 2009). The preference of the standard variety has also been attested by other researchers worldwide who engaged with the children's language attitudes (Rosenthal 1974, Cremona & Bates 1977, Mercer 1977,

Kounnapi 2006, Shah & Anwar 2015). However, there are studies that indicated that such preferences do not appear at all stages of sociolinguistic development in childhood. For instance, kindergarten children have been reported to be more in favour of a non-standard variety than first graders who favour the standard variety (Day 1980). What is of paramount importance is that all of the researchers attribute children's 'inclination' towards a variety to the influence by adults' views in the immediate environment in which they grow up; family and school.

More specifically, the present thesis revealed that children from age five to seven attribute almost all positive characteristics to the acrolectal level and all the negative characteristics, along with 'funny', to the basilectal level. The mesolectal level, most of the times, is found in between, although there have been cases where it came last in the children's preference. These findings contradict those of Sergidi and Evripidou (2014) who claimed that GC primary-school children are not in favour of the standard variety. If it is to sketch the development of GC children's attitudes towards the native linguistic profile between age five and seven, it must be noted that as they get older, children's preference of the mesolectal speaker seems to increase after further familiarisation to the linguistic stimuli. Familiarisation also brought changes in the youngest group's preference in that while 'lies' and 'funny' were initially ascribed to the basilectal, then the mesolectal and last the acrolectal speaker, the last two speakers shifted positions after repetition of the task. Therefore, the first hypothesis is verified, as well as Day's conclusions (1980) seem to gain support. What was inferred from the study is that older children favour the acrolectal level and disfavour the basilectal and the mesolectal levels more than younger children, as found in most of the questions of positive traits. Moreover, older children are less likely to attribute positive characteristics and more likely to attribute negative characteristics to the basilectal speaker than younger children. At the same time, the less likely it is for the older children to attribute negative traits to the acrolectal speaker and some positive ('clever', 'good student', 'preferred person to play with') or negative ones ('naughty') to the mesolectal speaker.

The children's language production on justifying their answers reveals again that children by age five are still in the process of becoming aware of variation within their mother tongue as a case of a dialect/register continuum, therefore they are less capable of forming attitudes towards the different levels than children at the age of six and seven. Older children provided more linguistic explanations on their

preference or dispreference of a level than younger ones. It is crucial to keep in mind that children regard the acrolectal level as normal, nice, kind, beautiful, sweet, serious, clear, correct and Greek, whereas the mesolectal and basilectal levels are characterised as weird, child-like, village-like, rude, ugly, incomprehensible and are used to express anger or insults. However, a mesolectal speaker is regarded as privileged since she can speak both Greek and CG.

As for the second hypothesis on gender differences, although no crucial differences have been noticed between males and females, it seems that females' attitudes are clearer from such an early stage. Also, the existing belief that females start favour standard forms more than males (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1972, Vassberg 1993) seems to receive some support. What was found is that the oldest males and females both follow the same pattern of attributing the negative characteristics and 'funny' to the basilectal level of CG and all the positive traits are assigned to the acrolectal level. After familiarisation, their attitudes remain rather stable. However, the two younger groups present some gender differences; six-year-olds on a single trait and five-year-olds on three traits. Such a conclusion provides further support to Schneiderman (1976) whose participants in the study express little gender deviations by the same age. Also, it is given credit on that females are even more in favour of males since this is more obvious in the case of seven-year-olds. Males at this age appear to favour the basilect more than the mesolect, by contrast to their female counterparts. Also, while five-year-old females attribute 'funny' and 'best student' to the acrolectal speaker, males attribute them to the mesolectal and basilectal speaker respectively. Additionally, the same girls seem to disfavour the mesolectal level more than males. After familiarisation, boys' responses undergo more changes and they become more positive towards the basilect, while the girls' favourable attitude towards the mesolect decreases. As for the six-year-olds, the basilectal and the mesolectal level, although disfavoured by both genders, appear to be more accepted by males. Even higher disagreement between males and females was found on the lowest attribution of a number of traits.

As for the associations that children make between language and non-language features, the present thesis adds to knowledge in the following way. By contrast to Pavlou's participants (1999), who did not make any association between language and non-language features, children in this study associated the basilect with a very informal setting, the acrolect with a formal one and the mesolect with one in the

middle. However, studying gender differences it was observed that the mesolectal level is associated with a more informal setting by five-year-old boys than girls, and the basilectal level is associated with a more formal setting by six-year-old boys than girls. Concerning the association made between the three levels and the appearance of the speaker, it was found that there are age differences. Universal agreement was noticed among the age groups as far as the acrolectal speaker is concerned. All children expect that this speaker has a beautiful appearance. On the other hand, the mesolectal speaker is associated with a beautiful appearance at the age of five and six, but with an everyday appearance at the age of seven. Finally, the basilect is considered to be used by an ugly person at the age of seven (especially among males), a beautiful one at the age of six (especially among males) and a beautiful (by females) or a normal one (by males) at the age of five. Although the associations made between language and non-language features are quite loose, as they grow older, children make more distinctive associations, especially on the relationship between language and context. This may lead to the conclusion that children develop language-physical appearance links later than language-setting.

Such results strengthen the earlier conclusion that the acrolectal level is more favoured by the older children than the younger ones. Besides, as Cremona and Bates (1977) found, by the age of eight, children totally reject the local dialect. According to Giles et al. (1983), this happens at the age of ten, when children's attitudes present the same pattern to that of the adults. The fact that no strong gender differences were detected lies in the fact that they develop later in a child's life. As Sharp et al. (1973) claims, real gender differences appear by age ten onwards.

8.3 General discussion and implications

The general framework within the present thesis was conducted concerns the current sociolinguistic situation of the GC community and the place where the mother tongue stands in the mind of the speakers. The revealed tendency of people favouring a variety nearest to the standard and disfavouring dialectal forms verifies earlier studies conducted in the same setting and in worldwide similar ones

(Papapavlou 1998, Ioannidou 2004, Papapavlou & Sophocleous 2009). As the children grow older, these attitudes become even stronger, especially among females, while males seem to accept the more dialectal levels more than females do. What is also important in the findings of the present study is that the younger children, especially males, switch more after being further sensitised to the linguistic stimuli. From this, it can be inferred that at the age of five, children's ability to distinguish between different levels of a dialectal variety, make judgments on them and, even more, associate them with social factors is still being developed. And this process seems to be completed at a later stage in males than females, or males' spontaneous preferences deviate more from what is socially accepted than those of females.

As argued in the existing literature, children carers, who are mostly women, feel the obligation to pass to children 'correct' language; that is standardised forms. On the other hand, boys' tendency to perceive dialectal forms more favourably than girls may well serve as an indication that they start wanting to express signs of masculinity and toughness (Edwards 1994, Ladegaard & Bleses 2003, Eisikovits 2011). Such a situation may be a result of awareness and the desire to become socially integrated, thus the findings could imply what Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2006) called *social-desirability bias*; "the tendency for people to give 'socially appropriate responses' to questions", especially in interviews (p. 28). If this is the case, the results then support both Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's CAT (1973) and Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory (1979). In the light of CAT, the in-group bias developed through children's socialisation made them accommodate their attitudes in order to pass to the experimenter a certain identity. This may have been further reinforced by the experimenter's language and made them express convergent attitudes. In the light of Social Identity Theory, the children may have expressed certain attitudes, in order to enhance their belonginess to a (social, political or ethnic) group and discriminate against the out-group.

Rosenthal (1974) alleged that children by the age of three are able to distinguish among different languages and by the age of five they can distinguish among different varieties. Neither Rosenthal nor later studies conducted on the issue of children's language attitudes engaged with the onset of attitudes towards a continuum of a single linguistic variety. The notion of the presence of a dialect/register continuum within the GC setting has been brought to the surface by

linguists in the last decade (Tsiplakou et al. 2005). Most linguists and other scientists dealing with language issues have always been claiming that the GC community is diglossic (Pavlou 1992, Moschonas 1996, Arvaniti 2006), bidialectal (Papapavlou 2007) or rarely a case of a dialect/ geographical continuum (Newton 1972). Probably the fear of decay or loss of the national identity shared with the motherland prevents Greek Cypriots to admit that SMG is not, and can never be, the mother tongue of people who are born and raised in an environment of non-native speakers of real SMG. In an effort to reach the officially recognised variety and show their admiration and respect (Luhman 1990, Papapavlou 1998), Greek Cypriots produce an acrolectal variety and in cases people prefer the use of more dialectal features, they produce a basilectal variety of CG or a mesolectal one, according to their choice and number of features. But, the lack of scientific research and consequently of people's awareness of this continuum, maybe in an effort to avoid the use of dialectal features, led the people to focus on an urban version called 'Cypriot Koine' (Karyolemou 2000).

Further attention needs to be paid on the issue of a dialect/register continuum that will enable people from an early stage to develop better awareness of both CG and SMG, and better mastering and switching between the different levels of the code that constitutes their mother tongue, away from prejudices. This will also solve problems related to language teaching. Besides, as Jørgensen and Kristensen (1995) claim, understanding variation is very important in language learning and teaching, even in communities that do not face mutual intelligibility problems. Reporting on a case of a continuum in Denmark, the researchers highlight that "by the time they begin school, practically all children command a variety that is readily understood by all other native speakers of Danish. This is the cause of much regret as the classical dialects are disappearing or have died out" (p.165). Similarly, salient features of CG have been disappeared and others are in the process of being abandoned. For this, younger generations face problems of comprehensibility of CG in cases where a basilectal or a mesolectal level is used, negatively characterising such speech as village-like, ugly, rude or weird (see Chapter 6). These negative feelings are then expressed towards people who use dialectal forms, and thus making them want to abandon the dialect. In this way, people get trapped in a vicious circle. Changes in the language policy are what is needed to offer opportunities for

CG and SMG to develop equally in all domains of people's life and for people to cultivate more positive attitudes towards their linguistic heritage.

The age of the participants in the present study is among the most crucial points in children's sociolinguistic development since, by entering the school, children are required to adopt their language use and attitudes according to the ones imposed by the new environment. School years constitute the time when children officially and systematically come to learn the standard variety and hopefully expand on, and not abandon, their home language. As detected in the present study, by age seven children are becoming more discriminatory between the three levels of CG and pro-acrolect. In order to avoid discrimination between the different levels of the continuum that make people pro-acrolect and the basilect or the mesolect become stigmatised, language awareness courses should be introduced at school that would enable children develop full awareness, mastering and respect of what constitutes their mother tongue and culture. Phinney, Romero, Nava and Huang (2001) highlighted the important role of education in young people's formation of language attitudes and, consequently, of identity.

Before the educational reform in 2010, the *Interdisciplinary Unitary Study Framework* (IUSF) implemented in Greece and Cyprus was supposed to emphasise on the development of the spoken language, the use of appropriate language and children's recognition and appreciation of linguistic variation. But, SMG was still the target language and the language of instruction, keeping non-standard varieties and variation outside of the classroom. In 2010, the new national curriculum for language came to "focus[es] on deploying the naturalistic acquisition of CG as a means of fostering metalinguistic knowledge and sociolinguistic awareness with regard to the two varieties of Greek spoken on the island" […] Not only does the dialect acquire 'visibility' within the language classroom, but it also becomes an object of instruction" (Hadjioannou et al. 2011: p. 532-533). Though, as the researchers mention the effects of this recent study on the linguistic situation in Cyprus will be detected only longitudinally. In any case, children's views of the dialect have not undergone any great shift yet, as seen from the present thesis. What is hopefully not done by then is the attrition of CG, as Kounnapi (2006) claims, because of "consistent SMG language use [through media and education] affecting the speech of young generations and mostly younger children" (p. 697).

8.4 Contributions of the present thesis

The major contribution of this thesis is the fact that it sets up a platform for bridging the gap between what is happening, in terms of the attitudes of growing generations towards their mother tongue, and the need to cultivate awareness of and respect towards the native dialect/register continuum during the sensitive period of early sociolinguistic development. This thesis brings further insights on how to effectively approach modern children's linguistic perception and get information about what has been already passed in children's mind by the first years of schooling. The fact that a methodological, up-to-date alternative on how to approach children's attitudes is proposed constitutes an innovation in itself.

Moreover, it undoubtedly sets an added value to the local and international framework to have an insight on the onset and quality of language attitudes in cases of multiple varieties, with the purpose of not only preventing language loss, but also with the purpose of fostering full awareness and positive attitudes towards all levels of the continuum. Hence, a major contribution to the field of language attitudes, and sociolinguistics in general, is the fact that the present work 'warns' parents, educators and policy makers about the impact their beliefs of and actions towards a linguistic variety may have on future generations and the need to take measure in the light of the present findings. At last, this work shows the progress of language attitudes' development through socialisation.

It is anticipated that the outcomes of this thesis can be of use to policy makers and educators in Cyprus, who are concerned with promoting language use, language awareness, as well as the importance of the establishment through education of the use of the mother tongue in every domain of life. Furthermore, the promotion and protection of CG becomes even more important, especially if the danger of language loss and the emergence of a single koineised variety are considered. In communities with multiple varieties, the choice of the language of people in the immediate environment needs to be carefully made, in order to ensure the formation of desired attitudes that will accompany a person during his/her entire life.

8.5 Limitations of the present thesis

Based on the studies conducted on children's attitudes by Rosenthal (1974) and Pavlou (1999), great effort was made to avoid weaknesses in the experimental part of the study considering the difficulties they faced (Chapter 5). However, there are still limitations in regard to the methodology followed. First of all, as another version of the matched-guise technique, the 'Magic Boxes' or 'Magic Avatars' present the same negative aspects with it. Already discussed in Chapter 3, these include the evaluation of set-up, rather than real, events on certain attributes, the possible inference of the actual purpose of the study through the repetition of the same message that may bias the participants' responses, and the non-authenticity of the speeches/stories. However, the fact that the present study focused on children ensured better 'fooling' of the subjects. As an alternative proposed to Rosenthal's 'Magic Boxes', vokis appear to be a more suitable way to approach modern children's attitudes than the anachronistic original methodology. The combination of sound, vision, special effects and technological means enables the creation of a virtual world that resembles reality, while at the same time it looks more interesting and attractive to children. The only negative aspect of using this method to measure attitudes is the fact that it demands internet access which is not feasible any time any place and the it runs the risk of destroying the experimental process if a problem appears unexpectedly.

An important weakness of such a matched-guise experiment is the language used by the experimenter. The choice of which level of the continuum to use in the interviews may have been an intervening factor in the participants' choices. It was decided to stay somewhere in the middle of the continuum, but again this remains an unsolved issue. In addition, the fact that the guises were female, since they sound friendlier to the children than males (Day 1980), may also be a limitation of the study. As discussed in Chapter 2 on language and gender, females generally use more standard forms than males, thus the participants may have expected from the female speaker/voki to use an acrolectal rather than a basilect variety. If the guises were males, the results may have been different. The male voki chosen for the familiarisation task may have also raised gender issues.

Another aspect of the present study that may be regarded as a limitation is that the focused only on the phonological differences between the levels of the CG

continuum. Taking all language levels into consideration (phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax) would make the definition of the continuum more complicated, especially in a study engaging with children, since there would be cases where an item would give many different versions and some others that would give only a dichotomous rather than a continuum distinction (e.g. *και* /ke/ and *τζαι* /ʤe/ *'and'*). Thus, it would be even more difficult for the experimenter to select the linguistic material under study. The difficulty in including all language levels, along with the lack of scientific research on defining the CG continuum, may have made the language used as a whole, delivered in the three stories, sound like 'weird' CG to the participants' ears.

Last, the visual stimuli used to trigger associations between language and physical appearance may not have been the appropriate one to fulfil the purpose of the task. To some of the participants, the selection of the specific facial features for each proposed appearance may not correspond to different degrees of beauty/ugliness. The selection of the features should have been based on a pilot study. This may also be the case with the selection of setting options in the other part of Task 2. Since the visual stimuli used were animated, in an effort to ensure attraction of children's attention, the pictures chosen may not constitute typical representations of places GC children are used to. However, the results obtained let the experimenter believe that the visual stimuli concerning appearance differences may have been more problematic than the one used to raise context differences.

8.6 Future research

The present study may have eliminated the problems that aroused from earlier studies, however there are still issues that need to be considered further by future experimenters. The problem of investigating attitudes towards a non-unified dialectal code in a diglossic/bidialectal environment pointed out in previous studies was solved through the idea of the continuum and the preliminary study that defined it. However, extensive research is still needed for a complete definition of the CG continuum.

Additionally, future studies on the issue of children's attitudes within the GC setting may do well to investigate children's attitudes through multiple methodology that

would combine indirect measurement with ethnography that will reveal attitudes as detected in real life (e.g. in the classroom). Furthermore, such an experiment can combine measurement of language attitudes and language use. In this way, the possible bias from the experimenter's language use is excluded as well. The instrument proposed in this thesis with the avatars narrating life experiences is closer to real life than the 'Magic Boxes'. But, again, it does not constitute a real-life event.

What is more, since the existing literature is not enough to determine the onset of sociolinguistic awareness and language attitudes in cases of a dialect/register continuum, further research is of paramount importance to claim when the metalinguistic awareness of children growing in such a setting develops to an extent that enables them to consciously form language attitudes. The thesis was based on Rosenthal's claim (1974) that, by age five, children are aware of variation between different linguistic varieties of the same language and it was expected that around this age—or a bit later—they are aware of variation among different levels of the same dialectal variety and able to express attitudes towards them. Also, since attitudes are not stable through a person's life, it would of great interest to study the development of children's attitudes through all years of primary education. Then, parents' and teachers' attitudes could be also measured to make comparisons with those of children and detect how adults' views affect children's attitudes towards a linguistic variety.

Finally, differences in terms of place of residence and socio-economic status could also give interesting results. As a result, taking all these into consideration, future research could give safer conclusions and a clearer picture of GC children's language attitudes.

8.7 Summary

The present chapter offered an overview of the important findings of the thesis, highlighting the issues that need to be taken into account by language experts. Then, an effort was made to point out possible limitations of the experimental study that need to be further considered by future researchers. At the same time, suggestions were made on crucial aspects that need additional investigation for the

clarity and vitality of the linguistic setting of CG, thus preparing the floor for future research.

REFERENCES

Aboud, F. E. (1976). Social developmental aspects of language. In *Paper in Linguistics*, 9 (3-4). 15-37.

Adegbija, E. (1994). *Language Attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Sociolinguistic Overview*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Ajzen, I. (1988). *Attitudes, Personality, and Behavior*. Milton-Keynes, England: Open University Press.

Ajzen, I., & M. Fishbein (1977). Attitude–behavior relations: A theoretical analysis and review of empirical research. In *Psychological Bulletin*, 84. 888–918.

Albrecht, S., & K. E. Carpenter (1976). Attitudes as predictors of behaviors versus behavioral intentions: A convergence of research traditions. In *Sociometry*, 39. 1-10.

Allport, G. W. (1967). Attitudes. In M. Fishbein (ed.), *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1-13.

Anderbeck, K. L. (2010). *Language Use and Attitudes among the Jambi Malays of Sumatra*. SIL International.

Andersen, E. S. (1992). *Speaking with Style: The Sociolinguistic Skills of Children*. London: Routledge.

Armostis, S., K. Christodoulou, M. Katsoyannou, & C. Themistocleous (2014). Addressing writing system issues in dialectical lexicography: The case of Cypriot Greek. In C. Dyck, T. Granadillo, K. Rice & J. Labrada (eds.), *Dialogue on Dialect Standardization*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 23-38.

Arnold, P. (1956). *Cyprus challenge: A colonial island and its aspirations*. London: Hogarth Press.

Arvaniti, A. (2001a). Comparing the phonetics of single and geminate consonants in Cypriot and Standard Greek. In *Proceedings of the 4th International*

Conference on Greek Linguistics. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 37-44.

Arvaniti, A. (2001b). Cypriot Greek and the phonetics and phonology of geminates. In *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference of Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory*. 19-29.

Arvaniti, A. (2006). Linguistic practices in Cyprus and the emergence of Cypriot Standard Greek. In *San Diego Linguistic Papers*, 2. 1-24.

Arvaniti, A., & G. Tserdanelis (2000). On the phonetics of geminates: Evidence from Cypriot Greek. In *6th International Conference on Spoken Language Processing (ICSLP 2000)*. 559-562.

Bain, R. (1930). Theory and measurement of attitudes and opinions. In *Psychological Bulletin*, 27. 357-379.

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Bakir, M. (1986). Sex differences in the approximation to Standard Arabic: A case study. In *Anthropological Linguistics*, 28 (1). 3-9.

Bangeni, B., & R. Kapp (2007). Shifting language attitudes in a linguistically diverse learning environment in South Africa. In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 28 (4). 253-269.

Beckford Wassink, A. (1999). Historic low prestige and seeds of change: Attitudes toward Jamaican Creole. In *Language in Society*, 28. 57-92.

Bell, R. T. (1976). *Sociolinguistics: Goals, Approaches and Problems*. London: B. T. Batsford.

Bender, E. M. (2005). On the boundaries of linguistic competence: Matched-guise experiments as evidence of knowledge of grammar. In *Lingua*, 115. 1579-1598.

Bickerton, D. (1975). *Dynamics of a Creole System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blodgett, E. G., & E. B. Cooper (1973). Attitudes of elementary teachers toward Black Dialect. In *Journal of Communication Disorders*, 6. 121-133.

Bloomfield, L. (1984). *Language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Reprinted, 1933).

Bokhorst-Heng D. W., & I. S. Caleon (2009). The language attitudes of bilingual youth in multilingual Singapore. In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 30 (3). 235-251.

Bradac, J. J. (1990). Language attitudes and impression formation. In H. Giles & W. P. Robinson (eds.), *Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*. Chichester: Wiley, 287-421.

Breckler, S. J. (1984). Empirical validation of affect, behavior, and cognition as distinct components of attitude. In *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 47 (6). 1191-1205.

Brown, P., & C. Fraser (1979). Speech as a marker of situation. In H. Giles & K. Scherer (eds.), *Social Markers in Speech*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 33-62.

Byrne, D., & K. Kelley (1981). *An Introduction to Personality*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Carranza, M., & E. B. Ryan (1975). Evaluative reactions of bilingual Anglo- and Mexican American adolescents towards speakers of English and Spanish. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 6. 83-104.

Chakrani, B., & J. L. Huang (2012). The work of ideology: Examining class, language use, and attitudes among Moroccan university students. In *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. 1-14.

Chambers, J. K. (1992). Dialect acquisition. In *Language*, 68. 673–705.

Chambers, J. K., & P. Trudgill (1998). *Dialectology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chew, P. G. L. (2013). *A Sociolinguistic History of Early Identities in Singapore: From Colonialism to Nationalism.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chiung, W. T. (2001). Language an ethnic identity in Taiwan. Paper presented at the *7th North American Taiwan Studies Conference*, June 23-25, University of Washington, Seattle.

Choi, J. N. (2003). Language attitudes and the future of bilingualism: The case of Paraguay. In *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 6 (2). 81-94.

Coupland, N. (1988). *Dialect in Use*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Christodoulidou, M. (2011). Language style as audience design in Greek and Cypriot interaction. In *International Journal of Language Studies (IJLS)*, 5 (2). 95-108.

Christodoulou, M. (1997). Standard language and dialect [in Greek]. In *Dissension, Greek Language and Cypriot Dialect [in Greek]*. Nicosia: Nicosia Municipality, 247-275.

Christofides, R. M. (2010). The politics of Cypriot Greek in postcolonial Cyprus: Textual seduction in the Mediterranean. In *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 12 (3). 415-427.

Cody, K. (2003). *Language choice, language attitudes and ethnic identity in bilingual speakers: A case study comparing Québécois in Montréal and Texas Spanish in San Antonio.* Doctoral dissertation. The University of Texas at Austin.

Cook, S. W., & C. Selltiz (1964). A multiple-indicator approach to attitude measurement. In *Psychological Bulletin*, 62. 36-55.

Corey, S. M. (1937). Professed attitudes and actual behavior. In *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 28. 271–280.

Craig, D. R. (1976). Bidialectal education: Creole and standard in the West Indies. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 8. 93–136.

Creber, C., & H. Giles (1983). Social context and language attitudes: The role of formality-informality of the setting. In *Language Sciences*, 5 (2). 155-161.

Cremona, C., & E. Bates (1977). The development of attitudes toward dialect in Italian children. In *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 6 (3). 223-232.

Cross, J. B., T. DeVaney, & G. Jones (2001). Pre-service teacher attitudes toward differing dialects. In *Linguistics and Education*, 12 (4). 211-227.

Dailey, R. M., H. Giles, & L. L. Jansma (2005). Language attitudes in an Anglo-Hispanic context: The role of the linguistic landscape. In *Language & Communication*, 25. 27-38.

Davy, J., Y. Ioannou, & A. Panayiotou (1996). French and English loans in Cypriot diglossia. In *Travaux de la maison del' Orient Méditerranéen 25: Chypre hier et aujourd'hui entre Orient et Occident*. 127-136.

Dawes, R. M., & T. Smith (1985). Attitudes and opinion measurement. In G. Lindsey & E. Aronson (eds.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*. 509-566.

Day, R. R. (1980). The development of linguistic attitudes and preferences. In *TESOL Quarterly*, 14 (1). 27-37.

Dede, K. (2004). Language attitudes in Xining, Qinghai. In *Language and Linguistics*, 5 (3). 543-557.

Deprez, K., & Y. Persoons (1987). Attitude. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar & K. J. Mattheier (eds.), *Sociolinguistics: An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 125-132.

De Fleur, M. L., & Westie, F. R. (1958). Verbal attitudes and overt acts: An experiment on the salience of attitudes. In *American Sociological Review*, 2. 667–673.

De Silva, M. W. S. (1974). Convergence in diglossia: The Sinhalese situation. In *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics*, 3. 60-91.

De V. Cluver, A. D. (2000). Changing language attitudes: The stigmatisation of Khoekhoegowap in Namibia. In *Language Problems & Language Planning*, 24 (1). 77-100.

Di Pietro, R. J. (1973). Bilingualism and bidialectalism. In R. Fox (ed.), *Teaching English as a Second Language and as a Second Dialect*. Urbana, Ill: NCTE, 1-15.

Dorian, N. C. (1999). Linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork. In J. A. Fishman (ed.), *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 25-41.

Echeverria, B. (2005). Language attitudes in San Sebastian: The Basque vernacular as challenge to Spanish language hegemony. In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 26 (3). 249-264.

Eckert, P. (1980). Diglossia: Separate and unequal. In *Linguistics*, 18. 1053-1064.

Eckert, P., & S. McConnell-Ginet (2003). *Language and Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Edwards, J. (1982). Language attitudes and their implications among English speakers. In E. Ryan & H. Giles (eds.), *Attitudes towards Language Variation: Social and Applied Contexts*. London: Edward Arnold, 20-33.

Edwards, J. (1994). *Multilingualism*. New York: Routledge.

Edwards, H. T., & A. G. Kirkpatrick (1999). Metalinguistic awareness in children: A developmental progression. In *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 28 (4). 313-329.

Ehala N., & M. Niglas (2006). Language attitudes of Estonian secondary school students. In *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 5 (3). 209-227.

Ehret, R. (1997). Language attitude and the linguistic construction of ethnic identity: The case of Krio in Sierra Leone. In M. Pütz (ed.), *Language Choices: Conditions, Constraints, and Consequences*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 327-337.

Eisikovits, E. (2011). Girl-talk/boy-talk: Sex differences in adolescent speech. In J. Coates & P. Pichler (eds.), *Language & Gender*. West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 38-47.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Critical Language Awareness*. Essex: Longman.

Fairclough, N., & R. Wodak (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. A. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction: Discourse Studies 2 (A Multidisciplinary Introduction)*. London: SAGE, 258-284.

Faris, E. (1928). Attitudes and behavior. In *American Journal of Sociology*, 34 (2). 271-281.

Fasold, R. (1984). *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Fazio, R. H. (1990). Multiple processes by which attitudes guide behavior: The MODE model as an integrative framework. In M. P. Zanna (ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. San Diego: Academic Press, 75–109.

Ferguson, C. A. (1959). Diglossia. In *Word*, 15. 325-340.

Ferguson, C. A. (1996). *Sociolinguistic Perspectives: Papers on Language in Society, 1959-1994*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fetzer, A. (2007). Context, contexts and appropriateness. In A. Fetzer (ed.), *Context and Appropriateness*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 3-27.

Fishbein, M. (1963). An investigation of the relationships between beliefs about an object and the attitude toward that object. In *Human Relations*, 16. 233-240.

Fishman, J. A. (1967). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; Diglossia with and without bilingualism. In *Journal of Social Issues*, 23 (2). 29-38.

Fishman, J. A. (1972). *The Sociology of Language*. New York: Newbury House.

Fishman, J. A. (1977). Language and ethnicity. In H. Giles (ed.), *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press, 15-57.

Fishman, J. A. (1989). *Language & Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Fishman, J. A. (1997). Language and ethnicity: The view from within. In F. Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 327-343.

Foursha-Stevenson, C., & E. Nicoladis (2011). Early emergence of syntactic awareness and cross-linguistic influence in bilingual children's judgments. In *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 15. 521-534.

Gaies, S., & J. D. Beebe (1991). The matched-guise technique for measuring attitudes and their implications for language education: A critical assessment. In E. Sadtono (ed.), *Language Acquisition and the Second/Foreign Classroom*. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Gair, J. W. (1992). AGR, INFL, case and Sinhala diglossia, or: Can linguistic theory find a home in variety? In B. Kachru et al. (eds.), *Dimensions of South Asia as a Sociolinguistic Area: Papers in Memory of Gerald B. Kelley*. New Delhi: Oxford, 179-198.

García, P. (2005). Case study: Parental language attitudes and practices to socialise children in a diglossic society. In *The International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8 (4). 328-344.

Gardner-Chloros, P., L. McEntee-Atalianis, & K. Finnis (2005). Language attitudes and use in a transplanted setting: Greek Cypriots in London. In *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 2 (1). 52-80.

Garrett, P. (2009). Attitudes in Japan and China towards Australian, Canadian, New Zealand, UK and US Englishes. In M. Maegaard, F. Gregersen, P. Quist & J. Normann Jørgensen (eds.), *Language Attitudes, Standardization and Language Change*. Oslo: Novus, 273-295.

Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Garrett, P., H. Bishop, & N. Coupland (2009). Diasporic ethnolinguistic subjectivities: Patagonia, North America, and Wales. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 195. 173-199.

Garrett, P., N. Coupland, & A. Williams (2006). *Investigating Language Attitudes*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Gee, J. P. (1992). *The Social Mind*. New York: Bergin & Garvey.

Geerts, G., J. Nooters, & J. van Den Broeck (1978). Flemish attitudes towards dialect and standard language: A public opinion poll. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 15. 33-45.

Giles, H., R. Y. Bourhis, & D. M. Taylor (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (ed.), *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press, 307-348.

Giles, H., & S. R. Clair (eds.) (1979). *Language and Social Psychology*. Baltimore, MD: University Park Press.

Giles, H., & K. Farrar (1979). Some behavioural consequences of speech and dress styles. In *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 18. 209-210.

Giles, H., J. Fortman, R. Dailey, C. Hajek, M. Anderson, & N. Rule (2006). Communication accommodation: Law enforcement and the public. In R. Dailey & B. LePoire (eds.), *Applied Research in Interpersonal Communication: Family Communication, Health Communication and Communicating across Social Boundaries.* New York: Peter Lang, 241-269.

Giles, H., & P. Johnson (1987). Ethnolinguistic theory: A social psychological approach to language maintenance. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 68. 69-99.

Giles, H., C. Harrison, C. Creber, P. Smith, & N. Freeman (1983). Developmental and contextual aspects of children's language attitudes. In *Language & Communication*, 3 (2). 141-146.

Giles, H., N. Llado, D. McKirnan, & D. Taylor (1979). Social identity in Puerto Rico. In *International Journal of Psychology*, 14. 185-201.

Gilliéron, J. (1880). *Petit Atlas Phonétique du Valais Roman*. Paris: Honoré Champion.

Gilliéron, J., & E. Edmont (1902-1910). *Atlas Linguistique de la France*. Paris: Honoré Champion.

Goldberg, E., & K. A. Noels (2006). Motivation, ethnic identity, and post-secondary education language choices of graduates of intensive French language programs. In *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 62 (3). 423-447.

Goutsos, D. (2005). A discourse-analytic approach to the use of English in Cypriot Greek conversations. In A. Papapavlou (ed.), *Contemporary Sociolinguistic Issues in Cyprus*. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 181-212.

Grondelaers, S., & R. van Hout (2010). Is Standard Dutch with a regional accent standard or not? Evidence from native speakers' attitudes. In *Language Variation and Change*, 22. 221-239.

Groves, J. M. (2010). Language or dialect, topolect or regiolect? A comparative study of language attitudes towards the status of Cantonese in Hong Kong. In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 31 (6). 531-551.

Gumperz, J. J. (1961). Speech variation and the study of Indian civilization. In *American Anthropologist*, 63. 976-988.

Gumperz, J. J. (1962). Types of linguistic communities. In *Anthropological Linguistics*, 4 (1). 28-40.

Gumperz, J. J. (1968). The speech community. In P. P. Gilglioli (ed.), *Language in Social Context*. 219-239.

Haugen, E. (1972). Dialect, language, nation. In J. B. Pride & J. Holmes (eds.), *Sociolinguistics*. London: Penguin Books, 97-111.

Hadjioannou, K. (1936). *Foreign Linguistic Elements in Medieval and Modern Cypriot Dialect* [in Greek]. Athens: Xenou, G.P.

Hadjioannou, K. (1988). The medieval dialect of Cyprus. In J. Karageorghis & O. Masson (eds.), *The History of the Greek Language in Cyprus: Proceedings of an International Symposium Sponsored by the Pierides Foundation*. Nicosia: Zavallis Press Ltd, 199-209.

Hadjioannou, X., S. Tsiplakou, & M. Kappler (2011). Language policy and language planning in Cyprus. In *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 12 (4). 503-569.

Hammarström, H. (2008). Counting languages in dialect continua using the criterion of mutual intelligibility. In *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics*, 15 (1). 34-45.

Haynes, L. M. (1982). Rural and urban groups in Barbados and Guyana: Language attitudes and behaviors. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 34. 67-81.

Hazen, K. (2001). An introductory investigation into bidialectalism. In *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 7 (3), 85-99.

Heeringa, W., & J. Nerbonne (2001). Dialect areas and dialect continua. In *Language Variation and Change*, 13, 375-400.

Henerson, M. E., L. L. Morris, & C. T. Fitz-Gibbon (1987). *How to Measure Attitudes*. Newbury Park: SAGE Publications.

Hill, G. (1972). *A History of Cyprus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hogan-Brun, G., & M. Ramonlené (2005). Perspectives on language attitudes and use in Lithuania's multilingual setting. In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 26 (5). 425-441.

Homel, P., M. Palij, & D. Aaronson (2014). *Childhood Bilingualism: Aspects of Linguistics, Cognitive, and Social Development*. New York: Psychology Press.

Hopper, R., & F. Williams (1973). Speech characteristics and employability. In *Speech Monographs*, 40. 296-302.

Huguet, Á. (2006). Attitudes and motivation versus language achievement in cross-linguistic settings. What is cause and what effect? In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 27 (5). 413-429.

Hyrkstedt, I., & P. Kalaja (1998). Attitudes toward English and its function in Finland: A discourse-analytic study. In *World Englishes*, 17 (3). 345–357.

Ianco-Worrall, A. (1972). *Metacognitive Reading Strategies of Trilingual (Catalan-Spanish-English) Readers in Barcelona*. PhD thesis. Indiana University.

Ihemere, K. U. (2006). An integrated approach to language attitudes: The case of the Ikwerre of Port Harcourt City, Nigeria. In O. F. Arasanyin & M. Pemberton (eds.), *Shifting the Center of Africanism in Language Politics and Economic Globalization*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 194-207.

Insko, C. A, & J. Schopler (1971). Triadic consistency: A statement of affective-cognitive-conative consistency. In K. Thomas (ed.), *Attitudes and Behaviour*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 22-33.

Ioannidou, E. (2004). Language attitudes and adopted ethnic identities among Greek Cypriot students. In *Cyprus Review*, 16 (1). 28-52.

Ioannidou, E. (2007). This ain't my real language, miss: The use of the Cypriot Dialect and Standard Modern Greek in a typical classroom interaction. In A. Papapavlou & P. Pavlou (eds.), *Sociolinguistic and Pedagogical Dimensions of Dialects in Education*. 165-191.

Ioannidou, E., & A. Sophocleous (2010). "Now, is this how we are going to say it?": Comparing teachers' language practices in primary and secondary state education in Cyprus. In *Linguistics and Education*, 21. 298-313.

Iordanidou, A., & E. Mantzari (2005). Feminine professional nouns: Language use and standardization [in Greek]. In *Proceedings of the Conference Greek Language and Terminology*. Athens: TEE, 73-87.

Jaccard, J. (1981). Attitudes and behavior: Implications of attitudes toward behavioural alternatives. In *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 17. 286-307.

Jahn, J. (1999). New Croatian language planning and its consequences for language attitudes and linguistic behavior—the Istrian case. In *Language & Communication*, 19. 329-354.

Jaspaert, K., & S. Kroon (1988). The relationship between language attitudes and language choice. In R. van Hout & V. Knops (eds.), *Language Attitudes in the Dutch Language Area*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 157-171.

Jessner, U. (1997). Towards a dynamic view of multilingualism. In M. Pütz (ed.), *Language Choices: Conditions, Constraints and Consequences*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 17-30.

Joseph, J. E. (2004). *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jørgensen, J. N., & K. Kristensen (1995). On boundaries in linguistic continua. In *Language Variation and Change*, 7. 153-168.

Karoulla-Vrikki, D. (2009). Greek in Cyprus: Identity oscillations and language planning. In A. Georgakopoulou & M. Silk (eds.), *Standard Languages and Language Standards*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Company, 187-209.

Karyolemou, M. (1993). Linguistic attitudes and metalinguistic discourse: An investigation in the Cypriot press. In I. Philippaki-Warburton, K. Nicolaidis & M. Sifianou (eds.), *Themes in Greek Linguistics: Papers from the First International Conference on Greek Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 253-259.

Karyolemou, M. (1994). *La Communauté Sociolinguistique Chypriote Grecque: Présentation et Analyse des Problématiques Linguistiques à travers les Discours Métalinguistiques Parus dans la Presse Écrite (1985-1992)*. PhD Thesis. Sorbonne.

Karyolemou, M. (2000). Cypriot Greek: Dialect or idiom? [in Greek]. In A. F. Christides (ed.), *Greek and its Dialects* [in Greek]. Athens: Greek Language Centre, 43-48.

Karyolemou, M. (2001). The Greek language in Cyprus [in Greek]. In A. F. Christides (ed.), *Encyclopaedic Guide for the Language* [in Greek]. Thessaloniki: Greek Language Centre, 180-188.

Karyolemou, M. (2002). When language policies change without changing: The University of Cyprus. In *Language Policy,* 1. 213-236.

Karyolemou, M. (2006). Reproduction and innovation of communicative patterns in a former-'diglossic' community. In R. Muhr (ed.), *Reproduktionen und Innovationen in Sprache und Kommunikation verschiedener Sprachkulturen*. Berlin: Peter Lang, 39-56.

Karyolemou, M. (2010). Language policy and language planning in Cyprus [in Greek]. In A. Voskos, D. Goutsos & A. Moser (eds.), *The Greek Language in Cyprus from Antiquity to the Present* [in Greek]. Athens: National Capodistrian University of Athens, 242-261.

Karyolemou, M., & P. Pavlou (2000). Language attitudes and assessment of salient variables in a bi-dialectal speech community. In *ICLaVE 1: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Language Variation in Europe*. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 110-120.

Kazamias, G., A. K. Petrides, & E. Koumas (eds.) (2013). *Introduction to the History of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Open University of Cyprus.

Kerlinger, F. N. (1986). *Foundations of Behavioral Research*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Kerswill, P. (1994). *Dialects Converging: Rural Speech in Urban Norway*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kerswill, P. (1996). Dialect levelling, koineisation and the speech of the adult migrant. In *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 3 (1). 237-246.

Knops, U., & R. van Hout (1988). *Language Attitudes in the Dutch Language Area*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Kolitsis, A. (1986). The present day Cypriot dialect. In J. Karageorghis & O. Masson (eds.), *The History of the Greek Language in Cyprus: Proceedings of an International Symposium Sponsored by the Pierides Foundation*. Nicosia: Zavallis Press Ltd, 215-219.

Kouega, J. (2008). Minority language use in Cameroon and educated indigenes' attitude to their languages. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 189. 85-113.

Kounnapi, E. (2006). Greek Cypriot children's language attitudes in a bidialectal setting: The case of primary education in Cyprus. In E. Phtiaka, A. Gagatsis, J. Elias & M. Modestou (eds.), *Contemporary Educational Research in Cyprus: Proceedings of the 9th Conference of the Cyprus Pedagogical Society* [in Greek]. Nicosia: University of Cyprus, 691-704.

Kraemer, R., & M. Birenbaum (1993). Language attitudes and social group memberships. In *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 17. 437-449.

Kramer, E. (1964). Personality stereotypes in voice: A reconsideration of the data. In *Journal of Social Psychology*, 62. 247-251.

Krathwohl, D. R., B. S. Bloom, & B. B. Masia (1964). *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Book 2 Affective Domain*. New York: Longman.

Kraut, R. (2014). Origins of language attitudes emerge in the perception of foreign-accented speech. In *Journal of Second and Multiple Language Acquisition*, 2 (3). 30-38.

Kristiansen, T. (2001). Two standards: One for the media and one for the school. In *Language Awareness*, 10 (1). 9-24.

Kristiansen, T. (2010). Conscious and subconscious attitudes towards English influence in the Nordic countries: Evidence for two levels of language ideology. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 204. 59-95.

Kuncha, R. M., & H. Bathula (2004). The role of attitudes in language shift and language maintenance in a new immigrant community: A case study. New Zealand: University of Waikato.

Kutner, B., C. Wilkins, & P. R. Yarrow (1952). Verbal attitudes and overt behavior involving racial prejudice. In *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 47. 649–652.

Kypri, T. (1979). *An Historical Dictionary of the Cypriot Dialect*. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center.

Labov, W. (1966). *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Ladegaard, H. J. (1998). National stereotypes and language attitudes: The perception of British, American and Australian language and culture in Denmark. In *Language & Communication*, 18. 251-274.

Ladegaard, H. J. (2000). Language attitudes and sociolinguistic behaviour: Exploring attitude-behaviour relations in language. In *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 4 (2). 214-233.

Ladegaard, H. J., & D. Bleses (2003). Gender differences in young children's speech: The acquisition of sociolinguistic competence. In *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 13 (2). 222-233.

Lakoff, R. (1973). Language and woman's place. In *Language in Society*, 2 (1). 45-79.

Lambert, W. (1967). A social psychology of bilingualism. In *Journal of Social Issues*, 23. 91-108.

Lambert, W. (1974). Culture and language as factors in learning and education. In F. E. Aboud & R. D. Meade (eds.), *Cultural Factors in Learning and Education*. Bellingham, WA: Fifth Western Washington Symposium on Learning, 91-127.

Lambert, W., M. Anisfeld, & G. Yeni-Komshian (1965). Evaluational reactions of Jewish and Arab adolescents to dialect and language variations. In *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 2. 84-90.

Lambert, W., H. Giles, & O. Picard (1975). Language attitudes in a French-American community. In *Linguistics*, 158. 127-152.

Lambert, W., R. C. Hodgson, R. C. Gardner, & S. Fillenbaum (1960). Evaluational reactions to spoken language. In *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 60. 44-51.

Lanza, E. (1992). Can bilingual two years olds switch? In *Journal of Child Language*, 19. 633-658.

LaPiere, R. T. (1934). Attitudes vs. actions. In *Social Forces*, 13. 230–237.

Lasagabaster, D. (2008). Basque diaspora in the USA and language maintenance. In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 29. 66-90.

Lawson, S., & I. Sachdev (2004). Identity, language use, and attitudes: Some Sylheti-Bangladeshi data from London, UK. In *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 23 (1). 49-69.

Leimgruber, J. R. E. (2007). From post-creole continuum to diglossia: The case of Singapore English. In *Proceedings of LingO*. 149-156.

Linn, M. D., & G. Piché (1986). Black and white adolescent and preadolescent attitudes toward Black English. In H. B. Allen & M. D. Linn (eds.), *Dialect and Language Variation*. San Diego: Academic Press, 574-590.

Lippi-Green, R. (1997). *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States*. London: Routledge.

Long, M. H. (2007). *Problems in SLA*. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Loredo Gutiérrez, X., A. Fernández Salgado, I. Suárez Fernández & H. Casares Berg (2007). Language use and language attitudes in Galicia. In D. Lasagabater & Á. Huguet (eds.), *Multilingualism in European Bilingual Contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 40-64.

Luhman, R. (1990). Appalachian English stereotypes: Language attitudes in Kentucky. In *Language in Society*, 19. 331-348.

Malikouti-Drachman, A. (2009). Greek dialect variation: A co-grammar approach. In S. Tsiplakou, M. Karyolemou & P. Pavlou (eds.), *Language Variation—European Perspectives II: Selected Papers from the 4th International Conference on Language Variation in Europe*. 157-168.

Markel, N. N., R. M. Eisler, & H. W. Reese (1967). Judging personality from dialect. In *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 6. 33-35.

McEntee-Atalianis, L., & S. Pouloukas (2001). Issues of identity and power in a Greek-Cypriot community. In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 22 (1). 19-38.

McGroarty, M. (1996). Language attitudes, motivation, and standards. In S. L. McKay & N. H. Hornberger (eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-36.

McLaughlin, B. (1978). *Second-Language Acquisition in Childhood*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Mehler, J., E. W. Jusczyk, G. Lambertz, N. Halsted, J. Bertoncini, & C. Amiel-Tison (1988). A precursor of language acquisition in young infants. In *Cognition*, 29. 143-178.

Meisel, J. M. (1989). Early differentiation of languages in bilingual children. In K. Hyltenstam & L. K. Obler (eds.), *Bilingualism across the Lifespan: Aspects of Acquisition, Maturity and Loss*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 13-40.

Mercer, G. V. (1977). *The Development of Children's Ability to Discriminate between Languages and Varieties of the Same Language*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Montreal: McGill University.

Mettewie, L., & R. Janssens (2007). Language use and language attitudes in Brussels. In D. Lasagabater & Á. Huguet (eds.), *Multilingualism in European Bilingual Contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 117-143.

Meyerhoff, M. (2009). *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. London: Routledge.

Miłobóg, M., & P. Garrett (2011). Perceptions of and attitudes towards regional varieties of Polish: Views from two Polish provinces. In *Language Awareness*, 20 (4). 275-293.

Moag, R. F. (1986). Diglossia versus bidialectalism: Hindi in Fiji and in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. In B. Krishnamurti, C. P. Masica & A. K. Sinha (eds.), *South Asian Languages: Structure, Convergence and Diglossia*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 350-370.

Moreno-Fernández, F. (2007). Social remarks on the history of Spanish. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 184. 7-20.

Moschonas, S. (1996). Diglossia in Cyprus [in Greek]. In *Conference Proceedings of 'Strong'-'Weak' Languages in the EU*. Thessaloniki: CGL. 121-128.

Mummendey, H. D. (1983). Attitudes and behavior. In *The German Journal of Psychology*, 7 (2). 133-150.

Munir, F., & A. ur Rehman (2015). Attitudes of secondary school students towards English as foreign language: A case study at Lahore, Pakistan. In *International Journal of Research*, 2 (4). 637-650.

Mägiste, E. (1985). Development of intra- and interference in bilinguals. In *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 14 (2). 137-154.

Nakamura, K. (1996). Gender-based differences in the language of Japanese preschool children: A look at metalinguistic awareness. In *Proceedings of the 28th Annual Child Language Research Forum*.

Nazzi, T., J. Bertoncini, & J. Mehler (1998). Language discrimination by newborns: Toward an understanding of the role of rhythm. In *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance*, 24 (3). 756-766.

Newton, B. (1968). Spontaneous gemination in Cypriot Greek. In *Lingua*, 20. 15-57.

Newton, B. (1972). *Cypriot Greek: Its phonology and inflections*. The Hague: Mouton.

Ochs, E. (1992). Indexing gender. In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (eds.), *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 335-358.

Ó Laoire, M. (2007). Language use and language attitudes in Ireland. In D. Lasagabater & Á. Huguet (eds.), *Multilingualism in European Bilingual Contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 164-183.

Oppenheim, A. N. (1992). *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*. London: Pinter Publishers.

Padilla, A. (1999). Psychology. In J. A. Fishman (ed.), *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 109-121.

Paltridge, J., & H. Giles (1984). Attitudes towards speakers of regional accents of French. In *Linguistische Berichte*, 90. 71-85.

Paolillo, J. C. (1997). Sinhala diglossia: Discrete or continuous variation? In *Language in Society*, 26. 269-296.

Papapavlou, A. (1988). Motivational, attitudinal and sociocultural factors in lexical borrowing. In *Journal of Business and Society*, 1 (2). 151-163.

Papapavlou, A. (1989). English loanwords in the Greek Cypriot dialect: Linguistic and sociolinguistic interpretations. In *The Cyprus Review*, 1 (1). 93-109.

Papapavlou, A. (1994). *Language Contact & Lexical Borrowing in the Greek Cypriot Dialect: Sociolinguistic & Cultural Implications.* Athens: N. C. Grivas Publications.

Papapavlou, A. (1997). The influence of English and its dominance in Cyprus: Reality or unfounded fears? In *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 7 (2). 1-32.

Papapavlou, A. (1998). Attitudes towards the Greek Cypriot Dialect: Sociocultural implications. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 134. 15-28.

Papapavlou, A. (2001). Mind your speech: Language attitudes in Cyprus. In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 22 (6). 491-500.

Papapavlou, A. (2006). Implementing language policies: The standardization and transliteration of toponyms in Cyprus. In *Proceedings of the 6th Conference on Greek Linguistics*. Electronic publication http://www.philology.uoc.gr/ conferences/ 6thICGL/ ebook/g/papapavlou.pdf

Papapavlou, A. (2007). Language policy and planning: The role of language attitudes in decision making. In A. Papapavlou & P. Pavlou (eds.), *Sociolinguistic and Pedagogical Dimensions of Dialects in Education*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 194-215.

Papapavlou, A., & T. Kouridou (2007). Bidialectism and metalinguistic awareness. In A. Papapavlou & P. Pavlou (eds.), *Sociolinguistic and Pedagogical Dimensions of Dialects in Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press.

Papapavlou, A., & P. Pavlou (1998). A review of the sociolinguistic aspects of the Greek Cypriot Dialect. In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 19 (3). 212-220.

Papapavlou, A., & P. Pavlou (2007). The interplay of bidialectalism, literacy and educational policy. In A. Papapavlou & P. Pavlou (eds.), *Sociolinguistic and Pedagogical Dimensions of Dialects in Education*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 101-121.

Papapavlou, A., & A. Phili (2009). Childhood bidialectism and metalinguistic awareness. In *Selected Papers from the 18th ISTAL*. 311-320.

Papapavlou, A., & A. Sophocleous (2009). Relational social deixis and the linguistic construction of identity. In *International Journal of Multilingualism*. 1-16.

Pavlenko, A. (2002). Poststructuralist approach to the study of social factors in secondary language learning and use. In V. Cook (ed.), *Portraits of the L2 User*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 277-302.

Pavlidou, T. (ed.) (2006). *Language-Gender-Sex* [in Greek]. Thessaloniki: Institute of Modern Greek Studies.

Pavlou, P. (1992). The use of the Cypriot-Greek dialect in the commercials of the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation. Paper presented at *37th Conference on the International Linguistics Association*, Washington DC.

Pavlou, P. (1993). The semantic adaptation of Turkish loanwords in the Greek Cypriot dialect. In I. Philippaki-Warburton, K. Nicolaidis & M. Sifianou (eds.), *Themes in Greek Linguistics: Papers from the First International Conference on Greek Linguistics.* Amsterdam.

Pavlou, P. (1999). Children's language attitudes in a bidialectal setting: Some methodological observations and preliminary findings. In *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Greek Linguistics*. Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 882-891.

Pavlou, P. (2007). The use of dialect in the primary classroom with particular emphasis on the influence of school subjects on dialect use. In A. Papapavlou & P. Pavlou (eds.), *Sociolinguistic and Pedagogical Dimensions of Dialects in Education*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 265-280.

Pavlou, P., & N. Christodoulou (2001). Bidialectalism in Cyprus and its impact on the teaching of Greek as a foreign language. In *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 11 (1). 75-91.

Pavlou, P., & A. Papapavlou (2004). Issues of dialect use in education from the Greek Cypriot perspective. In *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 14 (2). 243-258.

Peal, E., & W. E. Lambert (1962). The relation of bilingualism to intelligence. In *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, 76 (27), 1-23.

Petyt, K. M. (1980). *The Study of Dialect: An Introduction to Dialectology*. London: Deutsch.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. In *Psychological Bulletin*, 108. 499-514.

Phinney, J. S., I. Romero, M. Nava, & D. Huang (2001). The role of language, parents, and peers in ethnic identity among adolescents in immigrant families. In *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 30 (2). 135-153.

Poropat Jeletic, N. (2013). Matched-guise technique: Measuring attitudes towards Croatian, Italian, Chakavian, Istrovenetian and code-switching among students in Istria. In *Humanities and Social Sciences Review*, 2 (3). 35-40.

Potter, J., & M. Wetherell (1987). *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*. London: SAGE.

Preston, D. R. (1993). The uses of folk linguistics. In *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 3 (2). 181-259.

Preston, D. R. (1999). A language attitude approach to the perception of regional variety. In D. R. Preston (ed.), *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 359-373.

Preston, D. R. (2002). Language with an attitude. In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 40-65.

Pütz, M. (1995). Attitudes and language: An empirical investigation into the status and use of English in Namibia. In M. Pütz (ed.), *Discrimination through Language in Africa? Perspectives on Namibian Experience*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 245-273.

Rakić, T., & M. C. Steffens (2013). Language attitudes in Western Europe. In H. Giles & B. Watson (eds.), *The Social Meanings of Language, Dialect and Accent: International Perspectives on Speech Styles*. New York: Peter Lang, 45-63.

Rickford, J. R., & E. C. Traugott (1985). Symbol of powerlessness and degeneracy, or symbol of solidarity and truth? Paradoxical attitudes toward pidgins and creoles. In S. Greenbaum (ed.), *The English Language Today: Public Attitudes toward the English Language*. London: Pergamon Press, 252-261.

Rokeach, M. (1968). *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values: A Theory of Organization and Change.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Romaine, S. (1995). *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Rosenthal, M. S. (1974). *The Magic Boxes: Children and Black English*. Arlington: ERIC/CLL.

Ryan, E. B. (1979). Why do low-prestige language varieties persist? In H. Giles & R. St Clair (eds.), *Language and Social Psychology*. Oxford: Blackwell, 145-157.

Ryan, E. B., H. Giles, & M. Hewstone (1988). The measurement of language attitudes. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar & K. J. Mattheier (eds.), *Sociolinguistics: An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1068-1081.

Sachdev, I., & D. Hanlon. (2000/2001). Language attitudes, perceptions and identity: Some Haida and Cree data. In *London Journal of Canadian Studies*, 16. 69-87.

Safont Jordà, M. P. (2007). Language use and language attitudes in the Valencian community. In D. Lasagabater & Á. Huguet (eds.), *Multilingualism in European Bilingual Contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 90-113.

Saidat, A, M. (2010). Language attitude: The case of Jordan. In *International Journal of Academic Research*, 2. 235–243.

Sapir, E. (1949). Dialect. In D. Mandelbaum (ed.), *Selected Writings in Language, Culture and Personality*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 83-88.

Saussure, F. De (1983). *Course in General Linguistics*. Eds. C. Bally & A. Sechehaye. Trans. R. Harris. Illinois: Open Court Classics.

Schneiderman, E. (1976). An examination of the ethnic and linguistic attitudes of bilingual children. In *ITL* (Tijdschrift van het Instituut voor Toegepaste Lingistiek, Leuven. Review of the Institute of Applied Linguistics, Louvain), 33. 59-72.

Schuman, H. & M. P. Johnson (1976). Attitudes and behavior. In *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2. 161-207.

Sciriha, L. (1996). *A Question of Identity: Language Use in Cyprus*. Nicosia: Intercollege Press.

Sergidi, M., & D. Evripidou (2014). Greek Cypriot primary school children's attitude: The case of Cypriot Greek and Standard Modern Greek in Cyprus. Paper presented at *7th International Conference on Languages & Linguistics*, Athens, Greece.

Shah, S. K., & F. Anwar (2015). Attitudes of parents and children towards multilingualism in Pakistan. In *Journal of Literature, Languages and Linguistics*, 8. 22-27.

Shameem, N. (2004). Language attitudes in multilingual primary schools in Fiji. In *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 17 (2). 154-172.

Sharp, D., B. Thomas, E. Price, G. Francis, & I. Davies (1973). *Attitudes to Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales*. Cardiff: Macmillan University of Wales Press.

Siegel, J. (2006). Language ideologies and the education of speakers of marginalized language varieties: Adopting a critical awareness approach. In *Linguistics and Education,* 17. 157–174.

Sivas, E. (2002). *The Language Situation in Cyprus: Diglossia or Dialect Continuum?* [in Greek]. Unpublished Master's Thesis. University of Cyprus.

Sivas, E. (2003). Language ideologies and the sociolinguistic situation in the present community of Cyprus [in Greek]. Announcement at *6th International Conference of Greek Linguistics*. Rethymno: University of Crete.

Sophocleous, A., & C. Wilks (2010). Standard Modern Greek and Greek-Cypriot Dialect in kindergarten classroom interaction: Teachers' and learners' language attitudes and language use. In *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 23 (1). 51-69.

Stewart, W. (1965). Urban Negro speech: Sociolinguistic factors affecting English teachin. In R. Shuy, A. Davis & R. Hogan (eds.), *Social Dialects and Language Learning*. National Council of Teachers of English. 10-18.

Symeonides, C. (2006). *The History of the Cypriot Dialect* [in Greek]. Nicosia: Kykkos Research Centre.

Tabouret-Keller, A. (1997). Language and identity. In F. Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 315-326.

Tajfel, H. (1978). *The Social Psychology of Minorities*. New York: Minority Rights Group.

Tajfel, H., & J. C. Turner (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (eds.), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Monterey: Brooks/Cole, 33–47.

Terkourafi, M. (2007). Perceptions of difference in the Greek Sphere. In *Journal of Greek Linguistics*, 8. 61-96.

Themistocleous, C. (2007). Written Cypriot Greek in online chat: Usage and attitudes. In *Proceedings of the 17th International Postgraduate Linguistics Conference.* Manchester: Department of Linguistics and English language, 473-488.

Thomas, L., S. Wareing, I. Singh, J. Stilwell Peccei, J. Thornborrow, & J. Jones (2004). *Language, Society and Power: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.

Thompson, G. L. (2011). Code-switching as style-shifting. In *International Journal of Language Studies (IJLS)*, 5 (4). 1-18.

Thordardottir, E. (2011). The relationship between bilingual exposure and vocabulary development. In *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 15. 426-445.

Trappes-Lomax, H. (2004). Discourse analysis. In A. Davies & C. Elder (eds.), *The Handbook of Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell, 133–164.

Trudgill, P. (1972). Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in urban British English. In *Language in Society*, 1. 179-195.

Trudgill, P. (1975). Linguistic geography and geographical linguistics. In *Progress in Geography*, 7. 227-252.

Trudgill, P. (1992). *Introducing Language and Society*. London: Penguin English.

Trudgill, P. (2000). *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*. London: Penguin.

Tse, L. (2000). The effects of ethnic identity formation on bilingual maintenance and development: An analysis of Asian American narratives. In *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 3(3). 185-200.

Tsiplakou, S. (2003). Attitudes towards language and language change: A two-way relationship? [in Greek]. In *Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on Greek Linguistics*.

Tsiplakou, S., X. Hadjioannou, & C. Constantinou (2006). Ten myths regarding the communicative approach [in Greek]. In *Proceedings of the IX Pedagogical Association Conference*. Nicosia, 381-390.

Tsiplakou, S., A. Papapavlou, P. Pavlou, & M. Katsoyannou (2005). Levelling, koineization and their implications for bidialectism. In *Language Variation—European Perspectives: Selected Papers from the 3rd International Conference on Language Variation in Europe*. 265-276.

Tsokalidou, R. (2001). Language and gender [in Greek]. In A. F. Christides (ed.), *Encyclopaedic Guide for the Language [in Greek]*. Thessaloniki: Greek Language Centre, 104-107.

Vaish, V. (2008). Language attitudes of urban disadvantaged female students in India: An ethnographic approach. In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 29 (3). 198-215.

van Bezooijen, R. (1994). Aesthetic evaluation of Dutch language varieties. In *Language and Communication*, 14. 253-263.

van Marle, J. (1997). Dialect versus standard language: Nature versus culture. In J. Cheshire & D. Stein (eds.), *Taming the Vernacular: From Dialect to Written Standard Language*. London: Longman, 13-34.

van Dijk, T. A. (1980). *Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse*. London: Longman.

Varella, S. (2006a). *Language contact and the lexicon in the history of Cypriot Greek*. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Varella, S. (2006b). Lexical relations in a cross-linguistic context. In *Babel: International Journal of Translation*, 52.

Varella, S. (2006c). From colonisation to globalisation: The impact of English on Greek, with particular reference to the dialect of Cyprus. In *Odisea: Journal of English Studies*, 6.

Vassberg, L. M. (1993). *Alsatian Acts of Identity*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Vildomec, V. (1963). *Multilingualism*. Leyden: A. W. Sythoff.

Wardhaugh, R. (1992). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Weinreich, M. (1945). The YIVO and the problems of our time [in Yiddish]. In *YIVO-Bleter*, 25 (1). 3-18.

Wenker, G. (1888-1923). *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs*. Manuscript (published online 2001-2005, www.diwa.info).

White, M., & Y. Li (1991). Second-language fluency and person perception in China and the United States. In *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 10 (2). 99-113.

Wicker, A. W. (1969). Attitudes versus actions: The relationship of verbal and overt behavioral responses to attitude objects. In *Journal of Social Issues,* 25 (4). 41-78.

Yiakoumetti, A. (2007a). Choice of classroom language in bidialectal communities: To include or to exclude the dialect? In *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 37 (1). 51-66.

Yiakoumetti, A. (2007b). The influence of a bidialectal language intervention programme on learning of Standard Modern Greek in an urban and a rural Cypriot school. In A. Papapavlou & P. Pavlou (eds.), *Sociolinguistic and Pedagogical Dimensions of Dialects in Education.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 145-164.

Yiakoumetti, A., M. Evans, & E. Esch (2005). Language awareness in a bidialectal setting: The oral performance and language attitudes of urban and rural students in Cyprus. In *Language Awareness*, 14 (4). 254-260.

Zahn, C., & R. Hopper (1985). Measuring language attitudes: The speech evaluation instrument. In *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 4. 113-123.

Zhang, J. (2010). Parental attitudes toward Mandarin maintenance in Arizona: An examination of immigrants from the People's Republic of China. In *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 7 (4). 237-269.

Zhou, M. (2000). Language attitude of two contrasting ethnic minority nationalities in China: The "model" Koreans and the rebellious "Tibetans". In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 146. 1-20.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

Preliminary study on the Cypriot Greek continuum

Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου

ΜΕΛΕΤΗ 1η

Ερευνητές που έχουν μελετήσει τη γλώσσα των Κυπρίων, υποστηρίζουν ότι δεν υπάρχει ένας ομοιογενής κώδικας που ομιλείται εντός του κυπριακού χώρου, αλλά εμφανίζονται διάφορα επίπεδα που το καθιστούν ως γλωσσικό συνεχές.

Πιο κάτω σας παραθέτουμε μία λίστα με λέξεις σε τρεις διαφορετικές εκφορές: από την πλησιέστερη στην Κοινή Νέα Ελληνική μέχρι και την πιο Κυπριακή. Σας παρακαλούμε υποδείξτε αν συμφωνείτε με τις προτεινόμενες εκφορές κάθε λέξης/φράσης στην κάθε κατηγορία, σημειώνοντας ☑. Όπου διαφωνείτε, προτείνεται τη δική σας εναλλακτική επιλογή.

Γλωσσικό συνεχές

Νεολληνική εκφορά	Μεσολεκτική εκφορά	Άκρως Κυπριακή εκφορά	
τσέπη	τζέπη	πούγκα	☐ ……➔……
κάτω από το…	κάτω που το…	που κάσ' το…	☐ ……➔……
ερχόμουν	έρχουμουν	έρκουμουν	☐ ……➔……
κάνεις	κάμνεις	κάμμεις	☐ ……➔……
κοιμάμαι	κοιμούμαι	τζοιμούμαι	☐ ……➔……
το έφαγα	έφαγα το	έφα(α) το	☐ ……➔……
πήγα	επήγα	επήα	☐ ……➔……
δεν μιλούν	δεν μιλούσιν	εν(μ) μιλούσιν	☐ ……➔……
τρώμε	τρώμεν	τρώμεντε	☐ ……➔……
ρίχνω/πετάω	πετάσσω	σύρνω	☐ ……➔……
ποιός ήρθε;	ποιός ήρτεν;	ποιός έμπου ήρτεν;	☐ ……➔……
κρατήσαμε	κρατήσαμεν	εκρατήσαμεν	☐ ……➔……
άφησα	άφηκα	έφηκα	☐ ……➔……

δεν θα	εν θα	εθ θα	☐ ……➔……
ανάβω	ανάφκω	άφτω	☐ ……➔……
ανοίγω	αννοίγω	αννοίω	☐ ……➔……
το λέω	λέω το	λαλώ το	☐ ……➔……
καινούργιο	τζαινούρκον	τζίνούρκον	☐ ……➔……
άνθρωπο	άνθρωπον	άδρωπον	☐ ……➔……
μύτη	μύττη	μούττη	☐ ……➔……
σοκολάτα	σΐοκολάτα	σΐοκκολλάτα	☐ ……➔……
αδέρφια	αδέρφκια	αέρκια	☐ ……➔……
ζηλεύω	ζηλεύκω	αζουλεύκω	☐ ……➔……
μάτια	μμάθκια	αμμάθκια	☐ ……➔……
ντρέπομαι	ντρέπουμαι	αντρέπουμαι	☐ ……➔……
πηδώ	ππηδώ	αππηώ	☐ ……➔……
κλείνω	κλείω	βαώννω	☐ ……➔……
δαγκώνω	δακκάννω	ακκάννω	☐ ……➔……
γαϊδούρι	γάδαρος	γάρος	☐ ……➔……
δένω	δείννω	γείννω	☐ ……➔……

Σας ευχαριστούμε!

Ανδρέας Παπαπαύλου, Καθηγητής, & Μελανή Σατράκη, Υποψήφια διδάκτορας
Τμήμα Αγγλικών Σπουδών Πανεπιστημίου Κύπρου

Appendix II

Permission for conducting research at schools

ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ
ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ

Αρ. Φακ.: 7.15.01.25.5/5
Αρ. Τηλ. : 22800665
Αρ. Φαξ : 22809513
E-mail : dde@moec.gov.cy

ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ
ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ

1 Σεπτεμβρίου, 2014

Κυρία
Μελανή Σατράκη

Θέμα: Άδεια για διεξαγωγή έρευνας με μαθητές δημοτικών σχολείων της επαρχίας Λευκωσίας

Αγαπητή κυρία Σατράκη,

Έχω οδηγίες να αναφερθώ στη σχετική με το πιο πάνω θέμα αίτησή σας προς το Κέντρο Εκπαιδευτικής Έρευνας και Αξιολόγησης, που υποβλήθηκε στις 25 Ιουλίου 2014, και να σας πληροφορήσω ότι εγκρίνεται το αίτημά σας για διεξαγωγή έρευνας με μαθητές δημοτικών σχολείων της επαρχίας Λευκωσίας που εσείς θα επιλέξετε, με θέμα *"The development of children's language attitudes towards linguistic variation: A study on a dialect continuum"*, την παρούσα σχολική χρονιά 2014-2015. Η απάντηση του Κέντρου Εκπαιδευτικής Έρευνας και Αξιολόγησης σας αποστέλλεται συνημμένα για δική σας ενημέρωση. Θα πρέπει, επίσης, να παρουσιάζετε το Αναλυτικό Σχέδιο Έρευνας, σε περίπτωση που αυτό σας ζητηθεί.

2. Νοείται, βέβαια, ότι πρέπει να εξασφαλιστεί η άδεια των διευθυντών/ διευθυντριών των σχολείων, εκ των προτέρων, ώστε να ληφθούν όλα τα απαραίτητα μέτρα για να μην επηρεαστεί η ομαλή λειτουργία τους. Η έρευνα θα πρέπει να διεξαχθεί με ιδιαίτερα προσεγμένο τρόπο, ώστε να μη θίγεται το έργο των εκπαιδευτικών, το σχολικό περιβάλλον ή οι οικογένειες των μαθητών και όλες οι δραστηριότητες που θα αναπτυχθούν πρέπει να εμπίπτουν μέσα στο πλαίσιο που καθορίζεται από το Αναλυτικό Πρόγραμμα. Η έρευνα θα διεξαχθεί νοουμένου ότι η απώλεια του διδακτικού χρόνου των μαθητών θα περιοριστεί στον ελάχιστο δυνατό βαθμό, ενώ για τη συμμετοχή τους χρειάζεται η γραπτή συγκατάθεση των γονιών τους. Οι γονείς πρέπει να γνωρίζουν όλες τις σχετικές λεπτομέρειες για τη διεξαγωγή της έρευνας, καθώς και τα στάδια μέσα από τα οποία θα εξελιχθεί. Σημειώνεται, επίσης, ότι τα ποιήσματά σας κρίνεται απαραίτητο να είναι ανώνυμα και οι πληροφορίες που θα συλλέξετε να τηρηθούν απόλυτα εμπιστευτικές και αποκλειστικά και μόνο για το σκοπό της έρευνας.

3. Η παρούσα έγκριση παραχωρείται με την προϋπόθεση ότι τα πορίσματα της εργασίας, θα κοινοποιηθούν μόλις αυτή ολοκληρωθεί, στη Διεύθυνση Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης για σχετική μελέτη και κατάλληλη αξιοποίηση.

Με εκτίμηση,

(Ελπιδοφόρος Νεοκλέους)
για Γενική Διευθύντρια

Κοιν.: Π.Λ.Ε. Λευκωσίας
Επαρχιακό Γραφείο Παιδείας
: Ε.Δ.Ε. Αγγλικών
Επαρχιακό Γραφείο Παιδείας Λευκωσίας

ATIAT EREVNES

Appendix III

Letters of consent

Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου
Τμήμα Αγγλικών Σπουδών

……

Αγαπητοί εκπαιδευτικοί και διεύθυνση του σχολείου,

Έρευνα: Η ανάπτυξη των γλωσσικών στάσεων των παιδιών προς τη γλωσσική ποικιλότητα

Μετά από έγκριση του Κέντρου Εκπαιδευτικής Έρευνας και Αξιολόγησης (ΚΕΕΑ) του Υπουργείου Παιδείας, έχετε επιλεγεί ως σχολείο/τμήμα για να λάβετε μέρος σε έρευνα που έχει ως στόχο τη μελέτη των στάσεων των παιδιών απέναντι στο γλωσσικό τοπίο της Κύπρου και σας ευχαριστούμε εκ των προτέρων για τη συνεργασία σας.

Η έρευνα «Η ανάπτυξη των γλωσσικών στάσεων των παιδιών προς τη γλωσσική ποικιλότητα» στοχεύει στην εκπόνηση διδακτορικής διατριβής στον τομέα της Γλωσσολογίας του τμήματος των Αγγλικών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου Κύπρου.

Η έρευνα θα διεξαχθεί από τον Οκτώβριο έως το Δεκέμβριο 2014. Τα ερευνητικά πειράματα στα οποία θα εμπλακούν τα παιδιά αποτελούνται από συνεντεύξεις με την ερευνήτρια βασισμένες σε οπτικοακουστικό υλικό μέσω υπολογιστή (www.voki.com) και χρειάζονται περίπου 10 λεπτά για κάθε παιδί για να ολοκληρωθεί η συλλογή των δεδομένων. Οι πληροφορίες που θα παραχωρηθούν θα χρησιμοποιηθούν μόνο για την έρευνα και η εμπιστευτικότητα και η ασφάλειά τους διασφαλίζεται. Κανένα άτομο, τμήμα ή σχολείο δε θα είναι αναγνωρίσιμο. Επίσης, αναγνωρίζεται ότι τα σχολεία είναι πολυάσχολοι χώροι, για αυτό θα καταβληθεί κάθε προσπάθεια για να διασφαλιστεί ότι η αναστάτωση που θα προκληθεί θα είναι η ελάχιστη δυνατή.

Πιστεύουμε ότι από την έρευνα θα προκύψουν ευρήματα αξίας που αφορούν τη γλωσσική ανάπτυξη και εκπαίδευση στη σχολική και προσχολική ηλικία. Τα ερευνητικά αποτελέσματα θα κοινοποιηθούν στην ιστοσελίδα του ΚΕΕΑ στο www.pi.ac.cy μετά την ολοκλήρωση της έρευνας για δική σας ενημέρωση.

Αν έχετε οποιεσδήποτε ερωτήσεις, παρακαλούμε να μη διστάσετε να αποταθείτε στην ερευνήτρια.

Εκτιμούμε ιδιαίτερα το χρόνο και την υποστήριξη σας.

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ
20537 ΛΕΥΚΩΣΙΑ

Μελανή Σατράκη, Υποψήφια διδάκτορας

Καθ. Ανδρέας Παπαπαύλου, Ακαδ. Σύμβουλος

……

Αγαπητέ γονέα/κηδεμόνα,

Έρευνα: Η ανάπτυξη των γλωσσικών στάσεων των παιδιών προς τη γλωσσική ποικιλότητα

Με αυτή την επιστολή, θα θέλαμε να σας ενημερώσουμε ότι μετά από έγκριση του Κέντρου Εκπαιδευτικής Έρευνας και Αξιολόγησης (ΚΕΕΑ) του Υπουργείου Παιδείας το τμήμα του παιδιού σας έχει επιλεγεί για να λάβει μέρος σε μία έρευνα, η οποία διεξάγεται για εκπόνηση διδακτορικής διατριβής. Η έρευνα έχει ως στόχο τη μελέτη των στάσεων των παιδιών απέναντι στο γλωσσικό τοπίο της Κύπρου. Τα ερευνητικά πειράματα στα οποία θα εμπλακούν τα παιδιά αποτελούνται από συνεντεύξεις με την ερευνήτρια βασισμένες σε οπτικοακουστικό υλικό μέσω υπολογιστή. Κατά τη διάρκεια των πειραμάτων, θα γίνεται μαγνητοφώνηση για διευκόλυνση της καταγραφής των απαντήσεων και με την ολοκλήρωση το ηχογραφημένο υλικό θα καταστραφεί.

Η έρευνα θα ολοκληρωθεί στο σχολείο κατά τη διάρκεια Οκτωβρίου-Δεκεμβρίου 2014 και χρειάζονται περίπου 10 λεπτά για κάθε παιδί για να ολοκληρωθεί η συλλογή των δεδομένων. Η συμμετοχή στην έρευνα είναι εθελοντική και οι συμμετέχοντες έχουν το δικαίωμα απόσυρσης τους από την έρευνα οποιαδήποτε στιγμή το επιθυμήσουν. Κανένα άτομο, τμήμα ή σχολείο δεν μπορεί να αναγνωριστεί από τις απαντήσεις, όπως επίσης δε θα συγκεντρωθούν ευαίσθητες πληροφορίες.

Πιστεύουμε ότι τα αποτελέσματα θα είναι πολύτιμα τόσο για το περιβάλλον στο οποίο μεγαλώνουν τα παιδιά όσο και για την εκπαίδευσή τους. Θα ήμασταν, συνεπώς, ευγνώμονες αν συμπληρώνατε και μας επιστρέφατε το παρακάτω έντυπο συγκατάθεσης μέχρι …… .

Σας ευχαριστούμε εκ των προτέρων για την υποστήριξη σας.

Με εκτίμηση,

Μελανή Σατράκη, Υποψήφια διδάκτορας

Καθ. Ανδρέας Παπαπαύλου, Ακαδ. Σύμβουλος

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ 20537 ΛΕΥΚΩΣΙΑ

Έρευνα: Η ανάπτυξη των γλωσσικών στάσεων των παιδιών προς τη γλωσσική ποικιλότητα

Έντυπο γονικής συγκατάθεσης

Δίνω στο παιδί μου την άδειά μου να συμμετάσχει στην έρευνα «Η ανάπτυξη των γλωσσικών στάσεων των παιδιών προς τη γλωσσική ποικιλότητα».

Όνομα παιδιού: .....

Ημερομηνία γέννησης: ..... /..... /.....

Ελληνοκύπριοι γονείς/κηδεμόνες (☑): Και οι δύο ☐ Ο ένας ☐ Κανένας ☐

Υπογραφή γονέα/κηδεμόνα: .....

Appendix IV

Visual stimuli for association between language and setting

Retrieved from http://blog.vidaao.com/is-animated-video-as-effective-as-live-action/

Retrieved from http://imgarcade.com/1/children-outside-clipart/

Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LIWbUjHZFTw

Appendix V

Questionnaire for recording data

University of Cyprus
Department of English Studies

The development of children's language attitudes towards linguistic variation: A study on a dialect continuum

Melanie Satraki, PhD candidate

GENDER: ……

AGE: ……

TASKS 1 & 3: Language attitudes

	TASK 1			TASK 3		
	1 acro	2 meso	3 basi	1 acro	2 meso	3 basi
Which story do you like best?						
Who lies?						
Who would you like to be friends with? Why? ……						
Who talks the best?						
Who is the laziest?						
Who is the naughtiest?						
Who is the funniest?						
Who is the cleverest?						
Who is the best student?						
Who would you like to play with? Why? ……						

TASK 2:

a) Setting

	1 classroom	2 park	3 farm
Which place is the best for Mia to tell her story?			
Which place is the best for Nia to tell her story?			
Which place is the best for Lia to tell her story?			

b) Appearance

	1 beautiful	2 normal	3 ugly
Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Mia?			
Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Nia?			
Which appearance do you consider the most appropriate one for Lia?			

Notes:

……
……..
……
……
……