

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

"This ain't my real language, miss":

ON LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC IDENTITY
AMONG GREEK CYPRIOT STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

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STUDENTS

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This thesis explores the links between language and ethnic identity among a group of Greek Cypriot primary school students, using an ethnographic approach. Language is examined through students' language use and language attitudes and ethnic identity through their ethnic identification, awareness and attitudes. The principal question addressed is whether the students connect the Standard Modern Greek and the Cypriot Dialect with their preferred (or rejected) ethnic identities. In addition the role of English and Turkish are examined to some extent. This and other questions are explored taking into consideration theoretical principles from sociolinguistics, sociology and social psychology, as well as the specific socio-cultural context in which the students were situated. Furthermore, the formal educational policy making on language and ethnic identity in the Greek Cypriot context is examined for drawing some comparisons with the data from the students. The major findings are first that the use of the Standard in the class was connected with appropriateness and formality, and the students valued the Standard in term of prestige and aesthetics. In contrast, the Dialect although predominantly used in the classroom, was connected to low prestige, but at the same time appeared very strong in matters of identity and solidarity. Secondly, there was a relationship between language and ethnic identity. However this was not linear but multileveled and multi-layered, incorporating different elements and linguistic attitudes in which the Dialect played a central role. A multileveled, multi-layered model is proposed for explaining and understanding these complexities. The thesis concludes by outlining some implications for the current policy making in Cyprus.

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

"I feel Cypriot, yes, Cypriot. If you ask me now whether I want to be a Greek Cypriot then I would say no, just Greek. But just Greek means those who live in Greece, right? So I would have to say that I am a Cypriot. (...)

E: If they ask you what language you speak, what would you say?

O: What do I speak? Cypriot, but (pause) look, I will say Greek but when I go to a place sometimes they say 'Greek? But your Greek is (pause) different'. Yes, I am Cypriot and I speak (pause), you know. (pause). To be honest, the Greeks speak the language nicer. They speak as they read. Like, when we speak, we speak as we learned from our dad and our mum, not as we learned at school.

E: Do you feel in a disadvantaged position?

O: Not at all, at all. It is just my language, and I am proud to speak it."

(Interview extracts from Odysseas, a Greek Cypriot, 1999)

1 Perceived dilemmas and conflicts in ethnicity and language

The above extract highlights the tensions and conflicts in language and identity that are at the centre of this thesis, which explores language-use and perceived ethnic identities of school students in Cyprus. The research took the form of an in-depth ethnographic study of a classroom of school students in Cyprus located within the cultural and socio-political context of Cyprus and current educational policy on language.

The difficulties Odysseas experienced in coming to terms with the Greek and the Cypriot elements in his identity as well as with his bidialectalism, are still paralleled today in the students I observed and interviewed. His words bring to the surface the complexity and multiplicity that exists in contemporary Greek Cypriots around issues of language and identity. This complexity has been partly created by the immense political events (colonisation, independence, ethnic clashing, partition, economic boost and modernisation) that took place in Cyprus in the last fifty years, along with the existence of different linguistic varieties and diverse ethnic groups on the island.

My own interest in the area of language and ethnic identity came mostly through the experience of being a Greek Cypriot and growing up in the post partition era in

Cyprus. I remember, as a child, apart from my normal every day life (school, family, friends), listening to stories about the war, the 'Turks', the refugees, the fear and despair of people. I also recall stories about the bitter opposition among left and right wing supporters, each carrying a different interpretation of history and claiming distinct and sometimes opposing identities (cf. Papadakis, 1998). And it was not only the stories. It was the reality of the Green Line¹, the border between the south and the north, between 'us' and 'them'. It was the different flags depending on which side of the Green Line you were standing, the soldiers with the guns, the UN troops, the huge Turkish flag built on the Pentadaktylos mountain. Growing older, going to the university and then abroad for further studies, I still kept wondering who are we, where do we belong, and what is 'we' or 'them'? Is 'them' the Turkish, the Turkish Cypriots, the British? Or is it the Greek Cypriot right-wing groups? Or the Greeks from Greece? And do all these differences really matter? Are the ethnic identities we adopt such an important part of our lives that influence whether we can love and hate, reject and accept, move forward to the future or stay attached to a dramatic past?

And then there is the language issue. In Cyprus all the Greek Cypriots share the same variety, the Cypriot Dialect which is quite different from the variety spoken in Athens. Although as a student I had to speak differently in the classroom and to my teachers - 'politely' as they used to point out - than I did with my friends and my family, still at that time it never occurred to me as something extraordinary. However, after more contact with people from Greece I realised that *we are* different, and that *they see* us as different. This linguistic division is not only linguistic, but it seems to underlie something else as well. But what?

In order to understand questions and dilemmas such as the above and provide a background context for the research conducted in this thesis, the following section provides a detailed description of the socio-political context of Cyprus, focusing on ethnic identity issues. In addition I provide a detailed account of the Cypriot sociolinguistic context to indicate the various interactions between language and identity. The final section of this introduction then identifies the rationale and need for the current study, outlining the main purpose and the research questions I address.

¹ The partition 'border' which separates the Greek from the Turkish Cypriots and divides the island into north and south.

2 The context of Cyprus

2.1 Political and historical framework

The Mediterranean island of Cyprus has been throughout its history the prey of various conquerors mostly because of its crucial geographical position and its richness in copper mines (Persianis, 1981). Mycenaean Greeks transferred the Greek culture, religion and language onto the island around 1400 BC (Karageorgis, 1986). The Turkish conquest in 1570 AC can be thought of as a turning political point in the evolution of Cypriot society. Turkish migrants settled in Cyprus and gradually a sizeable Turkish Cypriot community was formed, eventually composing eighteen per cent of the total population, with the Greek Cypriots composing eighty per cent of the population (1960 Population Census, in Pollis, 1996). As Pollis (1996) argues, communal identity under the Ottoman era was along religious (Christians and Muslims) and class lines (peasants and tax farmers), not ethnicity, and studies about life in Cyprus then describe a peaceful co-existence of the two communities (Pollis, 1998). Each group had its language, Greek and Turkish, although both linguistic varieties were different from the language of the mainland. However, "linguistic differences were no indicators of ethnic divisions" (Pollis, 1998, p.89) and it was a common practice, especially in villages for both Greek and Turkish Cypriots to speak each other's language (Pollis, 1996).

Nevertheless things changed at the beginning of the twentieth century when Cyprus was under British rule. The two communities went through ethnic reconstruction (Pollis, 1998) and begun to define themselves as Greek (Pollis, 1996, 1998; Mavratsas, 1998) and Turkish (Yashin, 1998) Cypriots. The rise of nationalism in Greece and Turkey, the divide and rule policies of British colonisers, the strategic interest of both US and UK in the island and the behaviour and goals of the elites from both groups (Pollis, 1996) contributed to the ethnic divide in Cyprus. Thereafter the climax of the political opposition and intercommunal clashes increased dramatically. The armed struggle of the Greek Cypriot EOKA² in 1955-1959 for freedom and Union with Greece, and the 'reluctant'³ (Markides, 1977) newborn

² Greek acronym standing for: National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters

³ The establishment of the Cyprus Republic in 1960 presented a kind of compromise between the Greek Cypriot claim for union and the Turkish Cypriot claim for partition. Especially the Greek Cypriots felt that the 'Turks got too much' (Bitsios, 1975) since while they composed 18% of the population they got

republic of Cyprus in 1960 was only the beginning. What followed was the collapse of the republic with intercommunal violent clashes between 1963-1968 and finally the Turkish invasion and the partition in 1974, which sealed the animosity and complete isolation of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. What the newly emerged Cypriot state failed to do was to take into account the striking ethnic differences of the two groups and implement more integrating policies to bring the two groups closer (Rizvi, 1993; Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis and Trigeorgis, 1993). As a result no Cypriot identity or a Cypriot nation ever emerged.

Numerous negotiations between the two communities after 1974, ended in deadlock since the two sides lack a shared definition of the problem (Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis and Trigeorgis, 1993; Bahcheli, 1998). The Greek Cypriot side views the problem as one of foreign invasion and occupation and violation of international law and human rights. Considering its experiences during the years from 1963 to 1974, the Turkish Cypriot side sees the problem as one of neglect, domination and oppression of the minority. Feelings of hostility and opposition are intense from both sides (Greek Cypriots feel that the 'Turks' have taken their land away, and Turkish Cypriots that the 'Greeks' wanted to dominate them). The only 'optimistic' pathway is the possible accession of Cyprus to the European Union that might lead the two groups to find some common ground in order to become a member of ECU.

2.2 The current sociolinguistic context

2.2.1 The multiple meanings of ethnic identities

Taking into consideration the unstable political situation in Cyprus, it is inevitable that matters of ethnicity and language would be highly politicised (Smith, 1991), with the issue of Greek Cypriots' identity being closely interwoven with political ideologies. In particular, in the 50s up to the 80s two opposing political ideologies existed, promoting different interpretations for Greek Cypriots' identity. On the one hand, the Greek-oriented or nationalist ideology defined the Greek Cypriots as Greeks, viewed Greece as the motherland and Cyprus as the 'child' that wanted to unite with its

30% representation in the government, 40% in the army and the police, as well as a veto for their vice-president in all the decisions of the president of the republic.

'mother' (in Persianis, 1981; Mavratsas, 1998; Papadakis, 1993). This ideology was very popular until the 1974 events and the following partition of the island. On the other hand the ideology of Cypriotism (Mavratsas, 1998, 1997) stressed the Cypriot elements of Greek Cypriots' identity and considered Cyprus as an autonomous country, independent from Greece and Turkey. Although this ideology was suppressed in the pro-partition era, it gained grounds after 1974 when a reconstruction of the Greek Cypriot identity occurred, stressing its Cypriot elements, and doubting the Greek oriented ideology (Persianis, 1981). This was mostly due to the role of Greece in the 1974 events⁴ (Pollis, 1996; Mavratsas, 1998). However, the strengthening of Cypriotism did not last, and from the early 80s, a new Greek Cypriot ideology has emerged. This newly formed ideology expresses the desire to strengthen ties with Greece, it views the Greek nation as a cultural rather than political entity and asserts that the preservation of Greekness constitutes the main political priority of the Greek Cypriots (cf. Loizos, 1995; Peristianis, 1995).

The ideologies of Greekness and Cypriotism, were promoted by clearly defined groups. The Greek-national ideology was mostly expressed by the Right, the clergy and some educationalists (Mavratsas, 1998; Persianis, 1981) while Cypriotism was expressed mostly by the Left and some economically minded elites (ibid.). Nevertheless, according to Mavratsas (1997) the new Greek Cypriot ideology extends its appeal beyond political dichotomies⁵ and is widely popular among the contemporary Greek Cypriots. Papadakis (1993) and Calotychos (1998) argue that the notion of Cypriotism cannot compete with the Greek oriented ideology since the symbols used to promote the latter have much wider appeal (in terms of history and culture) than the ones promoted by Cypriotism (often stressing the rural and regional aspects of Cyprus). As Calotychos (1998) argues, "Cypriotism ... was always dwarfed by the ideological superiority... and pedagogical grounding of Hellenic cultural nationalism" (p.17). Finally, the deadlocks in a political resolution reinforced the

⁴ On the 15th of July 1974 the dictatorship in Greece conducted a coup against the legal government of Cyprus aiming to overthrow president Makarios and take over. This coup was according to Turkey the main reason it invaded and partitioned the island, claiming the protection of the Turkish Cypriot community.

⁵ Although the Left and the Right have retained some of their traditional values regarding Cypriotism and Greekness respectively, they have moved towards more moderate positioning, with the Left accepting the 'Greek' element in Greek Cypriots' identities, and respectively the Right recognising the 'Cypriot' element.

belief among the Greek Cypriots about the 'imperialistic motives' of Turkey, and strengthened the image of Greece as their only political ally.

However all these ideologies are mostly political rhetoric and it is not clear what identities Greek Cypriots adopt in their daily lives (Pollis, 1996) and whether these identities play a role in their daily routine (Loizos, 1998). In 'real life', terms such as 'Greek', 'Greek Cypriot', 'Cypriot', 'Turkish', 'Turkish Cypriot' tend to be used in a multiple, elusive and contextually bounded way. For example, often the Greek Cypriots describe themselves⁶ as simply 'Cypriots', ignoring the fact that this grouping also includes the Turkish Cypriots and all the other ethnic groups of the island (cf. Yashin, 1998). Additionally this term reveals political affiliations, so if someone claims a 'Cypriot' identity (instead of Greek Cypriot or Greek) this probably indicates left-wing affiliation, in the same way as a 'Greek' claimed identity might reveal a right-wing association (cf. Papadakis, 1993). Likewise, the term 'Greek' can also have multiple meanings. So, a Greek Cypriot may claim to be *Ellinas* (the general term used for 'Greek'), but this term can also be used to describe those people who live in Greece only (pointing out the difference from *Kypreoi*, i.e. Cypriots). Other terms that might be used to describe the people of Greece are *Elladites* (which differs from the term *Ellines*, indicating 'the Greeks who live in Greece'), or *Kalamarades* ('pen-pushers') which is sometimes accompanied by negative connotations and a distancing on behalf of the Greek Cypriots⁷ (Papadakis, 1993; Mavratsas, 1997).

There are also different interpretations of the terms 'Turkish' and 'Turkish Cypriot'. 'Turkish' identity has strong negative connotations for the Greek Cypriots, seen as the 'enemy' or the 'invader' that occupied northern Cyprus (Loizos, 1998; Papadakis, 1993). It is usually used to indicate the people from Turkey, but it is often used to describe the Turkish Cypriot community. Similarly, although 'Turkish Cypriot' identity is used in a straightforward way (i.e. the other ethnic community of Cyprus), the degree to which it is viewed with animosity varies depending on the ideology. A

⁶ There are few empirical studies for describing the identities of contemporary Greek Cypriots so these informations are drawn mostly from my experience of the specific culture and socio-economic context.

⁷ Odysseas in his interview made the following comments about the term 'kalamaras': "*but we Cypriots, justifiably have kept a kind of hostility towards the Greeks, because of 1974. Look, that is why we always say 'kalamarades'. We have to say that, of course we did not have much contact with Greeks then, almost nothing. (...) We have known the negative side of Greece (...) the people of the army and not the ordinary people of Greece*".

more nationalist stance stressing the Greek-Christian elements of Greek Cypriots' identity adopts a harder position towards the Turkish 'other', often equating the Turkish Cypriots with the Turks. In contrast more leftist ideologies, appear more moderate towards the Turkish Cypriot community, putting forward the argument of both groups 'sharing a common country', often addressing them as 'Cypriots' (Mavratsas, 1998).

Overall, it can be argued that while on a political rhetoric specific identities are associated with fixed set of values, on a real life level there is a fluidity and multiplicity in these identities. 'Cypriot', depending on the context and people's affiliation may indicate the Greek Cypriots, all the inhabitants of Cyprus or someone who expresses a left wing ideology. 'Greek' may indicate the Greek Cypriots, the people from Greece, the Greeks of the diaspora or a right-wing Greek Cypriot. 'Kalamaras' or 'Elladitis' is a clear distinction made by the Greek Cypriots to describe the people from Greece and not themselves, although the first term is more informal and sometimes expresses negative attitudes. Finally, 'Turkish' may indicate the people from Turkey or the Turkish Cypriots.

2.2.2 The multiple linguistic varieties

Apart from the various notions of ethnic identity, there are different linguistic varieties, contributing to the plurality in language and identity in the Cypriot context. The two official languages of the Cyprus Republic are Greek and Turkish (Figure 1.1), with English being the second language widely spoken. In addition there are other minority languages such as Armenian and Arabic-Maronite and a growing number of migrant languages mostly Russian and Arabic (Figure 1.2).

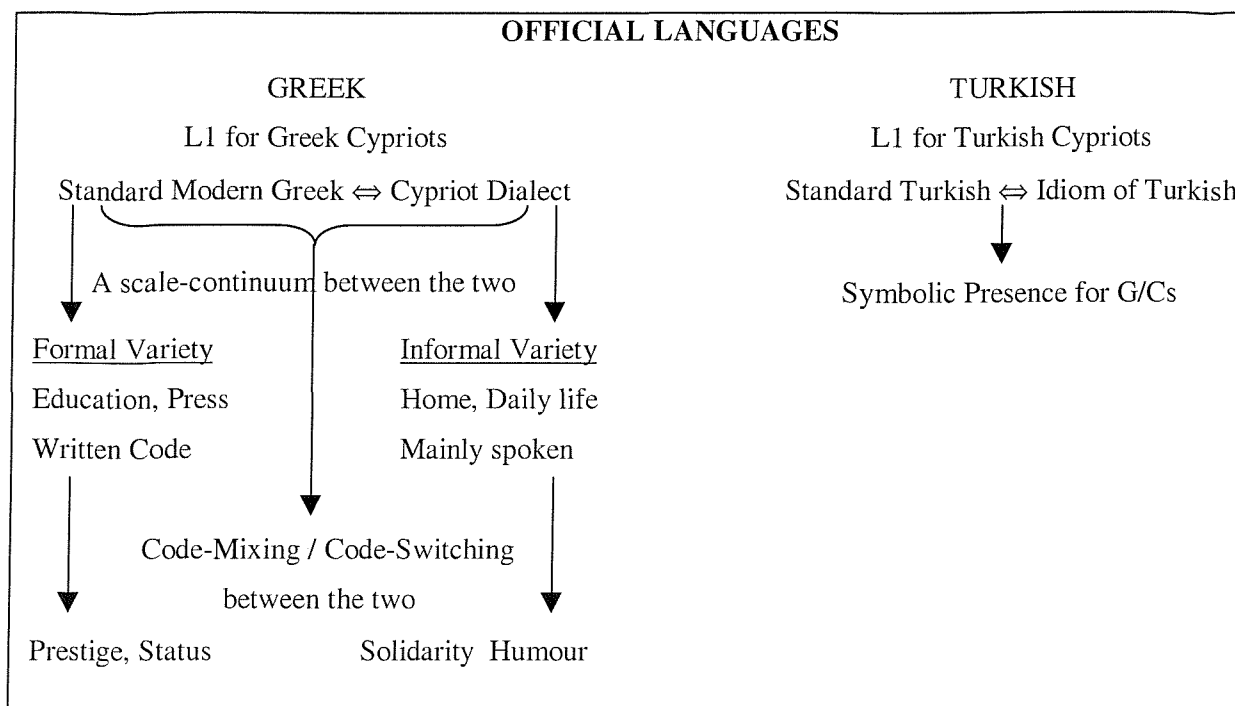


Figure 1.1: The official languages of Cyprus

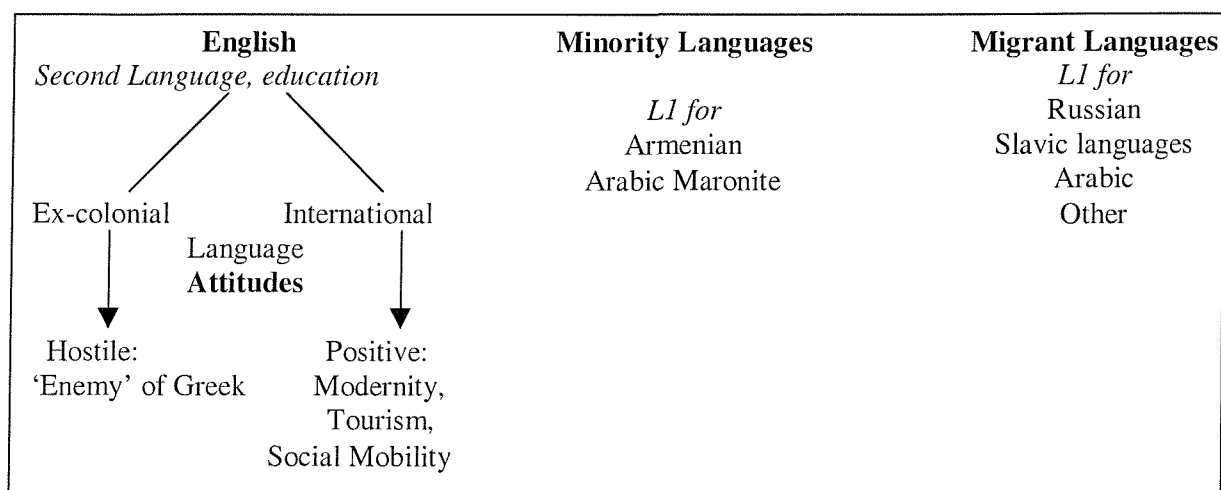


Figure 1.2: The 'other' languages of Cyprus

The two Greek varieties are associated with specific domains, with Standard Modern Greek (SMG) as the formal variety of education, the media and the written communication and the Cypriot Dialect⁸ (CD) as the non-standardised variety of home and everyday communication. The Cypriot Dialect, also labelled as Cypriot

⁸ The Cypriot dialect originated from the Arcado-Cyprian dialect of Ancient Greek, it evolved during the centuries, and is currently grouped in the Southern Greek Dialects. It has its own strong characteristic lexical, phonological and syntactical features, preserving many elements from Ancient Greek (Roussou, 2000b). There is a fairly high degree of mutual intelligibility with the Standard (Newton, 1972) although Greeks from Greece often complain that they cannot understand the Greek Cypriots when they use the dialect. For a more detailed analysis of the linguistic relation of the Cypriot

Greek (Newton, 1972) constitutes the first variety, transmitted at home, of the 700,000 Greek Cypriots living in Cyprus and of the 300,000 Greek Cypriots living abroad. It is also used by members of other communities (e.g. Maronites, Armenian and some Turkish Cypriots) living in Cyprus (Papapavlou, 2001). Standard Modern Greek is used by the Greek Cypriots in the written⁹ and spoken channel, although the degree of competence they exhibit and the differences from the Standard spoken in Greece remain largely unexplored. Although the situation in Cyprus has been characterised as diglossic (Sciriha, 1995; Karoula-Vrikakis, 1991), this term has been rejected on the grounds that there is not a strict dichotomy between SMG and CD, rather an extensive variation that constitutes a linguistic continuum (Moschonas, 1996; Newton, 1983) with a lot of code-switching and code-mixing¹⁰ (Moschonas, 1996).

Turkish is the other official language of the state, spoken by the Turkish Cypriots in the northern part. The presence of Turkish among the Greek Cypriot community is very limited. Although it is an official language, the geographical and psychological isolation of the two groups, has contributed to a zero degree bilingualism among Greek and Turkish in Cyprus (Karyolemou, 2001). The government tries to maintain a kind of bilingualism in the formal documents, in order to declare its wider political thesis of one united country (so the Turkish language is present in the Cypriot currency, in some programmes of the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation). It is also the official language of the University of Cyprus, which maintains a Turkish Studies Department. However Greek Cypriots do not have any other contact with the Turkish language or its people.

Dialect with the Standard Modern Greek see Newton (1972, 1983) and Pavlou and Christodoulou (2001). Also see Hatzioannou (1999) for a detailed linguistic description of the Cypriot Dialect.

⁹ The Cypriot Dialect does not have a standardised written form, although it has a literary tradition (Roussou, 2000b) and contemporary poets and authors write in the Dialect. Although SMG is the formal written variety, it would be interesting to examine the new forms of written language (emails, chats, text messages) in order to see the way the Dialect and the Standard are used. From my empirical observations among young people in Cyprus, I observed that the Dialect is widely used in this kind of discourse (often with Latin characters).

¹⁰ The Cypriot Dialect exhibits internal variation. Newton (1983) identified three different spoken variants of Greek in Cyprus: the local 'village' form of the dialect (which can constitute the one end of the continuum), the widespread spoken form of Cypriot Greek used mainly in the urban centres (middle), and the Demotic-Standard Greek used mainly in formal occasions (the other end). The Dialect therefore exhibits great linguistic variation depending upon residency (urban-rural), age (young-old) and different areas of Cyprus (Newton, 1983).

English is widely spoken among the Greek Cypriots, taught in education¹¹ as a second language (Pavlou and Christodoulou, 2001). Although it is not an official language, because of the tourism and the increase in offshore companies in Cyprus, English is widely spread. The British colonisers made the knowledge of English compulsory for civil servants generalising its use to legislation and judicial system (Karyolemou, 2001). Despite the efforts of the government to abolish the use of English in public service, it is still widely used.

2.2.3 Language and ethnic values

The co-existence of different varieties in the Greek Cypriot context, the centrality of the political problem in public life and the various ideological and political tensions mentioned earlier are reflected in language issues. For example, the two Greek varieties are strongly value-laden. Although the Cypriot Dialect is the first language of the Greek Cypriots, the formal language policy promotes exclusively Standard Modern Greek. As a consequence the use of the Standard is connected with the positive values of appropriateness, correctness and aesthetics (Papapavlou, 1998; Sciriha, 1995), while the Dialect is often stigmatised as 'ugly', 'rude' and 'less educated'. Nevertheless, SMG is often seen as distant, fake and formal (Moschonas, 2000), while the Dialect is associated with genuineness, sincerity and with the Cypriot identity (Moschonas, 1996; Sciriha, 1995).

In addition, in public discourse (mainly in the press) the various linguistic varieties are often positioned against each other, placing usually 'Greek' (i.e. Standard) in conflict with the Dialect, English, Turkish or other linguistic varieties, bringing forward various arguments. First, one commonly referred to position is that the existence of different varieties threatens the purity of 'Greek language' in Cyprus (Ioannou, 1991; Karoula-Vrikkis, 1991). For this reason very often the English and Turkish loanwords found in the Dialect, are attacked as markers of the Greek Cypriots being less Greek (Minas, 1998). Although it has been documented that first, these loanwords are confined to specific domains such as technology, tourism, pop culture (Papapavlou, 1997) and second, that the Standard also includes a considerable amount

¹¹ Although English is only taught in public education (which includes the overwhelming majority of schools) as a second language with minimum periods per week (2), private education largely uses

of loanwords, the stigma that the Dialect is not 'pure' is widespread. Second, and related to the above, English is considered as the main opponent of the Greek language in Cyprus (Minas, 1998; Makrides, 1998), and often the use of English is equated with the Greek Cypriots not showing love towards Greece (Karoula-Vrikkis, 1991) and adopting British-English values of life (Ioannou, 1991). Third, there are many 'complaints' in the media about the way Greek Cypriots use the Greek language, which is often characterised as 'poor', inadequate and so forth (see for example Minas, 1998; Makrides, 1998). Although some scholars argue that there is no linguistic confusion in the Cypriots' linguistic repertoire and that their language variation depends on the domains and contexts in which communication occurs (Sciriha, 1995), this does not seem to influence the public discourse.

Arguments such as the above are mostly expressed by the carriers of national ideology, while more left oriented arguments¹² promote a less nationalistic framework for language. Related to this Moschonas (1996) and Mavratsas (1998) point out that the reasons behind the rhetoric of conflict between Standard and Dialect, and Standard and English are nationalistic, exploited by the Right in order to promote the idea of one united language and one united nation.

However arguments about the protection and the purity of language do not come only from the national-right rhetoric. They are embedded in a tradition of centuries in Cyprus, where the protection of the Greek language and the Christian Orthodox religion from the various conquerors was almost a 'sacred' struggle for the Greek Cypriots (Karageorgis, 1986). They are also embedded in a cultural tendency of Greek people to treat language issues with 'appreciation' and 'respect' (ibid.). There is therefore no simple dichotomy between national/right and moderate/left. The position is more complex, at least on language issues.

Overall, what can be argued is that language issues, along with identity matters, are at the heart of public discourse. As Moschonas (2000) points out,

English as a medium of instruction in all its levels

¹² In a review I conducted for a period of 2 years of the left-wing newspaper *Haravgi*, the articles on language issues, revolved around the following themes:

1. All linguistic varieties are equal, the Greek language is not superior to the other languages
2. Criticisms about the way the right wing considers language

"the Cypriot community is conscious of the differences between the two linguistic varieties and often considers this difference as an opposition. Right-wingers and left-wingers, unionists and those in favour of independence, nationalists and Neo-Cypriots, either covert or directly, take the Standard or the Dialect under their protection" (p.2).

Finally it has to be stressed that despite the centrality of language issues in public debate, the issue of the Dialect remains relatively untouched. The political debate regarding language deals either with the Standard variety or with a general reference to 'Greek' without any specification to the existence of the Dialect as the first variety of the Greek Cypriots. There are no references to the reality of bidialectalism at schools, to the promotion of the Standard only, to the banning of the Dialect and to the possible difficulties students might encounter at school.

3 The rationale and purpose for the present study

Despite the multiplicity in language and identity in Cyprus and the strong political rhetoric around these issues there are no empirical studies documenting which ethnic identities Greek Cypriots adopt and on what grounds. Although there are a number of studies on national and ethnic identity in Cyprus, these are mostly from a theoretical (Calotychos, 1998b; Mavratsas, 1997; Pollis, 1996) and conflict-resolution perspective (Loizos, 1998; Pollis, 1998). Only Papadakis (1993) has provided an account on how Greek and Turkish Cypriots regard their contemporary identities. In addition although there is a growing number of studies in sociolinguistic research, these focus mostly on language attitudes for SMG and CD (Papapavlou, 1998, 2001a; Roussou, 2000a; Pavlou, 1999; Sciriha, 1995), on the role of English (McEntee-Atalianis and Pouloukas, 2001; Papapavlou, 1997, 2001b) and on various issues about education (Pavlou and Christodoulou, 2001; Roussou, 2000b; Papapavlou, 1999). There are fewer on language use (Goutsos, 2001) and no studies attempting to explore the connection of language and ethnic identity in the specific socio-political context¹³, to verify (or reject) some of the claims made on a rhetoric level. In fact it can be argued that the issue of language and ethnic identity in Cyprus, as experienced and

3. Loanwords can be a source of richness and it is healthy for a language to attain them

4. The Greek language is not threatened in Cyprus

¹³ There are some studies (Ioannou, 1991; Karoula-Vrikkis, 1991) claiming to explore language and ethnic identity but they do not present any empirical data to document their claims (cf. Goutsos) and they appear highly politicised expressing specific ideologies

documented through a study of the people of Cyprus remains largely under-researched and therefore undefined.

Taking into consideration all the above, I decided the need for an empirical study on language and ethnic identity in Cyprus was crucial. The purpose therefore of the research reported here is to explore language and ethnic identity among Greek Cypriot people living in Cyprus¹⁴. Since I needed to limit the domains and areas I was going to explore I decided to focus on primary education, exploring the school and the students. I chose education since it is a central carrier of social values (Apple and Christian Smith, 1991) and also a domain that has not been researched from this particular angle in Cyprus. Primary education was selected since being a primary teacher I am familiar with the materials, the curricula and the teaching processes. In addition I wanted to explore students' perceptions before they reach adolescence, where they begin to be politicised and articulate specific political ideologies. Although primary school students may be influenced by the social context, it can be argued that they are not, at that stage, fully politicised.

The overall aim of the study then is to explore the link between language and ethnic identity among Greek Cypriot students, by examining students' language use and language attitudes, their preferred ethnic identities and the possible interrelations that might exist between the two. More specifically the following research questions are addressed:

- 1). How are Standard Modern Greek and the Cypriot Dialect used in the classroom and is this language use in any way value-laden?
- 2). What are students' language attitudes regarding SMG, CD and to some extent English and Turkish? Do their language attitudes reveal anything regarding their ethnic values?
- 3) What are students' frames of reference regarding ethnic identity? Do they show any connections to language?
- 4) Is there any connection between language and ethnic identity among the students? How does this compare to the policy making and the wider socio-political context?

¹⁴ There are some studies on the ethnic identity of the Greek Cypriot community in London (Anthias, 1992)

To explore the above questions I adopted an ethnographic case study focusing on one primary school and in particular on one class of students. The thesis is structured in the following way. Chapter two provides a theoretical account on language and ethnic identity. Chapter three outlines the methodology. Chapter four describes the policy making and the educational context of Cyprus and chapter five provides a description and introduction to the wider context of the specific school and class I explored. Then the next three chapters analyse respectively classroom language variation (six), students' language attitudes (seven) and ethnic identity (eight). Finally the main conclusions of the study are outlined in chapter nine.

Overall an effort was made to explore and bring to the surface the voices of the students on dilemmas such as those Odysseas faced, as a 'Greek' but also a 'Cypriot', using a linguistic variety, which was often stigmatised and looked down upon:

"Look, if a Cypriot asks me where I come from then I would say that I am a Cypriot. Or if an English asks me then I say Greek Cypriot. Isn't that the same thing to say? I am a Cypriot, this is final. But if someone asks me 'are you Greek or Turkish', then what would I say? " - Odysseas

In order to understand the multiplicity and complexity of such concepts the following chapter offers an in depth and multi-perspective exploration of ethnic identity and language, trying to identify their possible interrelations.

Chapter Two

LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC IDENTITY:

A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

1 Introduction

It is widely acknowledged that the concepts of identity and language are very difficult to define (Fishman, 1972) mostly because of their breadth and their deeply ideological character (Calvet, 1998). The existence of different theoretical approaches (e.g. social psychology, sociolinguistics, sociology) and the adoption of a variety of methodologies, focusing more on identity as a group or individual phenomenon, or placing more attention on language, increase the complexity of the interrelation between language and identity. The aim of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework in which to argue the connection of language and one specific form of identity, ethnic identity. The overall objective is to provide an in-depth exploration of both concepts and therefore to understand the different interconnections that might be applied between them. In the first part I examine the concepts of ethnicity as a macro group realisation, and the meaning and shaping of ethnic identity as an individual phenomenon. Then I explore the link between language and ethnic identity focusing both on the macro and the micro level of this interrelation. Finally, since this study focuses on education, in the third part I investigate the possible applications and consequences this interconnection may have in educational settings and in the link between policy and practice.

2 Some basic definitions: ethnicity, ethnic group and nationalism

In order to understand the way ethnic identity evolves and the importance it might have in people's lives, the phenomenon of ethnicity, as a macro and societal realisation, needs to be explored. Ethnicity has received a great deal of attention from scholars and political analysts in current times. The rise of nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century and the resulting two World Wars, the following ethnic revival that led to the balkanisation of different 'nation-states' (e.g. Yugoslavia, USSR) and the constant efforts of various ethnic groups throughout the world to

ensure their survival, made ethnicity a central concept upon which power, oppositions and conflicts are contested (Edwards, 1985).

Different disciplines such as political theory, sociology, cultural studies and sociology of language explore the concept of ethnicity. This multi-disciplinarity provides a wide range of interpretations and most scholars agree that the definitions offered are ambiguous (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996; Andereck, 1992; Fishman, 1997). Isajiw (1974, cited in Andereck, 1992) reviewed more than fifty studies that used the terms 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic identity' without defining them. Similarly, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) indicate that 'ethnicity' like other communal groupings presents conceptual problems, and Fishman (1997) argues that there is a fluidity in the definition of ethnicity since its conceptualisation varies and depends on the time, place and context.

Ethnicity is usually defined as the wider feeling of belonging to an ethnic group (Edwards, 1985). Related to this, an ethnic group is defined as a group of people bound together by common traditions such as language, religion, ancestry, culture and a sense of historical continuity (Wardhaugh, 1992; Edwards, 1985). In addition, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977a) focus on more pragmatic aspects, arguing that it is not enough to speak about traditions and historical bonds unless they really exist. They therefore focus on the vitality of ethnic groups, drawing upon aspects such as status (economic, sociohistorical, linguistic), demographic factors (territory, population) and institutional support.

Another dimension of ethnicity is whether it is something given or a matter of choice (Edwards, 1985). Most of the scholars seem to accept the idea of an "involuntary approach" (in Edwards, 1985) to ethnicity, often stressing the idea of bio-kinship (see Hutchinson and Smith, 1996b), and 'objective' characteristics such as language, race, geography, religion or ancestry. Nevertheless, the subjective characteristics of ethnicity are also stressed (Edwards, 1994; Wardhaugh, 1992), maintaining that it is above all a matter of belief. In either case, the combination of subjective and objective perspectives is considered necessary in understanding ethnic identification (Edwards, 1994). Similarly, in the present study ethnicity is viewed fundamentally as a matter of conviction, not so much as a product of common living but as a product of self-

awareness of one's belonging in a particular group and one's distinctiveness with regard to other groups (Barth, 1969). The definition offered by Baker and Jones (1999) for ethnicity, that encapsulates all the above points, is adopted in this study:

"Ethnicity is a term used to describe a group of people who have some kind of coherence and solidarity based on common origins, a common self-consciousness, and who may be united by shared understandings, meanings to life and experiences" (p.112)

2.1 The primordial and instrumentalist approaches

There are mainly two approaches to the study of ethnicity just reviewed, the primordialists and the instrumentalists (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). The primordialist position emphasises the importance of cultural 'givens', like religion, language, race and nationality. Furthermore, primordialists recognise ethnic groups as given historical entities that present a specific way of life and 'being' found in the expressions of kinship, language and religion (Fishman, 1980). In contrast the instrumentalists treat ethnicity as a social and political resource for different interest and status groups (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996a). Moreover, this approach plays down the historical origins of ethnicity and argues instead that it is a relatively modern and social construction (Gellner, 1983).

An expansion of this debate is whether ethnicity is close or even identical to the concept of nationalism. Nationalism is mostly seen as a negative phenomenon (Gellner, 1983; Brass, 1991) and associating it with ethnicity therefore implies an ideologically negative stance. Usually most of the scholars who associate ethnicity to nationalism and even racism belong to the instrumentalist tradition (Hutchinson, 1987; Kellas, 1991; Breuilly, 1982; Kohn, 1945). On the other hand, those who draw a line between the two are closely affiliated to the primordial school (Fishman, 1997; Smith, 1991).

In this study a boundary is drawn between ethnicity and nationalism¹⁵ in two respects. First, each concept represents different kind of politics (Edwards, 1985; Fasold, 1984;

¹⁵ Although it is acknowledged that there is a continuum between the two. Fishman (1997) argues that every ethnicity runs the risk of developing an ethnocentrism and that ethnicity has been recognised since ancient times as capable of excess, corruption, and irrationality. However, he points out that this argument is not adequate to reject the notion of ethnicity in the world. His main thesis is that although

Kellas, 1991). Nationalism is usually associated with a struggle for self-determination and a national territory (Williams, 1994), while ethnicity and ethnic politics might largely be concerned with the protection of rights for the members of the group within the existing state (Kellas, 1991). Second, ethnicity places an importance on diversity and pluralism (Fishman, 1997), something not found in nationalism: "ethnicity is a plea for an ethnically pluralistic world in which each ethnicity can tend its own vineyard as a right" (Fishman, 1997, p.337).

Overall, the main debate between the two approaches concerns both the origins and the nature of ethnicity. The basic argument against the primordialists is that they present a static and fixed view of ethnicity without taking into consideration the concepts of power (Eller & Coughlan, 1993) or the characteristics of multiplicity and contextuality of ethnic identity. On the other hand, instrumentalists have been criticised for defining peoples' interests largely in material terms, as well as for failing to take seriously the historically emotive connection of people to their ethnicities (Fishman, 1980).

The main arguments of each approach can be placed at the two poles of a continuum and although very few scholars are clearly positioned at either end, according to Hutchinson and Smith (1996b) there have been very few systematic attempts to synthesise the two types of approach on a theoretical level. This study is positioned somewhere in between the two ideologies and recognises that ethnicity can be a combination of primordial and instrumentalist feelings and motives. Ethnicity is not a fixed phenomenon, it depends on groups and individuals and on the degree to which they choose to feel members of an ethnic group. Ethnicity evolves and changes like every other concept and idea in the world. However history has documented that there are genuine feelings of belongingness and values that certain groups might consider as given, either in their language, religion or culture¹⁶. On the other hand it is acknowledged that ethnicity can be exploited by the elites in order to delimit social

some degree of ethnocentrism is to be found in all societies and cultures, the antidote is comparative cross-ethnic knowledge and experience, transcending the limits of one's own usual exposure to life and values (p.337).

¹⁶ The examples of the Greek Cypriots struggling under British Rule to maintain their Greekness, of Jewish people all over the world holding on to their ethnic ties, and of the multiple 'minority' groups in western societies preserving their ethnic identity, signal the need of certain peoples to belong to an ethnic group (Modood, 1999), despite the discrimination and social disadvantages they might undergo.

class division and maintain their hegemony (Crowley, 1989) or by ethnic groups seeking either more rights or political autonomy¹⁷.

In any case, it is considered essential to study ethnicity as a phenomenon bound to a specific group and a particular socio-political context and time. In other words ethnicity needs to be contextualised (Ragin & Hein, 1993) and not be treated as a universal certainty with applicable to any context characteristics. For example it has been observed that those groups who fight and struggle for the maintenance of their ethnic or national identity are usually groups that have experienced foreign domination, warfare and ethnic cleansing (Smith, 1983, cited in Williams, 1994). In other contexts, it has been indicated how powerful elites can project the concept of one unified ethnic or national identity to impose their power over the other social groups (Crowley, 1989; Rahman, 1996). Therefore depending on the particular socio-political context a more instrumentalist or primordialist approach to ethnicity can be adopted. This has also been confirmed by the comparative study of national identity in eighteen different countries conducted by Jones and Smith (2001). Their findings suggested that the concept of identity varied from country to country and was ascribed different attributes and dimensions depending on the specific socio-political and economic context. Similarly, in the present study as it was seen in the previous chapter, the particular context of Cyprus and the wider politics of the area were placed under scrutiny in order to situate and understand the role of ethnicity in the specific area.

3 Ethnic identity: characteristics and components

Ethnic identity¹⁸ belongs to the wider category of social identity, which includes other kinds of allegiances such as sexual, personal, etc. (Woolard, 1997; Tabouret-Keller, 1997). Therefore ethnic identity is seen as primarily a social construction that influences and is being influenced by society (Gumperz, 1982; Tajfel, 1981a). Often 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic identity' are used as synonyms even though they are not

¹⁷ In this case it is worth wondering whether we are dealing with an 'exploitation' of ethnicity. It is acknowledged that it is difficult to establish cause and effect relationship between political exploitation of ethnicity for gaining more power, and deprivation of ethnic groups' rights and intolerance towards diversity.

identical. Brass (1991) describes ethnicity as a sense of ethnic identity, arguing that "ethnicity is to ethnic category what class consciousness is to class" (p.86). What distinguishes the two is therefore their point of focus. While ethnicity emphasises the macro-group belongingness, ethnic identity refers to the individual level of identification, the sense on the part of the individual that she or he belongs to a particular cultural community (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996b).

Consequently, there are methodological differences in the way the two are researched. Ethnicity is studied as a group phenomenon, exploring its socio-political context and focusing on policies, institutions and traditions. On the other hand, ethnic identity research focuses on the way individuals construct their identities, the way they relate to the group and the components these identities have. Studies that focus on ethnicity as a macro group realisation originate mostly from political theory while studies exploring the individual realisation of ethnic identity are generally from the field of social psychology. A combination of both approaches can be found in the field of sociology and cultural studies. This study approaches ethnic identity from sociological and social psychological stands, focusing on its wider characteristics in relation to society (a more sociological stand) and on its components (a more social psychological stand).

3.1 Characteristics of ethnic identity

The primordial-modernist debate regarding the nature of ethnicity also extends to ethnic identity, with two mainly theoretical positions, the essentialist and anti-essentialist. In the essentialist position ethnic identity, as ethnicity, is seen as an 'essence', a fixed, coherent and historical phenomenon (see Woolard, 1997 for a presentation of the essentialist approach). In contrast, the anti-essentialist stand (Woolard, 1997; Hall, 1990) stresses the fluidity in identities, recognising that they have different elements that can be reconstructed in new cultural conditions, and that they are not fixed essences locked into differences which are permanent for all time. This study mostly adopts an anti-essentialist approach in understanding and describing ethnic identity, although some essentialist aspects are accepted and

¹⁸ Ethnic identity does not imply here the notion of 'national' identity although it might constitute a part of it (Archiles and Marti, 2001). Their main difference is that 'national' identity directs us to the

recognised. In the following section the main features of ethnic identity, as anti-essentialists argue them are outlined, focusing mainly on the following features: difference, multiplicity and contextuality, fluidity and hybridity.

3.1.1 Identity as difference

As any form of social identity, ethnic identity is a way of representing ourselves. As Woolard (1997) argues "representations produce meanings through which we can make sense of our experience and of who we are" (p.14). Furthermore, it is also a way in which we mark difference (Hall, 1992; Woolard, 1997), a classificatory system where we distinguish ourselves from others. The classificatory dimension of identity as a marker of difference is one of the primary anti-essentialist positions. Whereas essentialism promotes the idea of one clear, authentic set of characteristics that all people belonging to an ethnic group share, anti-essentialism asserts that identities are formed in relation to the 'outsider' or in terms of the 'other', in other words in relation to what they are not (Woolard, 1997). For example Ullah (1983) in his research among second generation Irish adolescents in England found that those respondents who adopted an Irish identity, referring to various symbols of Irish distinctiveness, were attempting to create a set of attributes which would allow them to compare themselves favourably with the English. The promotion of 'Irishness' then was a way to achieve psychological distinctiveness from their English peers.

However, the notion of the self and the other, should not be viewed strictly as a binary opposition (Hall, 1990; Woolard, 1997). Woolard (1997) draws upon the work of Derrida to argue that it is not sufficient to recognise the dualism of identities since this binary opposition is often imbalanced in terms of power. "Those who criticise binary opposition would argue that the opposing terms are differentially weighted so that one element in the dichotomy is more valued or powerful than the other" (p.36). Often one of these two 'opposing' elements is more valued, imposed as the norm, while the other always withholds the label of the 'other'. Nevertheless, simply recognising that the duality of identities is often imbalanced, does not seem sufficient for an in-depth understanding of identity. Questions like, 'why is the notion of the other, weaker and

concept of the nation as a political unit, while ethnic identity can be independent of a political unit.

viewed negatively', 'what are the factors that contribute to this schema' and 'what does that tell us about the formation of identity', need to be addressed.

The work of Stuart Hall (1990, 1992, 1996) on identity as difference seems to address such questions. Hall (1990) argues that there are two ways of thinking about 'cultural identity' drawing upon the essentialist and anti-essentialist distinction. Focusing on the Caribbean context, he describes the first way in which identity was understood, where 'Africa' was viewed as the mother of dispersal diasporas imposing an imaginary coherence on the experience of all Caribbean people and promoting one shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self'. Hall points out that such a conception of cultural identity played a critical role in all the post-colonial struggles. However, he argues that although these people were bound together with the common experience of slavery and then diaspora, they brought with them diverse cultural and religious practices. So, he proposes a second way to view cultural identity, where it is seen not only as points of similarity but also as critical points of deep and significant difference¹⁹ arguing that in the Caribbean experience "difference ... persists – in and alongside continuity" (Hall, 1990, p.227).

Although he asserts that this second way of viewing cultural identity is more important and also more difficult to achieve, he does not reject the first positioning, arguing that cultural identity as an essence, connected to the past needs to be taken into consideration and combined with the more complex notion of identity as difference. In particular he asserts that cultural identity needs to be understood

“ ‘framed’ but two axes or vectors, simultaneously operative: the vector of similarity and continuity; and the vector of difference and rupture. ... The one gives us some grounding in, some continuity with, the past. The second reminds us that what we share is precisely the experience of a profound discontinuity: the peoples dragged into slavery...” (p.226-227)

¹⁹ Hall argues that this 'difference' is not only an internal classificatory system (i.e. distinguishing the different people of Caribbeans) but also an external one (i.e. distinguishing the colonisers from the colonised). He asserts that the difference becomes an essential force in understanding the self and the impact of all these internal and external classifications.

3.1.2 Multiplicity and contextuality

An additional dimension of ethnic identity is 'multiplicity', in other words that an individual can have more than one ethnic identity, or that ethnic identity is not the only form of categorisation a person might have (Hall, 1992; Short & Carrington, 1999; Kvernmo & Heyefdahl, 1996; Ullah, 1983). According to Tabouret-Keller (1997) it is better to speak about multiple and sometimes conflicting identities interacting in every person. "Identity is rather a network of identities, reflecting the many commitments, allegiances, loyalties, passions, and hatreds everyone tries to handle in ever and varying compromise strategies" (Tabouret-Keller, 1997, p.321). Similarly, Stanfield (1993) refers to the 'fallacy of monolithic identity' focusing in particular on the case of coloured people²⁰ and arguing that there is often the assumption that people of colour have no differential identities. "The possibility of a broad range of identities within populations of people of colour that are healthy and well integrated is the antithesis of what dominant racial populations presume about people of colour" (p.21).

A diverse number of studies documented the notion of multiplicity in ethnic identity using different terminology. Esperitu (1994) found that second-generation Filipinos in the States had multiple and situational ethnic identities. She argued that ethnicity is a multi-linear and varying process and she rejected the conceptualisation of identity as bipolar and linear. Similarly Short and Carrington (1999) referred to the notion of 'hyphenation' in identities and provided the examples of the United States where many people combined their Americaness with their ethnic background, adopting hyphenated identities as 'Irish-American', 'African-American' and so forth. In the same way Kvernmo and Heyefdahl (1996) used the concept 'ethnic androgyn' (Hall, 1992) to describe the way Sami adolescents in Norway identified strongly with more than one heritage.

This multiplicity of identities is usually context and situation bounded. Kvernmo and Heyerdahl (1996) examined in more detailed the contextuality of ethnic identity among Samis in Norway and revealed that ethnic self-labelling was flexible and

²⁰ Nevertheless Stanfield also refers to the danger of viewing 'white' identity as a monolithic phenomenon as well, identifying that there is a tendency in race and ethnicity studies to view 'white' identity in a monolithic fashion.

varied with the context. In the same way Bindorffer's (1997) research among Hungarian Germans indicated how individuals could feel both Swabian (Germans) and Hungarians at the same time, arguing that the identity role selected was dependent on the situation or social contexts. As he argued, "representation of one or the other identity was situational and at particular times and places different identities became primary and predominant" (Bindorffer, 1997, p.410).

3.1.3 Change and fluidity

Ethnic identities are phenomena subjected to change and alteration depending on the changes in social, political, economical and even personal situations (Woolard, 1997; Hall, 1990). Identity crisis and identity change are concepts of societies that have been transformed by globalisation and increasing "transnationalization of economic and cultural life" (Woolard, 1997, p.16). This conflict between traditional old structures of national states and newly emerged globalised values is described as 'dislocation' by Laclau (1990). According to Laclau modern societies have no clear core or centre which produces fixed identities, but rather a plurality of centres that dislocate traditional and fixed meanings such as class or ethnicity. Laclau sees this as having positive implications because dislocation offers many, different places from which new identities can emerge (Laclau, 1990, p.40).

For instance Esperitu (1994) documented that the ethnic identity of her second generation Filipinos changed in both its importance and its context over time. In the same way Hall (1990) showed how the Caribbean identities were in a constant process of construction and Rampton (1999, 1995) indicated how the identities of third generation Asian and Afro-Caribbean adolescents living in Britain were redefined and reshaped in the multicultural inner city. According to Hall (1990) identity is a 'production' that is never complete, always in process:

"we cannot speak for very long, with an exactness, about 'one experience, one identity', without acknowledging its other side - the ruptures and discontinuities ... cultural identity is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture." (p. 225)

3.1.4 Hybridity

An outcome of this constant change and fluidity is the creation of new forms of identities resulting from the merging or interaction of two or more ethnic identities, defined in the literature as the notion of 'hybridity' (Hall, 1992; Modood, 1999²¹). Hybridity suggests how new forms of ethnicities and identities can emerge from the amalgamation or contact of two or more different cultures. The Filipino Americans in Esperitu's research (1994) emphasised the hybridity in their identity arguing that they felt both American and Filipino and not each one separately (while multiplicity in their identity indicated that they would adopt, depending on the situation, either the one or the other identity).

Similarly, Hall (1990) describes the emergence of new forms of identities in the Caribbean composed from different elements of the past and the present, which he names as '*presence*'. He identifies three different kinds of '*presence*' in the Caribbean hybrid identities: the African, European and American. The first one includes the past experience of slavery as well as the concept of 'mother' Africa, in other words it is the link with the past. However, it also signifies the notion of 'new' Africa of the New World where the new Caribbean identities were built:

"It is the presence/absence of Africa ... Everyone in the Caribbean ... must look *Presence Africaine* in the face, speak its name. But whether it is, in the sense, an origin of our identities, unchanged by four hundred years ... is more open to doubt. The original Africa is no longer there. It too has been transformed" (p.231).

In contrast, the European '*presence*' revolves around the concept of power, of the dominant colonisers. The European presence is about exclusion and imposition and positions the black subject "within its dominant regimes of representation" (p.233). It is exactly due to this, Hall argues, that Caribbean people tend to locate power as wholly externally to them, fixing the face of the 'other' (i.e. colonisers) with hostility, aggression but also with the ambivalence of its desire. Pointing out the conflict of this presence as a profound splitting and dialogue of power and resistance, he points out,

²¹ Modood (1999) criticises the adoption of the term 'hybridity', arguing that it is a less satisfactory term since it suggests that hybrids are something less than the 'species' from which they derived, but he adopts the term since it had gained currency in the literature. In this study the term is widely used, acknowledging that very often academic or research terminology is used metaphorically, indicating something else than the initial meanings of the 'original' term.

"How can we stage this dialogue so that, finally, we can place it, without terror or violence, rather than being forever placed by it? Can we ever recognise its irreversible influence, whilst resisting its imperialising eye?" (p. 233?)

Finally, the third '*presence*' focuses mostly on the experience of diaspora in a territory where many cultural tributaries met (i.e. North America). According to Hall, the 'New World' presence is itself the beginning of diaspora, of diversity and hybridity. Overall, Hall's exploration of Caribbean identities points out that identity is not seen as dual, triple and so forth where distinct identities co-exist. Rather it is a synthesis of a variety of ethnic identities that construct something different, complex and multileveled.

3.2 Components of ethnic identity.

Apart from exploring the different features of ethnic identity, in connection to the social context, another approach (mainly from the area of social psychology) is to track down the process of identity formation and describe its different components (Tajfel, 1981a,b). Tajfel (1981a) stresses two major axes of identity, awareness (individuals' need to be aware that they belong to an ethnic group), and emotions (their need to attach certain emotions and values in that membership). In particular he identifies three basic components of ethnic identity: a cognitive component i.e. the knowledge that one belongs to a group; an evaluative one i.e. a negative or positive connotation of group's membership; and an emotional component i.e. emotions that may accompany the first two components (p.229). In addition, social psychologists such as Ocampo et al (1997) and About (1984) identify the following discrete parts of ethnic identity: self-identification, ethnic constancy (knowledge that one's group membership is permanent and unchanging), ethnic knowledge and ethnic preferences and attitudes.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) go beyond these definitions asserting that identity is not only about perceptions and values but also about behaviour. In particular they argue that the word 'identify' has two meanings. The first meaning has to do with individual's idiosyncratic behaviour and the second with individual's attitudes towards groups. Identity therefore has to do both with what we do, the behaviour we have, and with what we say, what we express, the attitudes and values

we hold in relation to our group and the others. Similarly, Woolard (1997) refers to the duality of identity as behaviour and attitudes, using the terms 'symbolic' and 'social' to refer to the two dimensions of identity:

"The construction of identity is both symbolic and social ... the social and symbolic refer to two different processes but each is necessary for the marking and maintaining of identities. Symbolic marking is how we make sense of social relations and practices; for example who is excluded and who is included. Social differentiation is how these classifications of difference are 'lived out' in social relations (p.12)

Furthermore social psychologists such as Phinney and Rotheram (1987) include the component of behaviour in their definition of ethnic identity. In particular, they identify four components: ethnic awareness (i.e. the knowledge people have about their adopted ethnic identity as well as others), ethnic self-identification (i.e. the ability to ascribe a group label to oneself), ethnic attitudes (i.e. the ethnic values and attitudes individuals might hold) and ethnic behaviour (i.e. a series of actions and deeds that are linked to the first three components of ethnic identity).

3.3 Ethnic identity research among children and adolescents

Since ethnic identity is acknowledged as a concept that evolves along with socialisation, exploration of the first stages in which ethnic identity develops (i.e. in childhood) is considered very important. Research among children is particularly popular (Andereck, 1992; Carrington & Short, 1989; Tajfel, 1981b) since the process of identity formation can be detected and examined while it is actually taking place. According to Short and Carrington (1999) research among children's identity is so important that "if we are to tackle effectively conceptions of national identity...we must first discover how children think about their national identity and how their thinking develops over time" (p.177). Similarly, scholars from sociolinguistics and cultural studies highlight the importance of researching ethnic identity among youth (Rampton, 1999; Hewitt, 1986; Hall, 1992). According to Rampton (1999) while most of the minority studies of youth in the sixties and seventies emphasised the conflict generated by the presence of two or more cultures in their lives, this view is currently seen as "unduly essentialist" (p.357). Rampton argues that because of the changes the concepts of nation and identity have undergone (outlined in the previous section) and the multiculturalism and multilingualism of so many places in the world, the concept

of ethnicity, especially among young people is destabilised and denaturalised. It becomes extremely important therefore to research ethnic identity among adolescents, especially in multicultural settings, since we can get a full and realistic picture of what is happening to contemporary identities in the world today. As Rampton argues, "multiracial youth culture ... seems to be one of the best places to tune into the most crucial processes in late modernity" (p.357).

The vast majority of the studies indicate that from a very early stage children become aware of their racial, ethnic or national identity (defined appropriately depending on the context). A number of studies have documented that children entering school at kindergarten age have preconceived ethnic and racial attitudes (About, 1984; Tajfel, 1981b; Vaughan, 1964). Furthermore, Goodman (1964, in Andereck, 1992) identified three stages of ethnic socialisation. The first stage is 'ethnic awareness' where children start to become aware of the concepts of race and ethnicity from the ages of three and four. The second stage is 'ethnic orientation' where children begin to show preference for particular ethnic groupings (usually their own) from the age of four to eight. The third stage is 'attitude crystallisation' where children attach emotions and attitudes towards ethnic groupings, between the ages of eight to ten. Andereck (1992) argues that in children ethnic or racial awareness precedes attitudes and preference for one's own or another group. This was also documented in Tajfel's research (1981b) across different countries, revealing that by the age of six to seven children showed preference for 'own' nationals. Overall all the studies suggest that by the age of ten children already have clear ethnic awareness and self-identification, but also well developed racial and ethnic attitudes (Andereck, 1992).

Nevertheless it has also been documented that the specific socio-political and family context plays an important role in the way different components of identity are developed among children. For instance Tajfel (1981b) found that although all the children throughout different countries showed a preference for their own nationals, children from Leuven in Belgium appeared confused. According to him this was due to the complexity of the specific political location: "the lack of a simple unique national label for the Flemish children combined with high salience in the country of the bi-national issue and of the Flemish awareness ... interferes" (p.196). In the same way studies among black children indicate that they develop racial and ethnic

consciousness much earlier than white children since the issue of race is much more central in their lives and experiences than their white counterparts (in Carrington & Short, 1989). Regarding this Anderdeck (1992) argues, "the extent of ethnic awareness and attitudes is dependent upon the group in which the child belongs. For example minority children tend to develop race awareness earlier" (p.15).

An additional revealing dimension of children's ethnic identity research is the phenomenon of 'group devaluation' (Tajfel, 1981b; Hutnik, 1991; Carrington & Short, 1989). In Tajfel's research, the Scottish children did not show preference among their own nationals, and according to Tajfel this was due to the concept of in-group devaluation shown in many studies of minority or underprivileged groups. In particular he argues that, "children from underprivileged groups tend to show much less preference for their own group than is 'normally' the case, and sometimes they show a direct preference for the dominant group" (p.198). He acknowledges that although it can hardly be argued that the Scots are a minority, the social context provides some subtle cues for the 'superiority' of English over the Scottish national identification, and the children displayed an unexpectedly high sensitivity to this kind of social influence (p.198). This notion of devaluation of ingroup has also been documented in racial studies indicating how black or minority children (Hutnik, 1991) showed preference for the dominant groups over their own, in many cases arguing that they belonged to the white or dominant social group (in Carrington & Short, 1989). However, studies have disclosed that usually children tend to opt for group devaluation at a relatively younger ages (usually around 6-7) and before the age of ten (Tajfel, 1981b). Studies by Vaughan (1978) in New Zealand showed that although Maori children showed a preference for the outgroup, by the time they completed primary school they presented a more neutral position that evolved towards preference to their own group.

Overall, all the studies on children's ethnic identity, either from social psychology, sociology or education, focusing either on ethnic attitudes or identification, point to the importance the social context has on children, maintaining that children are quite sensitive to social issues. In particular Carrington and Short (1989) point out,

"All this evidence points to the high sensitivity of children to the context of social influences in which they live - even when these influences are at a cross-

purposes with the powerful forces working towards an identification with the child's own racial or ethnic group. The enduring basis for future prejudice and conflicts is laid most crucially in childhood" (p.136)

3.4 Summary

So far an in depth account of ethnic identity and ethnicity has been outlined, examining different dimensions of these phenomena. I considered it essential for a better understanding of ethnic identity, to explore the notion of ethnicity, as a macro group realisation. It has been accepted that ethnicity is mainly a subjective concept, depending on beliefs and convictions, although other characteristics such as ancestry, religion or language, can constitute important features. Furthermore, it was noted that in order to understand the phenomenon of ethnicity better, a combination of primordial and instrumentalist approaches is necessary, along with placing special importance on the socio-political context.

Additionally, the concept of ethnic identity was explored from different perspectives. Firstly its different social characteristics were outlined, adopting mostly an anti-essentialist approach in which ethnic identity is seen both as a similarity and difference, multiple, contextual, changeable and hybrid. Then the different components of ethnic identity were outlined, combining theories from sociology and social psychology. It was pointed out that ethnic identity is composed mainly of awareness, self-identification, attitudes and behaviour. Although these described components may, in different ways, be interpreted as essentialist (e.g. defining identity into discrete parts that can be applicable to all human beings), I argue that because of the complexity of ethnic identity a combination of both approaches (sociology and social psychology) can offer a multi-perspective understanding of the concept. In addition, the different components of identity can be useful as a methodological incentive, and combined with more de-constructed notions of ethnic identity can provide an in-depth exploration of the concept.

4 The connection to language

Language²² is usually defined as a communicative system (Edwards, 1985; Salzmänn, 1998) as well as a carrier of social and cultural values (Schiffman, 1996; Edwards, 1985; Salzmänn, 1998; Calvet, 1998). Related to this, language is listed, among other features (such as ancestry, race, territory, religion), as one of the main components of ethnic identity (Smith, 1991; Wardhaugh, 1992; Edwards, 1994; Williams, 1994; Fishman, 1997).

Nevertheless, the interrelation between language and identity is considered problematic and not always easy to identify. One reason for this is the breadth and complexity of both terms. As Joshua Fishman (1972) has characteristically admitted at one stage, "the linguists among us experienced considerable embarrassment in defining language while the sociologists among us experienced equally great difficulty in defining ethnicity" (p.34). Furthermore, the acknowledgement that language is a carrier of values does not provide an explicit framework for understanding its particular interrelation to ethnic identity. As Edwards (1985) argues, "questions of language and identity are extremely complex. The essence of the terms themselves is open to discussion and, consequently consideration of their relationship is fraught with difficulties" (p.1). Statements like, "there is yet no grand theory for the study of language, ethnicity and intergroup relations" (Johnson et al, 1983, in Edwards 1985), or "a theory of language and ethnic-group relations is an important mammoth task" (Khan, 1982, in Edwards 1985) reveal the complex interrelation between the concepts.

Despite these difficulties there is a broad range of studies that attempt to explore this link from different disciplines. However, as Edwards argues (1985) it has been exactly these isolated discussions from different perspectives that have been a part of the difficulty in understanding the interconnection. Considering the breadth of the topic, its study by different disciplines should be regarded as essential in

²² The term 'language' includes concepts such as dialects, standards, idioms, spoken and written forms, idiolects argos , etc. .In the present study the term 'linguistic variety' (Hudson, 1980) is mostly used to describe those different forms in which the general term language is realised. Hudson (1980) defines a 'linguistic variety' as "a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution" (p.24). He suggests that it is better to use the general term 'variety' than 'language, dialect or register' arguing that a variety can be defined according to its point of reference and it can be either bigger or smaller than a language or a

understanding all its aspects; nevertheless a synthesis of all these approaches and interpretations has to be accomplished in order to have a holistic picture of this topic. Therefore, in the following sections an effort is made to examine the interrelation between language and ethnic identity from different perspectives using theoretical interpretations from a variety of disciplines. In particular, I examine the 'relationship' of the two from a macro and a micro perspective, taking into consideration theoretical foundations that perceive language and ethnicity as having both public and private manifestation (Edwards, 1985). In other words, a line is drawn between public revelation of the link (i.e. from a national, institutional and policy perspective) and individual or personal revelation. Ethnic identity and language can be realised on both levels and it is considered fundamental to examine both perspectives in order to claim any possible interrelations between the two.

4.1 Language and the 'nation': the macro perspective

The 'link' of language to ethnic identity from a macro perspective has been mostly explored by scholars in the field of sociology, political theory and sociology of language (Fragkoudaki, 2001; Calvet, 1998; Fishman, 1997; Rahman, 1996; Schiffman, 1996; Crowley, 1989; Woolard, 1989; Coulmas, 1988). As Edwards (1985) argues language has been very important in ethnic and nationalist sentiments because of its powerful and visible symbolism. The examples throughout world history where language has been associated with the concept of nation are numerous. This symbolic connection of 'one's language to one's nation' has been referred to as 'linguistic nationalism' (Williams, 1994) or 'linguistic nationism' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985). Slogans like "A people without a language of its own is only half a nation", or "A people without its language is a people without its soul" (in Edwards, 1994), reveal the strong importance placed on language for the survival of ethnic or national units. This strong connection of language as the 'soul' of the nation flourished in nineteenth century European discourse (especially in Germany). The theories of Fichte and Herder (in Williams, 1994) promoted language as the prime cultural marker and as a sufficient motivation for people to claim political self-determination.

dialect respectively. Edwards (1985) also refers to the term 'language varieties' to describe the 'standard' and 'dialect' and their differences and similarities.

Language is considered important in the concept of the nation or of an ethnic group, and therefore becomes a central issue in national or ethnic rhetoric, for mainly two reasons. First, because it is a visible marker for group membership, an "outward sign of group's identity" (Kedourie, 1993). According to Giles and Johnson (1981) "most ethnic groups ... have a distinct language or dialect and these ethnic characteristics can be a necessary attribute for membership of the group" (Giles and Johnson, 1981, p.202). They provide the examples of Americans and Canadians, or Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, to point out how linguistic markers become identical with ethnic markers.

Second, language becomes so important for national or ethnic consciousness because it serves as a link with the past and becomes a part of the history of an ethnic group (in Fasold, 1984). It is therefore seen as an aspect of ancestry (Giles and Johnson, 1981) and plays a significant role in the memory of a nation (Williams, 1994). Williams (1994) argues that the identity of a nation is bound up with individual and collective memory and it is inevitable that language is the basic means for the transmission of this memory and therefore for the transmission of the group's identity.

Because of this strong connection of language to ethnicity and ethnic group membership, language has been a powerful tool in the hands of 'nationalists' or ethnic groups and therefore a central focus of political and national rivalries (Williams, 1994; Calvet, 1998; Crowley, 1989; Wardhaugh, 1992). As Giles and Coupland (1991) point out, "no one can doubt the prominence of language issues in cultural conflict world-wide. Throughout history there have been countless instances where efforts at linguistic and political change have coincided" (p.94). Examples of language or ethnic revival movements from Pakistan (Rahman, 1996), France (Calvet, 1998; Schiffman, 1996), Greece (Fragkoudaki, 2001, 1997), Spain (Woolard, 1989) and many other countries throughout the world indicate that language and ethnicity are "not conceptually distinct" (Giles and Coupland, 1991, p.125) exactly because language becomes central and highly politicised in every ethnic or national movement. The words of the famous Greek linguistic Psyharis, who advanced a language struggle (i.e. the recognition of 'demotiki') to a major national and political struggle, encapsulate this: "Language and nation is the same. To fight for your country or for your national language, the struggle is one" (Psyharis, 1988, p.37).

4.1.1 Critics of the link between language and ethnicity

The link of language and ethnic identity, especially as promoted in national or ethnic rhetoric, is often criticised either as 'non-existent' or as 'fake'. Those who appear sceptical towards the interconnection mainly put forward two arguments. First, that there are many examples of groups throughout the world that give up their original language and adopt other linguistic forms but claim to retain their ethnic identity. Edwards (1985) argues that the original linguistic variety of a group connected with a particular ethnic identity might cease to be used for communicative purposes and may retain a symbolic role only. He also asserts that language in its communicative sense is an element of identity that is very susceptible to change, pointing out that the erosion of an original language does not inevitably mean the erosion of identity itself. For instance third generation Australian Greeks who do not use Greek in their everyday communication might still retain their Greek ethnic identity (cf. Tamis, 1990).

However, Edward's (1985) argument appears to assign uneven degrees of possible change to the concepts of language and ethnic identity. Ethnic identity, as it was seen earlier, is a very complex phenomenon, and groups claiming to retain their original ethnic identities does not necessarily mean that they have done so. Whereas the presence or absence of language from the linguistic repertoire of a group can be an easily identifiable marker, ethnic identities are more difficult to elicit. It can be the case for example that the loss of an original language might indicate the formation of a new ethnic identity. For instance, perhaps the loss of Greek from the daily linguistic repertoire of the 'Greek Australians' may indicate that their 'Greek' identity is not the same as the one of, for example, their parents or their grandparents, and that it has moved closer to the 'Australian' part, creating new hybrid identities, that are also marked by the use or not of specific linguistic forms. The main argument put forward here is that identities and linguistic varieties need to be explored both separately and evenly in order to decide whether identities survive the loss of original languages, or whether they evolve as well.

The second argument questioning the link of language with ethnic identity originates from those who criticise ethnicity as a disguised quest for power especially in ethnic revival and ethnic movement (see section 2.1). As Williams (1994) sustains, "the

issue of language promotion should be viewed not only in terms of cultural reproduction, but also in terms of a struggle for political and economic control which can increase access resources and occupational mobility in a bicultural society” (p.228). For example the critiques of the language and identity link, would argue that the Bengali ethnolinguistic movement, which resulted in the partition of Pakistan and the formation of Bangladesh, was nothing else than a quest for more power for the Bengals (cf. Rahman, 1996). The Bengali linguistic movement promoted Bengali national identity instead of Muslim identity since the Bengals felt deprived compared to the Urdu speakers.

Nevertheless, the existence of ethnic groups, especially minority groups, that support the retention of their linguistic and ethnic markers even if that is not materially advanced for them contradicts the idea that the quest for ethnolinguistic vitality can be for power reasons only. Edwards (1985) describes this as, "uneconomical" (p.93) and recognises that groups may hold on to their ethnolinguistic identity even if that does not provide them with some kind of social mobility.

Overall, whether identity and language movements derive from a genuine quest for recognition of groups' ethnolinguistic identity, or they are manipulable by-products of a drive for social mobility, the link of language and ethnic identity, be it fake or disguised is still there. As Fishman (1997) argues those who view language and ethnicity as initial essences and those who see them as vehicles for gaining more power, agree that language and ethnicity are generally there together.

4.2 Language as marker of individuals' ethnic identity: the micro perspective

Whereas on a macro level the link of language and ethnic identity is mostly realised on a policy or rhetoric level, on a micro level, i.e. among individuals the link is mostly realised on a daily practice level, mainly through language use and expression of values and attitudes. Many studies have documented that language plays a significant role in individuals' identity and on the way individuals relate to the group, either focusing on social class (Labov, 1972; Cheshire, 1982, Gumperz, 1982; Trudgill, 1983; Milroy, 1991), gender (Eckert, 1997) or ethnicity (Hewitt, 1986; Giles et al, 1977b; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Rampton, 1995). According to Giles and

Johnson (1981) language becomes so important in social categorisation because individuals need to organise their world cognitively, and language has the overt physical presence to underlie a range of social categories. Similarly, Le Page's and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) theory suggests that individual's speech acts are acts of projection and identity. Specifically they argue,

"As the individual speaks he is seen as always using language with reference to the inner models of the universe he has constructed for himself; he projects in words images of that universe (or, of those universes) on to the social screen, and these images may be more or less sharply focussed, or more or less diffuse" (p.115)

Nevertheless, while on a public or national level the link is usually easier to identify since often one linguistic variety is associated with a univocal identity (see section 5.1), when it comes to individuals, things become more complicated. On the first hand, it is not always easy to separate individual's ethnic identity from their other forms of identity such as gender, social class and so forth; something that makes the identification of the link even more complicated. On the second hand, the link itself may take different forms and be realised on various levels varying from one society to another, as well as from one individual to another. As Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) argue the link between language and ethnic identity on an individual level is multi-perspective, arguing that there is

" a complex and shifting set of relationships ... between language, as it is used but also as it is defined, and forms of social organisation such as kinship systems, tribal systems, caste systems ... (p.243)".

They stress the emergence of multidimensional ethnic identities in which groups and linguistic varieties can have multiple interrelations. In the following sections I present some examples of the different forms the link between language and identity on an individual level can take, focusing mainly on ethnic identity but also drawing examples from other forms of identity to show the complexity of this link. In particular I first examine how non-standard varieties function as a marker of individuals' social identities, then I outline the way language functions as a symbol of resistance for social and ethnic identities. Finally I describe the way language accommodation can indicate individuals' positioning regarding their preferred ethnic identities.

4.2.1 Non-standard varieties and identity

The link of different linguistic varieties with individuals' social identities has been heavily researched, possibly because of the existence of a considerable variation of social dialects. The work of Labov (1972) on Black English dismissed the notion of linguistic homogeneity among English, by indicating that sociolinguistic variation is correlated with a wide range of sociological characteristics of speakers. In particular most of Labov's work has indicated that the use of non-standard features is controlled by the norms of a vernacular subculture, linking the way people spoke with the forms of identity they adopted. Similarly, Cheshire (1982) indicated that the extent to which adolescents speakers in Reading used non-standard features correlated with the extent to which they adhere to the norms of the vernacular culture. Furthermore, Milroy and Milroy (1980) introduced the concept of 'social network' to describe the way non-standard forms of English function as an important marker of different social groups' density and vitality. Overall, what the studies on social class and language have indicated is that different non-standard linguistic varieties that are often stigmatised can function as powerful symbols of group identity for individuals. In fact it is claimed that it is exactly this strong association of non-standard forms of speech with individuals' social identities that ensures the maintenance of both language and identities (Milroy and Milroy, 1991), a point which is further explored in the following section.

However, the association of non-standard speech to a specific class culture is not bipolar but much more complex, since other forms of identity, such as gender²³, seem to interact adding to the multiplicity of the link (Milroy and Milroy, 1978; Eckert, 1997). For example women tend to use linguistic variants differently to men, converging more towards standard and therefore more prestigious variants, while men use non-standard forms in a much higher frequency (Milroy and Milroy, 1978). Nevertheless this tendency has been mostly identified in western societies. Studies from Arab countries and the Caribbean context report the opposite. Abb-el-Jawad (1987) found that it was men that tended to use more standardised forms of Arabic, and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) showed that among the Caribbean students

²³ Eckert (1997) however argues that compared to social class the study of gender has suffered in its relationship to language. She criticises the consideration of gender as a simple binary opposition and she argues that it is far more complex and multi-dimensional than the simple biological concept of sex.

they researched, boys used more standard linguistic varieties (e.g. English) while girls tended to use more Creole and mixed forms of language. It can be argued that the reasons for the different findings in the gender factor in language use are the different roles men and women may have in these societies, although a comparative study is needed to document this.

Overall, it becomes obvious that the association between non-standard varieties and identity is multi-layered: the non-standard varieties can be a marker of social class or culture but the way these varieties are used also depends on other classifications of identity such as gender or specific socio-political context.

4.2.2 Language as a symbol of resistance and 'new identities'

Research on ethnic identity, especially in multilingual contexts (Rampton, 1995, 1999; Fishman, 1999; Hewitt, 1986; Heller, 1982), has indicated that the use of different linguistic varieties, or even the code-switching from one variety to the other, is connected to the ethnic positioning individuals want to take. Extending that, research among youth has indicated that different linguistic forms can be used as a form of resistance to dominant discourse, and as expression of newly emerged, often socially subordinate ethnic identities.

The use of linguistic forms as reactions to a dominant social reality, and therefore as an expression of identity was argued by Halliday (1978), introducing the term 'anti-language'. 'Anti-language', represents a linguistic variety that is used by a subordinate group to exclude others (through its unintelligibility) and in that way to stress its difference from the dominant group, and therefore can function as a marker of resistance²⁴. In particular,

"In an anti-language, language exists primarily to create group identity and to assert group difference from a dominant group... one result is deliberate difficulty, often unintelligibility... anti-language simultaneously excludes outsiders, and expresses the ideology of the anti-group." (Halliday, 1978, p.53)

²⁴ Hodge and Kress (1997) however, argue that an anti-language should not be associated only with an oppositional and marginalised group as opposed to the "high" culture and language that normally signify the values of a dominant group. Instead they asserts that "high" languages associated with the discourses of power can have the typical qualities of an anti-language, since through different ways they make their meanings inaccessible (i.e. high art) and ensure that high culture forms are not available to the ordinary person.

In addition, Hewitt (1989) in his research on London Jamaican among urban youth, argued that the issue of the relationship between language and ethnic identity is not simple, since Creole use functioned more as a political resource rather than a cultural given. He went on to argue that what has been significant in the use of Creole was not so much its sustained use, but rather the *movement* into Creole depending on the situation. Examples from conversations among adolescents revealed that they moved to Creole either when there was a disagreement or when they referred to any aspect of black youth culture (e.g. music). Hewitt noted that these kind of switches were not articulated around internal peer social relations only, but were extended to those outside the peer group. As he described,

"These strategic moves are also a feature of switches where conflicts with those in authority occur ... conflicts for example with the police, with teachers, youth workers ... and often form part of interactions where power is contested ... In the majority of ... exchanges between blacks and whites in institutional settings it is the whites who hold the dominant positions. It is not surprising that ... switches to Creole occur as an immediate form of resistance to the mundane face of racial discrimination " (Hewitt, 1989, p.137).

According to him the Creole used by older generations in Britain (i.e. the parents or the grandparents of these adolescents) constituted a community language in which ethnicity was considered as the quality of a reproduced cultural life. On the other hand the Creole used by these adolescents was manipulated, both within and across their peer group to make political and anti-racist statements. As Hewitt argues, for these adolescents ethnicity was more used than lived, and therefore its associated linguistic forms constituted an 'anti-language', rather than a community language.

Similarly, Rampton (1995) in his research among adolescents in multilingual friendship groups in urban Britain, introduced the notion of 'language crossing' to show the way they used a mixture of Creole, Punjabi and Asian English in their peer interaction. According to Rampton (1999), "language crossing of this kind is a practice ... commonly interpreted as an emblem of the emergence of new solidarities counterpoised to dominant patterns of race division" (p.356). Rampton noted that young people did not take for granted exclusive and hierarchic discourses of the nation, and this has resulted in the denaturalisation and destabilisation of ethnicity, in

its traditional sense. He referred to the notion of liminality²⁵, to describe types of ethnic identity or ethnicity that are thought to be in transitional stages. According to Rampton, language crossing initiated by these youngsters, and the mixture of varieties such as Creole, Asian English and Punjabi with English constituted a main feature of these new ethnicities

The use of the linguistic forms mentioned above as forms of resistance, often results in an increase in covert, and sometimes-overt (among youth) prestige of these, usually stigmatised and underestimated, varieties. As Milroy (1980) has noted,

"instead of positing a sociolinguistic continuum with a local vernacular at the bottom and a prestige dialect at the top ... we may view the vernacular as a positive force; it may be in direct conflict with standardised norms, utilised as a symbol by speakers to carry powerful social meanings and so resistant to external pressures" (in Le Page, p.245).

Related to the above, Hewitt (1986) argues that in that sense many black adolescents have made their own 'provision' for improving their prestige and that of their dialect within the contexts that are most meaningful for them and in relation to the power structures in which they see themselves embedded. In the same way, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) assert,

"a group solidarity which owes its impulse to the stigmatisation of possessors of certain physical features by the host society, develops an argot as a symbol of that solidarity; the group gains prestige among adolescents generally, the prestige is transferred to the argot itself, which is then adopted by those who do not possess the stigmatised physical features but nevertheless wish in some way to identify with the group" (p.246)

4.2.3 Adapting language use as a marker of identity

Another way in which language is connected to identity is the degree in which individuals adapt their speech to reduce or increase the dissimilarities with their interlocutors, making in that way a positioning regarding their ethnic, or other forms of identity. This phenomenon has been given various labels²⁶, but the most widely

²⁵ This notion was firstly used by Turner (1974, in Rampton, 1999) in anthropological studies, to describe that transitional stage between childhood and full incorporation to the society where "the ritual subjects pass through a period and area of ambiguity, a sort of social limbo which has few ... of the attributes of either the preceding or subsequent social statuses or cultural states ... In liminality ... social relations may be discontinued, former rights and obligations are suspended, the social order may seem to have been turned upside down" (Turner, 1974 in Rampton, 1999, p.358).

²⁶ Calvet (1998) uses the terms 'connote' and 'denote' to show that the way individuals use language reveals their desire or not to belong to an ethnic or other social group. Furthermore, Hudson (1996)

known is the 'accommodation theory' (Giles et al 1977a,b). According to this theory social approval or disapproval is expressed to the extent people shift their speech style towards or away from their interlocutors' speech style. As they argue, "non-converging speech is an important medium often used by ethnic groups as a symbolic tactic for maintaining their identity" (p.323). Similarly, the notion of 'psycholinguistic distinctiveness'²⁷ (Giles and Johnson, 1981) describes the phenomenon where individuals use ethnic speech markers as a strategy for differentiation.

In addition, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) assert that individuals create patterns on their linguistic behaviour in order to resemble those groups in the society with which they wish to be identified, or to be unlike from those they want to be distinguished. As they assert, depending on the feedback, individuals' behaviour in the specific context may become either more regular and focussed, or more variable and diffused. Thus, they argue, "we may speak of focussed and of diffuse, of non-focussed, linguistic systems, both in individuals and in groups, with each individual's knowledge of the systems of his groups" (p.182).

Nevertheless both Giles and Johnson (1981) and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) recognise that there are constraints in the above theory since individuals may not always be able to focus or diffuse their speech. In particular, Giles and Johnson (1981) argue that the stronger the salience of ethnic identification²⁸, the more possible it will be for the individuals to use their own linguistic variety, than to converge into their interlocutor's speech. Additionally, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1981) note that there are constraints upon the individuals' ability to focus or diffuse their speech. In

indicates that variation in individual speaker's language depends on the forces of individualism and conformity. In other words to what extent do individuals wish to stress their linguistic differences or their similarities amongst them.

²⁷ Based on the theory of social identity (Tajfel, 1981; Turner and Giles, 1981)

²⁸ Overall, they list the following factors that might increase individuals' ethnic identifications and the possibility to use their own linguistic variety: It is more possible for groups to use their own linguistic variety when they:

1. strongly identify with their ethnic group and consider language an important dimension of their identity
2. make insecure interethnic comparison
3. perceive their ingroup to have high ethnolinguistic vitality
4. perceive their ingroup boundaries to be hard and closed
5. identify strongly with few other social categories
6. perceive little overlap with outgroup persons
7. consider their social identities deriving from other social category are inadequate

particular, they formed a statement / hypothesis where individuals can identify with groups if they desire, taking into consideration four constraints (riders). Specifically, they argue

"Our ability to get into focus with those with whom we wish to identify ... is constrained ... We can only behave according to the behavioural patterns of groups we find it desirable to identify with to the extent that:

- (i) we can identify the groups
- (ii) we have both adequate access to the groups and ability to analyse their behavioural patterns
- (iii) the motivation to join the groups is sufficiently powerful, and is either reinforced or reversed by feedback from the groups
- (iv) we have the ability to modify our behaviour

(p.182)

The first rider deals with the ability of individuals to recognise and identify the groups within a social context. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller refer to the different identities found in Belize and they argue that more traditional and older identities (e.g. Spanish, Maya) were more clear cut, while the term 'Belizean' was a comparatively recent one and to some extent a vague one (since Belize only became an independent state recently). They point out two things regarding this. First, that the vaguest the group was the more frequently it invoked bad attributes and the more difficult it was to clothe it with precise linguistic characteristics (while older identities had their 'own' language). Secondly, that the crumble of different identities and the merging of the old with the new created concepts of 'mixed' identities, especially among younger people.

The second rider has to do with issues of access to groups. They argue that in the past, contact between different groups and regions was limited in the Caribbean, and therefore people also had limited access to certain linguistic forms (i.e. British Standard English). Education and increased contact due to transport and technology have changed this. Describing the situation in the Succotz village they comment, "the villagers of Succotz, most of whose inhabitants claimed a 'Mayan' identity and spoke Maya when we started out work, had by the time of our last visit become Spanish-speaking and were claiming 'Spanish' identity" (p.183). Therefore contact with

8. perceive their status within the ethnic group to be higher than their intragroup status (Giles and Johnson, 1981, p.240)

different groups and different linguistic forms can influence traditional identities that individuals carry.

The third rider concerns individuals' motivation to identify (positive) or not (negative) with the group. Motivation, according to them, has to do both with speaking as well as with listening and understanding, and as they argue it very often affects single linguistic units rather than a whole linguistic variety. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller consider this rider the most important of the constraints governing linguistic behaviour since it is the area in which the individual has the greatest appearance of 'choice'. Especially in multilingual communities individuals are faced with a number of linguistic choices and they adopt the rules (language included) of the group they perceive socially desirable and they wish to be identified with. However they argue that motivation can be mixed depending on a variety of reasons:

“Motivation is of course usually mixed. It is very common, for example, for the language of economic opportunity to be different from that of one's home; very often economic opportunity lies through passing examinations in the educational system, and this may mean becoming bilingual or bidialectal or even accepting that for educational purposes one's home language is 'wrong' and should be rejected.” (p.184)

Finally, the fourth rider involves the ability to change one's behaviour, to accommodate. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller interpreted this constraint in terms of age, arguing that children for example may have less difficulty in accommodating, in building new models for fresh data, since their existing models are comparatively limited anyway. Adults on the other hand might have more constraints in accessing a variety and possibly a group since they already retain their own variety. Nevertheless, the opposite can also take place where children may not yet be competent in a variety that for example is promoted in education, and through schooling this competence may increase.

4.3 A framework for understanding the link of language and ethnic identity

One of the main criticism (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Gal and Irvine, 1995; Cameron, 1997; Eckert, 1997) of studies that attempt to explore the link between language and identity is that they do not investigate the two concepts in depth and

evenly, resulting in a 'correlation' that does not reflect reality. Cameron (1997) for example uses the term 'correlation fallacy' to describe the way variational sociolinguists have correlated the linguistic with the social. In particular, she argues,

"the account which is usually given in the quantitative paradigm is that 'language reflects society'. Thus there exist social categories, divisions, attitudes and identities which are marked, encoded or expressed in language use. By correlating patterns of linguistic variation with these social or demographic features, we have given a sufficient account of them "(p57)

However she asserts that this account is problematic since the social (e.g. identity) is taken as given and for granted. Cameron disputes this positioning by pleading that it depends on a simplistic social theory and that concepts like 'norm' or 'identity' and divisions like class, ethnicity and gender are used as a 'bottom line' though they stand in need of explication themselves. Her underlying argument is that there is the problem of how to relate the social to the linguistic and that we need to define and understand the social (such as identity) before we attempt to correlate it with the linguistic.

Similarly Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) argue that 'languages' and 'groups' should not be taken for granted as starting points. As they point out, linguistic groups are not always isomorphous with either genetically conceived 'races', or culturally or socially conceived 'ethnic groups'. The relationship is a complex one:

"Neither 'race' nor 'ethnic group' nor 'language' turns out to be a clearly-definable external object. Rather each is a concept we form as individuals, and the extent to which, and the manner in which, we project our concepts onto those around us and establish networks of shared suppositions determines the nature of the groups in our society and their mode of operation. (p.247)"

In their research in the Caribbean context they try to "throw some light upon the ways in which such concepts as 'a language' and 'a group or community' come into being through the acts of identity which people make within themselves and with each other" (p.2). Their research focused both on the way individuals used language and the values they attached to each variety, as well as on the ways in which individuals perceive groups and clothe those perceptions with linguistic attributes. In the same way, Gal and Irvine (1995) criticise the existing approaches to language and identity arguing that they do not encourage the investigation of the social context of language use or of the connection between linguistic practices and social formations, with often the link between a language and a specific group being assumed.

In this chapter an effort was made to provide an explicit account of identity, in all its different realisations, and its connection to language. Ethnic identity was connected to language from a macro perspective, stressing its centrality to concepts such as nation and ethnic group. This realisation of the link proved to be highly political and a point of convergence for issues of power and ethnic survival. Furthermore, the micro perspective of the link was outlined, offering examples of the ways individuals experience the link in their daily lives through language use and ethnic attitudes. Studies were reviewed which have suggested that language can be a marker for subordinate groups' identity, it can be a symbol of resistance and it can also be a means in which social approval or disapproval is expressed.

From the overall exploration, can it then be argued that language is connected to ethnic identity? I would argue that what the review of theories has indicated is that there is a clear connection, which differs depending on the perspective from which the link is explored. Evidently on a macro policy-rhetoric level the two concepts can be connected in a clear way, which often takes the form of 'one variety-one identity' tradition, for establishing a sort of political (i.e. one nation, one state) or group coherence (either based on power or group survival motives). The consequences of seeing the link from this perspective, are the establishment of certain ideologies that can be very powerful and influential for the formation of specific policies as well as for the establishment of attitudes and value-systems on language and identity (see following section). From an individual perspective, it can be argued that there is a connection between language and ethnic identity, but it is much more complex than its public realisation. Individuals may hold a number of identities and linguistic varieties, connected to multiple and changeable ways (as the examples offered indicated). Therefore when exploring the link from this perspective we need to be aware of this multiplicity, as well as the importance of the specific context in the shaping of the link.

In the following section I examine the educational perspective and the different ways language and identity are promoted (or rejected) on an educational level, examining the possible consequences and implications that may arise when one variety and one identity are promoted.

5 The educational response

The link between language and ethnic identity, both on a macro and a micro level, is particularly significant in education. School is considered the main socialising agent and a transmitter of cultural, national and social values and attitudes (Lucas and Borders, 1994). It has already been indicated that there is no such thing as a univocal ethnolinguistic identity for all the members of a social organisation; in contrast most contemporary societies are faced with a variety of social and ethnic identities and with different linguistic varieties. Despite this, in most of the world, educational and linguistic policies promote only one linguistic variety (usually the Standard) and aim at a unifying ethnic or national identity (Tollefson, 1991; Crowley, 1989; Edwards, 1983; Milroy and Milroy, 1991; Lucas and Borders, 1994). This final section examines the grounds behind this discrepancy between the two levels (macro and micro), which results in the promotion of 'one language-one identity' tradition in educational policy-making, and explores the social and educational consequences these policies may have.

5.1 Promoting one variety only: the power of the 'standard'

Standardisation and prescription (Milroy and Milroy, 1991), i.e. the selection and promotion, by the state, of one variety that becomes the Standard²⁹, is a phenomenon seen in most of the countries of the world. In most European countries, in the States and in Latin America, as well as in the Balkans, Greece, Turkey and most of the former Soviet Union countries, the ideology of a strong Standard variety that is closely related to literary tradition is a well-accepted notion. None of these countries are monolingual; dialects, vernaculars, migrant languages and any kind of other linguistic varieties constitute the language mosaic of each country. Nevertheless, the Standard variety still precedes and in most of the cases is considered as the only

²⁹ 'Standard' is broadly used in the present study to include any formal or official language, as opposed not only to dialects / non-standard varieties but also to minority or migrant and generally all those varieties that are not formally promoted by the state. The 'Standard' is therefore used in its political and social meaning to indicate all those varieties that are supported by the main carriers of the state (Waurdhaugh, 1992), and therefore gain status and prestige. A dialect in contrast is defined as any variety that is not standardised. A dialect may differ from a Standard on linguistic level (Trudgill, 1975; Edwards, 1985), on an intelligibility level (Petyt, 1980), on the existence or not of a written code (Hudson, 1996; Chambers and Trudgill, 1980). Nevertheless it is argued that all these differentiations are problematic since first it is not always easy to distinguish a dialect from a standard because of their in between continuum (Petyt, 1980; Chambers and Trudgill, 1980). Additionally their main difference are social and political, having mostly to do with power (Haugen, 1997).

legitimate variety for the school and any kind of formal occasion. So, if multilingualism and multiculturalism exists in most countries, if the link of one's language to one's identity is recognised, then why is the promotion of one linguistic variety only, a persistent educational tradition? There are a number of arguments and interpretations attempting to explain this phenomenon, such as equity or practical (communication) reasons, power and hegemonic motives and national or ethnic grounds. These are discussed next.

One argument in favour of standardisation and prescription is 'equity'. According to this notion, all students regardless of their home variety should have the right of acquiring the language of the state and of social mobility and therefore have access in the domains of power. One example of this line of thinking has been the 'elimination approach' (in Trudgill, 1975), which targeted the elimination of the non-standard linguistic features from the repertoire of working class British students, in order to provide them with 'equal' opportunities compared to the standard speakers. However, Trudgill (1975) rejected this quest for 'equity', arguing that it is not easy for people to change their dialect, and that people may not want to change the way they speak since it constitutes a marker of their identity. Additionally there is debate in countries with increased immigration (e.g. Britain, Germany) whether the children from immigrant families should be taught their home language in formal education, and it is often suggested that the best way to ensure social mobility for these children is by the intensified teaching of the formal linguistic variety. Nevertheless, it is suggested that one does not exclude the other and that children can learn the formal variety and still retain the right to cultivate their home variety, which is closely interwoven with their identity. Many scholars deny the 'social mobility' or 'equity' arguments on the grounds that it is exactly the selection of one variety only and the banning of the rest that creates inequality in society and in the future opportunities of students (Tollefson, 1991; Milroy and Milroy, 1991).

Another argument in favour of the 'Standard only' promotion has been the communication 'gap' (Trudgill, 1983; Crowley, 1989). In other words it has been argued that people need to have a common language that will enable their in-between communication. However, as Trudgill (1983) has documented, in the case of the non-standard varieties in Britain, linguistic diversity among dialects does not usually cause

serious comprehension or communication problems. He went on to add that it is not usually the linguistic differences that cause the 'communication gap' but attitudes that affect the degree to which people want to understand each other or not. Additionally, data from multilingual contexts indicate that usually those speakers who do not hold the variety promoted by the state as their first language, become bilingual or multilingual, and the 'Standard' is widely learned and spoken both at school and at home. It can be argued therefore that the empirical evidence does not support the 'communication gap' argument but actually contradicts it.

Those who object to the promotion of the Standard only, argue that the standardisation process and the assimilating linguistic policies are nothing more than efforts of the dominant groups to ensure their hegemony over the subordinate groups (Foucault, 1970; Volosinov, 1973; Crowley, 1989; Tollefson, 1991; Phillipson, 1992; Calvet, 1998). Foucault (1970) describes language as a means for gaining access to the mechanisms of the state. Similarly, Volosinov (1973) argues that the multiaccentuality of society is being banished by the ruling classes in an attempt to take social and historical processes out of discourse in order to make a certain order of things appear natural and given. In the same way, Bakthin (1981) refers to the Standard as the 'authoritative word', arguing that the notion of a single and unified language is a fiction resulting from a repression of the heteroglossic reality. Related to the above, Crowley (1989) describes the way ruling classes manage to control the industrial working class in Britain through language education by banishing the working class code from the domains of power and creating a value system in language that heavily criticised the working class varieties. Crowley (1989) describes that as the "silencing" of the "barbarians" and argues that the ruling class through language had won a very important aspect of the class war.

Another aspect of the Standard, which is connected with the 'hegemony argument' mentioned above, is its close association to the concept of national language. It was already seen that language is connected, on a macro level, to the nation and it is often an important symbol in national identification. Most of the time this national language is equated with the Standard and those who object to its hegemony are often accused of disrupting national unity (Mey, 1988; Coulmas, 1988; Giles and Johnson, 1981). Consequently being loyal to the nation means being loyal to the standard language.

Therefore, protecting the standard-national language from 'unwanted' elements and ensuring its vitality is often considered as a national goal. It is often argued that this symbolic link of the Standard with the national language and the nation is a 'disguised' ideology, promoted by ruling classes as another way of ensuring their domination (Mey, 1988; Coulmas, 1988; Crowley, 1989; Phillipson, 1992; Calvet, 1998). In relation to this Giles and Johnson (1981) outline that a dominant ethnic group may implement strategies to undermine a subordinate's group vitality if it is increasing, such as emphasizing national identity so that minority ethnic groups' attempts to gain recognition or representation are seen as threat to the nation as a whole. The importance of the specific context is also stressed. Thomas (1991) for example argues that often periods of strong national sentiment tend to co-occur with purism in the standard language. Similarly, Jones (1998) points out that the link between a Standard language and 'groupness' is often keenly felt when a speech community has been partitioned, or engulfed by another nation.

5.2 The consequences of promoting one variety only

The promotion and association of the one variety with the state mechanism, with education and with all domains of power has consequences regarding the status of the other linguistic varieties and their speakers. Furthermore, it has serious educational implications concerning students' language attitudes, their self-perceptions and their educational achievement. These are examined next.

5.2.1 Language attitudes

The direct and deliberate intervention by society (Hudson, 1996) subscribes prestige to the Standard which is made synonymous with the good, the proper, the correct, the aesthetic. Calvet (1974) argues that "a dialect is never anything other than a defeated language, and a language is a dialect which has succeeded politically" (cited in Phillipson, 1992, p.39). One implication of the standardisation process then, is not so much uniformity in speech since people continue to use their non-standardised varieties (Milroy and Milroy, 1991). Rather, a value system is established where different linguistic varieties are subscribed with different set of values. This value-system has been labelled by Milroy and Milroy (1991) as the 'standard ideology' in

which people believe that there are actually two categories of varieties, the good ones (proper, correct, beautiful = standard) and the bad ones (wrong, false, ugly = vernaculars)³⁰. This standard ideology will inevitably effect those who speak the 'good' and the 'bad' varieties with different outcomes for each group. According to Hudson (1996) people pay a great deal of attention to linguistic signals and they often associate them with social signals, more commonly referred to as 'values'. Individuals' linguistic values often have evaluative form, revolving around which variety is better, or more beautiful and so forth.

The above has been documented in a number of studies in standard-dialect or multilingual contexts (Lambert, 1967; Milroy and Milroy, 1991; Edwards and Jacobsen, 1987; Van Marle, 1997; Abd-el-Jawad, 1987). Studies from social psychology have documented that speakers of the Standard or the dominant linguistic variety were highly rated in the areas of competence and status, while the opposite occurred for the non-standard speakers. On the other hand, non-standard speakers were rated higher than the standard speakers, in the areas of integrity and attractiveness (considered for instance more trustworthy, friendly, etc.). In other words standard speakers were rated higher in terms of power while non-standard speakers in terms of solidarity³¹ (Lambert, 1967; Milroy and Milroy, 1991).

One revealing feature of language attitude studies is that the speakers of the non-standard varieties also rated their own varieties low in terms of status and competence. In fact it has been documented that often the ratings provided by the non-standard speakers or the speakers of a subordinate language regarding their own varieties are lower than those provided by the standard speakers. In his classic study in Montreal Lambert (1960, in Edwards, 1979) indicated that English was evaluated more favourably than French both by the French-speaking and the English-speaking group of students. In fact, as it was indicated, the French provided even less favourable responses to the French guise than the English did. Lambert named this the

³⁰ Some studies have documented that some rural varieties invoked positive reactions in matters of attractiveness (cf. Trudgill, 1983), but even this evaluation was mostly on the grounds of an appreciation of folk culture.

³¹ According to Hudson (1996) 'solidarity' concerns the social distance between people, considering shared experience or shared social characteristics such as religion, race, interests, etc. 'Power' in contrast refers to the ability to achieve one's goal (Toffelson, 1991), to impose one's will over the others or resist imposition of other people's will (Rahman, 1996).

'minority group reaction' where the French perceived themselves inferior in some ways to the English-speaking population, by adopting stereotyped values of the English group and downgrading members of their own group more than the English judges did. Edwards (1979) comments,

“It is not only speakers from the high-status group who react favourably to their own speech patterns; rather the stereotypes are also accepted by members of groups which are lower in prestige” (p.84)

However, not all the studies regarding language attitudes have shown a clear dominance of the Standard in terms of status and competence. A number of studies pointed forward to the emergence of regional standards that often compete with the 'national' standard in terms of prestige and status. Edwards and Jacobsen (1987) pointed out that the associations between standard and non-standard forms of speech are not always so distinct. In their research they concluded that a regional standard which is nearer to the standard than others, can evoke high competence judgements without being downgraded in terms of attractiveness and integrity, and therefore may possess greater all round favourable connotations than the typical standard form. Similarly, Abd-el-Jawad's (1987) research in different Arabic contexts indicated that regional or local prestigious forms can often compete with the national standards and be considered as the local spoken standard. Studies like these challenge the earlier divisions and indicate that linguistic varieties and their social connotations evolve.

Nevertheless the overwhelming majority of the studies on language attitudes reveal that the Standard variety continues to evoke positive connotations in terms of status, prestige, competence and aesthetics, while non-standard varieties are still labelled as 'wrong', 'ugly', 'rude' and so forth. Although it is a common thesis in sociolinguistics that these judgements are based on social and not linguistic evidence³² (Giles et al, 1977b; Trudgill, 1975; Milroy and Milroy, 1991), they still persist among the public.

³² Giles and colleagues (1975) in their studies concerning the supposed aesthetic qualities of certain accents proved that when judges were unaware of the social connotation accents carried, they did not discriminate against non-standard variants. In the same way, Trudgill (1975) points out that people should realise that their views regarding aesthetics of certain varieties are simply a matter of taste and convention, and Milroy and Milroy (1991) argue that prescriptive attitudes are social rather than linguistic.

5.2.2 Educational implications

This existing superiority of the Standard in terms of status and competence and the concurrent persistence of varieties that are not formally recognised (e.g. non-standard, immigrant varieties), contributes in the formation of a strong 'complaint tradition' (Milroy and Milroy, 1991). This tradition usually lead by educators, policy makers, the press and general public opinion focuses on the 'mistakes' students that do not hold the Standard as their home variety make, which are often viewed as 'insults' towards the purity of the formal language (Thomas, 1991). According to Milroy and Milroy (1991) there are usually two types of complaints regarding language. The first type is a concern with 'correctness' and any 'misuse' of language is attacked. The second type has a 'moral' sense, regarding the clarity of language use and it attacks 'abuses' of language that might mislead the public. In either case, an effort is made for maintaining the norms of the Standard without any attempt to explain why one usage is correct and another incorrect. Furthermore, often the 'deviations' from the Standard are strongly characterised as 'illiteracies', 'barbarisms' and so forth, pressurising people either to give up their varieties or to remain stigmatised and be considered 'inferior' to the 'correct-language' speakers.

Education and the school in particular, where children are called to participate for the first time in a formal public institution as individuals (Lucas and Borders, 1994), is a domain where various linguistic and identity tensions are exposed. Edwards (1983) identified the crucial importance language attitudes have in school, arguing that they are more critical in educational settings than actual linguistic differences. More particularly, Van De Craen and Humblet (1989) in their research in Flander schools in Belgium, found that despite the high degree of language variation in typical classroom interaction, both teachers and students had clearly marked attitudes in favour of the standard Dutch and less towards regional varieties. As they argue, "it is clearly the school that helps to form the children's attitudes towards language variation" (p.22).

The implications however do not merely concern attitudes and stereotypes in language. Edwards (1985) indicated that teachers tend to evaluate less positively dialect use and therefore dialect-speakers. It was documented that these negative evaluations may play an important role in pupils' academic achievement (Edwards,

1983). In addition, research has indicated that non-standard speaking students may face a number of problems in the class and the school either of educational or social nature. Rosenberg's (1989) research in schools in Germany indicated that dialect speakers had more problems in the acquisition of the Standard in spelling, grammar, vocabulary, oral participation and text-level than their standard-speaking peers. They also had to face social problems in the use of dialect and the negative attitudes it elicited. Furthermore, Trudgill (1983) argues that in UK speakers of non-standard varieties continue to be discriminated against, even when they leave school, in employment and other situations.

Earlier in this chapter it was indicated that language and identity are closely interwoven. In other words the way people speak is related to their social and ethnic identity. It is worth investigating therefore what the implications are for children's identity if the school 'ignores', 'suppresses' and often 'stigmatises' their home language. Although there are not many studies to provide sufficiently in-depth evidence on the detailed effects of banning certain children's speech from classroom, most of the data indicate that there are consequences (Hymes, 1985; Edwards, 1983). As Edwards (1983) argues

"language and identity are so strongly intermeshed that any attack on the way we speak is likely to be perceived as an attack on our values and integrity. Thus, if children's language is undervalued or rejected in school, they may well respond by withdrawal and defiance. By the same token recognition of their language gives teachers the opportunity to show pupils that they are valued and accepted" (p.9).

Additionally Hymes (1985) asserts that

"children may indeed be 'linguistically deprived' if the language of their natural competence is not that of the school; if the contexts that elicit or permit use of that competence are absent in school; if the purposes to which they put language, and the ways in which they do so, are absent or prohibited in the school. The situation of the children, indeed, is much worse than "deprivation" if their normal competence is punished in the school. One could speak more appropriately of "repression" (p.xx-xxi).

Despite all these implications, educational policy appears in most countries (cf. Cheshire, 1989) firmly and powerfully positioned in favour of the Standard-only tradition. Rosengber (1989) refers to the "history of negligence" to describe the banning and ignoring of dialect-related problems in schools, arguing that educational policy traditionally ignored dialect-speaking children and it has continued doing so. In the same way, Van De Craen and Humblet (1989) identified a mismatch between

curricula and educational authorities' views regarding language variation and what really happened in class. Specifically, they pointed out two assumptions provided in the school curricula regarding language. Firstly, it was taken for granted that the Standard is acquired in a minimum of time, and secondly that there were no major obstacles in achieving this, arguing that the educational authorities kept officially ignoring the existence of language variation in the classroom mainly due to ignorance and fear.

Although classroom language variation is present in most educational contexts of the world, there is not yet a strong theoretical and political framework for supporting the promotion of non-standard or other varieties in the school. The need to acquire and cultivate the Standard variety is not rejected even by the stronger advocates of multilingualism in schools. Regarding this, Edwards (1983) suggests that the idea of the school acknowledging the language of home remains a controversial issue because of the importance attached to the Standard on a policy and public level. Most of the scholars seem to argue in favour of the 'repertoire'³³ expansion' approach (cf. Brumfit, 2001) where along with the Standard variety the language of the home is recognised and promoted. Nevertheless the actual implementation of this approach is sporadic and the superimposition of the Standard over the non-standard varieties and their speakers remains an unresolved problem.

It is argued here that the existence of multiple varieties that differ from the one promoted by the state and the problems their speakers might face in school can no longer be ignored. As Van De Craen and Humblet (1989) assert the role of the primary school is to contribute maximally to the development of all aspects of language proficiency, in a stimulating linguistic environment and therefore language variation should be recognised. They go on to argue that,

“Attitudes of both pupils and teachers are negatively affected by the attempts of the educational authorities to ignore this state of affairs. This leads to a number of paradoxes and negative effects on the acquisition of the standard language. There is no point in arguing, as the authorities do, that dialects or language variation should not be allowed in the classrooms, because they are already there” (p.28).

³³ The concept of 'verbal repertoire' was first developed by Gumperz (in Hymes, 1972) and it indicates that people have a variety of ways of speaking, and therefore speaking always entails a choice (Hymes, 1972).

6 Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to provide some theoretical insight on the multi-levelled concepts of language and ethnic identity and to explore the way these complicated concepts are realised in education. Overall, from the different accounts and perspectives offered, a discrepancy can be identified. On the one hand there is the complex issue of identity formation, which evolves, it is context-bound and multi-faced. Similarly ethnic identity's connection to language exhibits diversity, but despite that it can be clearly argued that individuals' identities have strong connotations with linguistic varieties. This is one face of the coin, concerned with identity and solidarity. On the other hand, there is a strong state and institutional tradition in favour of one linguistic variety only, and, if the link between language and identity is accepted, usually in favour of one specific identity only. This univocal language promotion contributes to the formation of negative social values in some aspects of specific varieties and possibly for the identities they carry. It also raises, as previously seen, educational problems and difficulties for the students who have a different linguistic variety from that of the school. And this is the other face of the coin, connected with power.

The issue raised here is whether these two faces of the coin can co-exist. Milroy and Milroy (1997) point out that there are two types of language maintenance. The first one is institutional, based on status ideologies, which promotes the Standard variety through formal institutions (e.g. schools, media) and maintains the Standard's institutional authority. The second is non-institutional, concerning the non-standardised and not official forms, where individuals through social networks, act as language planners or maintainers in order to account for the survival of non-standard forms. In this case the basis is solidarity ideologies. As Hudson (1996) argues the choice people make on speech depends highly on concepts of power and solidarity. Milroy and Milroy (1991) argue that the co-existence of the two sets of norms creates conflicts and tensions. On the one hand status-oriented norms pressure non-standard speakers to give up their own 'stigmatised' varieties. On the other hand these low-status varieties are an important symbol of group cohesion and identity, making them difficult and unfavourable for people to abandon.

Although often the tensions and issues raised between the opposition of the two forces seem unresolved, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) adopt a more optimistic and pragmatic approach to the co-existence of these two forces. They accept both the reality of power and solidarity in language and identity, acknowledging the complications in the link as well as the stereotypes and prejudices that may derive from assimilative policies. However they argue that this is the way that the world, societies and individuals function. Multiplicity, stereotyping, identity and linguistic competition are everyday phenomena, and most importantly are not static, favouring certain varieties at times and at other times looking down on them. As they argue,

"within any society linguistic groupings will develop and focussing will take place within them which may well lead to stereotypes about language coming into being which become reified, institutionalised and totemised and again extraordinarily tenacious. Thus both linguistic and non-linguistic groups will form; stereotypes will jell, and subsequently may decay; and the roles played by each kind of group in the formation and maintenance of the other are complex and of great variety" (p.249)

In the chapters that follow, an attempt is made to explore some of these issues, especially the interaction of power-solidarity in the specific socio-political context of Cyprus and in the way 'real people' experience the link between language and ethnic identity. The following chapter outlines the methodological approach adopted in the study and the main methods and data collection techniques I used to explore language and ethnic identity among the students and to some extent the policy makers.

Chapter Three

METHODOLOGY

"...it is those in the particular classroom and community who can best know what the condition is... in the last analysis, it is the understanding and insight of those in the concrete situation that will determine the outcome" (p.xiv)

- Dell Hymes (1985)

1 The nature of the study

In order to explore language and ethnic identity among Greek Cypriot students in the Cypriot context in depth, I chose to undertake an ethnographic study that would enable a deep understanding and analysis of the way students understand and experience these concepts.

Ethnography is not a clear-cut term as Hammersley (1983) indicates:

"the term ethnography is not clearly defined in common usage and there is some disagreement about what counts and does not count as examples of it; the meaning of the term overlaps with that of several others - such as qualitative method, interpretative research, case study, participant observation, life history method, etc." (p.76).

Nevertheless most of the scholars in the field (see for example, Denzin, 1989; Woods, 1996; Josselson, 1996) emphasise that ethnography involves an in-depth study of people and phenomena in context in their natural setting. This includes accurate portrayals of specific phenomena based on observational or interview data (Hammersley, 1992), an emphasis on cultural understanding and on locating and interpreting the study in its context. Ethnographic research remains "firmly rooted in the first-hand exploration of research settings" (Atkinson et al, 2001, p.5). As Vidick and Lyman (1998) assert ethnographers need to first immerse themselves in the lives of their subjects and, after achieving a deep understanding of these through rigorous effort, produce a contextualised reproduction and interpretation of the stories told by the subjects. Ultimately, an ethnographic report will present an integrated synthesis of experience and theory (Denzin, 1989).

The study presented here is ethnographic in four senses. First, because it places "a strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena" (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994, p.248), i.e. the link between ethnic identity and language in a

particular society. Secondly, because it deals with a specific society with a distinct culture influenced by explicit political and historical factors (Hammersley, 1983) and data are interpreted taking the knowledge and influence of this particular culture into account. Thirdly, because it adopts observation and interviewing as the main data collection techniques (Stacey, 1988). As Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) argue, ethnography has a tendency to work primarily with unstructured data, that is data that have not been coded at the point of data collection in terms of closed analytic categories. Fourthly, because it focuses upon one case - a feature of ethnography pointed out by Atkinson and Hammersley (1994). In this study the case is micro rather than macro (e.g. a whole society or culture). It is a specific community of practice (i.e. one classroom in one school) explored in depth, placing real people at the centre of understanding how the concepts of language and ethnicity were experienced in the culture of Cypriot schooling and society.

Traditionally ethnography has been connected with contributing to disciplinary knowledge rather than solving practical problems (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). However, in recent years it has been used in applied fields such as education. In the present study, ethnographic work has been conducted not in the traditional meaning of ethnography: 'experts' going to a foreign culture to study and understand it. Rather, I have adopted an ethnographic approach to understand a particular phenomenon with two purposes in mind. First, to provide a rich picture of the way students conceptualise and attach values to the concepts of language and ethnic identity, and thereby contribute to knowledge in this area. Secondly to contrast these findings with the response of the policy making, and therefore provide indications about possible paths of combining policy and practice.

2 The conceptual framework: defining the concepts under exploration

Taking into consideration the multiplicity and complexity of language and ethnic identity as well as the difficulties in exploring their inter-connections, I first decided to make their definition more explicit and therefore easier to identify in the fieldwork. Language was defined as language 'use' and language 'attitudes', i.e. how people use language and the different values they attach to it (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller,

1985). I made this distinction first to understand the way different linguistic varieties were used depending on the context (Hymes, 1985), and secondly to see how language attitudes reveal a person's values and beliefs and promote or discourage choices in language use (Gandner, 1985 in McGoarthy, 1996). In relation to the second point, language attitudes were explored since they are also linked with factors such as beliefs about ethnolinguistic vitality (McGoarthy, 1996), language maintenance and shift (Garrett et al, 1999) and uncovering the social meanings attached to linguistic categories (Coupland and Jaworski, 1997).

Ethnic identity was defined as a means of representation as well as classification (Woolard, 1997), exploring how students described themselves as well as how they described other groups. The values attached to ethnic identity were also explored in detail focusing on students' 'identification', 'awareness' and 'attitudes' (Phinney and Rotheram, 1987). Although as seen in chapter two, ethnic identity is defined as a combination of values and behaviour (as in the case of language) it was not possible to study the full scope of students' behaviour as this study had its prime focus on a classroom in a school. For this reason I use the term 'frames of reference' for ethnic identity rather than 'ethnic identity' itself. As Garrett et al (1999) argue, evaluative data of stereotypes, allegiance and other social groupings are very useful since they can access local processes of interpersonal attraction or distancing and can help predict the character of social relationships within a speech community.

Furthermore, given the theoretical exploration of the link between language and ethnic identity in chapter two, an effort was made in the fieldwork to give equal weight to both concepts. As Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) argued when they explained their approach for language and identity exploration in the Caribbean,

"We are interested both in what our informants said about themselves and their language, and in their language itself. We are interested also in the fact that our informants felt themselves to be part of some certain community, though members of different subgroups within that community, while at the same time their linguistic behaviour was so clearly variable" (p.15).

In addition, taking into account the importance of the context, I compared and contrasted the macro and micro interactions of language and ethnicity. Since there is an interactive connection between policy and practice I contrasted the overt and

covert language policies with the findings from practice in order to explore the way these concepts interact in the education of the specific socio-political context.

3 Data collection methods

In the ethnographic tradition in sociolinguistics it is argued that ethnographers should not approach their research with preconceived categories (Saville-Troike, 1989) but to build interpretations of communication in a natural environment. For this reason, ethnographic approaches to research are associated mainly with participant observation and interviewing as already noted (Hammersley, 1992; Atkinson et al, 2001). To facilitate this process, primarily qualitative methods are suggested, although quantitative methods are not ruled out. The main methods adopted in this study were observations (participant and non-participant), interviewing, documentary analysis, along with some quantitative approaches. The following section offers a justification for the main methods adopted and the perspective I took within each drawing upon various theories to argue their appropriateness for the present study.

3.1 Observations

"For as long as people have been interested in studying social and natural world around them, observation has served as the bedrock source of human knowledge"

(Adler and Adler, 1994)

Naturalistic observation in ethnographic research is very important since it offers the researcher access to social situations to study in their natural state, and to provide detail information on events and informants (Denscombe, 1983). Unlike other methods that depend on what people say, observation gives an insight into what people actually do. As Spradley (1980) asserts,

"The essential core of ethnography is this concern with the meaning of actions and events to the people we seek to understand. Some of these meanings are directly expressed in language; many are taken for granted and communicated only indirectly through word and action" (p.5)

Participant observation³⁴ is essential in ethnographic research since if researchers do not participate in the culture they study they will not be able to understand it (Punch,

³⁴ Gold's (1958) continuum of the different research roles depending on the kinds of observations we do, illustrates the different degrees in which the researcher can be detached or more engaged in the lives of the people he or she explores. The first two categories describe the researcher as mainly a

1998a). Apart from the degree of participation, another issue that is crucial in observations is the extent to which the observations are structured or unstructured. Quantitative approaches are usually highly structured, and require pre-developed categories, while qualitative observation is much more unstructured. As Adler and Adler (1994) argue, "qualitative observation ... follows the natural stream of everyday life" (p.81) with the logic that the categories for describing the data will emerge later, probably in the analysis stage (Punch, 1998a).

It has been argued that systematic or structured observation is incompatible with ethnographic research (Delamont and Hamilton, 1993) on the grounds that it ignores the temporal and spatial context, it is concerned only with overt behaviours and that the pre-specification of categories might determine what is discovered. However Hammersley (1993a), a committed ethnographer himself, has argued that the main criticism of systematic observation, that of categorisation, poses a problem for qualitative observations as well, since classification and categorisation is inevitable when interpreting data. Hammersley (1993b) argues that we have a lot to learn from both types of approaches, asserting that we need to,

"renounce the temptation to treat systematic observation and ethnography as self-contained and mutually exclusive paradigms. ... We all stand much more chance of finding effective solutions to the problems of classroom research if we recognise this and are prepared to learn from one another than if we simply bolster confidence in our own preferred strategies by castigating those who have made different choices" (p. 47).

Similarly in the present study there were tensions between the ethnographic tradition of participant observation, and core sociolinguistic methods for researching language use. In other words whereas ethnography calls for naturalistic observation, in this study I also needed to explore the way the Standard and the Dialect were used, and inevitably I needed some kind of categorisation and quantification. Therefore, I tried to retain a balance in the classroom observations between guided perspectives in classroom talk through theory (categories) and the freedom to be able to 'see' classroom talk from different perspectives and angles. As Furlong and Edwards (1993) argue, the important thing is to find the 'right balance' between what the sociolinguistic theory argues and what ethnographic practices assert.

participant (complete participant or participant as observer) while the other two as mainly an observer (observer as participant, complete observer).

3.2 Interviews

Qualitative interviewing is considered one of the most effective tools in ethnographic research (Hammersley, 1992; Fontana and Frey, 1994) and one of the most common and powerful ways to understand people (Fontana and Frey, 1998, p.48). Unlike observations that focus on people's behaviour, interviews examine people's values, and therefore can be much more in-depth in discovering, uncovering and unmasking feelings, thoughts, views and conceptions. As Jones (1985) argues, "in order to understand other persons' constructions of reality, we would do well to ask them" (p.46).

In the present study interviews were the main methodological tool for exploring students' language attitudes and their frames of reference regarding ethnic identity. Of all the various types of interviewing - one-to-one interview, group interviews (sometimes called focus groups), structured, semi structured, unstructured - I chose one-to-one and group, semi-structured approaches that allowed space for the interviewee to express feelings, initiate the discussion and "produce rich and valuable data" (Punch, 1998a, p.178).

This approach was essential in studying ethnic identity, which is a multi-linear process: "in order to understand if, when and why ethnic changes occur, one needs to listen to people's own interpretations" (Personal Narratives Group, 1989, p.261). Furthermore scholars, such as Anderreck, (1992) and Carrington and Short (1989) who explored race and ethnicity among children argue that it is crucial not to rest merely on children's choice but to ask them about the reasons of their choice. The same argument is also applied for exploring language attitudes.

Nevertheless, interviews exhibit some weaknesses mostly because they are based on what people claim, so 'subjects' may not report their honest opinions but only what is politically correct, or they might tell you what they think they are expected to believe, rather than what they actually believe (Ladegaard, 1998, p.190). For example in a case of ethnic identity Esperitu (1994) asserted that people may report only those features that they believe to be 'ethnic', based on a primordial notion of ethnic identity and therefore leave out other more 'lived out' characteristics. However Edwards (1985) asserts that often what people believe or argue can be more important than

what they actually do. Attitudes indicate beliefs and values, and if people choose to adopt a specific thesis, it is up to the researcher to explore and understand the reasons behind that choice or claim (Saville-Troike, 1989).

3.3 Documentary Analysis

There are mainly three reasons why documentary analysis is important in ethnographic research. First, for understanding the cultural and symbolic context that surrounds the participants (Punch, 1998a) through various documents such as photographs, symbols, signs and artefacts. Second, for the study of written and formal policies through documents such as curricula and textbooks, which can be crucial from a political point of view, as they often reveal the degree to which the state aspires to intervene and control education³⁵ (Apple and Christian Smith, 1991). Thirdly, although documents cannot tell us the whole story, they can be used as a good source for triangulation or comparison between policy-practice, past-present and so forth. The way documentary data are analysed and the way the researcher deals with the documents is crucial in the interpretation of documents. According to Erben (1998) there are certain questions that have to be asked to understand and interpret a specific document. These questions have to do with issues of origin, ideology, culture, expression, usage, authenticity and relationship with other documents.

In the present study documentary analysis was employed for the investigation of the formal language policy making in Cyprus in relation to language and ethnic identity. Furthermore, various types of documents were also analysed for understanding the context of the specific school and the class, focusing on anything that revealed values and ideologies regarding language and ethnic identity.

3.4 Quantitative Methods

Quantitative techniques, especially when used in combination with qualitative data, can be used as a point of comparison and triangulation, and through numbers and graphic representation can present visual tendencies and patterns among the data. In

³⁵ Historical, social and economic factors will determine the state's degree of control in education that varies from country to country and from culture to culture. Nevertheless, since the state is a carrier of

the present case three quantitative techniques were used, a semi match guise test, 'Ten Statement Test' and questionnaires.

3.4.1 The Semi Match Guise Test

The match-guise test is one of the most common methods to elicit language attitudes, developed by Lambert (1967) where the 'judges' (i.e. people) are asked to rate different 'guises' (i.e. linguistic varieties) performed by the same speaker. Most commonly, the rating of linguistic varieties revolves around four categories: competence, status, integrity and attractiveness (Hudson, 1996; Edwards and Jacobsen, 1987). The first two explore the issue of power in linguistic varieties (i.e. which is better, correct, beautiful) and the last two the issue of solidarity (i.e. which is more reliable, friendly, humorous, etc.). The match-guise test is widely used in attitude studies and scholars who support its application assert that it ensures an indirect elicitation of language attitudes and therefore it can be more valid than for example interviews (Ladegaard, 1998). However, this method has been criticised as artificial (in McGroathy, 1996; Edwards, 1979), and therefore as not producing results that correspond with reality. However, its application along with other more qualitative methods served both to validate students' comments and offer a different form of presenting trends in language attitudes.

3.4.2 The 'Ten Statement Test'

The 'Ten Statement Test' (TST) generated by social psychologists, has been widely used for exploring and researching ethnic identity, mostly among adults. It was first designed and applied in the 60s (Gordon, 1968 in Hutnik, 1991), but it is still used in current research (Hutnik, 1991; Saeed et al, 1999) with some alterations and changes. Individuals are left free to describe themselves, using 10 affirmative and 10 negative statements, beginning with the 'I am' and the 'I am not' phrases respectively. In that way an important part of the literature that views identity as a dialogic relationship of the self (I am) and the other (I am not) is taken into account. In addition, by not offering any guidelines to people regarding the nature of their answers, TST explores

hegemonic ideas and values (Cornbleth, 1990) in most countries the values each government have will influence education.

whether identity is a salient factor in the way people choose to define themselves and the different features they ascribe to themselves.

Ethnographers and sociologists (Espiritu, 1994; Carrington and Short, 1989; Andereck, 1992) have criticised methodological tools such as the TST with children, arguing that children do not process ethnicity information in the same ways the adults do, since their answer in the preference test may not be transferred to 'real' life. Nevertheless these criticisms can be also applied to more qualitative, narrative approaches. A combination of the two methods provides different angles of the same phenomenon and therefore strengthens the validity of the findings.

3.4.3 Questionnaires

As Anderson (1990, in Punch, 1998a) argues the questionnaire, if well constructed, permits the collection of reliable and reasonably valid data relatively simply and in a short space of time. In the case of ethnic identity research, questionnaires can be used to explore people's ethnic identification, and in combination with more narrative accounts can provide a detailed picture of ethnic identity (Parker, 1995). In the present study I used questionnaires first for investigating students' ethnic identification and second for investigating the teachers' values on issues of language teaching, language policy and language attitudes.

4 Validity and reliability³⁶

Validity refers to the truth or correctness of the findings (Davies, 1999), to the soundness of the research constructs, or as House (1980) describes "to the quality of being well founded on fact, or established sound principles, and thoroughly applicable to the case or circumstances" (p.25). Reliability, refers to the notion of consistency (Punch, 1998a). Both terms have been traditionally associated with quantitative approaches to research according to Punch (1998a) who also notes that qualitative

³⁶ Denzin (1989) proposes the notion of 'credibility' instead of validity and 'dependability' for reliability, as terms more appropriate for qualitative inquiry.

research has suffered many criticisms on these aspects in reaction to this dominant view. Although it is argued by some authors that ethnographic inquiry has stronger validity because of the in depth and multi-method exploration of people and concepts (Davies, 1999), according to others, (e.g. Miles and Huberman, 1994) - there is still a 'negative' strand regarding the validity and reliability of ethnographic and other qualitative inquiry. As these authors point out, seen in traditional terms, the reliability and validity of qualitatively derived findings can be in doubt as it is not always clear how the researcher has handled the fact that data gathering is labour -intensive, the frequent overload of data, the possibility of researcher bias and the adequacy of sampling. Participant observation for example has been heavily criticised as lacking validity since it heavily depends on the interpretation of the researcher (Adler and Adler, 1994). It has also been criticised as lacking reliability since it is more likely to be accurate for the group under study and unverified for extension to a larger population.

However what these criticisms fail to consider is that there are other ways to conceive of validity in qualitative inquiry related to the nature of the activity itself rather than comparison with quantitative inquiry. House (1980), for example, note that the grounds for validity claims in qualitative inquiry are different from those in quantitative research. For him credibility - the match between the findings and the experience of participants and audience - is an important criterion in addition to the accuracy of the findings (House, 1980:253). Denzin (1989) takes a similar view in proposing the notion of 'credibility' instead of validity and dependability instead of reliability as more appropriate concepts for qualitative inquiry. What both these authors recognise is that in qualitative inquiry, subjective experience is central to understanding the phenomena being researched and that what is required to ensure validity are procedures that cross check findings (e.g. triangulation, audit trail in Guba and Lincoln 1981); discipline the subjectivity of the researcher (Guba and Lincoln, 1981, Peshkin, 1988) and provide rich description in context (Geertz, 1973). Peshkin (1989) in particular makes a very strong argument for the subjectivity of the researcher in ethnographic inquiries to be included in the account. Rather than trying to eliminate bias, the task is to become more conscious of one's biases and see how they impact upon the data and the researcher.

Similarly, to ensure stronger reliability in qualitative inquiry, strategies such as cross checking with participants, observing systematically and repeating methods under varying conditions have been outlined (Davies, 1999). In the present study, I adopted three main procedures; the provision of a thick description of context and triangulation of data and methods and a self-reflexive analysis in order to strengthen the validity and reliability of the findings.

4.1 Rich Contextual Information

Ethnography, as indicated previously, is like a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973), where rich information about both the context of the study and the conditions in which the fieldwork was conducted need to be outlined. In this study, contextualisation was achieved in three ways. First, by offering rich information regarding the specific socio-political context and its distinct culture, and therefore situating the study in its wider context (Introductory Chapter). Second, by outlining in detail the context of the specific school and the particular class, drawing on all those themes that might offer an insight into the 'lived experience' of ethnic identity and language in the specific context (Chapter Four). Thirdly by providing a detailed description of the conditions under which the research process took place, including information about the place, the time, the participants and the overall circumstances.

4.2 Triangulation

Triangulation, i.e. cross-checking issues in multiple ways and using different perspectives, is advocated to support a finding by showing that independent measures concur or at least do not disagree with the finding (Miles and Huberman, 1994). It also serves to clarify meanings by identifying different ways the phenomenon is seen (Flick, 1992). Triangulation in this study was ensured through data³⁷ and method triangulation (Denzin, 1978 in Miles and Huberman, 1994) in the following ways. First, I conducted the fieldwork in two phases, which provided me with an opportunity to triangulate and verify the consistency of student responses over a period of time. Second, I used extensive method triangulation designed to gain and

³⁷ Data source triangulation involves the comparison of data relating to the same phenomena but deriving from different phases of the fieldwork, different points of activity, or accounts of different participants (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

cross validate different angles and perspectives on students' language attitudes and their preferred ethnic identities. Thirdly, the combination of observations and interviewing was a useful means of triangulating what language students' claimed to speak with what they actually did.

5 Sampling: choosing the school, the students and the policy makers

Given this is an ethnographic study many sampling techniques as representative sampling and generalisation are not appropriate. As Miles and Huberman (1994) point out one of the key features of qualitative sampling is small samples nested in their context and studied in depth. For these reasons I decided to focus on one school and in particular on one class of students, trying however to avoid a school with 'extreme' characteristics (e.g. being 'posh' or 'rough'). This was done not to claim the school was representative of a sample in the statistical meaning, but rather to have a school that more or less met the criteria of a 'standard' school³⁸ (see also Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985).

This constituted the first reason I chose the primary urban school of 'Polis'³⁹, which brought together students from mixed socio-economic background and had the profile of a 'standard' school (the principal of the school as well as some policy makers at the District Education Office confirmed this). Secondly, this school was in my hometown making it more practical for me to conduct the fieldwork on a daily basis. Thirdly, I had good contact with the principal of the school, who was 'research-friendly' and did not have any objections to an 'outsider' having access to the school.

After selecting the school, I decided to focus on one classroom as a system, a unit, and not on individual students for two main reasons. First, it is argued in the literature that a classroom is a microcosm of society (Cummins, 1986), "a perfect image of the linguistic landscape of the outside world" (Van De Craen and Humblet, 1989, p.17). Second, exploring a classroom as a school unit would provide insight on the different

³⁸ Although the Cypriot educational system is highly centralised and therefore all the public schools (which are the overwhelming majority) are considered more or less of similar 'status' (same curricula, textbooks and teachers with same education), still there are a few exceptions labelled as either 'posh' or 'rough' schools, depending on the socio-economic background of the people of the area.

³⁹ Pseudonym

interactions between policy and practice, since the classroom is the point where the two merge. In particular, I selected class E' (Year 5) for two reasons. First because of the age of the students (10-11) for as noted in the theoretical chapter by the age of ten children have formed ethnic and language attitudes and orientations. Second, the teacher of Class E, Ms Artemis, was more co-operative and seemed willing to accept me in her class, in contrast with the teacher of Year 6 who seemed very reluctant.

Finally, regarding to the policy making I interviewed six language policy makers in different key positions. Four policy makers were from the Ministry of Education, three (E, X, P)⁴⁰ directly involved in the Language Policy Committee and one (H) who was involved in general educational policy matters (mostly to have the evaluation of an outsider). E and X were two young policy makers, with graduate studies, responsible for making suggestions and implementing the decisions of the Language Committee. P was older, acting as consultant to the Minister and to the Language Committee. H, the gatekeeper, was not directly involved with language issues, but he helped me in reaching the 'right' people. In addition, I interviewed one of the former General Directors for Primary Education (L), who was also specialised in language issues, but retired from the Ministry, and an MP from the opposition party, who was a member of the Parliamentary Committee for Education, in order to have the view of someone 'outside' the elected government. Overall, this purposive selection aimed at offering different points of view from people involved in the language policy making from different positions.

6 The research process

The research process took place in two phases. The first phase, which included an explorative phase, lasted for three months, with daily visits to the school of Polis and two weeks at the Ministry. In this phase I employed participant and non-participant observation in Class E' and in the general school context, interviews with the students, analysis of various documents of the class and the school, and interviews with the policy makers. The second phase of the fieldwork took place six months later (the students were in Year 6 with a different teacher), after I transcribed and started analysing the data, and lasted for two weeks. This phase was not initially planned but

⁴⁰ For anonymity purposes I used random capital letters for the policy makers' names.

after leaving the school and looking all the data, I felt there was an imbalance in the data; I had rich data on language use and language values but rather incomplete data on students' ethnic identity. I therefore approached ethnic identity from different perspectives, using a variety of methods (Ten Statement Test, Questionnaires and Focus groups) that would enable me to have a more holistic understanding of this complex and multi-facet concept. All the different methods used are presented in Table 2.1, and are examined in detail in the following sections.

Table 3.1: Data collection methods

Concepts Explored	Methods Used
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Classroom Language Use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two months classroom observations in all subjects (Recording, Field Notes, Speech Turn Sheet)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students' Language Attitudes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One-to-one 40-minute multi-task interviews Semi-match guise test Participant Observation Focus Groups
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students' Ethnic Identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One-to-one 40-minute multi-task interviews Focus Groups Ten Statement Test Questionnaire Participant Observation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The context of the School and the Class 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participant Observation Documentary Analysis Journal Questionnaires to the teachers Interviews (principal)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Language Policy Makers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interviews Documentary Analysis (curricula and textbooks)

6.1 Initial stages of fieldwork

6.1.1 Developing field relations

Ethnographic or other qualitative inquiry places special importance on the researched and the best way to establish the appropriate field relations (Davies, 1999). During the first day at the school the principal introduced me to the staff, something that helped in being accepted. Regarding this very first day I wrote in my journal:

"First day to the school today. I was stressed in the morning for my contact with the teachers, the children, and the school context in general. I went there around ten. I knocked on the principal's door. He was friendly, smiling. I felt comfortable at once. I talked to him about the research (the title), the time I will spend there and what I want to do ... He offered me coffee and he introduced me to the cleaner. Then the other introductions. The teacher of Year 6, Ms Charis and of Year 5, Ms Artemis. Polite and willing. I also met the rest of the staff. The environment is warm in this school. Good" -

6/3, Monday

Nevertheless, being accepted in the school and in class E' was something I had to negotiate throughout the fieldwork by my daily presence at the school and the occasional teaching I offered to do. As far as the students were concerned I introduced myself as a language researcher, and given I was a former teacher and a university student, they were friendly with me and at the same time called me 'misses', something that implied authority. The fact that I was teaching some subjects in their class reinforced this view.

Finally regarding my visits to the Ministry, H, the gatekeeper, helped me to get in touch with the appropriate policy makers and made very useful suggestions for the tactics and methods I should use in approaching different people. As the whole context of the Ministry is very formal, the help of this gatekeeper was important.

6.1.2 Communicating the research objectives and the 'observer's paradox'

At the beginning of the fieldwork I had to deal with the dilemma of informing the students and the teachers about the exact topic of my research, and therefore facing the possibility of altering their behaviour and language use. Or not informing them but overlooking one of the basic principles of qualitative inquiry that is respect and openness to those who are researched (Davies, 1999; Stacey, 1988, Punch, 1998b). In the end, I decided to inform the students and the teachers that I would examine students' language and ethnic identities, without mentioning details, such as the issue of Dialect use in the classroom or the exact methods I would use to examine ethnic identity. I also had to reassure Ms Artemis that I was not interested in students' achievement or in different pedagogies and methodologies, hoping that she would not change her daily classroom practice because I was there.

Another issue related to communicating the research objectives is the notion of 'observer's paradox'⁴¹ (Labov, 1972) where the very presence of the researcher in the field she or he observes alters the outcomes of the research by distorting the natural order of what is taking place. In my research I tried to resolve this by my daily and extended presence in the classroom, trying to make the students and the teachers get used to my presence. Furthermore, I tried, during the observations to be as unobtrusive as possible, sitting at the back of the classroom (so the students did not have visual contact with me) and always appearing as though I was busy doing something else (so I would not look directly to the teacher).

6.1.3 Pilot studies

During the exploratory phase of the fieldwork, I observed class E, having no pre-determined categories and taking a lot of descriptive field-notes. This enabled me to develop some rough categories on which I based the pilot interviews⁴² and some classroom tasks I conducted with class E'. In these tasks the students had to complete a work-sheet (Appendix 3.1) which examined issues related to their ethnic identity (e.g. what are you, which is your country) and language (e.g. what language do you speak). Similarly, the pilot interviews were very useful for refining some of the basic themes and also for having an initial experience with the way students dealt with the issues of language and identity.

6.2 The main phases of the fieldwork

6.2.1 Classroom observations

I conducted in total sixty periods of classroom observation in class E' in all the subjects taught with two main objectives. The first was to explore the way the students, and to some extent the teachers used the Dialect and the Standard in the

⁴¹ This term derived from sociolinguistics but it is also applied - with different wording - in all areas of research.

⁴² I conducted two pilot interviews with one medium to top achievement student and another with rather low achievement.

class. The second was to identify any critical incidents⁴³ occurred in the class which might have been related to language and ethnic values.

6.2.1.1 Observing students' and teachers' language use

For exploring classroom talk I used detailed field-notes, tape recordings and a 'Speech Turn' sheet. Since it was not practical to do all simultaneously I started with descriptive field-notes and then as the observations progressed I developed some categories for examining language use (Spradley, 1980). An example of these field-notes is presented in Extract 1.

Extract 1: Unstructured Field notes - Day 5, Class E', Greek

"The teacher comments, using the Dialect, on the essays of the students. She tells off some students for not doing good work. Then she gives out the notebooks. She is using the Dialect only. Then she talks about a book a student brought to the school about Pallikaridis, the EOKA hero, using the Standard. She reads aloud the essay of one student using the Standard. Then she reads another poem..."

In the second stage of the observations, I developed an instrument ('Speech-Turn Sheet') with specific categories related to the occasion of communication each variety was used. The categories were formed based on a review of relevant studies (Wolfram et al, 1999) and on my own understanding of language use in the particular classroom. Different categories were formed for students' talk (Appendix 3.2), which was the focus of the observations, and for the teachers (Appendix 3.3). Every time the teacher or the students talked I ticked the use of the Dialect or Standard, based on their speech turns (i.e. every time they switched from one variety to the other). I used the Speech Turn Sheet roughly for fifteen minutes in each lesson I observed, so I could record the tendencies in classroom variation, but also to have time to collect data using other observational techniques.

However, the categorisation of talk was a very complicated process, since it was not always easy to distinguish between the Dialect and the Standard because of the large amount of linguistic items that are used in both varieties (Trudgill, 1975). The following extract from my field-notes encapsulate this:

⁴³ I considered as a 'critical incident' any event that took place in the classroom that indicated anything regarding the teacher's or students' language or ethnic values.

Extract 2: Geography

"The teacher asks which Ministry deals with issues like the ones discussed in the text and Menelaos answers 'Education'. This cannot be classified as exclusively Dialect or Standard since it is both"

For resolving this problem at the end of each observation I cross-checked the 'Speech-Turn Sheet' with the field-notes and the recordings. Furthermore, the 'Dialect-Standard' index I formed at the end of the fieldwork (see analysis section) constituted a consistent point of reference.

Another difficulty was that I was not able to capture the full range of talk that was going on in the class, since both the recordings and the field-notes captured the talk that was mostly heard, i.e. the teacher addressing the whole class, or the one-to-one teacher-student interactions. In contrast the talk among the students, as they were sitting in pairs, could not be captured. I noted in my journal, *«what is happening is that the talk I record is mostly in SMG while students' whispering is in CD but I cannot record and categorise it, I can only listen to it»*. However I tried, using field-notes to describe the context in order to provide a picture as close to the reality as possible.

6.2.1.2 Identifying critical incidents for language and ethnic identity

For the identification of critical incidents I used unstructured field notes and an 'event-sheet' (Appendix 3.4) that would enable me to 'see' whether any of those events that took place in the classroom revealed any language or ethnic values.

6.2.2 Observations outside the class

I also spent some time observing the students out of the classroom, mainly during break times, using rough field-notes. Since students' talk outside the class was not the main objective of the study, I conducted only a few observations just to get a picture of the way they used language and the things they normally did during their playtime. Similarly, I observed the teachers during break time to collect more information about the context and the culture of the school. In particular, I focused on the way the teachers used the two linguistic varieties, as well as on the topics of

their discussion (e.g. political, educational issues). For this purpose I formed a special observation sheet (Appendix 3.5) which I completed at the end of the break time, or anytime I was alone. Finally observation was also used for describing, through field-notes, the wider context of the school and all those events and rituals that took place outside of the classroom, such as assemblies, national or other celebrations and social activities.

6.2.3 One to one interviews with the students: the multi-task interview

I conducted 24 one-to-one interviews with each student of Class E. The interview lasted forty minutes (one school period), it was conducted during lesson time in a classroom vacant at the time, and every session was tape-recorded. The interview was multi-task, in other words it did not have the form of question-reply; rather the students had to perform a range of activities (Table 2.2). Each task explored either students' language attitudes or their ethnic identity preferences, directly or indirectly.

Table 3.2: The multi-task interview

Part / Task	Materials Used	Examining
Discussing with the students about their daily life, hobbies, family, and interests.		<i>Socio-economic background</i>
Examining Students' Language Awareness and Language Identification	Written texts in SMG, CD, English, Turkish	<i>Language Attitudes</i>
Exploring Students' Knowledge of Historic Events	Photographs from school textbooks	<i>Frames of Reference for Ethnic Identity</i>
Investigating Students' Direct Language Attitudes	Semi-match guise test	<i>Language Attitudes</i>
Investigating Students' Ethnic Awareness and Ethnic Identification	Identity Cards	<i>Frames of Reference for Ethnic Identity</i>

The first part of the interview took the form of a casual conversation regarding students' hobbies, personal interests and so forth. The aim was first to collect additional information and therefore have more completed profiles for the students⁴⁴,

⁴⁴ I also discussed the students' family and socio-economic background with the class teacher, Ms Artemis, after I assured her that the information given would be used anonymously in this study.

and second to make them feel comfortable with the interview setting (tape-recorder) and myself, hoping to add to their confidence as interviewees.

In the second part I presented four texts to the students, in Standard Modern Greek, the Cypriot Dialect, English and Turkish. The text in the Standard was selected from students' school textbooks, while the text in the Dialect from a book on Cypriot folk stories. These texts were presented simultaneously to the students to enable them to see the contrast. The text in English was from an English book. In the case of Turkish however I decided to use a Cypriot pound banknote⁴⁵, on the grounds that the students had minimum contact with the Turkish language, and the banknote, constituting a part of their daily lives, might trigger their curiosity and interest.

The main purpose of the written texts was to explore students' language awareness, in other words if they could recognise and name each linguistic variety, identify their in-between differences, and associate it with specific groups of speakers. Students' language awareness was examined since often the way people choose to define and describe a language is an indicator of their language attitudes (Wardhaugh, 1992). I also examined students' levels of identification with each linguistic variety. Researching speakers' willingness to identify or not with specific linguistic varieties is considered a useful tool for eliciting data on their language attitudes (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985). In particular, as soon as the students were presented with the texts I posed them questions like,

- What language is this?
- Who speaks like that⁴⁶?
- Do you speak like that?
- When do you speak like that? With whom?

These questions were used mainly as an incentive in order to start off a more in-depth conversation. In this way I was able to collect rich data on other issues such as language domains, speech accommodation and code switching.

⁴⁵ Greek, English and Turkish are the languages written on the Cypriot currency.

⁴⁶ In the case of the Turkish language, since very few students recognised it, I told them it was Turkish in order to elicit their language attitudes.

Their language attitudes were also explored in the fourth part with the semi match guise test, which differed significantly from the original test in three ways. First, instead of having recorded guises my own speech was used as a guise, trying to make the whole process less artificial. The rationale was to provide the students with three 'loose' guises that they encountered in their daily lives. In particular, I spoke to the students in three different ways (Standard, Dialect and English⁴⁷) saying exactly the same thing. Second, I used the 1-10 scale of rating (instead of the Likert scale 0-6 usually used in match guise tests), since I considered it closer to students' experiences (from the way they are rated at school) and therefore easier to use. Thirdly, the variables formed covered issues of status and solidarity, but students' level of identification towards each variety was also examined in order to contrast their responses with those in the written texts.

Students listened to all three guises and then filled in the sheet with the different variables (Appendix 3.6). The variables formed were based on a literature review of studies in the Cypriot (Papapavlou, 1998) and other standard-dialect contexts (Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel, 1973; Ladegaard, 1998), and from my own experience and knowledge of the social features often attributed to each variety in the wider context of Cyprus.

The other parts of the interview dealt with the issue of ethnic identity, either indirectly (third part) or directly (fifth part). In particular, I examined students' knowledge of certain historic events⁴⁸ that are considered important in the contemporary history of Cyprus and are taught and promoted at school. The main objective was to explore whether these events had any significance for the students and revealed anything regarding their ethnic preferences. For this purpose I used photographs (from school textbooks) that illustrated these events as a stimuli for starting a discussion, posing questions like

- What does this picture show?
- What happened then?

⁴⁷ A: Simera ksipnisa to proi, plithika, ntithika, efaga kai irtha sto sholio (SMG)

B: Simera eksipnisa to proi, eplithika, entithika, efaa tze irta sto sholio (CD)

C: Today I woke up, I washed my face, I got dressed, I ate and I came to the school (English)
Turkish was not included for practical reasons since I am not a Turkish speaker.

- How do you know about this?
- How do you feel about this?

Finally, the fifth part of the interview examined students' ethnic preferences using six 'identity cards' (Greek, Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish, Turkish Cypriot, English), trying to include all those terms for identity found in the wider context. The main objective was to examine students' positioning, by asking them to choose those 'identity-cards' they felt close to, explain their rationale and provide definitions for each card.

6.2.4 The focus groups with the students

The main objective of the focus groups was to break down the concept of the students' preferred Cypriot identity⁴⁹, to identify its different components and to explore it in relation to the wider context of Cyprus. In particular the following topics and sub-questions were discussed: Imaginary scenario, Family, Life in Cyprus, and Cypriot Identity. In total there were four focus groups, each consisting of five students. In each group I tried to include a wide range of students (i.e. gender, school achievement, social presence). Each discussion lasted about an hour and it was tape recorded.

The following Imaginary Scenario was given to the students, with the titled the 'Stranger Scenario':

"Imagine that someone who is from another country rings you, you do not know him/her, s/he does not know you ...it maybe a man or a woman ... and s/he wants to know about you, who you are, so you need to describe yourself (through the phone) to him/her. What would you say?"

This approach has been widely used both with children and with adults (Modood et al, 1997; Hutnik, 1991) in order to unravel and understand the way people choose to define themselves in situations where the ethnic element is not necessarily pre-

⁴⁸ The Greek Revolution against the Turks (1821), the Greek Cypriot Struggle against the British colonisers (1955-59) and the Turkish invasion (1974).

⁴⁹ After the analysis of the data from the first phase of the fieldwork, it emerged that the predominant identity among the students was the Cypriot. During the focus groups I decided to explore this further and de-construct the meanings the students attached to this identity.

imposed⁵⁰. The rationale was to explore the salience of students' ethnic identity and the features and characteristics they attributed to themselves. Although some students asked for more rational explanations like, "*miss, if he is from another country in what language are we going to speak?*" (Achilleas), the overwhelming majority responded enthusiastically and provided rich and diverse descriptions for themselves.

Since all the studies of ethnicity and identity formation recognise the importance of social context (Giles and Saint-Jacques, 1979), the second and third topics explored the issue of close and wider context of students' lives, their family and Cyprus. Family is recognised as having an important role in children's identity formation as well as in the way they communicate this identity (Kvernmo and Heyerdahl, 1996). I therefore, investigated whom the students regarded as their family, the things and activities they did together and the bonds they appeared to share, through questions like, 'What things do you do with your family?', 'What do you do at Christmas?'.

In the same way life in the specific geographical and political space the students were situated, Cyprus, was explored, by discussing with them the theme of 'Life in Cyprus: past, present, future'. The aim was to examine whether the specific context of Cyprus had any significant role in the way students choose to define themselves and in the frames of reference they had for their ethnic identity. Some of the questions and issues discussed with the students included:

- What do you think life was like in Cyprus fifty years ago?
- What did people do in their daily lives, what would you do if you were living then?
- How does life in present differ from life in past?
- What has changed in people's lives?
- How do you imagine Cyprus in fifty years?
- How do you imagine yourselves?
- What do you think will happen to Cyprus in twenty years?

⁵⁰ Since they describe themselves to someone they do not know and they do not see so that the physical characteristics such as colour or race do not influence their description.

Furthermore the discussion expanded to other countries with which Cyprus is connected, such as Greece, Turkey and also to the European community, examining the feelings and ideas they attached to each country or concept and the way they saw themselves and Cyprus in relation to these entities.

Finally the fifth theme dealt directly with the concept of ethnic identity and aimed to examine what exactly they meant when they claimed that above all they felt Cypriot. In particular the following issues and questions were posed:

- What is it that makes you feel Cypriot?
- What special characteristics do Cypriots have?
- What do you think are the good things about Cypriots and what the bad ones?
- Are all people who live in Cyprus Cypriots?
- Is it possible to stop being Cypriots and become something else?
- How do you feel about being a Cypriot?

6.2.5 The 'Ten Statement Test'

The TST was used in the second phase of the fieldwork and prior to the focus groups. Two separate sheets were given to the students, one with the affirmative statements 'I am' and the other with the negative statements 'I am not' (Appendix 3.7). I made some changes to the original tests, in order to adapt them to the context of the study and the age of the students (TST has been designed for adults), by including five statements beginning either with 'I am' or 'I am not', and leaving the other five blank. The rationale was that the use of 'I am' would constrain the students since it would restrict their answers mostly to the use of nouns and adjectives (e.g. I am tall, I am a student). In contrast, the blank statements would give them the opportunity to use different wording (such as 'I enjoy', 'I believe', 'I consider important') for their self-description. The tests were handed out to the whole of the class (first the 'I am' and then the 'I am not' test) and students were advised to complete the test on their own, assuring them that there was not any evaluation of any kind. They were given around thirty minutes to do so.

6.2.6 The questionnaires

6.2.6.1 Students' questionnaires

After the TST I provided the students with a short questionnaire (Appendix 3.8) in which they had to choose their preferred ethnic identities from a range of predetermined categories. This questionnaire was given after the TST so as not to pre-impose the issue of ethnic identity to the students, aiming to check whether there was a consistency in students' identification. In the second part of the questionnaire I also added the 'Christian' label to check whether religion would form part of students' preferences, and 'Turkish Cypriot' since there were some students included it in their preferences during the interviews.

6.2.6.2 Teachers' questionnaires⁵¹

I gave the questionnaires to all the teachers of the school (14), most of them were class teachers (as Ms Artemis) and others subject teachers (i.e. Music, Art, P.E, Special Education). The questionnaire had six main parts (Appendix 3.9). The first part covered personal information about the teachers (sex, age and years of teaching), and the second examined their attitudes regarding classroom language use and their claimed language use in and out of the classroom. In the third part they had to evaluate students' competence in Standard Modern Greek and of the role (if any) of the Cypriot Dialect in education. The fourth part examined their general language attitudes towards each variety through the evaluation of specific variables. In the fifth part they had to briefly evaluate the existing language policy, and finally in the last part comment on issues related to the connection between language and identity.

6.2.7 Interviews with the principal and the policy makers

The interviews I conducted with the principal of the school and the policy makers were more structured. As it emerged, the higher I was reaching the hierarchical scale the more formal and fixed the interviews became. In contrast with the students, who were more impulsive and natural, the policy makers seemed more constrained and

⁵¹ Only some parts of the questionnaires analysis have been used in this study.

formal, possibly because the issues of language and ethnicity are highly politicised and sensitive, especially in educational contexts.

The interview with the principal of the school, Mr. Tilemahos, took place in the last stages of the fieldwork for a particular reason as noted in my journal:

"I left the interview with the principal on purpose to the end as I wanted to have a rich picture about the particular school, the students and the teachers and the policy-practice relationship before I interviewed the principal".

The rationale was to explore the way he delivered the policy to the school, and his views regarding language and identity in the Cypriot educational system. The interview lasted for about an hour and it was tape-recorded (the main themes posed to the principal are outlined in Appendix 3.10).

Most of the interviews with the policy makers had the same format, i.e. structured questions around issues of policy and decision making, evaluations and thoughts on language and identity in Cypriot education (see Appendix 3.11 for main themes discussed). Because of the diversity among the interviewees each offered me insight on different aspects of the policy making. H for example provided me with useful information on who were '*really in charge here*', and L offered me insight on issues such as textbooks, teachers' training and so forth

An additional issue was to manage to 'break through' the usual rhetoric of policy makers. Although I assured everyone that anonymity would be maintained still some of them remained reluctant. A good example is provided in the following incident, noted in my journal:

"P has been very simple and open. He confided some really important and useful things to me. The interview was going really well until E came into the room. She had a different style, much younger with more confidence. She was talking very theoretically and I felt that she was trying more to point out what she knew rather to answer my question" (27/3 - Ministry).

6.2.8 Textbook, curricula and content analysis

I analysed various documents in the school and the class, exploring whether they revealed anything about language and ethnic identity. First, I analysed the 'Language Curriculum' since it constituted the major formal document with guidelines on the

objectives, the content and suggested methodologies for Language Education at Primary level. Second, two series of textbooks were examined, the series 'My Language' which is the basic textbook for the teaching of Modern Greek in primary schools, and the series 'Do not Forget and Struggle'. The aim of this analysis was to investigate the themes covered in the textbooks and to examine whether they correlated with ethnic identity. Third, since this study is ethnographic particular importance was placed on the context that surrounded the students, in other words their class and the school. For this purpose I conducted a content analysis of class E' and the whole school setting, focusing on pictures, books, photographs, announcements, noticeboards and signs.

6.2.9 Journal writing

In order to keep track of the impressions and insights I gained from the beginning until the end of the data collection I kept a daily journal, writing down my feelings as a researcher and trying to see the whole fieldwork process with a critical eye (Janesick, 1999). This enabled me to establish reflexivity and an interactive connection between what I did on a daily basis and the theoretical and methodological framework of the study. Writing down my impressions and feelings was a useful source of 'learning' and 'improving' during the research process. As Holly (1989) argues keeping a journal enables the writer to describe different realities and perspectives, reflecting on and coming to know one's self. The following extracts illustrate this:

16/3, Home

"Second week at school and I am still a bit confused about the initial aim of my research. I am having a hard time finding the link between language use and ethnic identity. Until now I focused more on issues of language use and less on references regarding ethnicity. What is it I do know? Shall I proceed to the interviews or shall I observe a bit more?"

13/4, Staff Room

"I advanced a lot with the interviews and the more I go in depth the more interesting things I discover... there is a separate story behind every student but still I can see some general tendencies, some patterns that I did not predict. Good"

7 Reflexivity and interpretation

Reflexivity refers to the ability of the researcher to reflect on his or her personal values which inevitably effect the interpretation of the data and the whole research. Ethnographic research is bound to the concept of reflexivity as an ethnographic account constitutes the researcher's interpretation of what she has observed or heard, made more or less explicitly within a theoretical framework (Jacobson, 1991). As Denzin (1994) asserts nothing speaks for itself and we have to be aware of the way we make sense of our data, and the context in which the data was created. According to Denzin interpretation is a complex and reflexive process, which is affected by the research goals and which can be political depending on the motives of our research. It is therefore important that our own values, experience and culture are taken into account.

The notion of reflexivity suggests that research is a social activity and as such the researcher's own actions are open to analysis in the same terms as those of other participants (Hammersley, 1983b). Hammersley (1983b) asserts that reflexivity places an obligation on the researcher to be aware of the decisions she or he makes and the motives that underlie these decisions. As Marcus (1998) argues the baseline form of reflexivity is associated with self-critique and personal quest.

A number of scholars have identified the need to be aware of 'the self' while doing research especially when researching people (see, for example, Peshkin, 1988; Coffey, 1999; Simons, 1999). What these authors mean is developing our capacity to look within ourselves, to see how our values and our different subjective selves (or what Peshkin calls subjective 'I's') impact upon the research and upon ourselves. In the course of the research "we embark on a journey of the Self: ...celebrating our voices, challenging our assumptions" (Sears, 1992 cited in Schratz and Walker, 1995, p.139) and discovering our, maybe previously unarticulated, subjective selves (Peshkin, 1988). Those who take this view challenge traditional norms of objectivity, aspiring instead to notions of situational subjectivity made conscious (Peshkin, 1988) and to discovering how are own values may be central to understanding the particular project in question.

Similarly in my research I tried, prior and during the fieldwork process, to identify my personal values in relation to the research in question, values I would inevitably carry in the field and which would have a presence in data collection and data interpretation. I did this initially by writing a narrative account that took the form of a poem (Appendix 3.12). The poem helped me to unravel my various Is, each of which represented a different part of myself or life (e.g. Statehood/Cypriot I, Ethnicity/Greek I, Justice/War I, Liberal I, Dialect I, Educator I, Research/ Ph.D. I, Human I). This exploration enabled me to 'be meaningfully attentive to my own subjectivity' (Peshkin, 1988). The objective was to be aware of my own values and be aware of the possible influence or bias I might have in my approach to the research. As Hall (1990) asserts we all write and speak from a particular place and time, from a history and a culture, which is specific. What we say is always 'in context', *positioned* (p.222).

In addition, the journal that I kept throughout the research helped me to develop my reflexivity, monitor my personal values (as I would see them in writing) and try to avoid or at least not repeat possible 'traps' or 'mistakes'. It also enabled me to put my own motives and reactions under scrutiny and explore my overall positioning towards the research. The following extract provides an example of the way I reflected on my own values in the process of research. This after the end of an interview with the principal of the school.

Extract 7, Journal, Interview with the Mr Tilemahos

After the 'actual' interview, I turned off the tape-recorder and started to explain to him how sensitive are some of the issues I was exploring and how easy it is for the researcher to be misunderstood. I told him about my visits to the ministry and how cautious and reluctant they were with me, being suspicious that I was against 'the national ideals'. Later, on my way back home I was wondering why I felt the need to tell him all those things. Maybe because during the fieldwork he really helped me and treated me with hospitality and warmth. Maybe because I respected him as a personality in the school. He was liberal and substantial, not hiding behind conventions and regulations. So, perhaps I was subconsciously a bit disappointed in his answers and especially his attitude towards the Cypriot Dialect. I expected that such a liberal principal ... would have different attitudes. I told him these things about me then because (I have just realised) I care about what he thinks about me. I did not want him to think that I am just a left-winger who has decided to prove how important the Cypriot Dialect is in education. But maybe at the end, this is what I am?"

8 Data analysis

The analysis of the data was ongoing with a continuous interaction with theory and a constant refining of the research questions. Gibbs reflective cycle (1988) indicates that a reflective analysis of the data, its relation to the research questions and the new ideas emerged is necessary when doing ethnographic research. Because of the nature of the study, the different methods, and different phases of the fieldwork I had great amount of data. My main categories, language use, language attitudes and ethnic identity functioned as the guideline for grouping the data, and forming sub categories. The overall approach for the analysis, based on the theoretical principles, was to understand the concepts of language and identity separately and then try to identify any possible interrelations. In particular, I first placed language in the centre and ethnic identity in the periphery by analysing all the data on students' language use and language attitudes, and then examining whether ethnic identity played a significant role in it. Then the opposite took place where ethnic identity was placed in the centre and language at the periphery, investigating students' preferred ethnic identities and exploring whether language played a role in these identities.

8.1 Analysing observational data: students' language use

Classroom language use was analysed from three perspectives following Hymes (1985) notion of communicative repertoire: identifying the linguistic varieties, categorising the talk and locating any notion of appropriateness. With regards to the first, I tried to define the varieties used in the classroom, by forming a Dialect Index (Appendices 6.1-6.2), using the classroom recordings and the transcriptions⁵². The method I used for forming this index was based on the classic 'dialect identification' (cf. Lucas and Borders, 1994), where from a corpus of spoken data, the most commonly referred to dialect features are identified as the 'core' features. In particular, I analysed all the spoken transcribed data from the students and the teachers in classroom talk, and formed a list with all the dialect features. To classify what counted as a dialect or not I used my own experience as a dialect speaker but I also cross checked this with another dialect and a standard speaker. In addition I used the only detailed study on the spoken Cypriot Dialect with an extended corpus of the

⁵² The transcriptions were kept in the original language, Greek, in order to show the use of the Dialect and the Standard. I translated only the parts I included in the analysis chapter (Chapter Six).

grammar and the vocabulary of the dialect (Hatzioannou, 1999) to compare and validate the features I identified.

Overall in defining the linguistic varieties I made three main linguistic classifications: first the Dialect features (red fonts), second the 'intralanguage' (Trudgill, 1975) i.e. those linguistic features that were shared (black fonts), third the Standard features (blue fonts) which I classified as those features that had a Dialect equivalent⁵³ and generally were not used in the Dialect. Additionally, it was not always easy to classify the items into Dialect or Standard, because of the existence of a linguistic continuum between them. Nevertheless, the classification was made for the most commonly referred features in the whole of the spoken data. Finally, this small corpus of the Dialect does not claim representation and generalisation, since the way I designed and collected my data did not aim for linguistic quantification. Rather, it provides an overall picture of the data I selected, from some recordings, and from a specific group of speakers, aiming to show general tendencies in the distribution of classroom talk.

After forming the linguistic index, I categorised the talk in occasions of communication aiming to explore the way the students and the teachers used these two varieties. For practical reasons I made two wider distinctions in the analysis of the data. I presented students' and teachers' talk separately since each was associated with different categories, and I distinguished between technical and non-technical⁵⁴ subjects in order to show the contrast in the nature of language produced. Furthermore, I quantified all the results from the Speech Turn Sheet, (using Excel) showing the way each variety was used depending on the occasion of communication. Some of the initial categories I used during data collection were changed (new added and old dismissed) since having all the transcribed talk together I was able to 'see' different categories. Finally, after the categorisation of talk, I explored whether

⁵³ For example the word 'kai' (and) was classified as a more Standard way of speaking, since the Dialect had the equivalent 'tzai' (and). In contrast, the word 'ime' (I am) is used in both the Dialect and the Standard and therefore was classified as *intralanguage*. The vast majority of the linguistic items fall into the category of the 'intralanguage'.

⁵⁴ I defined as non-technical subjects those that were taught in the traditional way (students sitting in pairs and the teacher initiating all the discussion), that were usually taught in the classroom and did not involve small projects the students had to make. These subject tend to be considered the 'proper lesson time' (Greek, Maths, Science, History, Geography, Religious Studies, English) among most of the teachers and parents. In contrast, the technical lessons were those that involved the students changing a classroom, going to a specially equipped room, and working in groups with the teacher having a supportive role (Music, Art, Design and Technology, Physical Education)

classroom language use was connected to appropriateness, in order to connect it to language attitudes. Appropriateness was defined depending on the incidents of hypercorrection (Wardhaugh, 1992), correction by the teacher as well as whether there was a strong association of certain linguistic varieties with either formal or informal situations in the classroom.

8.2 Analysing students' language attitudes

After transcribing and translating all the interviews and focus groups, along with the field notes I had for each student, I formed some main categories (Table 2.3) on students' language attitudes. Then I examined whether the data on language attitudes revealed anything about students' ethnic orientation and values, investigating possible interconnections between the two concepts.

Table 3.3: Categories emerging for students' language attitudes

Categories Formed	Questions Posed for Analysis
<p><i>1. Personal Information about the Student</i></p> <p>(Socio-economic background, School Achievement, Performance in Interview, General Language Performance in and out of the class)</p>	
<p><i>2. Language Awareness</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labelling written texts (SMG, CD, En, Tu) • Associating each variety with specific groups of speakers • Labelling oral texts (SMG, CD, En) • Comparing linguistic Varieties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What names did the students give to each text? Rationale? Did they give different names to the oral texts? • What associations did they make? Does that reveal anything about their level of identification for each variety? How might that be related to their own linguistic and ethnic identity? • Did they compare the two Greek varieties? In what way? Did that reveal anything about their language values?
<p><i>3. Language Identification (Claimed Language Use)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Claimed language use • Identifying with texts (written and oral) • Domains of language use • Speech Accommodation and code-switching 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What language did they claim to speak? What terms did they use? Compare this to their observed language use. • What rationale did they provide for identifying with or rejecting each text? Does that reveal anything for their language attitudes and their identity markers? Compare reactions to oral and written texts. • Attitudes attached to speech accommodation, how does that relate with their own language use?
<p><i>4. Language Attitudes</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SMG • G/C • English • Turkish 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi match guise test: How did their rating in the test compare to their overall values expressed during the interview about each variety? Is there consistency?
Do the above categories reveal anything regarding students' preferred ethnic identities?	

8.3 Analysing students' ethnic identity

After transcribing and analysing all the focus groups, and combining the data with those derived from the 'Ten Statement Test', the questionnaires and the interviews, a number of categories emerged for the concept of ethnic identity (Table 2.4). Similar to the approach adopted for analysing language attitudes, I grouped the data for each

student in the categories mentioned below, and then tried to see whether the data on identity revealed any connections to language.

Table 3.4: Categories emerging for students' ethnic identity

Categories Emerged	Issue Emerging
1. <i>Self Description / Salience of ethnic identity</i> (TST, focus groups: phone scenario)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did they describe themselves? What adjectives or characteristics they used? Is ethnic identity a part of it?
2. <i>Knowledge of Historic Events</i> (Interviews)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did they recognise each event? What names they provided? • What source of knowledge they claimed? • Did they express any feelings? • Do their descriptions reveal anything about their ethnic identity?
3. <i>Ethnic Identification and Awareness</i> (Identity Cards, Questionnaires, TST)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was their rationale for adopting specific identities? • How did they describe each identity? What words they used?
Do the above show any connections with any linguistic variety?	
4. <i>Components of Cypriot Ethnic Identity</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Life in Cyprus (Past, present, future) • Family Life (who, things they do) • Cypriot Identity • The Greek Element • The concept of the other (Turkish, English, other) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does that tell us anything about their Cypriot identity? Is there such a thing as a Cypriot identity? • Is the family forming a part of their identity? • What characteristics do they ascribe to Cypriots? Who do they consider to be Cypriots?
CONNECTIONS TO LANGUAGE	

8.4 Individual profiles or overall presentation of the whole class?

Following the analysis of students' language use, attitudes and ethnic identity, I was faced with the dilemma of either presenting patterns and interconnections I identified in the class as a whole, or forming individual profiles for each student. The first would provide an overall picture for the class as a school unit and as a bounded system, the second would give sharper and in-depth understanding for each student separately. In the end, I decided to develop the profiles, since they would provide a deeper insight

into each student and ultimately for the class as a unit. Nevertheless, the profiles were used for analysis purposes only, and the way I have presented the data in the thesis is based on the class as a whole, drawing examples from the individual profiles. In other words, I created an individual profile for each student, and then I used these profiles to build an overall analysis for the whole class.

8.4.1 Individual student profiles

Using all the data I collected for the students on language use, language attitudes and ethnic identity along with observations of their behaviour in the school and information on their scholastic achievement, their family life and their personal character, I started off writing long narratives for six students (see Appendix 3.13 for one example). These narratives were very useful for developing further categories, for identifying students' uniqueness and points in common. However they were time consuming. Therefore, I formed some sharper profiles - shortened versions, which included all the categories developed during the analysis, as well as the researchers' commentary and any other relevant data, which offered triangulation. The shorter profiles were in the same format, which was useful to compare and contrast and written for all the students. An extract from one short profile is presented in Table 2.5 while two examples of the full accounts are presented in Appendix 3.14.

Table 3.5: Extract from the individual profile of Menelaos

MENELAOS	
<u>School Achievement:</u>	A+
<u>Family / Background:</u>	No reported problems, parents university education
<u>Profile at school:</u>	Popular, athlete, in the school orchestra
<u>Observed Language Use</u>	In class SMG (4-5) when participating in lesson, CD (moving up and down) in other occasions. Out of class CD.
3). CLAIMED LANGUAGE USE (LANGUAGE CHOICE)	
<u>What language do you speak?</u>	
	<i>Basically I speak Greek in the class and in the Cypriot dialect during break time and outside ... I use more the Cypriot dialect.</i>
	(+ I speak like speech 2 / dialect (Pilot tasks) CONSISTENT
3.1) Level of identification with the language	
Standard written:	Sometimes (-)* <i>I speak in that way in the class</i>
Standard spoken:	Sometimes (+)
Dialect written:	Yes (+) <i>I speak like that ... I use it more</i>
Dialect spoken:	Yes (+-)
English:	No (+) <i>I do not speak like that but I am learning it</i>
Turkish:	No (- - -)
<u>Different reaction in oral and written texts:</u> NO (similar reactions for the Dialect and the Standard although he exhibited more positive attitudes towards the spoken than the written Standard).	
*- (negative) and + (positive) attitudes	

From this in-depth analysis of each student I began to identify some patterns amongst the students, either depending on their language identification, or their ethnic preferences. For example, I noticed that a group of boys totally rejected the Standard, identified with the Dialect and posed strong preference towards the Cypriot identity. In contrast, there was a group of girls (4) who totally rejected the Dialect but retained preference for the Cypriot identity as well. The information I had for each student, was multi-perspective, though lacking the home perspective, so I could not draw definite or comprehensive conclusions about their language and ethnic values (as I did not have data outside the school). Nevertheless, this kind of profiling enabled me to identify some patterns or differences among the students (e.g. gender).

8.4.2 Building an overall framework for the whole class

Following the thorough analysis of the data on students' language and identity, I integrated the data from the specific school, the policy making and the wider context in order to demonstrate how the concepts of language and ethnic identity were realised moving from practice to policy and then to context. The three main axes for building an analytical framework were language use (Chapter Six), language attitudes (Chapter Seven) and ethnic identity (Chapter Eight). In addition, there was the school perspective on language and identity (Chapter Five), the Policy Perspective (Chapter Four) and the Socio-political context angle (Introduction). All these are presented in Table 2.6.

Table 3.6: Conceptual framework for building the analysis of the data

LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL (dialect – standard continuum)		LANGUAGE ATTITUDES		ETHNIC IDENTITY
IN CLASS Teachers / Students Technical/ Non technical	OUT OF CLASS Break time Celebrations Staff room Fieldtrips	As they derived from: Students' Language Use	As they are expressed by Students' language: Awareness Identification Evaluation	As it is expressed by students: - Ethnic Identification - Ethnic Awareness - Ethnic Attitudes
ARE THERE ANY INTERCONNECTIONS BETWEEN ETHNIC IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE?				
HOW IS ETHNIC IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE CONTEXTUALISED IN THE SCHOOL?				
HOW DOES THE POLICY MAKING DEAL WITH LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC IDENTITY/				
COMPARE PRACTICE - POLICY - CONTEXT				

9 Ethical issues

Journal: Interview with Dionisis (student)

I had problems today with the interview with Dionisis. He could not understand the questions and the concepts. The fact that he is not very articulate made the interview even harder. I think that if I would re-interview him I would use a completely different approach. I felt really bad afterwards, for the inconvenience I might have put him through. I think in my effort to communicate with him I ignored the human factor: that I had to deal with a low confident boy, very shy and not that talkative. My zeal to

collect good data overthrew the more human aspects of research and I feel really bad about it now.

Journal: Interview with Mr Tilemahos (principal)

The interview took place in his office during a period he was not teaching. I had previously told him that I wanted to interview him and at first he seemed a bit frustrated and worried about the questions I would ask. He mentioned something about not knowing many things about theories and pedagogical principles but I tried to convince him that I was not interested in such things. Briefly I explained that I was interested in looking at the way policy is related to practice and at his particular role as a principal of the school. I also told him that I had a specific interest in language issues.

"All human research has ethical dimensions" (Simons, 1989,p.114), but especially when it comes to "new ways" (Woods, 1996) of doing research that involve in-depth interaction with people. The wide spread adoption of qualitative research in education over the last few decades has called for a more explicit consideration of the ethical in research. Many scholars (Stacey, 1988; Simons, 1989; Rosenthal, 1997; Josselson, 1996) argue that the danger of intrusion on participant's privacy is greater in qualitative research where people are more visible and their values and perspectives are revealed, than in quantitative research. This is why ethical guidelines are crucial to offer some protection to people involved in research while at the same time making information publicly accessible.

The following ethical procedures were adopted in this study:

- Informed consent was gained from all participants
- Participants, irrespective of their position in the power structure of schooling were regarded as unique individuals whose voices were important to represent.
- Anonymity has been maintained in the presentation of data: i.e. names have been changed, though not positions as this is important to an understanding of the data

While I adopted this protocol and was aware of the ethical implications underlying these procedures, there were nevertheless some incidents in the fieldwork, as the above incidents indicate, where it was not always easy to uphold all ethical principles in practice, especially when they conflict. For example the first extract above illustrates the tensions between my two different subjective 'Is' (Peshkin, 1988). My 'research I' was very keen on collecting good quality data, and I possibly ignored the

human factor. My human I' however only realised this on reflection after the interview ended. Although I believe my behaviour as a researcher at the particular moment was not very ethical, the journal entries I kept, enabled me to be reflexive and try to avoid similar mistakes in the future.

The second extract describes a rather different situation that also involves ethical issues. Although the interviewee was the principal of the school, so power issues were less evident, I still realised from his reaction that I may have distressed him. When I asked to interview him we agreed on time and I mentioned I wanted to interview him because he was the principal of the school, without providing him with more information about the issues that I would explore. From his reaction before the interview I realised the importance of communicating your research and/or interview objectives to anyone you ask to interview or observe, regardless of whether they are powerful or not.

These two incidents indicated two major ethical dimensions I tried to be aware of in my study. First the importance of recognising the uniqueness of the people we study, and that the human factor needs to come before any other factors (i.e. research objectives). Ethnographers have an obligation (Josselson, 1996), because they come so close to the people they research, to be reflexive about this and about all the power issues that might be involved - especially in the case of children. Second, the need to explain to the people you research who you are and what you want to do with them so as not to put them through worries and discomfort.

Finally, another issue I had to deal with was the issue of anonymity. Informants' privacy should be protected, especially in in-depth qualitative research that unravels issues about people's lives and values. In my study I used pseudonyms for the students, the teachers, the policy makers and the school, although the visual material I present (photographs) might reveal which was the school and the particular class. Nevertheless, I had the consent from the principal, the teachers and the students to use this material. Although it may not in the event be possible to fully disguise the school, from the way the data are presented the statements by individual students cannot be identified.

The following chapters present the ethnographic study conducted among the students of Class E, outlining first the wider context in which the students were situated beginning with the formal policy making (chapter four) and then describing the school context (chapter) that surrounded the students.

Chapter Four

THE POLICY MAKING

1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an insight into the way language and ethnic identity were promoted in educational policy making, in order to provide the wider educational framework in which the students were situated. First I examine the way Standard Modern Greek and the Cypriot Dialect were treated on a policy level, and second I explore if the policy promotes specific ethnic identities, and whether these identities have linguistic connotations. Language policy, defined as "the conscious choices made in the domain of relationships between language and national life" (Calvet, 1998, p.114), was investigated through an exploration of the overt and covert policies (Schiffman, 1996). In particular, I explored the formal policies as they were stated in the National Primary Curriculum (overt policies), and the beliefs and attitudes of language policy makers⁵⁵(covert policies). The aim was to try and identify whether the ministry's policies and the policy makers themselves had a specific value system for language and ethnic identity.

2 The ministry of education as a formal language policy carrier

"Second day at the Ministry. The 'nest' of the policy makers. Huge buildings, countless offices so many, different roles (...) Is there a good flow of information, is there communication between those at the top and those at the bottom. And how about power relations? And language? How is language policy shaped? - 3/4, Journal

Tracking down language policy was not an easy task, mostly because of its different levels, the various carriers (legal, media, etc.) involved and the interaction between what was formally stated and what was actually implemented. Despite this, I decided to focus on the Ministry of Education and Culture⁵⁶, as the central language policy-

⁵⁵ From the six interviews, mostly four were used for the analysis (E, X, P, L), since those were the ones that focused on language and identity. The interview with H (gate-keeper) revolved around understanding the structure of the Ministry and the interview with the MP was mostly an incentive for cross-checking the centrality of the Ministry in the decision making on language policy and also for exploring whether political figures who did not belong to the government held different views

⁵⁶ The Parliamentary Committee for Education, constituted another formal agent, as the MP I interviewed argued. This committee was not responsible for direct decisions and their implementation but it mainly approved budgets for the Ministry. Other carriers included the University of Cyprus that might exert indirect but important influence through the teachers' education course (L), which

making institution, which was responsible for delivering language policy for all levels of the highly centralised educational system in Cyprus.

From the interviews and the analysis of the formal structure of the Ministry, it was evident that the Language Committee was the central carrier of language policy within the Ministry and constituted a part of Primary Education Department. The major members of the committee were inspectors specialising in language issues, representatives from the Pedagogical Institute, the University⁵⁷, the National Organisation of Teachers, the parents' association, and two teachers appointed from the schools. The role of the committee was to make suggestions on issues such as language pedagogy, language textbooks, language training and so forth (confirmed by L, P and E). Although the policy makers confirmed that the decisions of the Committee needed the approval of the Director of Primary Education, and if necessary of the Minister (Interview with E), they also pointed out that *"usually the decisions and suggestions of the committee are being accepted"* (P), and that *"the Minister does not go through all the various themes or decisions that the committee examines, only the ones that are proposed to him"* (L). Overall all the policy makers stressed the authority of the Language Committee, something confirmed by people from other posts in the educational pyramid, such as the MP and the principal of the school of Polis.

As far as the written, formally stated policies are concerned the National Curriculum for Primary Education represented the main source, reflecting the policy of the Ministry. The Curriculum was initially implemented by the Right wing government in 1994, it was revised in 1996 and ever since it has been used in its revised form. The Curriculum is applied to all public, primary schools and the teachers have to follow its guidelines. It has different sections covering all the subjects taught in primary education in the following order: Modern Greek Language, 'I know, I do not forget and I struggle', Maths, Social Subjects (Environmental Studies, Orthodox Christian Education, History, Geography, Citizenship Education), Science, Special Education,

however was not directly involved in the decision making. Finally there were also various pressure groups such as the church, the teachers' union, the parents' association.

⁵⁷ The policy makers' views regarding the connections of the Ministry with the University were rather contradictory. X, E and P argued that the connections are vague, occasional. H said that they are competing each other, while L argued that when he used to work to the Ministry the co-operation was excellent.

English Language, Music, Physical Education, Art, Design and Technology, House Economy, and Health Education.

3 The role of language and ethnic identity in policy making

From both the analysis of the written stated policies and the policy makers' views, it emerged that Language Policy (LP) targeted and promoted the Greek ethnic identity, since Greek Cypriots "*belong to the Greek world*"(X). Additionally, it was pointed out that Standard Modern Greek was considered the 'legitimate' linguistic variety of education and its teaching constituted a necessity for a number of national, status and practical reasons outlined below. In particular, from the analysis of the data six major themes (Figure 4.1) emerged regarding the values attached to language and ethnic identity in the current policy making.

The themes were related to language use and language and identity. In particular, all the policy makers exhibited high esteem towards the Standard⁵⁸, which seemed to be connected with the lack of any formal policy for the Dialect. They all also had complaints about students' level of oral expression. Additionally, it became clear that language education promoted the Greek identity of the Greek Cypriots both through language and through closer bonds of Cyprus with Greece. Moreover, the political problem in Cyprus appeared central in the shaping of ethnic values. These themes are explored in more detail in the following sections

⁵⁸ The underlining indicates the themes identified, presented in Figure 4.1

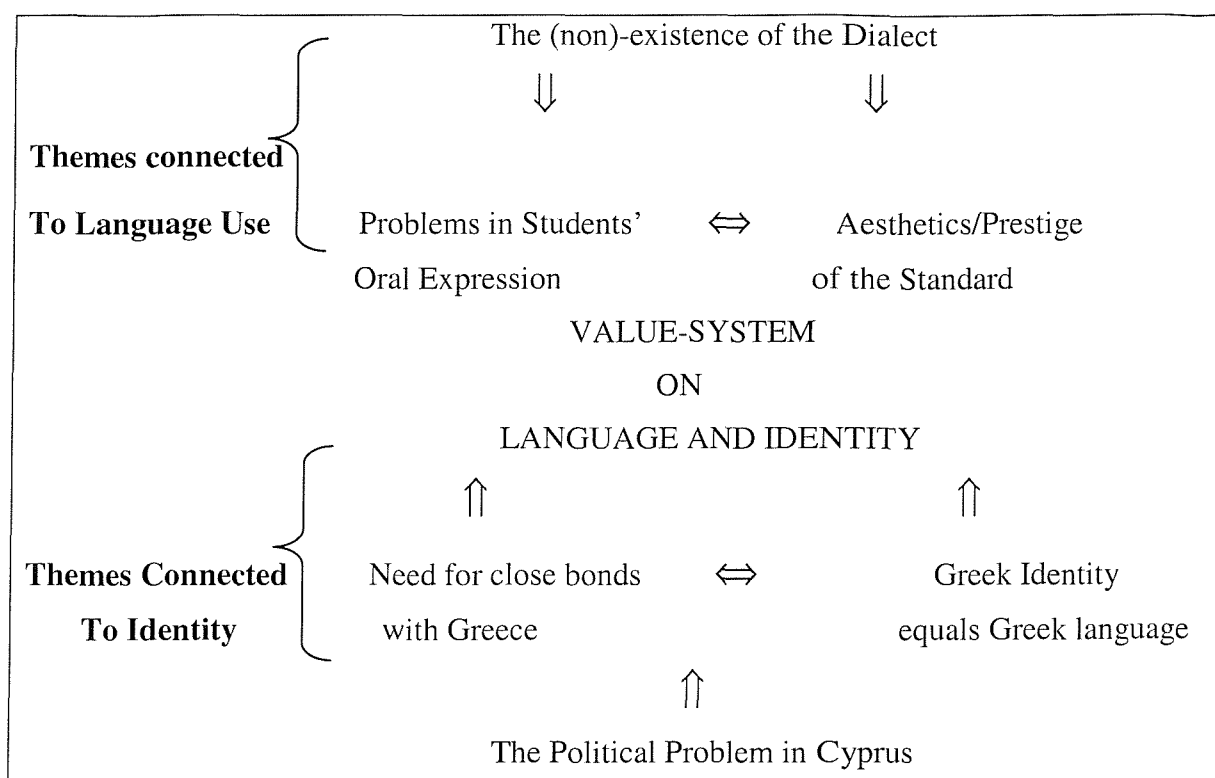


Figure 4.1: Current formal language policy in Cyprus: themes from analysis

3.1 The (non)-existence of the dialect

As mentioned earlier, the Cypriot dialect is the first language of the Greek Cypriots, transmitted by the parents to the children and used at home and in informal communication. Until the age of five children communicate using the Dialect, and they are introduced to the Standard (both written and spoken) as they enter formal education. Despite the Dialect being the home variety, the formal Language National Curriculum has hardly any references to it or any indications that the students are bidialectal. The only reference made to the Dialect is in the section 'Reception Year' of the Curriculum, where as a general objective it is stated that "The child should shift from the linguistic idiom to the pan-Hellenic demotic⁵⁹" (Ministry of Education, 1996, p.50). What is revealing here is the description of the Cypriot variety as an idiom and not a dialect, a characterisation that indicates a closer link of the Greek spoken in Cyprus with the Standard Modern Greek⁶⁰. Similarly, at all levels of primary education, Standard Modern Greek is the variety promoted, and in the Curriculum it is

⁵⁹ Another way of describing Standard Modern Greek which stresses its 'pan-national' function as the pan-hellenic variety, i.e. the variety of all the Greeks.

stated that, "Primary Education adopts the Greek (*elladiko*⁶¹), Analytic Programme and the textbooks 'My Language'" (p.79).

The reactions of most of the policy makers were parallel to the written policies, indicating that the existence of the Dialect was not an issue formally considered, although they exhibited diverse degree of tolerance towards the Dialect. Some of them (e.g. X, P and E) appeared more tolerant while L was firm that it should not be used at school.

X for example argued:

"X: The Cypriot dialect is respected as a distinct linguistic variety

E: But what is the policy, that it is only respected?

X: What else then? Should we write in the Cypriot dialect?

E: I just want to know which is the policy

X: That it is respected and considered equal"

Despite her expressed tolerance towards the Dialect, it can be argued that her words were on a rhetoric level only, since when I asked her to provide examples in which the policy ensured the 'respect' of the Dialect she became defensive and referred to the difficulties of writing in the Dialect.

P, appeared somewhere in-between in his views, arguing that students should be free to express themselves since *"the students today do not speak 'heavy' Cypriot"*. Regarding the policy making he defended the role of the ministry for protecting and *"taking care"* of the Dialect: *"The ministry always makes efforts for the Dialect, the proof of this is the anthology textbooks we designed that include many texts in the Cypriot dialect"*. However, he admitted that *"these textbooks are only complementary and on practical terms are not used by the teachers because of the loading of content by the main textbooks, 'My Language'"*. Finally, he pointed out that the preservation or not of the Dialect did not depend on the educational policies. *"As you know today the school does not influence the students so much...there are other external factors that*

⁶⁰ There is a debate among linguists in Greece whether the variety spoken in Cyprus constitutes an idiom (which is closer to the standard) or a dialect. Some argue in favour of the first (Kontossopoulos, 1994), others for the second (Moschonas, 1996).

⁶¹ Ever since the formation of Cyprus republic in 1960 the formal educational policies adopted the curricula and textbooks from Greece, regardless of the political orientations of each government, i.e. if it was Right or Left wing affiliated.

are responsible if the Cypriot dialect dies out, like television, family... the school always takes care and is concerned for the Dialect". From the interviews it is clear that P tried to defend the Ministry but he also pointed out that the issue of the Dialect in education was complex. What was revealing was his reference to the way the students spoke as 'not heavy Dialect', implying that since they did not speak in a 'heavy' way they should be allowed to use the Dialect in the class.

L was less tolerant towards the Dialect and insisted that the students had to acquire the Standard Modern Greek. He argued that neither the teachers nor the students should use the Dialect in the class, arguing that students need to learn to speak 'correctly' and learn the language of the 'rest of the Greek world':

"L: The students should not use the Dialect in the class. It is the Standard Modern Greek that should be used... and the teachers as role models need to use the Standard.

E: Don't you think that the students are constrained by that?

*L: What does 'constrained' mean? They listen to Standard Modern Greek on the radio... on television...no the students need to learn to express themselves in the standard. **This is the language of the Greek world. Wherever they go, this is the language that connects Greeks as a nation**⁶²"*

L rejected the introduction of the Dialect at schools, arguing that, *"the language of the school should be Standard Modern Greek...(if we introduce the Dialect) then we would have to learn all the dialects"*. He only accepted the presence of the Dialect at school at the higher levels of the primary education, as a form of studying literary texts. *"When the linguistic competence of the students in 'demotiki'⁶³ is completed, the school can reintroduce the students to their **roots**, using a few, dialectic texts in the Cypriot dialect"*. Although he acknowledged that the Dialect constituted part of students' 'roots', he was firm that the primary goal of the school was the acquisition of Standard Modern Greek.

Overall the picture of the language policy of the ministry regarding the Cypriot dialect was a bit confusing and fuzzy. The formal National Curriculum had no clear position concerning its use and the only guidelines referred to by the policy makers were that *"the policy of the ministry is to leave the students free to express themselves but this depends on the teachers"* (P). Although this policy appeared tolerant towards the

⁶² Bold shows my emphasis used throughout the chapters in cases of interview or focus groups extracts, and sometimes in written documents.

Dialect, it was accepted (X and P) that it was vague and it did not provide specific recommendations to the teachers on how to deal with the issue of bidialectalism⁶⁴. In addition to that, most of the policy makers interviewed appeared to disapprove the use of Dialect in school so the general strategy of tolerance and acceptance can be easily disputed.

3.2 The problem in students' expressiveness

The lack of any provision for the Dialect seemed to be directly connected to the complaints the policy makers had regarding students' level of oral expression and articulation, pointing forward to the existence of a 'complaint tradition'⁶⁵ regarding students' ability to express themselves 'properly':

"Yes we have a problem with students' expression, yes this is a fact, what can we do? (...) we try to implement some corrective measures... like the communicative approach, to provide the students with more opportunities to express themselves" - X

All the policy makers agreed that the existence of bidialectalism in schools made it difficult for the students to express themselves. *"We have identified the problem... I believe that one of the main sources of the problem in oral expression is the use of both the Cypriot and Modern Greek that confuses the students" (P)*. Similarly L argued: *"We have problems today that relate to the richness of the language, while knowledge is multiplied, our language has been impoverished"*. He identified as main reasons for this *"linguistic poverty"* television and that students did not read enough literature. However later on, he also referred to the existence of different varieties in students' linguistic repertoire as a confusing factor for the mastery of the 'proper language':

*"Children hear one kind of speech from their grandparents, they hear a mixture of varieties from the parents, **the worse kind** of speech during the break time at school and then **a better kind** of speech from the teachers. They are influenced then by four different linguistic situations and they develop their own speech that is a mixture of all. So I do not foresee that we can have great achievements in Cyprus regarding children's oral expression because*

⁶³ Another way of describing Standard Modern Greek

⁶⁴ This was also confirmed with the teachers of the school 'Polis' when in the questionnaires the majority of them argued that there is no specific policy or guidelines on how to tackle the issue of bidialectalism (see Appendix 4.2).

⁶⁵ The phenomenon of 'complaint tradition' is described in Milroy and Milroy (1991), where in the public discourse, especially the media, the centre of attention is placed in the 'level of articulation' of various groups of speakers who do not usually hold the Standard as their home variety.

unfortunately in their environment there are all these different linguistic situations".

What was revealing here were the negative aspects attributed to the existence of different linguistic varieties in children's environment, something that L considered as an obstacle to improving students' oral expression. As was noted in the introductory chapter, these perceptions are also found in the wider context and constitute part of the complaint tradition regarding Greek Cypriots' linguistic expression. One of the policy makers identified television and poor reading as the main reasons for students' 'poor linguistic expression', and all admitted that the existence of different linguistic varieties in their repertoire was an underlying factor. None of them however referred to fact that the Standard was not the first variety of the students, and that this imposition might have been one of the possible sources of the 'poor expression' of the students at school. In contrast they all appeared to take a 'passive' stand on recognising the problem but accepting that the situation could not change or 'improve'.

3.3 The correctness and aesthetics of the Standard

The 'complaint tradition' for the use of the Dialect and the poor mastery of the 'Greek' (SMG) by the students, was directly connected with the high esteem the policy making had for spoken Standard Modern Greek. In particular, in the Modern Greek Language Curriculum it is stated: "Students should articulate, pronounce and stress correctly" (Ministry of Education, 1996, p.80), and "students should express themselves in a comfortable way **adopting linguistically acceptable ways** and types" (Ministry of Education, 1996, p.81). Furthermore regarding the relation of the oral and the written speech, the superiority of the later is stressed: "students need to realise the connection between the oral and the written language and the usefulness of the later" (p.82). Clearly there is a specific value system embedded in the written language policies of the Ministry. On the one hand there are no references at all to the Dialect and on the other, the punctuality and 'correctness' in language expression are stressed as important aspects in language learning. Although the 'linguistically acceptable ways' are not clearly defined, the overall content of the curriculum implies that these 'ways' indicate the Standard Modern Greek.

This view was also reflected by the policy makers. P for example compared the way the students from Greece speak with the Cypriot students, asserting that

"While you can see, in Greece students have a flow, an ease when they speak, without this meaning that they have better results in school achievement... they can use more arguments, they can convince you regarding a topic, compared to us, they have the charisma of legein⁶⁶"

Similarly, E argued that *"we need to speak like the Greeks speak"*, stressing the perceived superiority of the Greek way of speaking in comparison to the Cypriot. Overall from both the curricula and the policy makers' views, it emerged that the rationale of the policymaking, was directly related to the wider linguistic value system, and considered the Standard as superior to the Dialect, therefore it was the role of education to promote and establish the former.

3.4 The influence of Greece on language issues

Although the Greek and the Cypriot Ministries of Education are two independent organisations, the policy of the Cypriot Ministry, as was seen earlier is to adopt the Language Curricula of Greece. Additionally all the policy makers interviewed indicated that the decisions and programs of the Greek Ministry were closely followed in Cyprus, stating that this was consciously done, as part of the wider collaboration of Cyprus with Greece in educational issues. The Right wing government decided to intensify this close co-operation of the two ministries in every aspect of language education (Ioannides, 2000). As P. confirmed:

"after the visit of the General Principal of Education to Greece, a complete identification and adjustment of the National Curriculum to that of Greece was decided, since their programmes have a high level, they are more advanced than our own in certain fields"

L verified this point, adding that in the last five years there was a complete adoption of the Greek program in language, verified this. This total identification pursued by the Ministry meant, according to the same policy maker that:

"all the books will be published in co-operation with Greece, that the vocabulary that is related to the Cypriot reality will no longer exist. Of course that depends on how complete the identification will be. The decision is taken but we have to see how precise its implementation will be"

⁶⁶ 'Legein' is a phrase in Greek indicating the charisma of speaking in a expressive and convincing way.

Although all the policy makers praised this, when it came to specific fields of language they expressed their concerns about the policy of Greece. For example X pointed out that the Cypriot context is linguistically unique because of the Dialect. In addition, the appropriateness of the language textbooks ('My Language') from Greece that are used in public Cypriot education was doubted. P disputed their appropriateness for the Cypriot context, arguing *"the textbooks are a bit foreign for the Cypriot reality. They are written for the area of Athens only"*⁶⁷. Similarly, L, one of the leaders in the initiative to adopt the Greek textbooks noted that *"there were some problems in those textbooks since they were mechanistic and did not provide any initiative to the student"*. Furthermore, it was reported that in the link of the two ministries the 'voice' of Cyprus was not heard in Athens. The remark of P that the textbooks were written for the area of Athens indicated this. In the same way, L pointed out that the suggestions 'Cyprus' made to Greece regarding the textbooks were not implemented, although *'the Greeks initially accepted them'*. Finally, X pointed out that although the Greek ministry requested a number of Cypriot texts to include them in a revised edition of the textbooks, at the end those texts were not included.

Despite the identified problems none of the policy makers questioned the rationale for collaboration between Greece and Cyprus in education and especially language issues. X, for instance argued that Greek Cypriots belonged to the Greek world so they needed to follow the policies and the programs of Greece, even though the linguistic reality of Cyprus had some distinguishable characteristics. As she asserted, *"we constitute a part of the nation so we need to have a common policy on national issues, and language is a national issue"*. Furthermore, despite the identified problems in the textbooks, as L verified, the Cypriot Ministry finally decided to adopt them on the grounds that the rest of the Greek world used them. L commented on this:

*"We tried to enrich them with some additional material, mainly with literary texts from Cypriot authors, but the way the books are structured the teacher needs to follow them on a daily basis, so the teachers did not use the additional material... so they said since the **whole Greek world has these textbooks**, will I be the clever one to enrich or change them? (my emphasis)"*

⁶⁷ The teachers of the school of 'Polis' expressed similar concerns (see Appendix 4.2) something that indicates that it was an issue considered at different levels of the educational hierarchy.

L. pointed out that *"the ministry cannot write its own textbooks ... because they would say that it is cut off from the rest of the Greek world, that they cost a lot"*. In the same way E argued that *"we are a part of the national tree"* so we need to do as the rest of the Greek world does. P. agreed: *"we are Greeks and we ought to follow the programs of Greece"*.

L, was the only one who expressed his concerns about the total identification of Cyprus to Greece on educational and language issues asserting that,

"Greece has totally influenced us and we have abandoned other educational models... I believe that we should be influenced by what is happening to other countries as well, this does not change the substance of the language that is purely Greek"

Nevertheless, he argued that the need for the co-operation between the two countries was always there: *"of course we need to co-operate with Greece... especially in language, their program, the objectives and the aims are good, scientifically documented"*.

On the whole, while there were a few comments for divergence from Greece regarding the textbooks and the need for the 'voice' of the Cypriot Ministry to be 'heard' in Athens, these voices were minor, outshined by the 'national ideal'. All the policy makers interviewed remained committed to the policy of Greece for two reasons. First, because they assigned high esteem to the programmes developed in Greece and second, and more important, because they felt obliged to follow the 'national centre', implying that the ministry would engender criticisms from the wider context if it altered its policy. The argument that the Ministry would be disconnected from Greece if it followed separate language policies constituted a post-independent rhetoric in the 60s, supported by the nationalists and exploited by some extreme daily newspapers (Persianis, 1981; Markides, 1979). Almost four decades later the threat of this 'accusation' exerted pressure on policy makers. The criticisms and doubt of the 'ethnic motives' of the Ministry was something that no policy maker was prepared to face.

3.5 The link of language with ethnic identity

The stressing of Greek Cypriots' 'Greek' ethnic identity is prevalent in the National Curriculum and its 'indisputable' association with the Greek language highlighted. In the prologue of the curriculum, the Minister of Education⁶⁸ underlines that Cyprus "struggles to preserve its Greek and Christian roots in difficult circumstances" (Ministry of Education, 1996). It is evident from the first page of the curriculum, that education is connected with the importance of preserving ethnic identity, which is defined as *Greek* and *Christian*. This is stated throughout the curriculum:

- "the general purpose of Cypriot education is the spiritual, emotional and psycho-somatic development of the students according to the principles of **Christian Orthodox Religion** and the **Greek Tradition**" (Introductory Note, Ministry of Education, 1996)
- "the orientations of Cypriot Education are towards the ideal of a free country, of our **Greek identity** and our Christian Orthodox tradition"(Philosophy of education, Ministry of Education p.17).
- "**Language constitutes the deeper character of every nation**" ('Modern Greek Language', Ministry of Education, p.79)

In the same way, all the policy makers interviewed stressed the link between *"our Greek identity with Greek language"*. P. pointed out that *"language is the whole substance of our national identity, it is our national identity... I mean our personality as a nation, as Greeks, if you lose your language you lose your identity"*. Similarly, E argued that *"the language is the carrier of our culture"*, and L. added, *"language is the first element in the creation of identity"*. Also revealing was the concern that if our language is lost then our identity will be lost. *"Language is a national issue"*, P argued, and *"this should be the case for all the nations. Because if you forget your language you lose your history, your culture and your roots"*.

⁶⁸ Although this Minister represented a right-wing government, a review of similar statements of ministers of previous governments suggests that the educational rhetoric regarding Greek Cypriots' ethnolinguistic identities remained relatively unchanged (see Ioannidou, 1997).

Concerning the type of ethnic identity Cypriot education promotes, all but one of the policy makers interviewed indicated that the identity pursued is the Greek one, since as E pointed out, *"we are Greeks"*. Similarly, P argued,

"Greek, that is the policy of the ministry, that should be the policy of the ministry, this is what we should always aim at, we are Greeks. Despite the fact that we have a Cypriot state. But we are Greeks since our language is Greek. The language is Greek. Whatever we do, whether we want it or not, it is Greek".

Correspondingly, L. argued that *"the Cypriot ministry retains very close bonds with the Greek nation and it is nationally oriented towards the national centre, and this is correct, this is our bond, it is the umbilical cord that keeps us united"*.

A rather different voice was heard from X who argued that, *"education should promote the Greek ethnic identity in which the Cypriot identity is included. Also the Turkish Cypriot presence should be taken into consideration"*. However a closer analysis of her words indicates a strong value system in which identities were viewed, where the Cypriot identity was included in the Greek, but by 'Cypriot' she only meant the Greek Cypriots. This was confirmed by the way she described the Turkish Cypriot identity as a 'presence'. However, she was the only one among the policy makers who mentioned the 'Cypriot' or 'Turkish Cypriot' elements in the overall promotion of Greek ethnic identity.

Overall all the policy makers stressed the centrality of language in identity, and they argued that Greek Cypriot education should promote the Greek identity and the Greek language. Nevertheless, none of them tried to define what 'Greek language' meant, equating the Greek language to the Standard only.

3.6 The influence of the political problem

The influence of the political problem between the two communities is striking in the rhetoric of Greek Cypriot education. The inclusion in the Primary Curriculum of the subject, 'I know, I do not forget and I struggle' along subjects such as Maths or PE, indicates that education and the school were, on a policy level, highly politicised agents. In particular in the Curriculum it is stated that the general purpose of Cypriot education is among other things,

" **the knowledge for our occupied places and the preservation of their memory**, the preparation for all the aspects and all the roles of life in the continuously changing world, especially **in a half-occupied country**, with European orientations, that struggles for its freedom and at the same time needs to face the challenges of the 21st century" (Ministry of Education, 1996)

In addition one of the five basic orientations of Primary Education is, among socialisation, knowledge and so forth, 'the strengthening of the students' fighting spirit for freedom of the occupied areas'. It can be seen from the written policies that a specific value system is promoted in which the northern part of Cyprus is considered as 'ours', 'occupied' and sets as one of its main objectives the preservation of the memory of these places. In addition, the fact that there are no references in the formal curriculum to other ethnic groups of the island or to other linguistic varieties, reinforces the promotion of this specific value system.

Despite the strong political rhetoric in the written policies, the policy makers appeared 'less' politicised, or did not feel the need to talk about the political problem in education. In the interviews issues like 'occupation', 'invasion' and so forth did not feature. One possible explanation for this might be that since the focus of the interviews were language policy and ethnic identity, references to the political problem did not emerge. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to expect that the issue of ethnic identity was likely to be closely interwoven with the political problem and the presence of the 'other' in their rhetoric. However this was not the case in their interview comments. Another interpretation might be that because they felt I was one of them (i.e. a Greek Cypriot) they did not consider the need to promote the political problem. Or, finally, it could be the case that the political problem with its accompanying rhetoric has been present in Greek Cypriot education for so many years that people have started taking it for granted, and not mentioning it (cf. Koutselini, 1999).

Despite this lack of reference to the political problem in Cyprus, I nevertheless explored their attitudes regarding the role education, and more specifically language, can play in case of a political resolution between the two communities. All argued that the two communities needed to start learning the language of each other, and that this should be formally introduced through education. X for example argued, *"the Turkish Cypriots should learn Greek (...) Turkish and Greek should be introduced to each*

educational system as a second language", something also argued by L. Furthermore, the need for a change in the contents of History textbooks from both sides was stressed. X, considered the issue of History more important than language arguing that, *"it is not the language, but it is the History textbooks that need to be changed first"*. L also asserted,

"There are chauvinistic elements in our textbooks and in the teaching of history. There is no reason to promote extreme situations ...we talk for massacres, they talk for massacres as well. We should temporarily put aside those things that wound us, so we can communicate".

Nevertheless, all of them appeared reluctant towards the idea of a common educational system that would accommodate both ethnic groups. E argued that this is not possible because of language problems (although initially she argued that the two communities needed to learn the language of each other). In particular, she asked, *"how is this going happen, there is not a common communication code, will the teachers speak English?"*. This was also confirmed by X and L. The comments made by P were the most explicit about the way in which the issues of education and the political resolution were viewed:

"Look, in Cyprus we are dealing with two different laous (nations) from a language and religion perspective, so this makes it, in my opinion, very difficult to have a common education (...) you have to have an assimilation, either they assimilate with us, or we with them in order to have a united educational system"

What became increasingly evident was the contrast between the written policies and the policy makers' views. The written curricula promoted a specific political and ideological framework in which 'we', 'the Cypriots' indicated the Greek Cypriots, and the 'occupied places' or 'our lands' revealed a feeling of ownership. In contrast, the policy makers did not initiate any discussion on the political problem and they seemed in the main willing to make alterations and adapt education in order to bring the two communities closer, despite some hesitations expressed by P and E. However, it has to be stressed that the role of education in case of a resolution between the two communities was not explored in depth with the policy makers, and it needs much more evidence and documentation in order to be able to argue precisely what views they held on this issue. Nevertheless, what the interviews did reveal was a willingness to make adaptations to educational and language policy in order to bring the two



communities closer, retaining at the same time the view that Greek Cypriots were 'Greeks' with language and religion as the central elements of this identity.

4 Conclusions

From the evidence presented here it is clear that there was a clear connection between language and ethnic identity in language policy in Cyprus. Both in the written policies and in the values and attitudes of the policy makers, the Standard Modern Greek was the linguistic variety selected and promoted. The Dialect on the other hand, although acknowledged as the first variety of the students, was either ignored or banned from formal education. It seems that the rationale for this policy is twofold. First, it was strongly believed that Greek Cypriots belonged to the Greek world and therefore needed to use the common linguistic variety, the Standard, promoting in that way a linear connection between Greek language (i.e. Standard) and Greek identity. There was a strong rhetoric expressed by the policy makers interviewed and stated in the curricula that the ethnic survival of the Greek Cypriots depended on the preservation of their Greek identity and especially on the preservation of the Greek language. The banning of the Dialect seemed therefore natural and acceptable. The idea of a common language and a common nation seemed prevalent for the policy makers. As Thomas (1991) describes "only the national language can adequately serve as a symbol of self-identification with the national culture" (p.43). And from a policy-making perspective the Standard was the national language and therefore had to be promoted and taught in education.

Second, a further argument in favour of the Standard was its superiority in matters of aesthetics (e.g. 'the Greeks speak better') and prestige (e.g. 'their programmes are advanced') in connection to the Dialect. In this case the tensions were not so much national, but had to do with the dominance of one linguistic variety (the Standard) over the other (the Dialect). The Standard was connected with the values of aesthetics and prestige, while at the same time there was a 'complaint tradition' regarding the expressiveness of the Greek Cypriots and the negative interference the Dialect had in their speech. This point of view, common in all the policy makers interviewed, reinforced the idea that Standard Modern Greek should be promoted to ensure social mobility for all the Greek Cypriots, as well as intelligibility among the Greeks all over

the world. These kinds of arguments are common in many standard-dialect contexts (Milroy and Milroy, 1991; Thomas, 1991), usually serving to establish the superimposition of the Standard over the Dialect.

Language policy appeared straightforward in matters of ethnic orientations and preferred linguistic varieties. However, it is worth reflecting what is really happening in practice and to real people. The following chapters provide an in-depth account of the various interconnections of language (i.e. Cypriot Dialect, Standard Modern Greek, English and Turkish) and ethnic identity among primary school students, offering in this way a point of comparison between policy and practice. The following chapter begins this process by introducing the school and the class I explored. It aims to portray a sense of place and context in which the students were situated to provide a background for understanding students' experience of language and ethnic identity.

Chapter Five

THE SCHOOL AND THE CLASS

1 Introduction

The present chapter introduces the school of 'Polis' and provides an insight into the class that I studied focusing on the way the context in which the students were 'situated' reflected any language and ethnic values. The objective is not to conduct an in-depth exploration of the particular school culture, but rather to provide a background context, which may facilitate understanding of how and why the children responded as they did. In presenting this context, I draw upon selected events and aspects I observed and experienced during my three months at the school, focusing on the people, the content, the rituals and the materials of the school and the class.

First, I briefly present the students of Class E', with some features of their background, scholastic achievement and behaviour to highlight the fact that they are real people, whose voices are heard throughout the study. Second, I provide an account of the school and the class context, drawing upon pictures, objects and artefacts that embedded any linguistic or ethnic values. Third, I describe selected events and rituals that took place in the school which had a strong ethnic character. Finally, I explore two series of selected textbooks used in Class E' focusing on the themes in the texts, and drawing upon my own observations to describe the way these materials were used in the class. Because of the nature of this chapter, I adopt a rather different 'voice' than the one used so far, using a narrative account to describe the school, the class and the students as *I* experienced them.

2 The students of class E'

Class E is one of eight classes⁶⁹ in this primary school, which caters for children (Age 6-12) in Years 1-6. There is also a pre-primary unit, located in another building and a supportive unit for the deaf students. In addition this school also attracts many 'immigrants', mainly from Russia but of Greek 'origin' (Pontioi⁷⁰). In each class two or

⁶⁹ There are two classes in Year 1 and Year 3

⁷⁰ Pontioi are Greek-origin Russians, with Russian as their first language, who after the collapse of USSR started to return either to Greece or Cyprus.

three students stem from Russia, the principal confirmed. All the rest are Greek Cypriots, either from 'refugee' families (families from the northern part of Cyprus who came to Larnaka after the partition) or from families of Larnaka origin. The majority of the students come from middle class families (confirmed by the principal). There are also fourteen teachers, class and subject teachers⁷¹. Other members of staff include the two cleaning ladies, a gardener and the woman responsible for the food shop (cantina).

Class E' (Year 5) had twenty-four students, fourteen boys and ten girls, with an age range from ten to twelve. On my first visit to the class I gained the impression that all students were Greek Cypriots, except for the two students that Ms Artemis pointed out as 'Greeks from Russia' (i.e. Pontioi). These were the two brothers, Evagoras (12 years old) and Periklis (10 years old) who used to live in Russia but just recently came with their family to live in Cyprus. They described themselves as 'Greeks' who spoke Russian and Greek. Both of them were fluent in Standard Modern Greek because the first place their family moved to was Crete, therefore they learned the Standard form of Greek. The presence of these two standard speakers in class E' increased students' language awareness regarding the difference between the Standard and the Dialect.

As time went by and I came to spend more time with the students I realised that there were a variety of ethnic backgrounds among them. Demos for example defined himself as 'English', and in a conversation we had he mentioned that his father was British and his mother second-generation Greek living in England. The first language of Demos was English and he admitted that he started learning Greek a few years ago when they moved to Cyprus. He learned Greek mainly from his granny, which is probably why he was a 'heavy' Dialect speaker, with many difficulties when using the Standard (this was confirmed by the teacher and my classroom observations). Additionally there were two students, Stella and Nefeli, who were bilingual in Greek and English since both had one parent who was British. Finally, Froso's father was from the Mauritius Islands but she was also born and bred in Cyprus and Greek was her first language. So a classroom that on first sight looked monolingual and

⁷¹ The class teachers, i.e. those who taught most of the subjects in one class, are eight (Charis, Artemis, Mihalīs, Miria, Eleftheria, Aspasia, Dora, Xenia). The subject teachers are five and include an Art (Melpo), PE (Grigoris), Music (Ellie), Maths (Petros) and two Special Education teachers (Ariadni, Katia).

ethnically solid, turned out, after more in-depth exploration, to have a plurality in ethnic variation.

Class E' was considered an average achieving class, and as Ms Artemis argued, *'they have just begun to come to terms with how to work properly, but they are good kids'*. From the classroom observations it was obvious that, throughout the subjects a number of students were identified as more confident, talkative and high achieving. These, the teacher confirmed were Menelaos, Orestis, Patroklos, Evagoras and Achilleas amongst the boys, and Nefeli, Anastasia and Lydia among the girls. In addition, the teacher distinguished a number of boys (Dionisis, Iasonas, Demos) as being very weak and having problems coping at school. The rest of the class was characterised by the teacher as average achievers, with some girls working hard and trying a lot (Katerina, Froso, Anna), and some boys not achieving the maximum of their capabilities and being 'lazy' (Giannis, Agis, Aggelos, Tefkros and Perseas).



Picture 5.1: The Students of Class E

There were no particular problems of discipline, in any subject I observed, although there were some boys who could be really naughty (Agis, Tefkros, Iasonas, Giannis) and some girls who chatted a lot (Ifigenia, Erato). This was also confirmed by the teacher saying for example that, *'Giannis is very indifferent and he is spoiled'*, or *'Tefkros is really naughty, he is clever though and sometimes he presents really good work, by he is really naughty'*.

As far as their socio-economic and family background is concerned, I did not have a lot of information as I did not visit students' homes, but I collected information by Ms Artemis and Mr Tilemahos. Both of them argued that the majority of the students were of medium socio-economic background, although some students were identified as 'poor' (Demos, Dionisis, Katerina), and others as facing some problems in their family (Agis, Erato). Finally, observing the students in and out of the class it emerged that there were a lot of friendship networks among them, such as girls versus boys, and one friendship group towards another. Although all students were integrated in some kind of network, some were more popular and usually constituted the leaders of the network (Anastasia, Ifigenia, Nefeli, Menelaos, Agis), and others were sometimes being bullied (e.g. Froso⁷²).

3 The surrounding environment

The two flags in the front yard of the school move with the wind, the Greek and the Cypriot flag, the symbols of the nation and the state (Picture 5.2). The school building, rather old and white with a massive yard surrounding it, has a simple front garden and a big football field at the back. As I walk through the 'common' rooms, the staff room and the central lounge for reception, I notice, among the educational books, teaching materials, timetables and seminars and conference announcements, a big poster of Kerynia (a town in the north), issued by the Ministry of Education. The poster features two primary school students pointing towards Kerynia harbour, with the title '*Be patient my Kerynia, I am growing*'. On the wall are a few Christian icons of Jesus and Mother Mary, various trophies and honours the students had won, and a photograph of Archbishop Makarios, the first president of the Cyprus Republic (Picture 5.2). This pattern of political and religious symbols is present in all the other common rooms, the staff room, the principal's office and the central corridors leading to the common areas. The symbols are well known to me. Having grown up in Cyprus, and passed through the public education system, I remember these symbols always being there, in every school, in every room. These symbols, as the policy documents clearly outline, reveal and embed in the school culture, the Greek-

⁷² I observed two incidents during break time in which Froso was rejected by the girls' friendship network, or was bullied by other girls.

Christian ideals of education, and the centrality of the political problem for Greek Cypriots.



Picture 5.2: The Greek and the Cypriot national flags at the school yard (left) and the staff room with the poster of Kerynia and the photograph of Archbishop Makarios (right)

Class E' presents similar patterns in its surrounding content and decoration. The room, situated on the first floor, is like all classrooms in the school, rather big, with standardised seating arrangements, i.e. the students sitting in pairs, with their desks facing the board and the teacher's desk ('edra'). The overall environment of the class is simple and very traditional, with many shelves with books, two blackboards, and no presence of any electronic equipment (e.g. computers or projectors). Apart from the plethora of different kinds of educational and literary books, files, folders and notebooks, there are features that expose symbols, similar to the ones found in the 'common rooms'. Walking around the large notice boards decorating the wall, I notice, among the students' essays, drawings and general schoolwork, various materials that unmask political and religious symbols. Under the title of 'Current News', amongst a map of the Larnaka district and an advert for a TV show, I spot the photographs of the two young men killed in clashes between the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots in 1996, with the heading '*Honour and Grace to our Contemporary Heroes*'. Then,

among pictures from Italy, Britain and Switzerland under the title 'Europe', I detect a group of posters from different monuments in Cyprus, with the theme '*Our Cultural Heritage*'. As I sit in one of the student's desks, I can see right in front of me, on the top of the two blackboards, four or five bigger posters featuring places from Northern Cyprus (villages, towns, sights), with the title '*Places Beloved, Places Unforgettable*' (Picture 5.4). There is evidence of these political symbols everywhere. Among some announcements about the protection of the environment there is a small picture with a girl waving a Greek flag in her hands, and a calendar from the 'occupied' village of Assia (Picture 5.3). I look around the huge windows with the plants and the flowers and I think nothing has changed here since I was in primary school. My eye stops at another picture between the two windows - the Pentadaktylos Mountains, the border that separates the two communities, the mountains that both the Greek and Turkish Cypriots view. The title on the picture is '*Pentadaktylos is waiting for us*'. Then, just a few steps away, are some sayings written in beautiful letters, '*Did you do your homework?*' '*Less meat, more fruit and vegetables*'. I also notice the icon of Mother Mary on one of the walls, and at the right corner of the same wall a big poster with 'rules' about good behaviour at school: '*I respect other people's quietness*', '*I listen to the others when they speak*'.

It is as if the school has two sides. The side that witnesses the daily routine of schooling, books, materials, essays, files, rules and regulations promoting discipline and good work. And then, the other side that witnesses the presence of a national and political message embedded everywhere: the flags, the posters, the newspapers, and the titles and inscriptions accompanying them. But I keep thinking to myself, how much do all these really matter to the students, how much do they influence their way of thinking, and do these two sides co-exist harmoniously?



Picture 5.3: The political symbols in Class E



Picture 5.4: The blackboards and the 'occupied places' noticeboard above.

4 Daily routine and 'Special Events'

These two 'faces' of the school became more evident as I spent more time there. On the one hand it was the typical school routine and on the other from time to time special events and discussions would take place that revealed that there was more going on than just teaching and socialisation.

The lessons began every morning at 7.45 am and ended at 1.05 p.m. Assemblies did not occur on a regular basis, rather only when the principal had something specific to say in front of the whole school. These assemblies started with the Morning Prayer (the one performed in the classroom every morning), usually read by an older student, followed by the principal's announcements - mostly on discipline and informative issues or for reading the 'Message from the Minister of Education'⁷³. The school daily routine was more or less the same: teachers preparing materials, making reports about students' progress, having visits from parents, and students attending classes and playing games in the school yard in their free time. Additionally the school either as a whole, or in different classes had excursions (e.g. the visit of Year 5 and Year 6 to Famagusta region) or educational fieldtrips (e.g. the visit of class E' to the desalting units on the outskirts of Larnaka). Furthermore, various athletics or sports events occurred (e.g. the football match between the school of 'Polis' and another school) or other social events (e.g. the visits of public persons at school such as the Bishop of Larnaka).

Apart from these events, I also experienced the organising of two special 'celebrations' (*giortes*) by the school, in order to honour and remember certain national and to some extent religious events from Greece and Cyprus. These celebrations as the principal, Mr Tilemahos informed me were celebrated in all public schools, following the guidelines of the ministry of education (see Appendix 5.1 for a list of all the celebrations). The central celebrations in 'Polis', which involved a lot of preparation and had more formal character were, according to Mr Tilemahos, the Christmas, the

⁷³ These messages are sent on a regular basis to all the public primary schools, usually on occasions like the beginning or end of the year, or on national day and any other celebrations. I conducted an analysis of the messages the school received for the current year. It emerged that every message included references first, about the political problem in Cyprus (using words such as on-going occupation, invasion), and secondly stressing the Greek and Christian aspects of the identity of the Greek Cypriots. An extract from one of these messages is on page 122.

three national celebrations⁷⁴, and the end of the year celebration. During these events, all the school gathered in the school theatre and watched poems, plays, songs and dances performed by the students. Parents were also welcomed as well as some invited guests, usually inspectors or members of the local educational office.

In the following sections I describe two events (*giortes*) as I experienced during my stay at the school. The first was the national celebration of the 25th of March that took place at the beginning of the fieldwork and which I watched when it actually happened. The second was the end of the year celebration, which took place almost three months later. I had the opportunity to watch the final rehearsal that took place during school time.

School Celebration for '25th March, 1821' (Journal, 23/3)

"Today we had the celebration for the '25th of March, 1821' at school: the Greek revolution against the Turks. For days now the classes of the school (students and teachers) have been rehearsing their poems and their plays. Today, at nine all the school with many parents gathered at the school theatre, which was decorated with flags (Greek flags) and with large posters featuring people who fought in 1821 ('heroes' as they are called). Seated in the first row were Mr. Tilemahos and some 'formal' guests, the school inspector and one Greek Major (from the National Guard). The celebration began with songs from the choir of the school: 'Ten Brave People', 'The 21', 'The Thieves'. All these songs had as their central theme the bravery of the Greek people who fought against the enemy. Then, small plays followed, with themes from the 1821 events: the 'Secret School', the oppression and slavery of the Greeks by the Turks, the 'heroic death of many people' (Mesologgi, Despo Arvanitissa), the events that started off the revolution (in Ayia Lavra). There were also two poems about the religious celebrations of the evangelism of Mother Mary, celebrated on the same day. The programme also included a number of speeches. First, Mr. Michalis the teacher of Class D', talked about the 25th of March stressing the bravery of the Greeks and drawing comparisons with the occupied Cyprus today. Then Mr. Tilemahos read out the 'message by the Minister of Education', some extracts of which are as follows:

"Dear teachers, students of the primary schools,

⁷⁴ 28th October 1940 (celebrating the rejection of Greece to accept Italian troops in 1940), 25th March 1821 (celebrating the beginning the Greek revolution against the Turks), 1st April 1955 (celebrating the beginning of the struggle of the Greek Cypriots against the British colonisers)

In extremely difficult circumstances for **our nation (my bold)**, the Greeks celebrate this year (...) the anniversary of the beginning of the struggle for freedom from the Turkish rule.

For four hundred years the Greek people lived in oppression and bitter slavery. But **the nation remained attached to its roots**, where it took strength from and when the time came it fought (...)

Today, at the boundaries of the Nation lies **the Greek people of Cyprus**, that had and have historic future (...). The outcomes of **the barbarian invasion** are not fixed, because the only fixed thing is the strength for fairness.

(...) **The education is always in the front line of the national struggles** (...) Inspired from the example of the bright people of the 21, let us all follow the path that our ancestors lead, in order to give to our predecessors **a free and united Cyprus**"

Revealing was the play that class E' presented. All the girls took part in it and each represented a region of Greece. Greece - played by Nefeli - was standing in the middle of the stage, calling her 'daughters' to come close to her, one by one: North Ipiros, Sterea Ellada, Macedonia, Islands, Crete, Dodecanesa, Cyprus, Thrace, Morias, etc⁷⁵. At the end, Greece concludes with the verses, 'after times and years they will be ours again'⁷⁶. The play was followed by traditional Greek dances (e.g. 'karagkuna', 'pentozali', etc.) performed by the girls of Year 6. Before the closure of the celebration the Greek Major addressed the audience with a brief speech and spoke about the 'hyper-history' of the Greek people. The celebration was concluded with the national anthem (Greek) sung by everyone standing and in a very serious tone".

End of the Year Celebration: 'A Cypriot Evening' (Journal, 30/5)

"The theme of this celebration is Cyprus and the title of the event is 'A Cypriot Evening'. The event is dedicated to the cultural aspects of Cyprus and all those unique features (dancing, dressing, and language) that compose the profile of Greek Cypriots. The stage is ready, a scenery picturing olive trees and a well. The students who are standing at the side are dressed in traditional Cypriot costumes. The programme includes poems, small plays, songs and dances. Evidently, a lot of the poems and the plays are performed in the Cypriot Dialect although the two students from Year 6 who present the programme are using the Standard. The event begins with some poems in the Standard about life in Cyprus, followed by the choir, which performs songs from the Cypriot folk music, in the Dialect. After that there are some poems from famous Cypriot poets at the beginning of the 20th century (Lipertis, Mihailidis) in the Dialect. Then students from Year 5 and 6 perform two traditional Cypriot

⁷⁵ Most of these places form a part of the Greek state (except Cyprus) but some are areas where politically their Greekness was disputed and there were political rivalries with neighbouring countries (e.g. Macedonia with FYROM, North Ipiros with Albania, Thrace with Turkey). However all of these parts are considered in Greek history and Greek educational system as vital parts of the Greek nation.

dances. Finally a play by the same Cypriot poet, Lipertis, is presented by students of Year 6 in the Cypriot Dialect, with themes from life in the country at the beginning of the twentieth century."

Although the events described above were the only ones I observed during my three-month stay at the school, the political and ideological messages they were sending were quite strong. The first celebratory event was governed by highly national tones: Greek flags everywhere, the presence of a military person, themes that presented the Greeks as suffering and imaging the Turks as the enemy. Most importantly though, it was the connections that were made between Cyprus and Greece, the common national struggles and the application of the national struggle then to the need for struggle in the 'divided Cyprus' now.

The second celebration had a quite different character, stressing the uniqueness of Cyprus, with its own distinct traditions, life-style and linguistic variety. In fact, it was the only time, during my total time at school that I heard the Dialect spoken in public and formal school events. As Mr Tilemahos argued later on, the Cypriot element is very important and should be promoted in education, with events such as the one organised in his school. Nevertheless, the whole character of the celebration had a nostalgic tone about life in Cyprus in the past, the 'unspoiled traditions' - even for language⁷⁶. It was mostly oriented around folk culture and life in the countryside and did not involve any aspects of the contemporary life in Cyprus. Even the form of Dialect in which the poems and the plays were performed was the Dialect spoken mostly by very old people, usually in the villages and it did not represent the variety spoken by the students and the Greek Cypriots in general in their daily lives.

Apart from these two events, there were other incidents, which occurred, mostly among teachers' discussions that exposed the 'other' side of the school, the more political one. Although, during my three month stay I did not experience such discussions on a daily or consistent basis, still there were a number of discussions taking place in the staff room that revealed ethnic values, political orientations and

⁷⁶ 'Πάλι με χρόνια με καιρούς πάλι δικά μας θα 'ναι'.

⁷⁷ Mr Tilemahos asserted in his interview that the Cypriot Dialect spoken today "is not the real dialect, it is not the dialect of Liperti, Mihailidi and our classic poets or other literary people (...) and many foreign words have invaded the vocabulary of the Cypriot, so it is anything else than Cypriot dialect "

national aspirations. One of these events is described below. (Others are in Appendix 5.2)

Event 1, Staff Room, 16/3

One morning at coffee in the staff room, Ms Miria mentions the issue of the 'aftomolus' i.e. those people (usually gypsies) who flee from the northern part of the island and seek refuge from the Cypriot government in the south. Most of the teachers are against the policy of the government to accept them. Then the discussion shifts towards the political problem and whether Greek and Turkish Cypriots can live together. The following discussion takes place:

Ms Eleftheria: We cannot live together. Are we going to go and live under a Turkish administration? Will I go and live with the Turks?

Ms Katia: Cyprus will become Turkish. The Turkish element is spreading out in our area.

Ms Miria: How did our Cyprus end up like this? ... Then they will create propaganda

Ms Charis: well I do not think that our ministers and our government are stupid, I think they know what they are doing".

Furthermore, the two sides of this school culture were strongly reflected in the school newspaper that was issued twice a year, with different materials prepared by the students with the guidelines of the teachers. The two issues for the current year included photographs from events like the protest of the students in the streets of Larnaka about the proclamation of northern Cyprus as a state, their visits to different factories, the celebration for the environment, the Christmas celebration and so forth. The articles had diverse themes: *A basketball match*, *Educational Fieldtrip*, *Correspondence from the Albanian Front*, *Deadly Earthquake in Athens*, *Chatting with an Archaeologist*, 28th of October 1940. What was more revealing was the event-calendar of the school, outlined in the newspapers regarding the first term of the school year. Some of the events described were: the celebration for the independence of Cyprus republic, donations for the earthquake in Athens, school market with UNICEF products, celebration for 1940, visit to the olive oil station, visit to a bakery, etc. Finally, the art drawing and sketches (Picture 5.5) by the students revealed this dichotomy between political messages and daily school routine.



"Τα γενέθλιά μου "
Δ' τάξη



"Διαδήλωση "
τάξη



"Το ελιομάζωμα"
Δ' τάξη



"Ο κυνηγός "
Δ' τάξη

Picture 5.5: Students' artwork from the school newspaper (themes: My birthday, Protest against the 'occupation', The olive harvest, The hunter)

The observations noted above in the surrounding environment of the school, the selected events and, to some extent, the discussions among the teachers indicate the existence of fixed and clear political connotations, reflecting to a large extent the existing policies outlined in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, it was not very clear how the students made sense of all these symbols and what effects they had on them.

5 The textbooks 'My language' and 'I know, I do not forget and I struggle'

What also exposed the two 'sides' in the school, especially in connection with the wider policy making were the use (or not) of two series of textbooks in class E, 'My Language' and 'I know, I do not forget and I struggle'.

As was seen in the previous chapter the language textbooks used in public schools are the same as those used in Greece. The series of textbooks titled 'My Language' are central in students' school life as they are used at all levels at least 2-3 periods per day for the teaching of Modern Greek language⁷⁸. Similarly, in class E' Ms Artemis used these textbooks on a daily basis (see Appendix 5.3 for the Timetable of Class E). The students did their reading, comprehension, and grammar, vocabulary and even written expression through these textbooks.

I investigated the themes of these textbooks in order to explore whether they were primarily national or political oriented texts. The rationale was to understand the full context in which the students were situated in order to see whether the political symbols identified earlier constituted a part of their day to day routine at school. From the thematic analysis I conducted to the textbooks for Year 5 (class E), it emerged that there was a diversity of themes, with most texts revolving around stories about children, technology, immigration, travelling, and life in the past (Appendix 5.4). It can be argued that there was not a big number of texts with reference to national or historic events⁷⁹ (7 out of 70), while there was an almost equal number of anti-war and pro-peace texts (6 out of 70). The overall theme of the texts was contemporary and modern life, focusing on the context of Greece⁸⁰.

⁷⁸ Defined in the Curriculum (1996) as Listening and Oral Expression, Reading, Written Expression, Conceptual and Orthographically Vocabulary, Grammar, Handwriting, Skills for studying and using sources.

⁷⁹ These textbooks were designed and implemented in Greece by the socialist government of PASOK, which is considered less nationalistic and more moderate than their right-wing counterparts.

⁸⁰ Another issue that emerged from the analysis, was that there were hardly any references in the textbooks to the more cultural, political and historical distinguishing features of life in Cyprus (in fact there was one text only by a Cypriot poet, and one referring to a Cypriot artist). This confirmed some of the doubts, the policy makers and the teachers expressed regarding the appropriateness of these textbooks to the Cypriot context.

Additionally, during the classroom observations I noticed that the teachers did not make any use of the series of textbooks, 'Do not Forget and Struggle', which is issued by the Ministry of Education. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, these textbooks fall within the general objective of primary education for the preservation of the memory of the occupied part of Cyprus⁸¹ (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1996). The third part of this series (for Year 5 and 6) covered various topics related to those regions, towns and villages which are on the 'other side of the green line', 'occupied by the Turks'. A holistic approach is adopted offering historical, geographical and cultural description of the places in the north, using visual (photographs) and textual (literary texts) material. The overall tone of the book is one that stresses the calamities and suffering of Greek Cypriot people, refugees, soldiers and missing people since 1974 (Appendix 5.4).

Although there was no special time on the school time-table allocated to the subject 'I know, I do not forget and I struggle', the teachers were expected to find some time during other subjects. This mostly took place in Greek since this is allocated most of the time for teaching as the policy makers confirmed. Nevertheless, during my classroom observations in class E', not once in the three months was this textbook used either by Ms Artemis or by the other teachers. Despite the strong national rhetoric in the policy objectives and guidelines, the teaching of Greek and other subjects was conducted through the basic textbooks, and the overloading of the timetable did not allow time for the teaching of this highly political subject.

The picture therefore I gained from comparing what was taking place in the class with the stated policy and curricula was sometimes conflicting. Despite the strong national rhetoric in the policy making, and in some aspects of the context of the school, the 'nationally oriented' textbook was never used in the classroom, while the more moderate textbook was used on a daily basis.

⁸¹ The three main objectives of this subject, as defined by the National Curriculum, are 'helping' students:

- a). 'Learn about **our occupied land**, to keep **the memory of our occupied land alive** and to cultivate and strengthen hopefulness, faith and endeavour for **return**' (p.93)
- b). 'Know and understand the right of people, as they are defined in international declarations and to work consciously, with responsibility and dynamically for their application to our country (sic)' (p.95)
- c). 'Learn, understand, appreciate and respect all those elements (traditions, attitudes, values and customs) that contributed in the **national and physical survival of Cypriot Greek people** (sic)

This picture was also confirmed in the observations I conducted in class E', when I tried to identify any critical incidents regarding ethnic identity. As it emerged, there were very few incidents in which direct references were made to the concepts described in the curriculum as 'occupied places', 'invasion', 'Turkey' or other incidents that could be more loosely linked to ethnic values. Two of these incidents are outlined below.

Religious Studies, Ms Artemis, 15/5

The teacher asks the students to provide examples of the way the words of Christ (text) can be implemented in real life. Stella says that we have to help the children in Greece who need clothes (because of the earthquakes). The teacher adds that we should help not only those in Greece but also those in Serbia, in Turkey and everywhere people are in need.

Greek, Ms Artemis, 15/5

The topic of the lesson is earthquakes and the measures of precaution that people need to know. They do not use the textbook but a sheet the teacher has prepared. Today's topic falls under the category of 'current issues', and the topic of earthquakes is considered crucial because of the recent earthquakes in Turkey and then Greece. In one of the discussions the students mention the earthquakes in Turkey and the teacher stresses that these calamities brought the two countries closer, and a spirit of friendship was established between them. The students immediately expand and talk a lot about the Greek soldiers and helpers who went to Turkey to help the people who suffered and then about the Turkish soldiers who did the same.

Overall from the classroom observations it emerged that Class E' was not a domain where political or national-oriented discussion took place on a daily and consistent basis, despite the strong presence of political symbols in the context of the class, in some of the textbooks and in parts of the curriculum. The lessons focused on typical school subjects such as Maths, Modern Greek, Science. Even in subjects that had more social discussion (e.g. History, Geography, Literature), there were hardly any discussions of the political problem.

6 The 'language' duality at school

Apart from the 'two sides' apparent in the school context regarding the 'national' symbols and the daily school routine, another thing that was striking from the

throughout its long history, and to contribute in copying with the **dangers that our country (sic) faces'** (p.96)

observations out of class was the use of the Standard and the Dialect, depending on the domain, the occasion and the people. Although talk outside class was not the focus of this study, still during my observations I had the opportunity to identify certain language patterns that were consistent among the students and the teachers. The Standard was the formal variety of the school, used in assemblies, 'celebrations' and speeches. It was also used by the majority of the teachers when they had meetings with parents. Nevertheless, the Dialect was overwhelmingly the variety used during break times both by the students and the teachers. The students used the Dialect extensively, in the playground, in the food-area, when they discussed, when they argued, even when they addressed the teachers (see extracts 28a,b p.145). Furthermore the majority of the teachers used mainly dialect variants in their speech when they discussed with each other, although some of them (e.g. Eleftheria, Melpo) tended to use more standard variants than others did. It appeared then that the school presented two different linguistic 'sides', with the Dialect widely used during break-times (or other out of classroom events such as fieldtrips or excursions), and with the Standard retaining a more formal role and restricted to specific domains.

The above observations indicate clearly that 'two sides' are evident in the political symbols that permeate the surrounding school environment. The issue emerging therefore is whether these two different sides of the school influence (if they do) the students and what impact they had on them. Was the strong policy rhetoric outlined in the previous chapter and present in the surrounding environment and some of the rituals in the school influential in the shaping of students' ethnic values and identities? And was the linguistic duality observed in the wider context of the school present in the students' talk and in their language attitudes? The following three chapters focus on the students of class E' exploring these questions in coming to understand their language use, ethnic values and perceived ethnic identity. In particular, the following chapter describes language variation in class E', aiming to explore the way the two varieties were used.

Chapter Six

LANGUAGE VARIATION IN CLASS E'

*"What is crucial is not so much a better understanding of how language is structured,
but a better understanding of how language is used, not so much what language is,
as what language is for"*
Hymes, 1985, p.xii

*"Teacher, teacher, in your life do not look down on
the language of the village;
it is the beginning of wisdom"*
- Psyharis, 1888, p.124

1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a picture of the way language is used in Class E. Especially I examine the way the students, and to some extent the teachers of classroom E used Standard (SMG) and Dialect (CD) variants⁸² in their daily classroom interaction. The objective is to provide a sociolinguistic picture of the way CD and SMG were used in order to examine whether their use was connected to specific values and norms. Classroom language variation is presented, first through a thick and detailed description of a typical two-period Greek lesson and second with more generalised and categorised data from the whole fieldwork. In this way, the range of language use in operation in one lesson is presented, which is then compared and contrasted with data and operations from other lessons.

2 Detailed description of one typical classroom interaction in class E

07/3/2000 – GREEK (Periods 1-2):

The setting is the classroom E where students do most of their subjects. Greek is taught by their class teacher Ms Artemis. The description is noted by numbers that indicate, in sequence the different 'scenes' that took place during the lesson. The source of the data is recorded and transcribed talk and field notes I took during the lesson observation.

⁸² See Appendices 6.1-6.2 for a linguistic definition of what constitutes Cypriot Dialect (CD) and what Standard Modern Greek (SMG).

Transcription Key

Red letters = Dialect variants
 Blue letters = Standard variants
 Green letters = Closer to the Standard
 Purple letters = Closer to the Dialect
 Black letters = Intralanguage
Italics = Actual Talk
Bold = My description
 CAPITALS = Increase in voice pitch
 ↑ ↓ = shift to formal / informal style
 → = code switching
 T = the teacher
 S1, 2, ... = Unidentified students
 <...> = Slightly modified translation for enhancing the meaning

(1) The bell rings and the students come into class. Ms Artemis is standing in the middle of the room and is irritated because some students stayed in the classroom during the break time.

Extract 1:

1. T: γίνεται να *μεινίσκουμεν* μέσα;⁸³ (is it allowed to *stay* in?)
2. Aggelos: κυρία ήμουν άρρωστος (miss I was ill)
3. T: ήσουν άρρωστος (you were ill)
4. (p) Στέλλα, γιατί έμεινες; (Stella why did you stay?)
5. Aggelos: κυρία (miss) **he tries to say something but the teacher is crossed because he has interrupted her**
6. T: *MEN* ΜΙΛΑΣ, μιλά η Στέλλα (*DON'T* TALK, Stella is talking)
7. Stella: *έθελα* να *έβρω* τον φάκελλο (*I wanted to find* the file)
8. T: *τζαι* έμεινες μέσα *ύστερα*; (*and then*, you stayed in?)

As can be seen from the beginning of her telling off the students, the teacher uses dialect variants: i.e. when she asks the student to provide an explanation (1), when she tells a student off for interrupting the others (6) and when she comments on students' replies (8). Similarly Stella (7) uses the Dialect when she tries to explain what happened. On the other hand the words of Aggelos cannot be classified as either Dialect or Standard since he uses variants that are common in both varieties (Intralanguage).

(2) After this incident all the students talk at the same time (*Dialect*) complaining, protesting and giving excuses about what happened in the break time. The teacher continues to question other students who stayed in:

Extract 2:

1. T: *Ερατώ εμπήκες εσύ, έμεινες μέσα;* (Erato **did you get** in, did you stay in?)
2. *Ερατό: κυρία ήμουν με τη Στέλλαν εγώ* (miss I was with Stella)
3. T: *εχρειάζεσουν, είσαις καμιάν δουλειά;* (**were you needed, did you have any** job to do inside?)
4. *Ερατό: όι* (**no**)
5. T: *καλό;* (**then?**)
6. *Ερατό: όι επήαμεν μαζί* (**no we went** together)
7. T: *ΕΙΝΤΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΗΕΤΕ ΜΑΖΙ;* (**WHAT DO YOU MEAN YOU WENT TOGETHER?**)
8. *είπαμε να μείνει καμιά ομάδα μεσα;* (Did we say that any group would stay in?)

Here the conversation between the teacher and Erato gets more intense (this can also be noted from the pitch of their voice). The teacher seems upset and irritated by the reasons Erato provides, and in this context the teacher uses dialect variants in a higher frequency and at some points she uses strong dialect markers (3: "είσαις" / you had, 7: "ΕΙΝΤΑΛΟΣ" / in what way). Similarly Erato uses the Dialect to reply to the teacher and explain what happened (4, 6).

(3) After that, there is a lot of noise in the classroom. Some students go on reporting on each other (*Dialect*) while others do not take part in the argument. The teacher remains silent for a while and waits until they stop talking. When they do so she starts making a general remark to the whole class shifting to a more formal style:

Extract 3:

1. ↑ *από εδώ κι εμπρός* (**from now on**) /
2. *όποιος μείνει κάμνει λάθος* (anyone who stays <in the class> **makes** a mistake) /
3. *κι έννα τον αφήννω εγώ όλα τα διαλείμματα τιμωρία* (**and I will** leave him <in>, **all** the breaks, detention) /
4. *αφού του αρέσκει να 'ν πάνω, να τον αφήννω εγω και να του βάλλω τζαι δουλειά* (since **he likes it to be** upstairs I will leave him **and I will put him extra work to do <as well>**) /
5. *μόνον αν ιζητήσσει άδεια θα μπορεί να μείνει* (only if **he asks** for permission he **will be <allowed>** to stay)/
6. *εν διαφορετικό, εντάξει?* (**<this> is** different, ok?)

Here, the teacher tries to bring the classroom to order so as to prepare the students for the lesson. She chooses therefore to use Standard at the very beginning (1) to draw

⁸³ The writing conventions used to show the Cypriot Dialect were largely but not exclusively based on the work of Hatzioannou (1999) in the 'Grammar of the Cypriot Dialect'

students' attention and to give a more serious tone to her words. Then throughout her remark she employs a combination of dialect and standard variants using however the Standard forms of 'and' (και), which is one of the distinguishing features of the Standard, giving to her words a more formal manner.

(4) After the teacher's remark there is silence in the classroom. The teacher asks them to take out their notebook for dictation:

“λοιπόν το τετράδιο της ορθογραφίας”
(right the exercise book for dictation)

The students take out their notebooks and are getting ready for their dictation while talking to one another (*Dialect*). The teacher goes around the class and supervises students' notebooks. Then she gives directions to the students to get ready:

Extract 4

1. λοιπόν έτοιμοι (right, ready)
2. γρήγορα τα δύο τετράδια (quickly the two notebooks)
3. να δούμε τι γράμματα *εγράψετε* (to see what handwriting *you wrote*)
/
4. διαβάζετε (keep reading)
5. *ώσπου να δώκω τον γυρό* εγώ να τα δω (until I go <around>, to look at them)
6. ανοίξετε τα *ματάκια* σας (open your little eyes)

The instructions the teacher gives (2, 4, 6) are all in Standard form. In 3 and 5 however she makes more informal comments, explaining what she intends to do, using dialect variants.

(5) The students talk to one another (*Dialect*) constantly. The teacher moves around and checks their notebooks. She stops and comments on the work of two students (Extracts 5a,b):

Extract 5a:

1. T: *άτε* να δούμε (come on) (...) /
2. *τούντο πράμαν έτο δαμαί* Στεφάνου (this thing is here Stefanou)
Telling him off for not writing something in the right place
3. Stefanou: *είντα που έκαμα* εγώ κυρία; (what did I do miss?)
4. T: *άδε, άδε, άδε* (look, look, look) **disapproving his work**

Extract 5b:

μπράβο ρε Ορέστη ρε, λεβέντη, κοίταζε
(Well done Oresti, leventi⁸⁴, look) **showing his well presented work**

⁸⁴ Leventis: a complementary way of calling a man, indicating a man 'to be proud of'

When the teacher tells off Stefanou (using his surname) she uses predominantly the Dialect and from the tone of her voice it is revealed that she is not pleased and rather cross with his general performance in the classroom. On the other hand when she compliments Orestis there are no dialect variants in her talk. In extract 5a she uses the strong dialect form of the verb 'look' ('άδε'), while in 5b she uses the closer to the standard form ('κοίταξε'). Of course it is not clear that there is a definite association between on the one hand, the use of the dialect form when she tells off and looks down a student, and on the other hand, the corresponding use of the standard form of the same verb when she praises another student. However the difference is striking and worth mentioning.

(6) She goes on supervising their notebooks making various remarks and comments about their work using a combination of variants. Then, one group of boys laugh and the teacher goes close to them:

Extract 6:

1. T: ssssss **telling them to be quiet**
2. Aggelos: κυρία μιλούν με **τους πισινούς τους τζαι γελοούν** συνέχεια (miss they are talking with **the <people sitting behind them> and they are laughing** all the time)
3. Evagoras: εγώ **δεν είμαι μέσα σ' αυτά εντάξει;** (I am not into these all right?)

Aggelos reports and complains about his classmates using 'heavy' dialect variants. Evagoras on the other hand (who is a Standard speaker) replies back using the Standard to defend himself.

(7) After the supervision of the students' notebooks, the teacher makes a general remark about students' work using a more formal type at the beginning (1) closer to the Standard, and then, when she comments on students' mistake she uses the dialect variant (2):

Extract 7:

1. “**στους περισσότερους** (in most of you) /
2. τη λέξη «**περιβάλλον**» **εκάμαν την** λάθος (the word “environment” **<you> did it** wrong)”

(8) One student raises his hand and asks for a clarification about a verb-ending ("-ome") which he cannot understand in the spelling. The teacher starts explaining:

Extract 8:

1. S1: «-ομαι», *ίντα που εν τούτο*; (“-ome”, **what is this?**)
2. T: *εν το «στριμώχνω – στριμώχνομαι»* (**it is** the “push – being pushed”) **The teacher explains that they have to use this ending to make different forms of the verb**
3. *εν τζαι έβαλες το «-ομαι» τη λέξη «-ομαι»* (**you did not put** “-ome”, the word “-ome”)
4. *τούτη εν μόνο κατάληξη* (**this is** just the ending)
5. → *ας πούμε « στριμώχνω» κι έχει παύλα «-ομαι»* (let’ say “push” **and it has** a dush “ome”)
6. *είναι το ρήμα « στριμώχνομαι»* (<**this**> **is** the verb “being pushed”)
7. → *εν τζαι σημαίνει έχει λέξη «-ομαι» μόνο* (**it does not** mean <that> **it has** a word “ome” on its own)

Here S1 is confused and he thinks that the verb-ending (“-ome”) is a word. He therefore asks the teacher using the Dialect. The teacher starts explaining (2-7). At the beginning when she comments on his mistake (2-4) she uses more dialect features; she moves to the Standard when she gives him an example and tries to explain to him his mistake (5-6). At the end when she makes her final comment (7) she combines the two.

(9) After that, she calls the class to get ready for the spelling because they are running late:

Extract 9:

1. *λοιπόν έτοιμοι, έτοιμοι κι αργήσαμε* (right, ready ready **and** we are late)
2. *ήταν μεγάλο το διάλειμμα* (the break was big)
3. *εφίκαμεν σας παραπάνω επειδή είχεν ήλιο σήμερα* (**we <gave> you** more <time> today **because** there was sun)

As in Extract 3, the teacher wants to call the class to attention so she uses the standard variant “and” (1: ‘κι’). However when she comments on the reasons the break was longer she uses a combination of variants.

(10) The teacher starts dictating (*Standard*) the spelling and the students write. There is quiet and order in the class. At one point the teacher stops and tells off a student for not sitting properly and as a result his writing is not good enough. The student protests that he prefers to sit in that way, but the teacher does not accept that. This extract is revealing since both the teacher and the student use predominantly dialect variants, while they discuss about a practical issue.

Extract 10:

1. T: *κάθοντα θωρείς*; (sitting like that <can> you see?)
2. *ίσσια να μεν γύρνονν* (<sit> straight, not to bend) comment for his letters
3. S1: *εν ιμπόρω* (I cannot)
4. T: *μπόρεις, έννα μάθεις* (you can, you will learn)

(11) The teacher completes the dictation (*Standard*) and then she gives directions:

Extract 11

1. *ξαναλέω* το κείμενο (I say the text once more) /
2. για να δούμε αν το *εγράψαμεν* με *τις*, τόνους του (to see if we wrote it with the, its accents) /
3. με *όλα* που χρειάζεται (with all it needs)

In these directions her style is more formal and she uses mainly standard variants with only one dialect feature (2), which she constantly uses.

(12) She reads the spelling once more (*Standard*) changing her pronunciation to a more standardised form. Then she gives the final instructions to the students using mainly Standard with a few dialect variants (i.e. “και – and”, “κάμετε – you do”):

Extract 12:

1. τ' όνομα σας, *δε θα* σας (...) (your name I will not ...)
2. *δέστε το* μια φορά *τζαι* διορθώστε το μόνοι σας (look into it one time and correct it on your own)
3. *δέστε το πρώτα* μια φορά πριν να *κάμετε* διορθώσεις και ανοίζτε το βιβλίο, διορθώστε το και ... (look into it one time before you do <the> corrections and open the book, correct it and ...)

(13) The students start correcting their spelling and the teacher passes by to check if they are working. Most of the students talk to each other (*Dialect*) and the teacher asks them to be quiet (*Standard*) in a very calm way (Extract 13a). Then, she gives directions (*Standard*) encouraging them to work properly (Extract 13b). In both cases she seems satisfied with the students, who are working quietly.

Extract 13a:

1. “*μην* μουρμουράτε (p) (do not mumble)
2. *ανοίγουμε* το βιβλίο, διορθώνουμε (p) (we open the book, we correct)
3. *δε* χρειάζεται κουβέντα” (no need for talking)

Extract 13b:

σιγά να μη σας φύγουν λάθη (slowly not to skip any mistakes)

τα λάθη τα γράφουμε σωστά από κάτω (*we write the mistakes correctly beneath*)

(14) Then the teacher encourages the students to work faster and she gives instructions of what to do next:

Extract 14:

1. λίγο πιο βιαστικά (*a bit faster*)
2. όποιος τελειώνει διαβάζει το δεύτερο μέρος του "οι μαστόροι παίζουν θέατρο" (*anyone who finishes reads the second part of "the builders perform a play"*)
3. → ακούσετε; (p) (*did you hear it?*)
4. για να μην το λέω → όποιος τελειώσει κλείει την ορθογραφία (*so as not to say it <again> → whoever finishes closes the spelling <notebook>*)

The teacher uses predominantly standard variants to encourage the students to work faster (1) and to give them instructions of what to do next (2). However, revealing are her switches in dialect variants when she wants to make sure that she has students' attention (3) and to repeat her instruction (4).

(15) While the students finish their corrections and are getting ready for reading the new text, Patroklos indicates to the teacher a 'mistake' Agis made. Both the teacher and the student use dialect variants to reply to each other.

Extract 15:

1. Patroklos: κυρία ο 'Αγης στην ορθογραφία έγραψε "στριμώχνω" μόνο (*miss, Agis wrote only "push" in the spelling*)
2. T: ε, είδα το (*em, I saw it*) /
3. εγώ είπα στριμώχνομαι (*I said "being pushed"*)
4. Patroklos: ξέρω το (*I know it*)

(16) All the students are ready for reading the new text "The builders perform a play"⁸⁵. The teacher gives instructions (*Standard*) on how to read the text and what to do:

Extract 16:

1. λοιπόν και θέλω να κοιτάξετε τώρα που θα το διαβάζετε (*right and I want you to look now while you will be reading it*)
2. να υπογραμμίσετε κάποια λάθη που έκαναν οι ηθοποιοί (...) (*to underline some mistakes the actors made*)

⁸⁵ An adaptation of one of Shakespeare's plays, about a group of builders who decide to perform a play, but their 'ignorance' and 'low education' leads them to various comic events. What is revealing is the way Ms Artemis explored the text with the students, asking them to identify the 'mistakes' the builders made in their language (Extract 16: 2)

3. λοιπόν ξεκινήσετε (right begin)
4. Τεύκρο, άστες κασετίνες (Tefkro, leave the pencil-cases)
5. βλέπω ποιοι διαβάζουν και ποιοι υπογραμμίζουν (I see who reads and who underlines)

It is evident that now that they moved to the 'actual lesson' i.e. the text, the teacher uses more frequently standard variants to give instructions (1), to draw the attention of one student (4) and to encourage them to work (5). Even when she tells Tefkros off (4) she uses the Standard. As in extract 13 the teacher is calm and tries to organise the class so they can work efficiently.

(17) The students read the text silently and the teacher passes by them. Then she goes to one student, Giannos, who has not finished the spelling yet:

Extract 17:

1. T: άτε ετέλειωσες; (come on, did you finish?)
2. Giannos: ...
3. T: πότε έννα (...) εδιόρθωσες το; εδιόρθωσες το; (when are you ...? Did you correct it? Did you correct it?)
4. Giannos: εεε (em)
5. T: είνταλος εεε; (what do you mean em?)
6. έτο ποιος έννα την ιγνάψει; (here, who is going to write it?)
7. Giannos: εζίχασα κυρία (I forgot miss)
8. T: α ούλλα ξιχάννεις τα (p) (ah, you forget everything)
9. έτο αδιόρθωτη η ορθογραφία τζαι εφύλαξες την (p) (here the spelling is not corrected and you put it away)
10. ετέλειωσες την ορθογραφία σου; (did you finish your spelling?)
11. Giannos: όι (no)

In the above incident the teacher gets irritated with Giannos for not doing his work and for the excuses he provides. All the way through their conversation she is using the Dialect with variants that can be classified as 1 in the DS continuum (e.g. “είνταλος – in what way”, “ούλλα – all”). In the same way Giannos, although not producing a great amount of talk, uses predominantly dialect variants to justify himself (7) and to reply to the teacher (11).

(18) The students continue to work on the task the teacher assigned to them. One student asks for a clarification regarding their work and the teacher explains what they need to do:

Extract 18:

1. Froso: κυρία πότε έννα υπογραμμίσουμε; (miss when will we underline?)

2. T: *όταν τελειώσουμε* (when we finish) /
3. *όταν διαβάσουμε* ξεκινάς να διορθώνεις (when we read, you will start to correct) /
4. *τωρά διαβάστε και* ξεκίνα τα (now read and begin doing them)

Froso uses the Dialect to ask her question while the teacher uses a combination of standard and dialect variants. She uses mainly the Standard to explain what they have to do (2,3) but she uses a dialect variant (4) to point out that they need to do it right away .

(19) There is quiet for a long time in the classroom while the students read and underline. During this time the teacher talks with some students but it is not very clear what they say. Then she starts to read (*Standard*) the text. She reads a part and then stops and waits for the students to mention the “mistakes” they spotted in this part of the text:

Extract 19:

1. T: *λοιπόν Ευαγόρα* (right, Evagoras) **she nominates E to speak**
2. Evagoras: *στην αρχή έκανε ένα λάθος, είπε “όλοι κι όλοι” ενώ έπρεπε να πει όλοι (...)* (at the beginning he made one mistake, he said “all and all” while he should have said “all”)
3. T: *είμαστε όλοι* (we are all) **She repeats what he said, noting agreement**
4. Evagoras: *ναι άμα κάποιος είναι αγράμματος λέει αυτά που (...)* (yes when someone is illiterate they say those that)
5. T: *μάλιστα (p) άλλο λάθος σε αυτό το κομμάτι, Κατερίνα* (right, another mistake in this part, Katerina)
6. Katerina: *είπεν τζαι τούτοι που ‘χαν* (he said and those who had ...)
7. T: *ναι ‘και’* (yes, ‘and’) **she interrupts her to correct her,**

Here two students are nominated to speak, Evagoras (SMG speaker) and Katerina (CD speaker). The teacher uses intralanguage with some standard variants (5). Evagoras, as expected is using the Standard. It is revealing however that when Katerina is nominated to speak she uses strong dialect markers (6) and the teacher interrupts to correct her, introducing the 'appropriate' standard form ('και' instead of 'τζαι').

(20) This pattern goes on, i.e. students trying to identify the 'mistakes' made by the actors in the text. Students' talk is confined and limited while the feedback the teacher provides is more extended:

Extract 20

1. **Ifigenia**: “είμαστε *όλοι* παρών” (“we are *all* present⁸⁶”) **she reads**
2. T: *τι* έπρεπε να πει; *μάλιστα είναι* (what he should have said? Right <it> is)
3. **Ifigenia**: *είμαστε όλοι εδώ* (we are *all* here)
4. → T: *όι, εν* το “παρόν” αλλά *δεν εν* σωστό όπως το είπε (no, it is the “present” but it is not right as he said it) (p) /
5. “είμαστε *όλοι* παρών;” ένας *είναι*; (“are we *all* present?” is it <just> one <person>?)
6. S1: *παρόντες* (present)
7. T: *παρόντες*, “είμαστε *όλοι* παρόντες” (present, we are *all* present)
8. (p) παρών *εν* ένας (p) *που εν* πολλοί γίνεται να πει παρών; (“paron” is <for> one, when it is many can he say “paron”?)
9. (p) *μάλιστα άλλο* (p) *μπράβο ήβρετε το* (right, another one, well done you found it)

The above is an example of the way Ms Artemis moves between the two varieties during the actual lesson. First Ifigenia uses Standard (1) to identify the sentence that includes the mistake, then the teacher replies using Standard (2) waiting for Ifigenia to identify the exact mistake. Ifigenia uses the Standard but she fails to detect the exact mistake (3). Then the teacher uses the Dialect (4) giving her feedback that her answer is wrong and then Standard to comment on the type of the mistake (5). When the students identify the mistake (6) she uses the Dialect to explain it (8) and to compliment the students (9) for spotting it.

(21) Another incident takes place (as in 19) in which the teacher corrects the use of the Dialect by one student.

Extract 21

1. T: *πώς* έπρεπε να πει τη φράση “θα τους βγάλει κάθε φόβο”; (how he should have said the phrase “to take every fear out of them”)
2. *Λέει δεν έπρεπε να πει έτσι, Ιφιγένεια;* (he says he should not have said that, Ifigenia?) **She nominates Ifigenia**
3. **Ifigenia**: *αυτό θα τους φοβίσει πολύ;* (this will really scare them?)
4. S1: *όι* (no)
5. T: *αφού λέει θα τους βγάλει κάθε φόβο, να τους βγάλει κάθε φόβο, να τους βγάλει* (but it says it will take out every fear, to take it out of them) **Agis is nominated**
6. **Agis**: *έννα μεν έχουν φόο μέσα τους* (that they will not have fear in them)
7. T: *ναι αλλά “έννα μεν έχουν φόο μέσα τους”, έτσι έννα το πούμε;* (yes but “they will not have any fear in them”, this is how we are going to say it?)

⁸⁶ Present = In Greek the form paron/'παρών' (1) signifies the singular form, while parontes/'παρόντες' (6) is the plural form.

In the above the teacher poses a question (*Standard*) to the students (1); Ifigenia provides (*Standard*) an incorrect answer (3) and S1 (4) objects (*Dialect*). However when Agis provides the correct answer (4) using the Dialect, the teacher disapproves his use of the Dialect (7) as not appropriate, even though she also uses one of the dialect features Agis has used (7: “enna – will”). Probably her disapproval here is not for the general use of the dialect but for specific dialect markers (e.g. “foo-fear”).

(22) The teacher continues to read (*Standard*) the rest of the text and the students try to identify the 'mistakes'. At one point she tells off a student for not paying attention.

Extract 22

1. T: άλλο λάθος Μενέλαε (other mistake, Menelae) **She nominates him**
2. Menelaos: «απάνου κάτω» (up and down)
3. T: «απάνου κάτω», τι ση... (“up and down”, what does it mea...) **she stops**
4. Πάτροκλε → ↓ **σα ννα τζοιμάσαι** (Patrokle, **it seems you are sleeping**)
5. → ↑ **τι έπρεπε να πει;** (**what** did he have to say?)

The teacher is engaged in 'the actual lesson' (*Intra*) but her speech style changes (4) when she notices Patroklos who does not pay attention and she tells him off (*Dialect*). Then she switches again to the Standard and to a more formal style to continue the lesson (5).

(23) Then another incident occurs where the teacher interrupts her reading-aloud of the text (*Standard*) to tell off Tefkros for playing with his pens and pencils. In the extract below both the teacher and the student use very strong dialect forms.

Extract 23

1. T: Τεύκρο μου **άφηστες τζείντες** μολυβόπεννες, **άφηστες έσσιεις** μια **εν** αρκετή (my⁸⁷ Tefkro, **leave those** pens, **leave them, you have one, it is** enough)
2. Tefkros: κυρία θέλω **νά βρω** (miss I want **to find**)
3. T: μα **τι θα έβρεις** **τωρά;** **εν** ώρα να παίζουμε; αφού **εν** σου **χρειάζεται** (but **what will you find now?** **is it** time to play? **you do not** need it <anyway>)

(24) When the students identify all the 'mistakes' the teacher introduces the grammatical exercises they have to do at the end of the text. She writes on the board

⁸⁷ A common way of addressing someone to show affection, e.g. 'my Maria'.

(*Standard*) some examples of the grammatical feature under study (eclipse), and starts explaining:

Extract 24

1. Είδαμε σε πολλούς τόπους κάποιες φράσεις (we saw in many places some phrases <in the text>)
2. ας πούμε “σ’ ένα” ή “θα ‘θελα” (for example “to one” or “I would like”) **She provides examples of grammatical eclipse**⁸⁸
3. παλιά είχαμε βρει μια άλλη άσκηση θυμάστε; (...) (<in the past> we had found <a similar> exercise, you remember?)
4. **τούτον**, που έμπαινε η απόστροφος **εδώ** ψηλά (**that one, that** the apostrophes was placed **here** high) **She shows on the blackboard where the apostrophe needs to be written**
5. **εν** κάτι παρόμοιο σήμερα (**this is** something similar today) (...)
6. θυμάστε αν **εξεκινούσε** τότε **από** το “σ” **τζαι** **ελέαμεν** (you remember, if **it begun** then **from** “s” **and we said**)

Although the teacher is using a combination of the two varieties, there is clearly a pattern in her language use. She uses standard variants when she provides examples of the grammatical phenomenon (2-4), but she also uses the Dialect when she reminds the students of a similar exercise they did in the past (4-6).

(25) After that she asks the students to explain the reasons the phenomenon of grammatical eclipse happens (why they write “th’aresun” and not “tha aresun”).

Extract 25

1. T: γιατί να το **κάμει τούντο** **πράγμα** Νεφέλη; (why **this thing** <**happens**>, Nefeli?)
2. Nefeli: εγώ νομίζω **πως το** ‘**κανε** γιατί ήταν μεγάλη η λέξη (I think **it was done** because the word was too long)
3. T: **εν** μεγάλη η λέξη; (the word **is** long?)
4. Nefeli: ή **το έκαμε** για να τονίσει πως **αρέσει** (or **it was done** to stress that it is **liked**)
5. S1: για να φαίνεται πιο όμορφη η λέξη όταν **τη λέμε** (so the word can look more beautiful when **we say it**)
6. T: γιατί **δε** φαίνεται όμορφη; (why **doesn’t** it look beautiful?)
7. S2: επειδή **έχει δύο** φορές το άλφα (because **it has** “alpha”⁸⁹ **twice**)
8. T: “αα” πάει συνέχεια το **εβλοημένο** με το στόμα ανοιχτό (‘aa’, it goes and goes the **blessed** with the mouth open) **She shows that when we have the letter ‘a’ twice in a row, the sound is not nice.**

The teacher asks the students to explain the grammatical feature (1) using a combination of linguistic variants. Nefeli gives (*Standard*) an explanation that is not

⁸⁸ Grammatical eclipse: ‘se ena’ becomes ‘s’ena’ meaning ‘to one’, in other words the letter ‘e’ drops.

accurate (2) and the teacher questions (*Dialect*) it (3). Nefeli tries to give another reasons (4) using this time a combination of linguistic variants. Then S1 provides (*Standard*) the accurate answer (5, 7). Finally the teacher makes a joke (*Dialect*) about the grammatical phenomenon (8).

(26) Students start working on the written exercises of the book. The following ritual is followed: the teacher nominates one student each time who tells the answer orally, and then goes to write it on the board, and the others complete it in their books. Standard is predominant among both the students and the teacher, with some dialect interference. Then, the following incident takes place. One student is nominated and goes towards the board to write the answer. However some students have blocked the corridor with their desks. The teacher tells them off using exclusively the Dialect (1-5). She only uses a Standard variant at the end (6) when everything is settle and she calls the student to go to the board and do the exercise.

Extract 26

1. πού πήγες; (where did you go?)

Telling off a student for blocking the way

2. τώρα πόθεν εννά περνά ο κόσμος που φκήκετε πα στον πίνακα εσείς; (now <how are> people <supposed to> pass by, that you <climbed> on the board?)
3. τραβάτε κόρη λλίον πιο πίσω (pull kori⁹⁰ a bit behind)
the students drag their desk making a lot of noise
4. ΟΙ ΕΤΣΙ, ΟΙ ΕΤΣΙ, ΟΙ ΕΤΣΙ (NOT LIKE THAT, NOT LIKE THAT, NOT LIKE THAT)
5. σηκωθείτε, εν τζ' εν κόπος να σηκωθείτε (stand up it is not an effort to stand up) (...)
6. λοιπόν έλα Άγγελε, γρήγορα (right, come Aggele, quickly)

(27) The same ritual goes on with standard variants being predominant. Then S1 reports (*Dialect*) Agis for playing with his pens and the teacher gets really cross and tells him off (*Dialect*). Then she switches to a more Standard type to continue the lesson (4).

Extract 27

1. S1: κυρία φκάλλει τα πράματα του (miss he takes his things out)

⁸⁹ Pointing out to the existence of letter 'a' twice, e.g. 'tha aresun'

⁹⁰ 'Kori' is a way to address a woman or young girl and is strongly associated with informal situations. For men or boys the equivalent is 're', although this is also used for women as well.

2. T: *ΤΩΡΑ ΝΑ ΤΕΣ ΠΕΤΑΞΩ με ολόκληρη την κασετίνα του*
(NOW I WILL THROUGH THEM AWAY with the whole pencilcase)
3. *για νά βρούμεν αμάνταν τζ' ησυχία* (to find peace and quiet)
4. → “*κι εδώ*” *μάλιστα* (and here, right) to another student who does the exercise

The phrase the teacher is using in (3: 'peace and quiet') is really old fashioned and strongly associated with village speech. However, when she continues the lesson she switches completely to the Standard (4).

(28) The bell rings for break. The students get up and the teacher tells them to complete the exercise at home (*Intra*) and to be well-behaved during break time (*Dialect*). The students run through the door and go outside using exclusively the *Dialect*. I go to the teacher and we head to the staff room. Some of the students are gathered on the stairs having an argument (*Dialect*). Two come close to us and start protesting and reporting others (*Dialect*):

Extract 28a:

Giannos: *κυρία ο Διονύσης λαλεί μου ξημαρόλογια*
(miss Dionisis tells me swear-words)

Extract 28b:

Katerina: *κυρία κουντούν μας*
(miss they are pushing us)

Finally we all go for break.

3 Language variation in the classroom

From the analysis of the above lesson, as well from the other classroom observations it emerged that both the students and the teachers used standard and dialect variants in their classroom interaction. In particular the following themes were identified upon which a further analysis in the subsequent sections is provided. First, the talk produced by the teacher and the students differed both in terms of quantity and nature. Whereas the teacher produced a greater amount of talk that was multileveled, students' talk was confined, usually having the forms of replying or discussing with the teacher. For this reason teachers' and students' talk is presented separately, drawing on common themes at the end of the chapter. Second, often the way the two

variants were used depended upon the occasion of communication. For example, in the above lesson, although the teacher used a lot of code-mixing and code-switching there were some systematic patterns regarding the use of each variety in relation to the occasion of communication. For instance when Ms Artemis asked questions (19-23), nominated the students to speak, read or dictated (11,12,19,22) and gave directions (11,12,13,16), she tended to use more standard variants. In contrast, when she was irritated and told students off (1,2,10,17,21,22,23,26), when she joked or made informal comments she used more dialect features. The evidence from the above lesson indicate that Ms Artemis moved on different levels on the Dialect-Standard Continuum (DSC), using either more dialect or standard variants in her classroom talk. Often this change depended on the occasion of communication, while other times the heavy code-mixing she used made it difficult to identify clear-cut patterns.

As far as the students' talk was concerned, it was more limited and confined. They used the Dialect a lot, others more regularly others not. As the teacher, the majority of the students attempted to use the Standard when they took part in the actual lesson. Nevertheless, because of their confined talk, one lesson only is not adequate for providing more insight into the way they used the two variants and therefore more examples of students' talk from different lessons and subjects are analysed in the following sections.

Finally, it was also observed that the nature of the lesson, in other words if it was non-technical or technical influenced students' language use and the type of talk they produced. For this reason language use is examined separately, focusing on the first part on the non-technical lessons and in the second on the technical lessons. At the end of the chapter all the different themes and angles of language variation (i.e. nature of subject, interlocutors, occasion of communication) are brought together focusing on the existence of any values or norms that characterise language use in the classroom.

3.1 Teachers' talk

The teachers of class E had their personal style of speaking and the way they used standard and dialect variants in their speech differed. Some tended to converge

towards more standard variants in the class (Miria, Ellie, Tilemahos, Charis) while others (Artemis, Petros) used more frequently dialect variants. Nevertheless, despite their idiolect, some patterns were identified, throughout the observations. In the following section the way the teachers used language depending on the different occasions of communication is presented, first focusing on the occasions associated mostly with the Dialect, second with the Standard and third on those that included a lot of code-mixing.

3.1.1 Occasions related to the Dialect – telling students off

Ms Artemis's tendency to use the Dialect when she was telling students off was confirmed in all her other classes I observed⁹¹. In Figure 6.1⁹² for example, her tendency to use exclusively the Dialect when she told students off is confirmed (in another Greek lesson). Similarly the other teachers tended to use dialect variants (most of them code switching from the Standard to the Dialect) when they told students off. The examples below encapsulate this point.

Example 1: Music – Ms Ellie

1. *επίσης είναι πολύ σημαντικό παιδιά ;* (It is also very important children)
2. *να κάνουμε είπαμε χρωματισμούς σε ένα τραγούδι, γιατί* (that we do, as we said, colourings in a song, why?)
3. *→ Γιάννο, σε παρακαλώ, εκουράστηκα να μιλώ να μιλάτε τζαι εσείς* (Gianno, please I am tired when I speak and you speak too)
4. *→ λοιπόν, αυτό το τραγούδι είπαμε καταντάει λίγο κουραστικό* (so, we said that this song it becomes a bit tiring)

⁹¹ Additional examples of Ms Artemis' telling off the students in different lessons observations are presented in Appendix 6.3.

⁹² Most of the figures presented in this chapter (Figures 6.1, 6.5-6.8) present the results of the Speech Turn Sheet, each figure covering around 15 minutes of classroom talk.

Language Variants Used by Ms Artemis: Greek 15/3

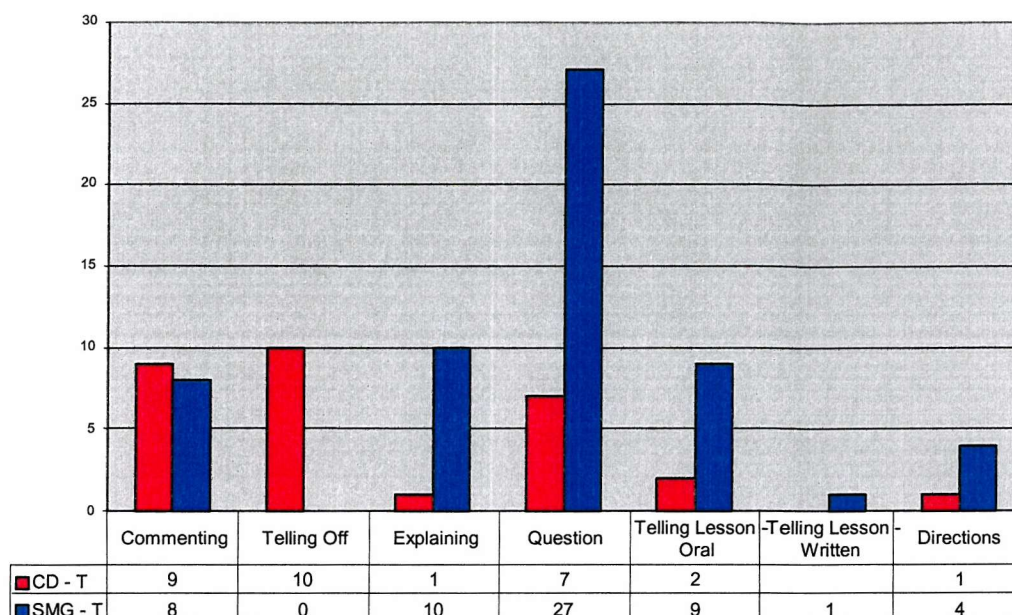


Figure 6.1: Language variants used by Ms Artemis, Greek 15/3

Examples 2-3: Science – Mr. Tilemahos

(2)

1. *τι καταλαβαίνουμε με αυτές τις δύο λέξεις;* (*what* do we understand with *these two* words?)
2. *ποια είναι η λειτουργία αυτού του συστήματος;* (which *is* the function of *this* system?)
3. → *σσς, έννα σιωπήσεις;* (shhh, *will you* shut up) **to a student**

(3)

1. *για να φάμε μας βοηθά το στόμα ε;* (in order to eat is it the mouth that *helps us*, eh?)
2. → *άτε ρε, βάρτε το νου σας να δουλέψει λίγο* (*come on re, put your brain* to work *a bit*)
3. *όταν ακούμε τη λέξη πέψη, όχι το αναψυκτικό, τι καταλαβαίνουμε;* (when we listen to the word digestion, *not* the soft drink, *what* do we understand?)

In the extracts above both teachers used standard variants when they explained concepts relating to the lesson. However when they wished to reprimand a student they both switched to the Dialect, Ms Ellie to complain about Giannos behaviour and Mr Tilemahos to tell off a student for not paying attention (2) and to express his dissatisfaction for students' lack of participation in the class. Overall it is evident that when it came to less formal situations in the class, situations where the teachers were cross and irritated by the students, they tended to use more dialect variants in their

speech despite the frequency with which they used the Standard on all other occasions.

3.1.2 Occasions related to the Standard - teaching the 'actual lesson'⁹³

The use of standard variants by Ms Artemis during the actual lesson was also confirmed in other occasions. Figure 6.1 for example shows that she tended to use predominantly SMG when she posed questions, when she explained concepts or when she described and explained the text (oral). Similarly, in Appendix 6.3 extracts from other classroom observations with Ms Artemis are presented, indicating that she used mostly standard variants during the actual lesson. In fact if it was to draw a 'classroom talk line' to show where the two varieties were mostly concentrated in the outlined lesson, the Standard would be mostly in the middle (actual lesson), and the Dialect stretching throughout the line, with higher concentration in the two ends (Figure 6.2).

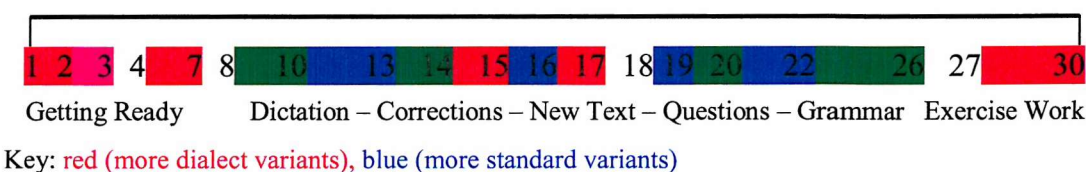


Figure 6.2 Ms Artemis's use of standard and dialect variants during one typical Greek lesson

The observations of the other teachers also revealed that they used mainly the Standard when they taught i.e. introducing and explaining the targeted phenomena and concepts. In fact, some teachers used almost exclusively the Standard in the actual lesson. Ms Elli (Music) and Ms Miria (Art) used the Standard in an elaborate form, as Mr Tilemahos (Science) and Mr Petros (Maths). Extracts from teachers' talk when they taught are presented in Appendix 6.3. Finally from teachers' claimed language use (Figure 6.3), it emerged that the majority asserted that they use the Standard more when they 'taught' (70%), while no one declared to use the Dialect.

⁹³ 'Actual lesson' was defined as all those occasions in the class in which the students and the teachers were involved with the teaching -learning: reading, writing, comprehension, etc. This occasion was closely related to the studying of a text and generally working through the textbook.

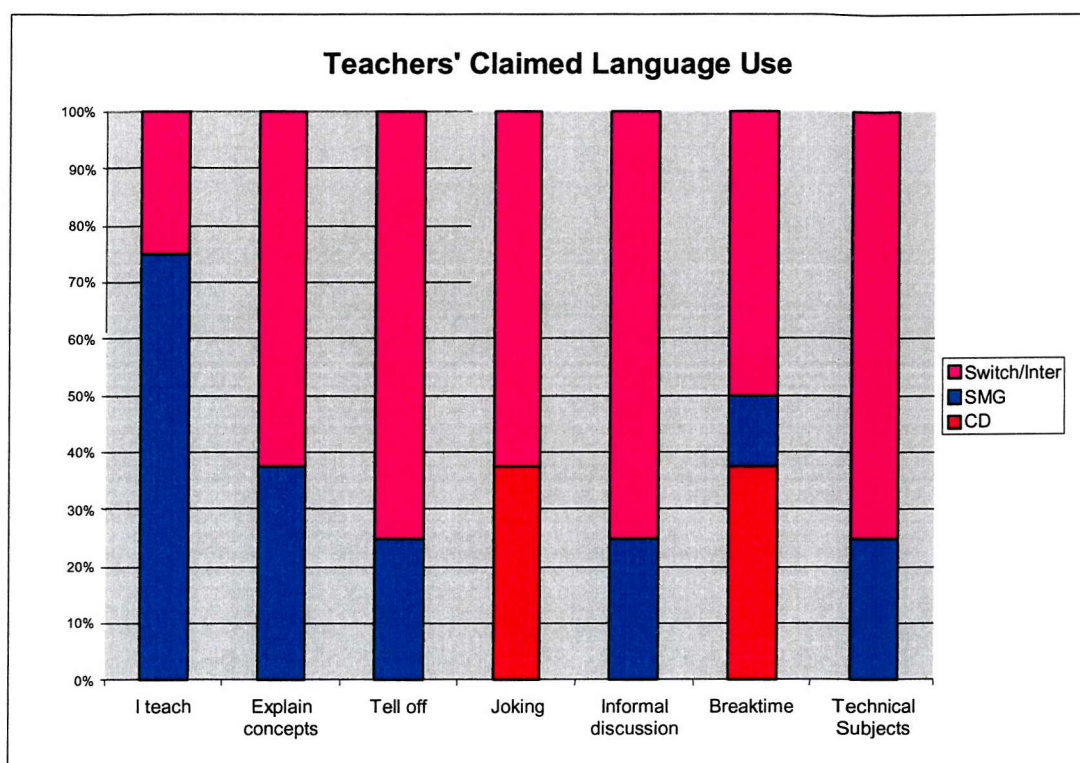


Figure 6.3: Teachers' claimed language use

3.1.3 Using both varieties

From the outlined lesson, it emerged that Ms Artemis often code-switched and on many occasions, occurring more frequently, she used a mixture of the two varieties (code-mixing). Although it was not exactly clear when and why Ms Artemis code mixed in a single conversation or even utterance, a closer look at her language use indicates that she tended to use standard variants when she wanted to be more 'formal' and the Dialect when she was more casual. For example in extract 14, when they moved into the actual lesson, she used the Standard to give instructions and to encourage students (1,2) but she used the Dialect to check if the students listened to her instructions (see also 18,20,22). Finally even though the occasion of 'the actual lesson' was characterised predominantly 'Standard', a closer look at her language use indicates that she also used many dialect features mainly when she commented on concepts and tried to explain them to the students.

Overall it emerged that even in the domains that were mostly standard dominated (i.e. actual lesson) there was dialect presence, mostly referring to the more casual occasions of commenting, reacting towards a mistake or repeating instructions. This

pattern indicates that the Dialect was used in more natural occurring talk, moving away from the strict norms of the actual lesson, while the Standard was stronger in the specific setting of nomination-reply and posing questions.

Unlike Ms Artemis, who constantly moved between the two varieties, some of the other teachers I observed had clearer dichotomies between linguistic variants and occasions of communications (Appendix 6.3). Nevertheless, they all tended to use more standard variants when teaching (even though the frequency and the location in the DSC differed) while they would move down to the DSC using more dialect variants in less formal situations than the actual teaching. The existence of both varieties in teachers' classroom repertoire was something that they admitted in the questionnaires, when the majority of them argued that depending on the occasion of communication the teachers should use either the Dialect or the Standard (see Appendix 4.1 for teachers' questionnaires).

3.2 Students' talk

As mentioned before students' talk was limited and confined during the lesson. However, since the focus of this chapter was to examine language use in the classroom, students' 'confined' talk was accepted as one of the features of the lesson time. In this section students' 'efforts' to converge to the Standard when participating in the actual lesson are presented, identifying individual differences. Furthermore, the way the Dialect was used by the students in every other occasion of communication is also explored.

3.2.1 Occasions mostly associated with the Standard

From the detailed description of the lesson and the overall pattern of students' language use in all the non-technical lessons, it emerged that students, as their teachers, tried to use more standard variants when they participated in the actual lesson, associating therefore the Standard with more formal occasions. This is indicated in Table 6.1, where most of the students included standard variants in their talk during the 'actual lesson' only.

Table 6.1: Students' use of dialect and standard variants in Greek, 7/3

Occasions	CD	SMG
Excuses	Stella (1) Erato (2) Tefkros (17), Giannos (23)	
Protesting	Giannos (5) Iasonas (10)	Evagoras (6)
Reporting Others	Aggelos (6) Patroklos (27)	
Informal discussion with teacher	Patroklos (27)	
Clarification (related to the lesson)	Ifigenia(8) Froso (18)	
Describing Lesson / Replying when Nominated	Katerina (19) Orestis (21) Agis (21) Nefeli (25)	Evagoras (19) Ifigenia(20) (21) Nefeli (25) Menelaos (25)

Key: (in brackets) the marked incidents of the described lesson

Nevertheless, the way students combined the two varieties and the amount of standard and dialect variants they included in their speech depended on the individual speakers. Most of them, regardless of the teacher or the topic, although clearly making an effort to use more elaborate language, with more standard variants, they also consistently used a noticeable amount of dialect features (Extracts 19, 20, 21, 25: Described Lesson). The following example from a discussion in another Greek lesson indicates this:

Example 4, Greek

The students discuss with the teacher possible solutions for creating a 'sky' in a theatre stage:

1. S1: κυρία **εμπορούσαν** να βάλουν χαρτόνι (miss **they could** have put carton)
2. T: εσείς, εσείς αν **είχατε τούτον** το πρόβλημα **πώς θα το ελύετε**; (you, you, **if you had this** problem **how would you solve** it?) (...)
3. Ahilleas: εγώ **θα έβαζα** εμ, **χάρτινους** τοίχους ή **ξύλενους** και για την πόρτα με (I **would have put paper** walls or **wooden** and for the door with) (...)

4. Giannos: *και να το βάψει τζ' άσπρο κυρία* (and to paint it and white miss) (...)
5. T: *μπορούσαν να βάλουν ένα σεντόνι* (they could have put a sheet) (...)
6. Dafni: *ε κυρία πού θα εβρίσκαν να το στερεώσουν;* (em miss where they would find to attach it?)

In the above extract, the students and the teacher discussed different solutions to the problems the heroes of the story faced. Although this was a part of the actual lesson and the students tried to include standard variants in their speech, all of them either by choice or necessity, included dialect variants in their talk.

Furthermore, there were some students who tended to use almost exclusively either standard or dialect variants during the actual lesson. For example, Evagoras and Periklis (SMG speakers) as expected used the Standard, which was also the legitimate variety of the class. Similarly, a few top achievement students, mostly girls (Nefeli, Lydia, Anastasia, Menelaos) used predominantly standard variants. As they argued in the interviews (chapter seven), they believed this was the appropriate variety for the occasion and they were also competent in doing that. The examples listed verify this:

Example 5, Greek 22/3, "Lydia"

1. Lydia: *είναι και οι μονάδες αφαλάτωσης* (it is also the desalting units)
2. T: *τι είναι τούτες οι μονάδες αφαλάτωσης;* (what are these units?)
3. Giannos: *κυρία επήαμεν* (miss we went)
4. T: *επήαμεν, ναι, ξέρω το (π) τι είναι Λύδια;* (we went, yes, I know it p what is it Lydia?)
5. Lydia: *οι μονάδες αφαλάτωσης είναι εκεί όπου παίρνουν νερό από τη θάλασσα και το κάνουν* (the desalting units are there where they take water from the sea and they make it)

Example 6, Greek 22/3, "Nefeli" and "Anastasia"

1. T: *τι κάνω για να εξοικονομίσω νερό;* (what do I do for saving water?)
2. Nefeli: *το πρωί να μην αφήνω το νερό να τρέχει* (the morning not to leave the water running)
3. Anastasia: *άμα πλένουμε κάτι, τα πιάτα ή κάτι άλλο να μην αφήνουμε το νερό να στρέχει και μεις να* (when we wash something, dishes or something else, not to leave the water running and we to)

In contrast there was also a group of boys (Giannos, Agis, Tefkros and Iasonas) with medium to low achievement, varied socio-economic background and a 'lively'

presence in the class, who seemed not to make any efforts to use standard variants when they were nominated to speak. Rather, they consistently used predominant dialect features regardless of the occasion of communication. The examples below indicate this:

Example 7, Greek 16/5, "Tefkros"

εγινήκαν σεισμοί όμως ήταν *που* κάτω ένας *άθρωπος*
(<some> earthquakes **happened** but <a> **person** was **underneath**)

Example 8, Greek 16/5, "Giannos"

γιατί άμα γίνει σεισμός *τζαι εν* ψηλά τα *πράματα* μπορεί να *πέσουν*
τζαι να σπάσουν (because **when** an earthquake happens **and** the **things**
are high they might **fall and break**)

In the same way example 9 indicates the different way Giannos, Nefeli and Anastasia used language, when they were nominated to speak. The two girls used predominantly Standard while Giannos used exclusively the Dialect without any efforts to adopt a more standard form of language⁹⁴

Example 9, Greek 22/3

1. T: *τι κάνω* για να εξοικονομίσω νερό; (what do I do to save water?)
2. Nefeli: να *μην* ποτίζουμε τα λουλούδια μας *και* να *βάζουμε* πολύ νερό
(not to water our flowers **and** to put a lot of water) (...)
3. Giannos: κυρία *άμμα* θέλω να *κάμω* μπάνιο το νερό ώσπου *τρέσσει*
παιάνει κάτω κυρία, *καλλότερα* να βάλω σίκλα, *τζείνον* που
τρέσσει να το μαζέψουμε (miss **when** I want to **take** a shower the
water **is running and it goes** down, **it is better** to place a **bucket** miss
to collect **that which is running**) (...)
4. Anastasia: άμα πλένουμε κάτι, τα πιάτα ή κάτι άλλο να *μην* αφήνουμε
το νερό να *τρέχει και* μεις να (when **we wash** something, dishes or
something else, **not** to leave the water **running and** we to)

Apart from the individual differentiation, it emerged that the nature and length of the answer influenced the way the students used the two varieties. In other words, those students who used predominantly standard variants, when they offered lengthy descriptions they often switched to the Dialect or used a kind of code-mixing. The following two examples of Anastasia and Nefeli encapsulate this point:

⁹⁴ Additional examples of the way different students combined the Standard and Dialect features in their language use while participating in the lesson are shown in Appendix 6.4.

Example 10, Greek 7/3, "Nefeli"

1. T: γιατί να το *κάμει τούντο* πράγμα Νεφέλη; (why this *thing is done*, Nefeli?)
2. Nefeli: εγώ νομίζω πως το *κανε* γιατί ήταν μεγάλη η λέξη (I think *it was done* because the word was big)
3. T: *εν* μεγάλη η λέξη; (*is* the word big?)
4. Nefeli: ή το *έκαμεν* για να τονίσει πως αρέσει (or *it was done* to stress that it is liked)

Example 11, Greek 7/3, "Anastasia"

1. *εκεί που λέει «γιατί δε γίνεται φοβερότερο θηριό από 'να ζωντανό λιοντάρι και να 'χουμε το νού μας»/* (where it says <in the text> "because there is not a scariest monster than an alive lion, and we need to keep our mind")
2. *εν* έπρεπε να το πει *τούτο* γιατί *εξάλλον* (p) (he *should not* have said *that* because *in a sense*) (p)
3. → *έθθα, έθθα είσσιε τζιαμαί* ένα ζωντανό λιοντάρι για να προσέχουν (*it wouldn't, it wouldn't have there* an alive lion in order to be careful)

In example 10 although the teacher posed a question using dialect variants, Nefeli replied adopting standard variants. However from the teacher's feedback she realised that her answer was not accurate so she tried to provide another interpretation using this time the dialect form of the verb 'did' (e.g. 'έκαμε'). Similarly in example 11 Anastasia started off her description using the Standard (1), but as she went on talking and commenting on the text she used some dialect variants (2) and then switched completely to the Dialect (3). In all these examples, even the most confident students in the Standard, used code-mixing or code-switching when they offered lengthy descriptions or when they felt insecure about the answers they provided (more examples in Appendix 6.4).

3.2.2 Occasions associated with the Dialect

Evidently, in every other occasion of communication (except the actual lesson) the students (except the SMG speakers) used the Dialect (Figure 6.4⁹⁵). For example one

⁹⁵ Although in Figure 6.4 the results show that in total students use the Standard more than the Dialect, as was mentioned earlier, the recorded talk captured mostly the category 'Replying-describing' since it was cleared to hear the nomination-reply. On the other hand students' talk to each other, was exclusively in the Dialect, but it was not recorded in the categories, only in the fieldnotes.

common occasion when the students used the Dialect was when they complained about their classmates and reported them to the teacher. The students of classroom E complained to their teachers, either to report the behaviour of classmates that annoyed them or even to report other students for not paying attention in the class. In such a context regardless of the teacher, the subject or the different tasks, they used exclusively the Dialect. The following examples from different lessons observed illustrate this point:

Example 12, Music 16/5

Nefeli: κυρία ο Άγης **κάμνει μας** συνέχεια **τζαι** γελούμεν
(miss, Agis **makes us and** we laugh all the time)

Example 13, Greek 16/3

S1: κυρία **σύρνουν χαρτούθκια** (miss, **they through little papers**)
S2: **έν εν, εν** εσύ που το **συρές** (no it is not, **it is** you that **threw** <them>)

Example 14, Art 9/3

Katerina: κυρία ο Τεύκρος **πιάννει** τα παστέλ μας **τζαι**
(miss, Tefkros **takes** our pastels **and**)

Example 15, Greek 7/3

Froso: κυρία εγώ **τούτους είδα τους τζαι** **επετάζαν** κιμωλιές κυρία
(miss I, **I saw them and they threw** chalks miss)
Aggelos: **τζαι την** **πίσσα ούλλοι σας** (and the **chewing gum all of you**)

Students' Talk - Structured Categories from two lessons

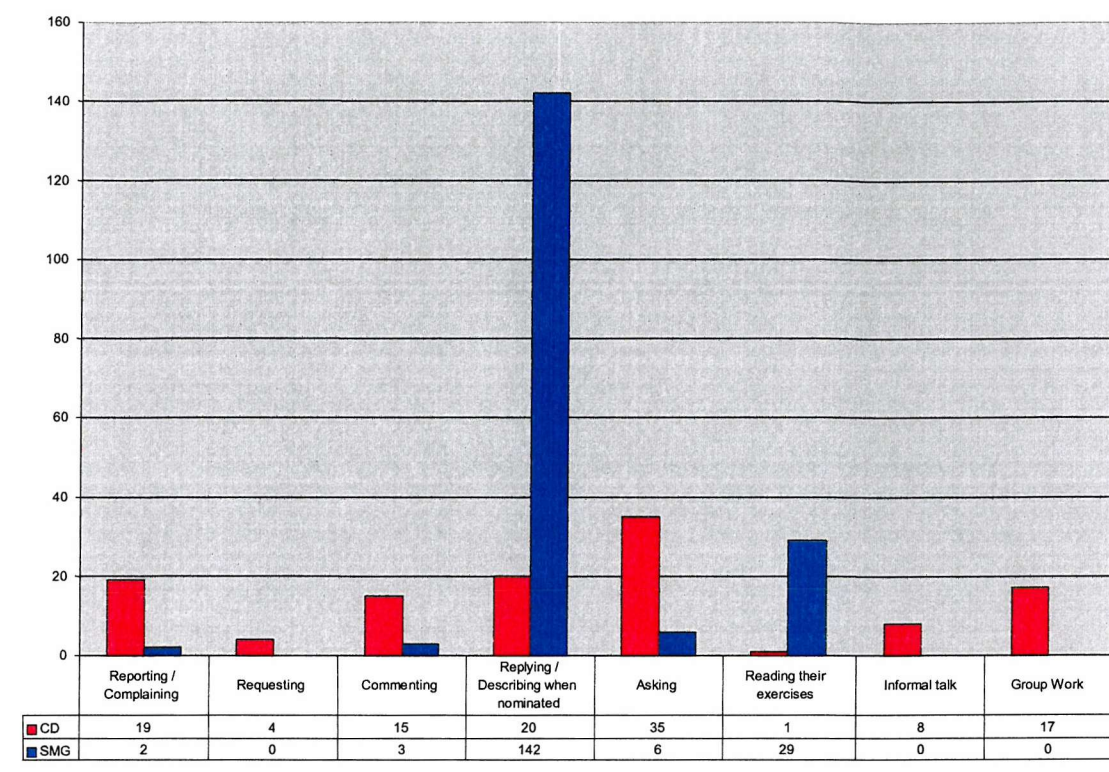


Figure 6.4: Students' talk: structured categories from two lessons

Similarly when students protested to the teacher about different things, either to justify themselves for something the teacher accused them of, or for something they did not like, they consistently used dialect variants:

Example 16, Music

The teacher is irritated because the students are making noise so she tells them that she will cancel the songs they have been preparing for a school event. Lydia then protests:

Lydia: κυρία *τζείνοι* που *φταΐσιν* να *μεν* *μπούσιν*, κυρία *εκάμαμεν* τόσους κόπους (miss *those* who *are* *blamed* *not* to *take* *part*, miss *we did* so much effort)

Example 17, Music 16/5

The teacher changes the place Giannos is sitting because he keeps talking with his friend who sits close to him. Giannos is protesting:

1. T: Γιάννο γιατί *έκατσες* έτσι, έλα σε παρακαλώ (Gianno why *did you* sit like this, come please)
2. *Giannos*: Αφού κυρία *εν* μπορώ να δω (because I can *not* see miss)
3. T: *Άτε* γρήγορα, έλα κάτσε (*come* quickly, come to sit)

4. Giannos: *έθθελω να κάτσω εδώ κυρία* (I do not want to sit here⁹⁶ miss)

Another occasion where the students used only the Dialect was when they requested something from the teacher, either regarding the lesson or not:

- (1) 22/5, Geography: Tefkros: *Κυρία έν έχω μολύβι* (miss I do not have a pencil)

- (2) 16/3, Greek: Agis: *κυρία πε μας ξανά, εν ακούσαμε* (miss tell us again, we did not listen)

In the same way students used the Dialect when they asked the teacher for different kinds of clarification such as instructions they did not understand and things they needed help or assistance with. Although many of these occasions were related to the actual lesson, they still did not have the form of question-reply, or nomination by the teacher, therefore the students made no effort at all to use standard variants. The following examples indicate this point.

Examples 18, Geography 22/5:

(a)

Erato: *κυρία, έννα κάμουμε τζαι την ερώτηση στη σελίδα 203*
(miss, are we going to do and the question in page 203?)

(b)

Ahilleas: *όσοι ετελείωσαν τι έννα κάμουν;*
(those who finished what are they going to do?)

Example 19, Religious Studies 22/5

Ifigenia: *να υπογραμμίσουμε τζείνες που μας αρέσαν;*
(shall we underline those that we liked?)

Example 20, Music 16/5

- (a) Patroklos: *κυρία το ρε εν το χαμηλό;* (miss, is re <note> the low one?)

- (b) Ifigenia: *κυρία σε ποιο ρυθμον εν τούτο* (miss, in which rhythm is this?)

Finally another occasion where the Dialect was predominant was in informal discussions between the teacher and the students on various issues. Issues that had to

⁹⁶ What is revealing here is that Giannos (who belongs in the group of dialect only speakers) uses a standard form (4: here) trying to communicate and convince his teacher that he does not want to change where he sits. This is revealing since, as mentioned, Giannos was among those students who did not converge to the standard at all. Here however includes a standard variant in his speech, something that might indicate that the inclusion or not of standard variants in his talk could be a matter of choice rather than competence.

do with the organisation of the classroom, practicalities regarding the books and students' work, with what took place during breaktime or students watched on television. In other words issues that did not fall into the formal category of participating in the lesson when nominated. Examples 21 and 22 indicate this.

Example 21, Greek 22/3

1. T: *θέλω να το διαβάσετε πρώτα όλο και ύστερα θα σας δώκω ένα φυλλαδιάκι με εργασίες* (I want you to *read* it *all* first *and* then I will *give* you a *little sheet* with exercises)
2. S1: *Κυρία τούτον έννα το πιάεις πίσω;* (miss, *are you going to take this* back?)
3. T: *Έννα το πιάω πίσω ναι* (I *will take* it back, yes)

Examples 22, Science 21/3

(a)

1. T: *Βάζουμε όνομα, τάξη, ημερομηνία (π) ο Νικολάου λείπει;* (we *<write>* name, class, date (p) is Nikolaou not here?)
2. S1: *Είντα έρκεται καμιά φορά;* (*why, does he* ever *come?*)

(b)

1. T: *Μαζέψτε τα φυλλάδια να μην τα χάσουμε* (*collect* the sheets *<so as>* *not* to loose them)
2. S1: *Έτα κύριε εν ούλλα δαμαί* (*here they are* sir *they are all here*)
3. T: *Φέρτα να δω* (*bring them <here>* to see)

4 Difference in technical and non-technical lessons

Most of the data presented above covered the non-technical subjects. As was mentioned earlier in these subjects there was hardly any group work, students were sitting in pairs facing the teacher and almost all classroom interaction was directed and initiated by the teacher (as in Van de Craen & Humblet, 1989). On the other hand there was a completely different picture in the technical lessons. Students were working in groups⁹⁷ usually having a group project or assignment to do (e.g. a drawing). Therefore, they had to work with each other, discuss issues and make decisions. The teacher would do an introduction to the lesson and give instructions for what they had to do and then move from one group to the other, to supervise and help them with their work. The comparison between the technical and non-technical lessons indicated two things. First, that there were major differences in the use (or

⁹⁷ Therefore I had to move from one group to the other, often helping them with their work and chatting with them. The data collection varied depending on the degree of contribution I had in the group. Most of the times I used the taperecorder, at other times fieldnotes, or when I was not participating, the sheet with the structured categories.

not) of the Standard by the students. And second, there was a contrast in the amount and nature of the kind of talk the students produced.

Regarding the first point, it was noted that while in the non-technical subjects the majority of the students were making efforts to adopt standard variants when participating in the lesson, in the technical subjects the Dialect was predominant in every occasion of communication. Example 23 shows a discussion between the art teacher and a group of students regarding their drawing for the carnival. The students used predominantly the Dialect without any effort to include standard variants in their speech, even though they were taking part in the 'actual lesson' and the teacher was posing questions using the Standard. However because the classroom environment differed they retained the Dialect.

Example 23, Art 9/3

1. T: *Πες μου περίγραψε μου την εικόνα, (tell me, describe the picture)*
2. *βλέπω πολύ λίγα πράγματα, πες μου για την εικόνα (I see very few things, tell me about the picture) Asks him to comment about his work*
3. *Patroklos: Εννά σσιει πολλά παιδιά σε ένα χώρο με (π) με διαφορες εκδηλώσεις (it will have many children in a space with, p, with different events) (...) Επειδή εν σε αίθουσα τούτο (because it is in a room this)*
4. *Agis: εμάς, κυρία τζαι εμάς εν σε αίθουσα (ours miss, ours is in a room <too>)*
5. T: *Σε αίθουσα, μα η διακόσμηση θυμίζει Χριστούγεννα (in a room, but the decoration reminds me of Christmas)*
6. *Aggelos: όι εν ο πολυέλαιος (no it is the light)*
7. T: *Α εν ο πολυέλαιος (oh, it is the light)*

The students are laughing

Additionally, the kind of talk the students produced in non-technical and technical lessons differed. In the first case the talk was more formal and controlled, heavily initiated by the teacher, whereas in the second case talk was more relaxed and free, having the form of group-discussion. This is indicated in Figures 6.5-6.8. As can be seen in Greek (6.5) and in Religious Studies (6.6) students' talk had the form of either replying when nominated or reading and it was predominantly in the standard linguistic variants. On the other hand in Music (6.7) and House Economy (6.8) the categories were different, with more commenting, group work and complaints. In these cases the predominant variety was the Dialect.

Students' Talk - Greek 10/5

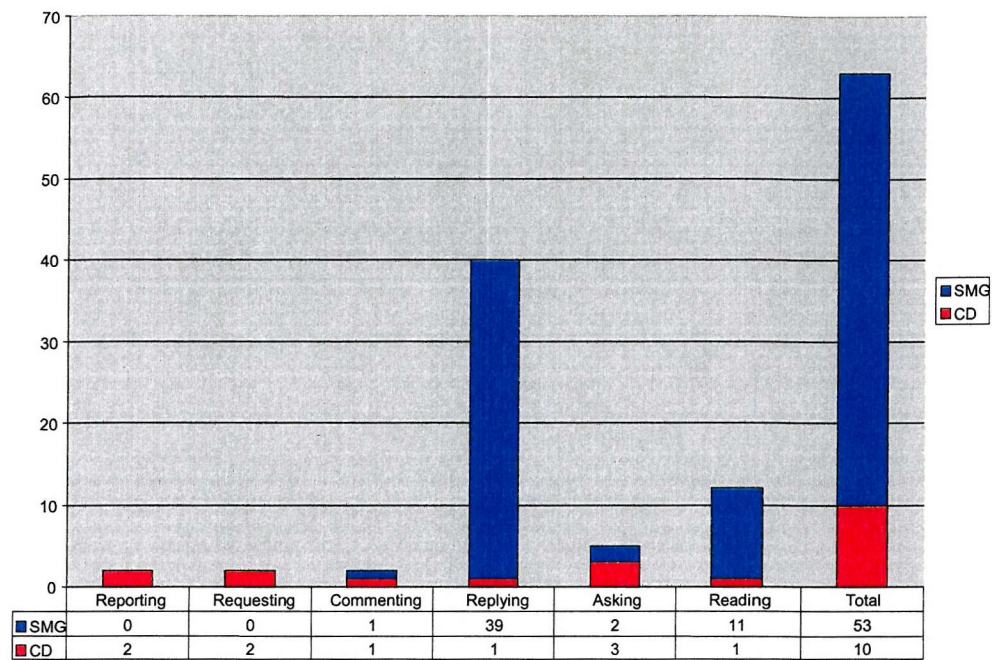


Figure 6.5: Students' talk: Greek, 10/5

Students' Talk - Religious Studies 12/5

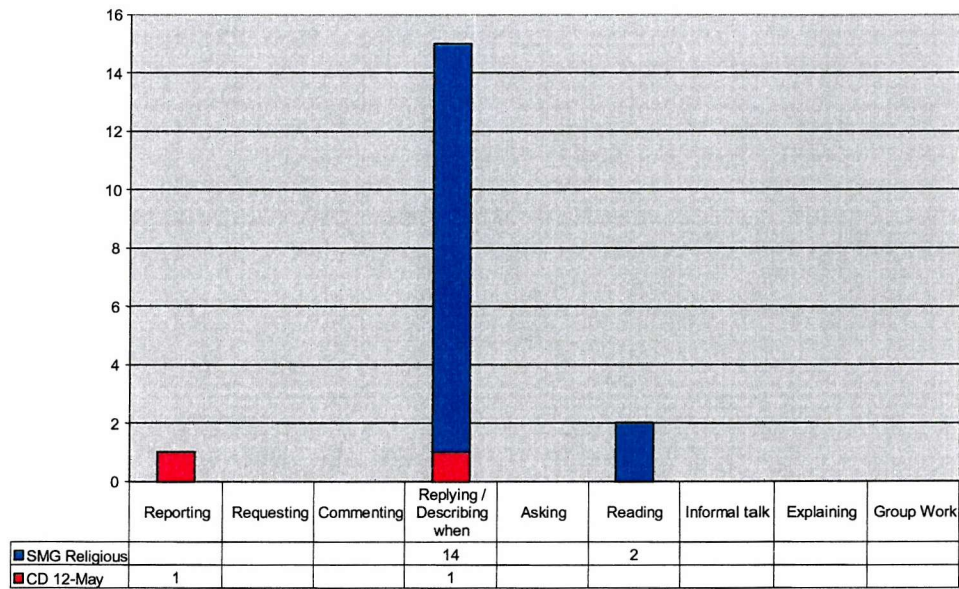


Figure 6.6: Students' talk: Religious Studies, 12/5

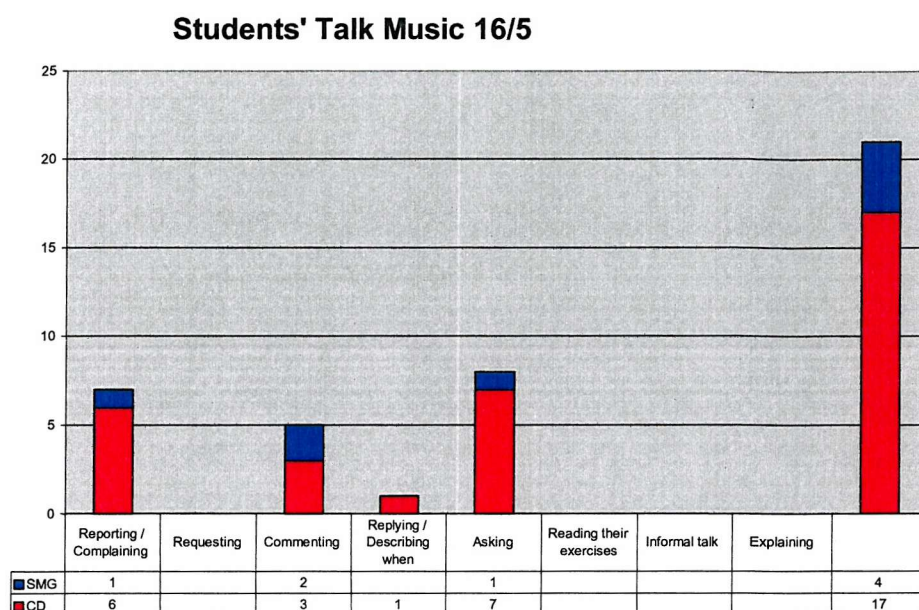


Figure 6.7: Students' talk: Music, 16/5

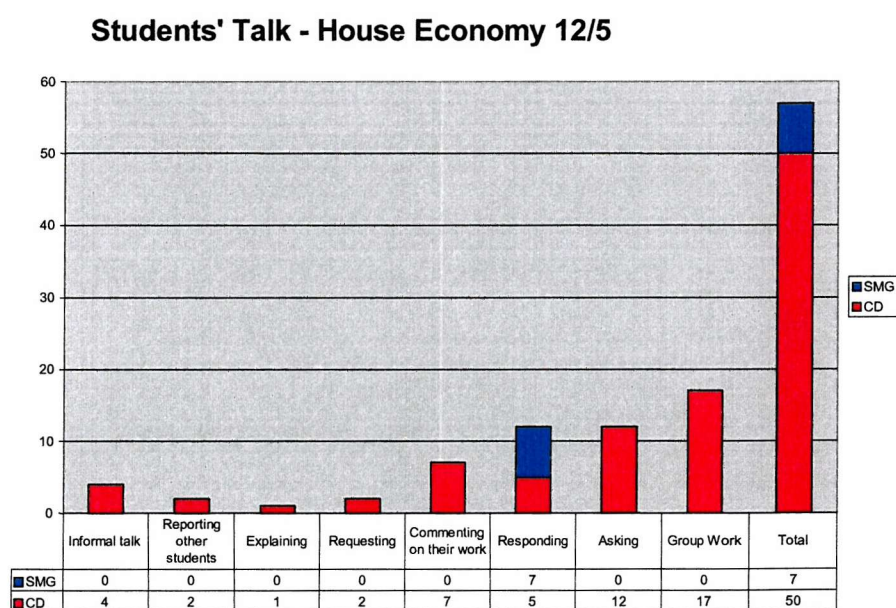


Figure 6.8: Students' talk: House Economy, 12/5

Finally, in the technical lessons I was able to move around the groups and record the talk among the students while they worked together (something that was not feasible in the non-technical lessons), so I managed to collect many examples of the way language was used in peer group interaction. In all these examples the Dialect was dominant, without any signs of the Standard, even in cases where the teacher was present, while the type of talk produced had differences from the talk in the non-technical lesson. It was more explicit, multileveled and complicated. The following

examples from Art and Design and Technology lessons verify this. In example 24 a group of students (three boys and two girls) work together trying to construct a small wooden table and discuss different ways and solutions. The teacher was sitting on her desk and students went to her in case they needed something. She also gave instructions to the whole class and supervised so that they were quiet and doing their work. Example 25 shows the discussion that took place among a group of boys working together on a common project regarding the carnival in an Art classroom.

Example 24, Design and Technology

1. Ahilleas: *εβάλαμεν πολλή γόμμα* (we put a lot of glue)
2. Orestis: *εν τούτον που θωρώ* (this is what I see) **The table bends**
3. Aggelos: *εξάωθηκε, ήταν ζαωμένο, να το κόψω;* (it is twisted, it was twisted shall I cut it?)
4. Ahilleas: *πρέπει να το φκάλω τούτον που δαμέ* (I need to take this out of here)
5. Anastasia: *εβάλαμεν πολλήν γόμμα* (we put too much glue)
6. Orestis: *τζαι πρέπει να ισιώσει* (and it has to be straight)
The teacher listens to their conversation and makes a general remark to the whole class.
7. T: *οί να βάλετε πολλή άσπρη γόμμα, λίγη, άμα βάζουμε πολλή δεν κολλά είπαμε* (do not put a lot of the white glue, a little, when we put a lot we said that it does not stick) (...)
They continue to work on the table, trying to cut it.
8. Ahilleas: *λλίο πιο κάτω* (a bit lower)
9. Aggelos: *έννα το κόψω* (I will cut it)
10. Ahilleas: *μα είναι που εννά κόψεις;* (but what are you gonna cut?)
11. Aggelos: *απλώς για να μεν ταρασσει το τραπέζι* (so as not to have the table moving)
12. Orestis: *οί ρε, είναι που λαλείς* (no re, what are you saying?)

Example 25, Art 9/3

1. Agis: *τωρά είναι που να κάμω;* (now what am I going to do?)
2. **Tefkros tells him something**
3. Agis: *νναι ρε, εξίασα το* (yes, re, I forgot it)
4. Tefkros: *είντα που εννοείς εξίασες το;* (what do you mean you forgot it?)
5. **Giannos asks Patroklos opinion for his drawing**
6. Giannos: *εν καλή;* (is it good?)
7. Patroklos: *εν μου αρέσκει τούτον δαμέ, τούτον που βαλές* (I do not like this here, this that you put)
8. **Giannos is singing**
9. Patroklos: *Γιάννο, εν γίνεται να μεν τραουδάς;* (Gianno is it possible not to sing?)
10. Giannos: *οί* (no)

5 Conclusions: values towards the linguistic varieties.

From the exploration of students' and teachers' language use in class E, it emerged that the Standard and the Dialect were associated with specific norms and values. The use of the Standard was restricted mainly to the occasion of the 'actual lesson', being associated therefore with a sense of formality and connected with the process of teaching and participating in the learning process. As was seen almost all the teachers used standard variants in a higher frequency when they taught, and specifically when they explained concepts, posed questions and gave instructions to the students. Similarly, the majority of the students complied with that norm and tried to include standard variants in their speech when they participated in the actual lesson. Evidently the norms of appropriateness and formality were transmitted through the school and the teachers to the students. In addition, in the described lesson there were two incidents in which the use of the Dialect was corrected by the teacher (19, 21), indicating how the issue of appropriateness often created tension between the formal norm and the naturally-occurring variety (see Appendix 6.5. for more examples of correction from other teachers).

Only a small group of students seemed consistently to reject the norms of formality and appropriateness in the use of Standard. All of these students were boys with a certain attitude and not very obedient behaviour towards the teacher. One interpretation might be that these students had low competence in the Standard and therefore the use of the Dialect was not a matter of choice but of necessity. On the other hand, another possible interpretation is that these students used the Dialect as a form of resistance, and as a part of their identity as not well behaved students (as example 17, p.157 indicates). Although it does not fall into the scope of this study to explore this specific group of students more, the information they provide about themselves and their language in the following chapters, offer a valuable insight on this issue.

Regardless of the association of the Standard with issues of formality, from the whole picture of the data, it emerged that the Dialect was the predominant variety in all the other classroom interactions for the students. Compared with the use of the Dialect by the teachers, which was associated with specific occasions of communication (e.g. telling off), the students were using the Dialect constantly: when they protested,

complained, reported other students, asked questions, commented and talked to their classmates. In addition the students used predominantly the Dialect in the technical lessons regardless of the occasion of communication. Evidence were presented indicating that the amount and type of talk differed significantly between the technical and the non-technical lessons, where the more 'lenient' norms of the former allowed the use of the Dialect in all classroom interactions.

The discrepancy between teachers' and students' language use can be interpreted on the grounds of age and experience. The students were still very young and had a long way to go in the educational system so they were not yet fully competent in the Standard and therefore used the Dialect in every other occasion of communication. Nevertheless, a different interpretation can be rooted in the connection of linguistic varieties with specific choices in language and identity. In other words, it is possible that the students used the Dialect more because they chose to do so, noting therefore a different language choice than the one of their teachers. These issues are explored in more depth in the following chapters, where the way students felt about the Standard and the Dialect and the different ethnic identities they attached to them are presented. In particular, the following chapter examines students' language attitudes towards Standard Modern Greek, the Cypriot Dialect and to some extent English and Turkish, exploring whether their attitudes towards these varieties revealed anything regarding their preferred ethnic identities.

Chapter Seven

STUDENTS' LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

"The problem is not in the existence of multiple varieties of language... the problem is in the attitude held toward the varieties. Is it one of approval or disapproval?"

- Dell Hymes, 1985, p.32

1 Introduction

From the previous chapter it emerged that the way the students used the Standard and the Dialect was value laden. Standard was associated with the formal lesson, while the Dialect was the variety used for every other communicative event. The objective of this chapter is to explore this further and to examine students' language attitudes towards the two varieties in order to unravel what feelings and values they attached to them, and provide an insight on the way the students experienced their bidialectalism. Furthermore, the way students perceived English and Turkish is also explored.

In particular, students' language attitudes were investigated from three perspectives (Table 7.1). First, I examined their linguistic awareness, in other words the extent to which they could name, describe and identify some characteristics for each variety. Second, I explored their levels of attachment and identification towards each variety (e.g. their claimed language use). Finally, I asked the students to assess specific linguistic variables (e.g. prestige, aesthetics) for a direct evaluation of the values attached to each variety.

Table 7.1: Breaking down students' language attitudes

Embedded Values in Language Awareness	Identifying with Linguistic Varieties	Expressed Language Values
Labelling written texts ↓ Associating texts with group of speakers ↓ Comparing Linguistic Varieties	Claimed Language Use ↓ Domains of Language Use ↓ Speech Accommodation / Code Switching	Aesthetics, Prestige, Social Mobility, Appropriateness (+SMG -CD) ↓ Feeling Comfortable, Solidarity, Identity (+CD -SMG)

Key: + Positive attitudes, - negative attitudes

2 Embedded values in linguistic awareness

2.1 Labelling different varieties

Two main classifications emerged regarding the way the students labelled the Standard and the Dialect texts: the 'Greek – Cypriot' and the 'Kalamaristika - Horkatika'⁹⁸. The first classification occurred mostly in the written texts while the second in the oral guises. In particular the overwhelming majority⁹⁹ of the students labelled the SMG text as 'Greek' while the CD text was characterised as 'Cypriot' (Figure 7.1). While both varieties constitute part of the Greek language, only the Standard was actually named as such. The Dialect on the other hand was labelled based on regional grounds, and there were a few students, as Achilleas, who hinted that it was not 'very' Greek: *"I think that B (dialect) is not that Greek"*. This division can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, the students may reflect on the tension found in the wider context concerning which variety should be regarded as the 'Greek national language', and as was mentioned, the majority of the media support the Standard for this purpose. Secondly, the lack of any standardised written form for the Dialect and the policy of teaching only the Standard at schools, might have contributed in the 'legitimisation' of the Standard as 'the Greek' language. In any case, it can be argued that the labelling of each variety was not value free.

The second classification of 'Kalamaristika – Horkatika' is also widely used in the wider context, as a more informal and less polite way of distinguishing the two varieties. 'Kalamaristika' is the variety spoken by the 'kalamarades' i.e. the people of Greece, and as seen in the Introduction, is often used with negative connotations indicating someone who is not Cypriot and therefore not a part of the 'us' grouping (cf. Papadakis, 1993). *"This is, how can I say it, like kalamaristika, like a kalamaras would speak"*, Katerina pointed out for the text in SMG. 'Horkatika' on the other hand refers literally to the way peasant people speak, and it is often used with negative connotations (low education level and inappropriateness) when describing the Dialect (Papapavlou, 2001a). Evidently this division was also value-laden since CD was

⁹⁸ Kalamaristika indicates the way people from Greece speak, and 'kalamaras' is the way Cypriot people call the people from Greece (see Introduction). Horkatika means 'peasant' way of speaking, deriving from 'horio' (village).

⁹⁹ Only two students, Giannos and Dionisis, labelled both varieties as Greek. Both belonged to the low ability group in the class, and had difficulties in expressing themselves in the Standard.

viewed as 'not that cultivated' (*horkatika*) but at the same time SMG was placed in a more distanced position to the students (*kalamaristika*).

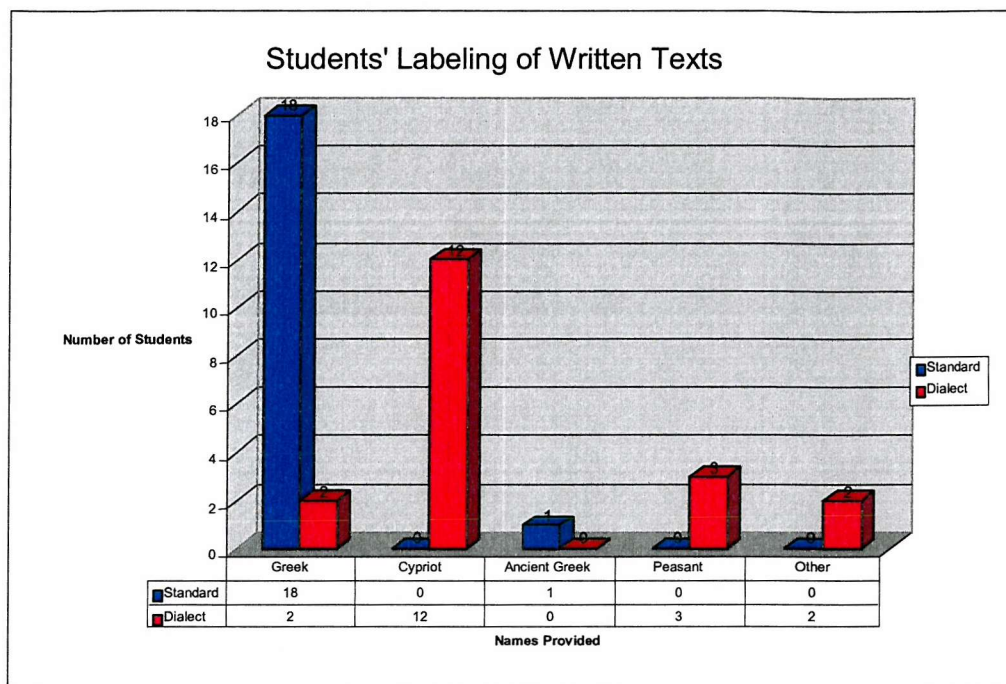


Figure 7.1: Students' labelling of the written texts

Regarding the English text, the overwhelming majority recognised it and labelled it as 'English'. This did not come as a surprise since students are exposed to English language both in school and at home¹⁰⁰. On the other hand, very few students (3/24) recognised and named the text in Turkish. Most of them mistook it for English and others simply admitted that they could not recognise it. Their reactions were understandable since, as mentioned before, in the Greek Cypriot context people have little or no contact with the Turkish language.

2.2 Associating texts with groups of speakers

As in the labelling of the texts, most students (14/24) associated the text in the Standard with the people who live in Greece¹⁰¹, characterising them as '*Ellines*' (Greeks), '*Kalamarades*' or '*Elladites*'. Katerina for example noted, "*Greeks speak*

¹⁰⁰ From Year 3 students are taught English twice a week. Furthermore they are exposed to English language via pop culture and the Internet.

¹⁰¹ A few students (4) also argued that often the Cypriots use this kind of talk. Orestis for example mentioned "*we the Cypriots often speak like that*" and Menelaos also noted, "*sometimes we might speak like that as well*". These students however made it explicit that Cypriots used this variety on 'occasional' grounds only

like that", and Anastasia argued "*Elladites usually speak like that*", both meaning those people who live in Greece, not Cyprus. Furthermore, some students extended this and referred to the written and literary characteristics of the Standard:

- "*The school textbooks are written in this language*" - Dafni
- "*Many great writers who live in Greece speak like that*" – Stella.

Another group of students (6/24) associated the Standard with people of their close environment who were in different ways superior to them such as teachers or adult family members. Dionisis for instance said, "*my dad, my mum, my brother speak like that, people who are older*". Demos also argued, "*my granny*¹⁰² *speaks mostly like that*", and Iasonas pointed out "*our teacher speaks in that way*". These students did not mention nationalities and ethnic origins in their comments. The fact that they achieved poorly in school might play a role in the lack of explicit definitions regarding ethnicity in their comments. Evidently, it appeared that there was a connection between students' level of achievement at school and the type of associations they made with each variety. The top achievement students provided more explicit definitions (i.e. Elladites, literary people) while the 'weaker' students drew upon examples from their personal experience (i.e. my granny speaks like that). In any case none of these students connected the Standard with themselves or with the Cypriot people as a whole.

In the case of the Dialect two major associations were made. The first was associating the Dialect with the people from the villages or older people. It was a revealing fact that it was mostly the girls¹⁰³ who made these associations. Nefeli for instance stated "*the peasants speak like that*", and Erato pointed out "*those who live in the villages and say 'tze', the peasants speak like that*". This association fit in with the previous labelling of the text in the Dialect as 'peasant' and confirmed this perception within the group. Furthermore most of the girls argued that they would use the Dialect to address their grandparents¹⁰⁴:

- "*My grandfather also speaks like that*" - Lydia

¹⁰² Demos's first language is English. He learned to speak Greek from his granny and this might be the reason he associated the text in the Standard with her.

¹⁰³ 9/10 connected the Dialect with peasants, and 6/10 with old people

¹⁰⁴ Older people in Cyprus usually speak the Dialect in its purer form (0-1 in DSC) so there is a tendency to associate the Dialect with them

- “*I have an old grandpa who does not speak Greek and when we go to his house we speak a little Cypriot*” - Dafni

Finally, Ifigenia made another association pointing out, “*usually in Paphos they speak like that*”. Her comments revealed a wider belief in the Cypriot society that the people who come from the region of Paphos speak a more 'heavy' type of the Dialect that is often characterised as 'peasant' and not very refined. Although no other student made a similar connection, Ifigenia was consistent in her point of view and brought it forward during focus groups as well (six months later). Overall, all of these students associated the Dialect neither with the whole of the Cypriot people nor with themselves. Interestingly enough, the overwhelming majority of this group was girls.

On the other hand the majority of the boys, associated the Dialect either with the people of Cyprus (Cypriots) or with themselves and members of their closest environment. Orestis for example pointed out “*we, the Cypriots speak like that*”, and Menelaos added “*mostly the Cypriots speak like that, I speak like that as well*”. Furthermore, Stella, the only girl who made this association indicated that “*the Cypriots speak like that, I speak like that. It is also spoken mainly in the villages, but also in towns people speak like that*”. There were also some students (i.e. Demos, Iasonas, and Dionisis) who, as in the case of the Standard, did not use ethnic definitions in their associations. Demos for instance pointed out, “*my sisters speak like that, I speak like that as well*”, while he connected the Standard with his grandmother. In the same way, Iasonas noted that “*My classmates speak like that (i.e. Dialect)*”, whereas he connected the Standard with his teachers.

The associations made for the English and the Turkish language were more straightforward. Nearly all of the students associated English with “*the English people*”. The majority (17/24) provided short answers like, “*English people speak like that*”, but some students produced more explicit comments, stressing its wider use:

- “*the tourists who come to Cyprus speak like that*” - Ifigenia
- “*we might sometimes speak like that*” - Froso
- “*the English people speak like that, also the Americans, the Australians and most of the countries that used to be colonies*” - Orestis

Finally, as regard to the Turkish language only three boys recognised and associated it with Turkish people. Menelaos, Patroklos and Orestis all mentioned “*the Turks speak like that*”. The rest of the students either misinterpreted it for English or declared that they did not know it.

2.3 Differences and similarities between the two varieties

In the comparison of the two varieties, students were able to outline, in their own way, characteristics of the Standard and the Dialect, and identify some key features as similarities or differences. Most of their comments focused on issues of accent, vocabulary and intelligibility. These are outlined in the following sections.

2.3.1 Accent

The majority of the students (12/24) mentioned accent as one of the main differences between the Dialect and the Standard. Stella for example remarked, “*the language is a bit different, the accent is different*”, and Demos noted “*both is Greek but the accent is different*”. Giannos, Patroklos and others made similar points. Others provided more details indicating the existence of double consonants in the Dialect, as Aggelos, “*in Cypriot there are two ‘l’ instead of one*”. Similarly Patroklos commented: “*we have many words that have two ‘k’, two ‘l’, while the Greeks say only one*”. Furthermore, many students stressed the sound ‘tz’ (CD) instead of ‘k’ (SMG), focusing on the wider use of the word ‘tze’ (instead of ‘ke’ meaning ‘and’) in the Dialect:

- “*Evagoras speaks a bit differently from me, I say ‘tze’ but he cannot say ‘tze’, he says ‘ke’*” - Dionisis
- “*the Greeks do not say ‘tze’, we say that*” - Giannos
- “*and if someone comes, we say to him ‘tze pothen ise’ while they say ‘ke apo pu ise’*¹⁰⁵”.- Ifigenia

2.3.2 Vocabulary

Vocabulary was also identified either as a similarity or as a difference between the two varieties. Those who pointed out vocabulary as a similarity considered the two varieties as primarily different. Froso for example pointed out, “*no, these two are not*

related, mh, well, maybe there are some words that are a bit the same, both Cypriot and Greek". Similar points were made by Anna, Periklis and Orestis. On the other hand, those who referred to vocabulary as a major difference argued that linguistically the two varieties were very close but differed in some words only. Lydia for instance remarked, *"in Cypriot there are some words that the Greeks cannot understand, but Greek and Cypriot is the same (language)"*¹⁰⁶. In order to explain the difference, Patroklos provided the example of 'car': *"the Greeks say 'amaksi', we say 'aftokinito'"*¹⁰⁷. But then he added, *"it is the same language, though, only some words differ"*. Furthermore the following extract from a focus group discussion reveals that the lexical differences between the two varieties constituted a part of students' daily life and experiences:

Extract 1 - Focus Group C

"Achilleas: when a Greek meets a Cypriot and the Cypriot talks to him, he will understand

*Tefkros: but there are some words they cannot understand what they mean, because we say some things in a different way, 'mirmigki'"*¹⁰⁸

Agis: Evagoras could not understand that

E: who told him that?

*Agis: I did, I told him 'limbueros' and he did not understand. 'Tsaera', he said 'tsayiera'"*¹⁰⁹ to me"

The two approaches the students adopted (i.e. stressing either the difference or similarity of the two varieties) are reasonable and located in the wider sociolinguistic profile of Cyprus. The Dialect belongs to the Greek linguistic varieties but it presents distinct variations from the Standard taught in school. The fact that among the class were two SMG speakers (Evagoras and Periklis) increased students' awareness about the differences between the two varieties. This can be located in the students' regular references to the way Evagoras (or Periklis) spoke. Katerina's comments sum up this point: *"Greeks speak a bit different. A Greek is a kalamaras and s/he will speak like Evagoras, the Cypriots speak normally while the Greeks a bit different"*.

¹⁰⁵ Both sentences mean "and where are you from"

¹⁰⁶ Similar points were made by Anastasia, Agis, Menelaos and Ifigenia

¹⁰⁷ Amaksi (SMG) = Aftokinito (CD) = Car

¹⁰⁸ Mirmigki (SMG) = Limbueros (CD) = Ant

¹⁰⁹ Tsaera (CD) = Chair, Tsayiera (SMG) = Kettle

3 Identifying with linguistic varieties

From students' language awareness it emerged that they clearly distinguish between the two varieties and they associated each variety with different groups. This section examines students' level of identification towards the Standard and the Dialect, in other words the degree in which they were willing to identify with each variety. In particular, I examined their identification towards the written and spoken forms of the two varieties through the question '*Do you speak like that*', aiming to explore whether this identification revealed language attitudes and if they presented different reactions towards the written and the spoken forms of a variety.

As can be seen (Figure 7.2) the Cypriot Dialect both in its spoken and written forms had higher levels than the Standard. Students mostly identified with the spoken form of the Dialect and least with the written form of the Standard. Identification was measured with the 'YES' answer (Table 7.2). Nevertheless a more detailed and careful analysis of students' replies and descriptions revealed that identifying with a linguistic variety was a complex process with strong gender and individual differentiation. This is outlined in the following sections.

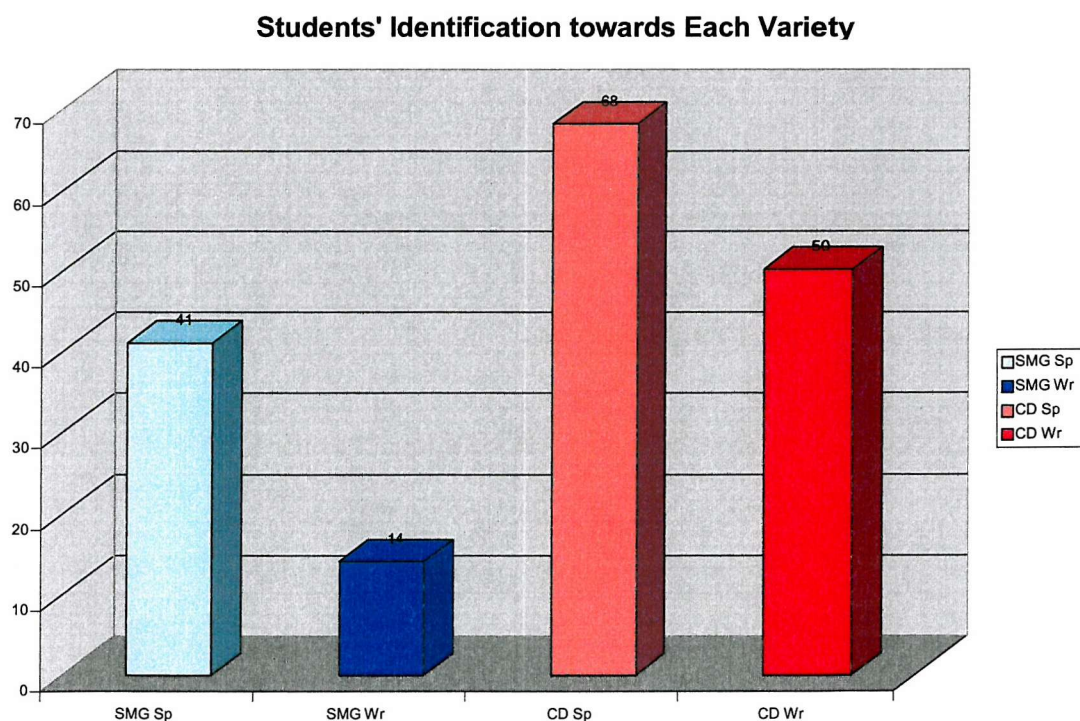


Figure 7.2: Students' identification towards each variety (per cent)

Table 7.2: Students' level of identification with linguistic varieties

Level	SMG wr			SMG sp			CD wr			CD sp			English		
	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T
	%			%			%			%			%		
YES	20	21.4	20.8	78	21.4	43	10	71.4	45.9	40	78.6	52.5	33	7.2	166
	(2)	(3)	(5)	(8)	(3)	(11)	(1)	(10)	(11)	(4)	(11)	(15)	(3)	(1)	(4)
Sometimes	50	71.4	62.5	22	64.3	48	60	143	33.3	30	14.3	208	55	714	567
	(5)	(10)	(15)	(2)	(9)	(11)	(6)	(2)	(8)	(3)	(2)	(5)	(6)	10	16
NO	30	7.2	16.6	0	14.3	9	30	143	20.8	30	7.2	166	11	21.4	166
	(3)	(1)	(4)		(2)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(5)	(3)	(1)	(4)	(1)	(3)	(4)
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Key: (in brackets): students' number

3.1 The Standard Modern Greek: The 'sometimes' variety

The majority of the students seemed hesitant to identify with the written SMG claiming to use it on certain occasions only (Table 7.2: 'sometimes'). Although the quantitative data did not reveal any differentiation among girls and boys, the way they described their use of the Standard was gender differentiated. Most of the girls (e.g. Lydia, Katerina, Ifigenia, and Anastasia) exhibited an initial tendency to identify with the written Standard, and only when they described their language use in more detail, they revealed to use it occasionally. For example, Katerina noted, *"I speak like that always (...) well, sometimes I speak Greek and sometimes I speak Cypriot, yes sometimes I use 'tze' "*. On the other hand boys' replies were more consistent and straightforward directly pointing out that they would use the Standard on certain occasions only. Agise's words note this point, *"I use Greek only when I go to Greece for trips, or when I speak to my teacher (...) the rest of the time I speak Cypriot"*.

Nevertheless, there were two small groups of students who differentiated from the majority by either completely identifying with the written Standard or rejecting it. Apart from the two SMG speakers (Periklis and Evagoras), two girls Nefeli and Erato identified with the written and spoken Standard, claiming to speak it in all occasions. From their words it is evident that they stressed mostly the non-use of the Dialect (since it was associated with the peasants), rather than the use of the Standard:

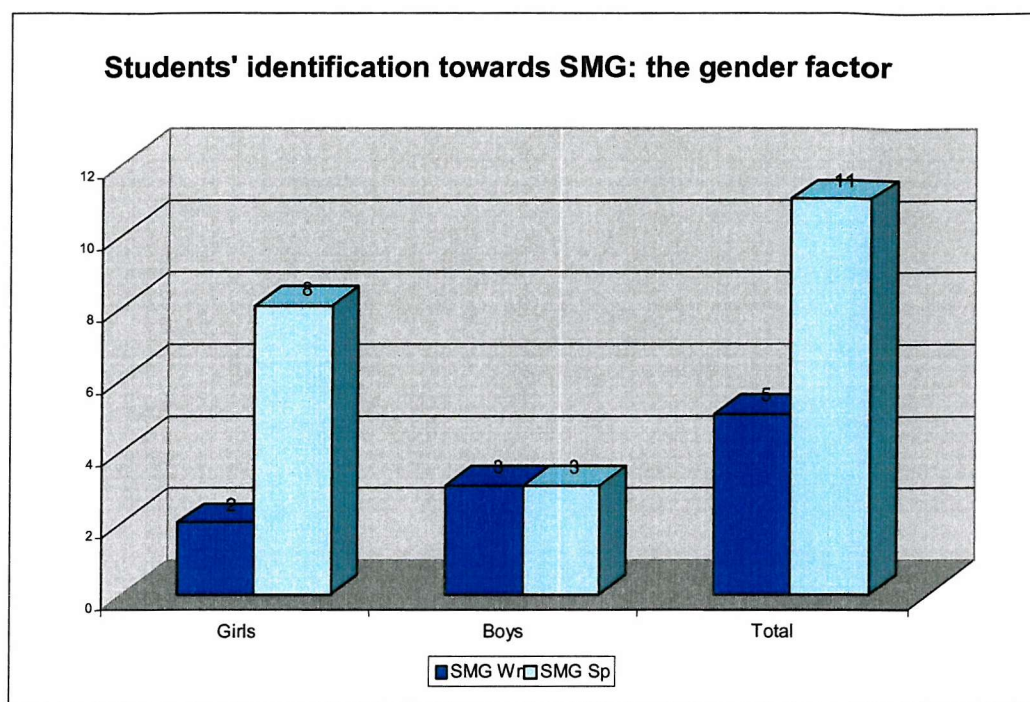
- “Greeks speak like that (SMG) and I speak like that as well. The peasants speak Cypriot, I do not speak like that (CD), only rarely, like when I speak to my granny” - Nefeli
- “I speak mostly that one (SMG), I never speak like that (CD), not at home, not with my granny, I never say 'tze', those who live in the villages speak like that” - Erato

In contrast, the other group of students (Anna, Stella, Demos, Dafni, Iasonas) completely rejected the written Standard. Their rationale was rooted in their personal experience of learning or using Standard Modern Greek. Demos for instance spoke mostly the Dialect and encountered difficulties when using the Standard¹¹⁰: “I would not like to speak like that (SMG wr) and I do not speak like that”. Dafni, on the other hand, although relatively competent in the Standard (as I observed in class) retained negative attitudes towards it because of the direct contact she had with SMG speakers. “I have cousins from Greece and when I hear someone speaking Greek I cannot stand hearing them because they (...) talk all the time and they do not stop and I am fed up with it”.

When it came to the spoken version of the Standard (guise) however, students’ level of identification increased, with almost half identifying with the spoken form and the other half arguing that they used it on certain occasions only (Table 7.2). However this increase was mainly due to girls’ shift towards the spoken Standard (Figure 7.3). To cite an example, while Froso argued that she used the written Standard on certain occasions only, for the spoken form she noted, “this is how I speak (...) always”. Furthermore Dafni’s words indicate her shift: “em, yes this is how I speak (SMG spoken), I do not speak like that (CD spoken),..., I never say 'tze' and things like that”. Boys on the other hand, retained a consistent attitude towards both the written and the spoken Standard, and the majority of them (except the two SMG speakers) did not identify with it¹¹¹. Orestis for example pointed out that he used the written Standard on certain occasions only, and similarly he noted for the spoken Standard, “I sometimes speak like that (SMG sp) but I would not like to speak it all the time”

¹¹⁰ Both in writing and speaking- this was evident from the classroom observations and the teachers’ comments.

¹¹¹ This was also confirmed in the semi match-guise test (p. 188).



Key: Girls=10, Boys=14

Figure 7.3: Students' identification towards SMG: the gender factor

From students' attitudes towards SMG it can be noted that the majority partly identified with it as the variety they used on certain occasions only. This attitude is understandable since students have CD as their L1 but they also use SMG a lot at school and in certain social occasions (see next section for more information on linguistic domains). Nevertheless, there was a strong gender differentiation, with girls exhibiting higher levels of identification towards the spoken Standard, complying with some empirical work in sociolinguistics where women tend to show preference to standardised forms of language. The increase in girls' identification towards the spoken Standard can be interpreted taking into consideration the wider appreciation there is in the Greek Cypriot context (also identified by the policy-makers) for the spoken version of the Standard. Nevertheless, it is revealing that the boys did not present this pattern in their preferences, retaining consistent attitudes towards both the spoken and the written forms of the Standard.

3.2 The Cypriot Dialect: The 'yes' and 'no' variety

Although the majority of the students appeared to exhibit preference towards the Dialect (Figure 7.2), a more explicit analysis revealed that there were, as in the case of

the Standard, striking individual and gender differences, as well as that very often the Dialect evoked intense negative reactions.

The majority of the boys (Figure 7.4) had no hesitation in admitting that they used the Dialect both in its written and spoken form and fully identifying with it. The following comments verify this:

- *“I speak like that, this is how I learned, this is how I can speak”* - Achilleas
- *“This is my language, of course and I speak like that”* - Giannos
- *“This is the language of my country, this is the language I speak”* - Menelaos

On the other hand, girls seemed more hesitant to identify with both the written and the spoken forms of the Dialect, although there was an increase for the spoken Dialect (Figure 7.4). Evidently, the most commonly referred to reasons by the girls, reflected the associations they made earlier where the Dialect was connected with the peasants and old people.

- *“I do not speak like that, we do not speak like that, mostly those from the villages speak in that way”* - Anastasia
- *“I do not speak like that, not at all, only the peasants speak like that”* - Nefeli
- *“I do not speak like that, but I have an old grandpa who does not speak Greek and when I go to his house I speak a bit Cypriot, but I never say tze”* - Dafni

Even the girls who claimed to use the Dialect occasionally exhibited an initial tendency to reject it. After some discussion however they adopted a more receptive approach. To cite an example, Lydia noted *“I do not speak that language much (...), well I use a bit of the one and a bit of the other”*.

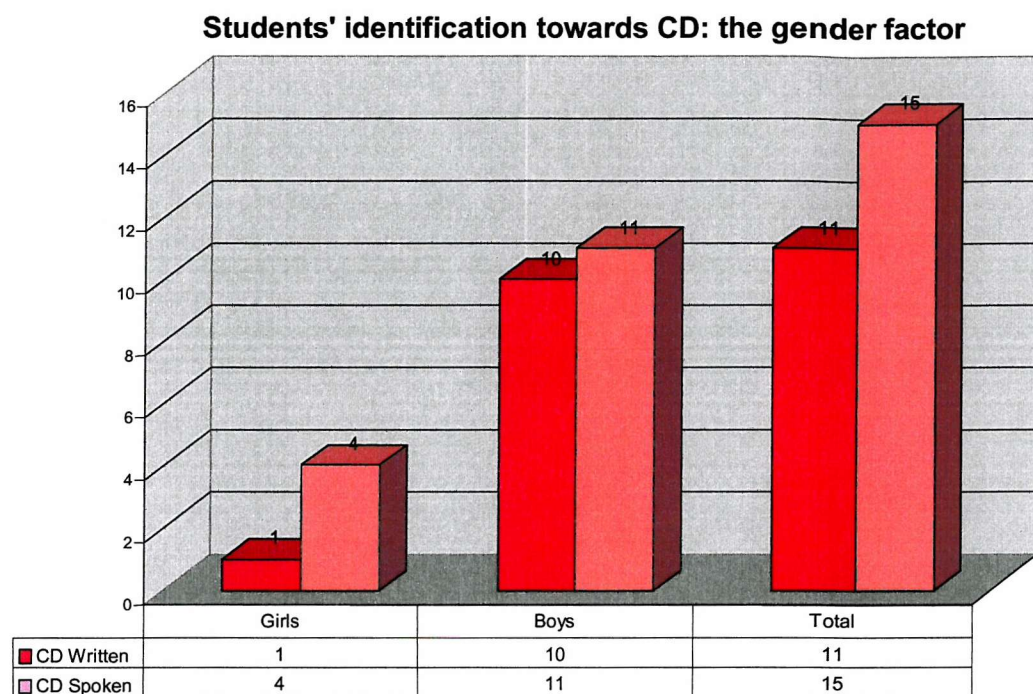


Figure 7.4 Students' identification towards CD: the gender factor

Finally, the majority of the students (Table 7.2), as Anastasia, argued of using English on certain occasions only: *"sometimes I use this language, especially when I attend English lessons or when I speak to someone from England"*. However there were also a few students who completely rejected English arguing that they never spoke like that (Dionisis, Iasonas). At the same time there was another group of students (4/24) who identified with English. Most of these students were bilingual (Stella, Demos, Nefeli) although there was one student (Dafni) who claimed to use English a lot without having any direct relation with it.

Overall, it can be argued that for many students their claimed language use did not reflect reality. It has already been identified in the previous chapter that all the students used the Dialect consistently in every occasion of communication, except when they participated in the lesson. Therefore their identification with the Standard indicates mostly their language values rather than their actual language use. Mostly the girls denied using the Dialect, possibly because of its negative associations with peasant speech. In contrast boys seemed more consistent in their claimed language use and what they actually spoke, bringing forward arguments that had to do with the fact that the Dialect was their first language and the variety they felt most comfortable

using. This discrepancy between actual and claimed language use indicates that the Standard had vitality among the students, at least on a norm level, valuing it as the variety they would like to speak and identify with. In contrast, the variety they used on a regular and constant basis, the Dialect, did not always seem as appealing, at least for the girls, so as to admit that they used it.

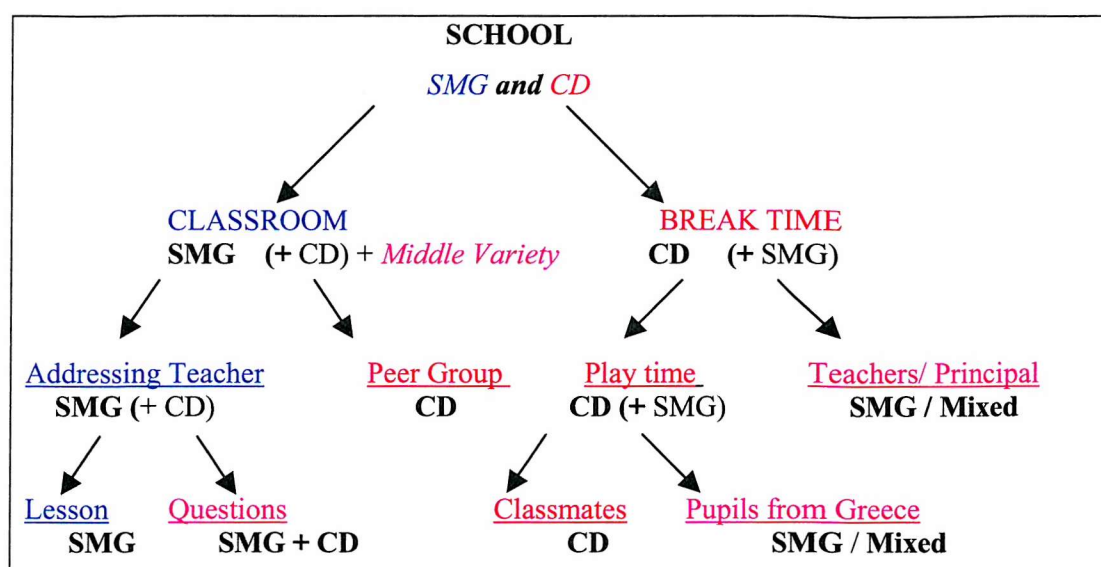
4 Domains of language use

From students' identification with the Standard and the Dialect, it became clear that they associated the two varieties with specific domains. The Standard for example was associated mainly with schooling and formality, while the Dialect with home and informality. Moreover, it became evident that the choice of the linguistic code depended upon the persons involved in the communication, the topic of discussion and the setting in which communication occurred. These are examined next.

4.1 The domain of school

As the students illustrated, the school was a domain where both the Standard and the Dialect were used, but on different occasions (Figure 7.5). They regarded the Standard as the most appropriate variety for the class and pointed out two occasions in which they considered it necessary to use. First, when addressing their teachers and second when participating in the lesson (the latter was confirmed in the previous chapter). Not all students, however, claimed to use the Standard when addressing the teacher. Giannos and Orestis for example pointed out that they would use 'Greek' during the lesson (reading, participating), but Cypriot when they had to ask something of the teacher:

- “*During the lesson time I use Greek, but if I have to ask something I might speak in Cypriot*” - Orestis
- “*When I am in the class and I read something I say it in Greek, but when I have to ask my teacher something I say it in Cypriot*” - Giannos



Key: Blue: mostly Standard is used, Red: mostly Dialect is used, Purple: code mixing, code switching, (in brackets): not the dominant variety

Figure 7.5: Students' claimed use of SMG and CD at school

Furthermore, some students indicated the existence of different levels in the Dialect, highlighting the Dialect-Standard continuum. Many, as Dafni, argued that they used neither the Dialect nor the Standard in the class but an intermediate linguistic code: *"in the class I speak in a proper way but not in the Greek way"*. Similarly, Achilleas added, *"I speak a bit of that (SMG), polite in a way but not exactly that way"*, and Froso argued, *"I need to put Cypriot and Greek together when I talk"*.

When it came to peer communication, both in and out of class almost all the students indicated the Dialect as the variety they used. As Ifigenia pointed out, *"when I speak to the person who sits next to me, emm, I use that one (CD)"*. Similarly, break time and play ground were, according to students, Dialect dominated, except when they had to speak to a teacher or to Evagoras and Periklis. Even then however they pointed out that they were more likely to use a mixture of the two varieties than pure Standard. What is revealing here is the comparison with the observations I made outside classroom. Although, it was observed that all the students used the Dialect when they spoke to their teachers out of the class (see Chapter five), when it came to reporting what they actually did, they all claimed to use the Standard, which they apparently considered as more appropriate for this occasion.

Overall it can be argued that students' claimed use in the school reflected in many aspects their actual language use, especially in the domains associated with the Dialect (as the observations from the previous chapter confirmed). In contrast, the occasions they described as Standard-dominated were, as identified in the previous chapter, domains where both varieties were used. This discrepancy can be explained on the grounds of norm level: the students claimed to actually use the Standard in certain domains (i.e. actual lesson, talking to teachers), stating what they believed they ought to use (because of the values of formality and appropriateness) instead of what they actually used.

4.2 Domains associated with the Standard - The 'formality' and 'social image' factors

Apart from school the students associated the Standard with domains that involved a kind of social formality (Table 7.3) such as social occasions (e.g. visits, but not to relatives), ordering in a restaurant and going to 'aristocratic parties'. The following examples encapsulate the above:

- *"I speak like that, when I go to other (ksena = foreign) houses, like to visit an auntie that I rarely see" - Achilleas*
- *"When for example you go to aristocratic balls you do not hear this (Cypriot) language" - Tefkros*
- *"When we are in a restaurant we will speak Cypriot between us but when we will order we will use Greek (...) I believe we speak Greek because we have to be civilised in a place we do not know" - Orestis*

What were revealing are the adjectives the students used like 'civilised', 'aristocratic' but also 'foreign'. When I asked Tefkros to explain what he meant by 'aristocratic ball' he said, *'where you see good people (i.e. good society)'*. Although it was not clear whether he had ever attended events like that, or if such events take place at all, his description indicated a clear value system he had in which the Standard was associated with the 'aristocratic' and the formal.

Table 7.3: Other domains associated with the Standard

Setting	Occasion	Participants
GOING TO OTHER HOUSES	Social visits	People they do not know
RESTAURANTS	When ordering	Waiter
TELEPHONE	Asking Information	Unknown People
PUBLIC LIFE	Visits from politicians, people in power	Politicians, Hierarchical Gap

Furthermore, the students claimed that they would use the Standard with specific groups of people, such as 'strangers'. Anastasia for instance noted, “*I speak Greek to people I do not know because it is rude to speak Cypriot*” and Orestis added, “*I speak Greek when say I see a stranger in the street*”. In addition, they also argued that they would use the Standard when addressing people 'in power' or 'important' people:

- “*If the president or another political person comes to visit us, we will not speak to him with 'yia su re tsiakko'¹¹², I will speak to him **civilised**, in Greek*” - Stella
- “*miss, if say Clerides (i.e. the president of the republic) comes to visit us then we have to speak to him politely not like 'o yia su re kumbare'¹¹³”, Ifigenia*

In fact in these examples both girls used words ('tsiakko', 'kumbare') that indicate the speech style (i.e. informal Vs formal) rather than the Dialect-Standard dichotomy. Nevertheless, because the Dialect is strongly associated with informal occasions, in the eyes of these students it was equated with informal speech style.

The data indicated that students considered their social image and 'what people would think about them' as important issues. Evidently, using the appropriate linguistic variety constituted an important part of this social image. And for the students this appropriate variety was the Standard. Anastasia's comments encapsulate this: “*People might create a negative picture about you, so it is better not to speak Cypriot for example every time, and people might have a negative idea for you*”.

¹¹² From this phrase, only the last word 'tsiakko' is in Cypriot, indicating a complementary and also informal way to address someone. 'Tsiakkos' derives from 'tsiakki', which means a kind of knife and metaphorically indicates a sharp and clever person.

¹¹³ Ifigenia gives a similar example where again a whole phrase is equated to the dialect whereas only the last word 'kumbare' is more dialectal. The term "Kumbare", meaning literally the best man in a wedding, is used as a very common way in which men (familiar and not) are addressed, indicating friendliness and informality.

These concerns about their social image emerged mostly from the girls who seemed convinced that the use of the Dialect would be disapproved by the social context. Ifigenia for instance argued, *“when you speak to someone it is not proper to speak to him like peasant...because he will not like it, the person we talk to”*. On top of that, almost all the girls stressed the concept of 'embarrassment' or even 'shame' when using the Dialect. *“It is a shame to speak to the others, to say tze”*, Erato argued, and she went on adding, *“I feel embarrassed using B because I do not like it when I hear the word tze”*. On the same grounds, Froso noted, *“I am a bit embarrassed to speak Cypriot because I do not like it much”*.

4.3 Domains associated with the Dialect - The 'informality' factor

In contrast to the associations made with the Standard, the students associated the use of the Dialect mainly with informal domains and occasions (Table 7.4).

Table 7.4: Domains associated with the Cypriot Dialect

Setting	Occasion	Participants
HOME	When family is gathered	Parents, Siblings, Grandparents
PLAY TIME	When playing with friends, children at their age, parks, etc	Friends, Class-mates, Children at their age they do not know
SCHOOL	Break – Time	Playing and interacting with their peers
RESTAURANT	Talking among themselves	Students – Family, Friends

Firstly, almost all the students identified home as the main domain where they would use the Dialect (this is confirmed by Sciriha, 1995):

- *“at noon I might use that way (CD) because we are together, all the family”* - Ifigenia
- *“when the family is gathered we may speak Cypriot but in a place outside we mostly use Greek”* - Orestis
- *“when I am alone with my sisters at home I speak like that”* - Anna

Even the more hesitant students (Nefeli, Anna, Erato, Ifigenia) who completely rejected the Dialect, admitted to using it with certain members of their family, their grandparents. The home-domain and the familiarity of people seemed to be the main determinants for using the Dialect, as Menelaos's words indicate: *“I speak Cypriot with the people I know. My mother, my father, my brother and sisters, relatives”*.

Related to that, the students argued the use of the Dialect when 'talking to friends', in other words people they felt close to and therefore felt more comfortable with:

- “*When we are on our own with my friends, we might speak, we might say some words that we do not usually say*” - Dafni
- “*I speak Cypriot to my friends and they speak like that to me, this is how I learned to speak this is how I can speak*” - Achilleas

Finally, and related to the above, play-time was another occasion where the students said that they used the Dialect: “*I also speak like that when I go to play, like in a luna-park and I meet other children I do not know and we become friends*” (Perseas).

4.4 Summary

Almost all the students were aware of the specific domains connected to each linguistic variety and the norms and values involved in their language choice. Evidently, as in the previous sections, the SMG was placed here in a key position and assigned an explicit status since it was associated with domains of power, whereas the Dialect was connected with home and friendliness. Nevertheless, although the dialect in many instances was referred to as 'peasant' and 'inappropriate', still it was strengthened by the attributes of the 'home' and 'feeling comfortable'. It is worth considering whether this co-existence of two varieties in students' linguistic repertoire, accompanied by contrasting and sometimes opposing sets of values, resulted in tensions and conflicts between the use of the two varieties. In other words, was the use of the two varieties tension-free and dependent on specific domains only, as the students described? Or were the interactions that took place in these domains more complicated? The following sections examine in more detail students' language attitudes, focusing on the issue of speech accommodation as well as on direct elicitation of different norms and values regarding language, in order to address issues such as these.

5 Speech accommodation

Since there were some speakers of SMG in the group and the students were aware of the 'different' way their classmates spoke, I explored their attitudes towards the phenomenon of Speech Accommodation. Evidently, although Periklis and Evagoras

(and Aphrodite who joined the class in the second stage of the fieldwork) constituted a linguistic minority in the class, it was noted from the observations that the other students tended to code-switch when addressing them (Example 1 notes one of incident of speech accommodation).

Example 1, Design and Technology, 19/5

The students are working into groups for designing small tables. I go to one group where Periklis and Ifigenia are having a conversation. I notice that Ifigenia changes the way she speaks and her pronunciation by adopting more SMG linguistic types. Ifigenia is among those students who use the Dialect a lot, however when she addresses Periklis she changes the way she speaks:

Περικλή, εδώ είναι τα πινέλα. Δικό σου είναι αυτό
 “Perikli, *here are* the brushes. (Yours) *is this?*”

This was also verified in the interviews where most of the students, although a majority in the class and the school (as CD speakers), believed that they had to code-switch when addressing their peers from Greece, stressing that they would use 'Greek' with 'kalamarades'. The following examples document this:

- “*I speak Cypriot to my relatives, to my mum, to everyone, except when I meet, let's say a kalamara, I will speak to him/her in a different way*” - Giannos
- “*I speak like that (SMG) to Evagoras*” - Patroklos
- “*With Evagoras I speak Greek, because he is from Greece, and with Aphrodite, well I do not speak to her as I speak now*” - Lydia

The majority of the students pointed out the criterion of unintelligibility as the main reason for their speech accommodation, arguing that the SMG speakers would not understand them if they would speak in the Dialect. Froso for example noted, “*If you speak Cypriot all the time people will not understand you... for example in our class we have two persons who do not know any Cypriot, so I speak to them in Greek because they cannot understand*”. Tefkros also asserted, “*we have to use and a bit of Greek because they do not understand what we say to them*”. Similarly the following extract from focus group discussion encapsulates this.

Extract 2 - Focus Group D

“E: *How do you speak to Aphrodite?*”

Lydia: *we try to (p)*

E: *don't you speak to her as you do now?*

Lydia: *no, because she does not understand. Let's say, in house economy we were doing for vegetables and she did not know what the 'krambi'¹¹⁴ is (...)*

Stella: *Froso sits next to her and every day she tries to teach her to speak Cypriot, every day, she has spoken a bit*

E: *has she started talking?*

Stella: *a bit*

Erato: *Periklis did*

Lydia: *Periklis speaks a bit Cypriot*

Erato: *but not Evagoras"*

Students' argument for unintelligibility, mainly on behalf of the Standard speakers towards the Dialect, is reinforced by the Standard speakers' attitudes when listening to vernacular Greek¹¹⁵. However there are no research findings to indicate that the two Greek varieties are unintelligible. In contrast, the sociolinguistic literature indicates that this is mainly an issue of belief and of how much people want and are willing to understand varieties that are not standardised (Wardhaugh, 1992).

Nevertheless, there was a smaller group of students (Agis, Orestis, Anastasia) who did not accept that they had to speak 'Greek' to their classmates from Greece. Anastasia for example argued, *"I think we should speak in every way we want and we feel comfortable"*, objecting to the idea that Cypriot people had to switch to the Standard when communicating with people from Greece. Agis and Orestis pointed out that they would use a mixture of the two varieties and would not code-switch completely:

Extract 3 - Focus Group D:

E: *now that you have classmates from Greece, how do you speak to them?*

Agis: *a bit of Greek, a bit of Cypriot*

Orestis: *half and half because they have learned some Cypriot*

Agis: *mixed, half and half"*

The rationale of these students who disagreed with accommodating the Standard, was that Greeks could understand the Cypriots and therefore there was not a real need for this. Anastasia's words reveal this:

*"but many people think that if someone comes from Greece and speaks differently from us, they think that s/he will not understand us if we talk, if we speak, so they start saying 'yia su ti kanis'¹¹⁶...and it is not nice because **they can***

¹¹⁴ 'Krambi' (CD) = 'Lachano' (SMG) = Cabbage

¹¹⁵ Evagoras's words confirmed this: *"I understand some words in Cypriot, but some others I cannot understand what exactly they mean ...I do not try to learn Cypriot at all, because in a way I do not like it. It is their expressiveness and the fact that I am used to Greek"* (this was also confirmed by the discussion of the students in extract 2).

¹¹⁶ Yia su ti kanis (SMG) = Yia su inta pu kamnis (CD) = Hello, how are you?

understand you when you talk in Cypriot as well, as long as you do not say words they do not know”

Overall, both from the observations and the interviews it emerged that the majority of the students felt the need to converge to the Standard when a speaker from Greece was present. This attitude is compatible with the perception found in the wider Cypriot sociolinguistic scenery where although the Dialect is the variety spoken by all the Greek Cypriots as L1, still when they address people from Greece they tend to code-switch into the Standard¹¹⁷. It is evident therefore that although the Dialect is the variety spoken by the majority, still when confronted by the Standard it is in an inferior position and its speakers feel the need to code-switch.

6 Students’ attitudes towards specific sociolinguistic variables

From students’ language attitudes so far it emerged that there were two sets of values associated with each variety, one that placed the Standard in a key position on issues of STATUS, and another that placed the Dialect in a stronger position on issues of SOLIDARITY. In these sections these two sets of values are explored in more depth. In particular the status of Standard Modern Greek, the Cypriot Dialect and English, as the students described it, is unfolded through the variables of aesthetics, prestige, social mobility and appropriateness. Furthermore the link between these varieties and issues of identity among the students is presented through the variables of feeling comfortable, solidarity and identity. The data presented in the following sections are a combination of the semi match-guise test and of qualitative data from the interviews and the focus groups.

6.1 The semi match-guise test

From the results of the test (Table 7.5) the following points can be made. First, the Standard scored very high (above 9/10) in the variables connected to the status and aesthetics of a language (i.e. correct, sounds nice, polite) and very low (less than 2) in the negative values for language status (i.e. ugly, rude and peasant). In contrast in the variables related to the attachment the students exhibited for each variety (i.e. 'I speak like that' and 'I feel comfortable speaking like that') the score was medium (6–7).

¹¹⁷ There are no studies to document this but I experienced this phenomenon as a speaker of CD.

Table 7.5: Values assigned to each variety in the Semi Match Guise Test

Variables	SMG			CD			English		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
CORRECT	9.50	8.69	9.04	5.6	5.84	5.73	8.00	8.50	8.27
SOUNDS NICE	9.90	8.84	9.30	6.00	5.92	6.04	8.40	9.08	8.77
POLITE	10	9.30	9.60	5.10	6.53	5.21	8.60	9.08	8.86
UGLY	1.50	1.15	1.30	4.20	2.92	3.47	1.90	1.50	1.68
RUDE	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.90	4.08	4.00	1.50	1.75	1.63
PEASANT	1.10	1.76	1.47	7.50	8.23	7.91	1.11	1.50	1.38
I speak like that ¹¹⁸	8.90	4.72	6.71	6.10	8.90	7.57	5.40	4.33	4.80
Feeling comfortable speaking it	7.20	4.36	6.00	4.20	8.63	7.95	6.40	4.30	5.54
Embarrassed to speak it	1.90	3.00	2.47	5.00	3.09	3.76	1.40	4.18	2.72
Would like to speak like that			7.52			7.08			8.22

Key: Range of rating 1-10, F: Female, M: Male

In contrast, the Dialect had medium ratings in all the variables related to status and aesthetics (3.4–6) and a higher score in the 'peasant' variable (7.91). This confirmed the constant association of the Dialect with the peasants. Nevertheless the Dialect was assigned higher scores for the variables concerning attachment although these ratings were not extremely high (7.5–7.9). However this was mostly due to the lower ratings provided by the girls (compared to boys). Furthermore, although a small difference in the ratings, the boys found the Dialect more polite, less ugly and less embarrassed to use than the girls. The girls in contrast found the Standard as more correct, sounding nice, polite and less embarrassing to use than the boys did. All these confirmed the existence of different language values among boys and girls, outlined in the earlier parts of the chapter. Finally as far as English was concerned, it appeared strong in status (while not as strong as SMG) and weaker than the three in terms of attachment and affiliation. In the following section all the sociolinguistic variables mentioned are portrayed in more depth, as the students described them during the interviews and the focus group discussions.

¹¹⁸ Without Evagoras and Periklis. in SMG and CD

6.2 The aesthetic variable

The association of the Standard with high aesthetics was something that the overwhelming majority of the students indicated. According to them the Standard was a 'beautiful' language that was more enjoyable to hear than the Dialect confirming the results of the semi match-guise test. Lydia for example argued, “*when I speak Greek it sounds nicer*” and Orestis pointed out, “*I like hearing this language*”. Similarly, Menelaos pointed out, “*this is a good language because it is more attractive*”. Many students referred explicitly to the Standard as having a 'better accent' and 'nicer words' than the Dialect, using words like 'softer' and 'nicer', as the following examples illustrate:

- “*I like it, it is nicer, it has better phrases*” - Nefeli
- “*We need to learn Greek at school in order to learn better words*” - Achilleas.

Extract 4 - Focus Group D

Orestis: *Greek is a better language because in Cyprus we use many taf (t) and zita (z).*

Agis: ‘tze’

Orestis: *while in Greece it is different, the language is softer”*

This strong attachment of the Standard with high aesthetics was accompanied by a low appreciation of the Dialect. As Menelaos noted, “*it (CD oral) sounds a bit, em, it is a bit uglier than the other two*”. The reasons the students provided for associating the Dialect with low aesthetics were the use of double consonants in the Dialect and the use of 'tze' instead of 'ke'. Evidently those markers that have been referred to earlier as the most striking features of the Dialect invoked the most negative comments and were stigmatised as 'ugly' and 'not beautiful'. Erato's words illustrate this: “*B is not that nice because they speak like tze, and I do not like hearing tze, and when I watch television and they say tze I change channels*”¹¹⁹. Similarly the following example from focus groups indicates the strong association of the Dialect with low aesthetics:

Extract 5 - Focus Group B

Patroklos: *our language is more heavy/harsh*

E: *what does that mean...? (...)*

Patroklos: *ours compared to the Greeks*

E: *but what does heavier mean?*

¹¹⁹ Patroklos, Aggelos and others made similar points.

Patroklos: *it is heavier...*

Ifigenia: *in other words we do not know how...*

Patroklos: *instead of 'ke' we say 'tze' "*

The students also considered the Standard as purer and 'clearer' than the Dialect. Perseas for instance pointed out, "*Greek is better because it is clearer / pure (kathara), the others can understand it better*", and Lydia argued, "*I really like the way she speaks, she speaks clearly*", referring to the way her classmate from Greece spoke. Finally, Orestis also referred to this pureness of the Standard by describing it as more 'tidy'¹²⁰ than the Dialect: "*Greek is a bit more tidy and it looks that we are civilised (when we use them). I am not saying that by using Cypriot we look uncivilised but Greek is a bit more tidy*".

Nevertheless a more detailed analysis of the data revealed that there were some 'hidden aesthetics' for the Dialect as well and the respective negative evaluations for the Standard. Some students stressed the expressive words of the Dialect that were not easy to find in the Standard:

Extract 6 – Focus Group A

Menelaos: *you are 'mannokikkiros'¹²¹ (laughter), how are you going to say that (meaning in SMG)?*

Anastasia: *Yes, the dialect has nice words*"

Furthermore a group of students, as Agis, expressed their 'support' for the Dialect arguing that they liked it and that they did not consider it ugly: "*I like Cypriot more, I think Cypriot is the best of the three (written)*". Evidently, most of these students were the same who used consistently the Dialect in the classroom regardless of the occasion of communication (e.g. Tefkros, Agis, Giannos). These students attached high aesthetics to the Dialect on the grounds that it was their own language (something explored in more detail in the following sections). The following extract indicates this:

Extract 7 - Focus Group D:

E: *which do you prefer out of the two?*

All: *Cypriot*

Agis: *especially peasant*

E: *why Cypriot?*

¹²⁰ Συσταρισμένη (ΚΔ) = Συγυρισμένη (ΚΝ)

¹²¹ Mannokikkiros (CD) = Stupid, moraine

Agis: they are nice, I like it

Parallel to this, were cases where some students exhibited contradicting attitudes towards the aesthetics of the Standard. Dafni for example argued, *“I think kalamaristika are a bit ugly”* and she added, *when I hear someone speaking Greek I cannot stand hearing them because they say ‘ke ke ke’¹²², they talk all the time and they do not stop*. Similarly Stella added, *“sometimes they are very annoying because they speak very fast”*. Moreover, it has to be stressed that overall students did not produce very strong characterisations against the Dialect. Usually their comments were mostly comparative and focused more on the aesthetic superiority of the Standard than the 'inferiority' of the Dialect. The results from the semi match guise test that assigned relatively low ratings to the variable 'ugly' for the Dialect confirmed this.

6.3 The variable of prestige

The overwhelming majority of the students, as indicated from their comments, connected the Standard with high prestige, arguing that it was 'correct' (confirmed in the semi match guise test: Figures 7.6, 7.7). Evidently, their positioning was highly influenced by the Standard being the formal variety of the classroom and the school, and the majority associated the Standard with 'learning to speak correctly'. The following examples indicate this:

- *“We speak Greek in the class because we have to learn to speak the correct dialect like the, like in Greece”* - Dafni
- *“I would not prefer to speak Cypriot in the class because I would I would not be able to write correctly, we need Greek, for example in the essays we will not write tze, re we have to write it with the correct way”* - Anastasia

The variable of 'correctness' was closely linked with the perceptions students held for their future social mobility and success in school. Stella, for instance argued *“we also have to learn to speak and write Greek because for example when we go to the university we have to know Greek”*. In addition, some students identified the issue of teachers' expectations. Menelaos pointed out, *“I speak like that in the class to show to the teacher that I know to speak in that way”*, and Dafni argued *“I speak Greek to my*

¹²² Meaning **and, and, and**. This is a common way often Cypriots refer to the way Greeks speak, slightly mocking it and implying that they speak a lot and very fast.

teacher, I do not speak Cypriot because in the class we would not show respect to our teacher if we used Cypriot". Finally, some students, as Froso, referred to the concept of appropriateness stressing that the Standard was the appropriate way of speaking in the classroom: *"in the class I speak Greek because I need to speak politely, I cannot say 'tze', I say 'ke' "*. All these comments placed the Standard in a key position by assigning it with prestige and status.

By contrast, their position towards the Dialect was that it was either 'wrong', with 'some mistakes' or peasant. As Anna pointed out, *"we are not supposed to say 'psumi' or 'afka', we say 'avga'""¹²³*, noting that this way of speaking was not the correct and the appropriate one. Nevertheless, as in the case of aesthetics, there was a group of students (the same as before: Tefkros, Agis, Demos) who retained a different view from the majority, favouring the Dialect, putting forward arguments regarding their low competence in the Standard and the Dialect being a marker of their origin.

- *"Out of the three I think Cypriot is the best because I find it difficult to learn to speak Greek"* - Tefkros
- *"I think that the Cypriot is better because I am Cypriot, so I prefer to speak Cypriot"* - Agis

Evidently students' evaluation depended on the perspective they took on the two varieties. The majority of them focused mainly on issues of correctness so they regarded the Standard as better. On the other hand, a smaller group focused on matters of language use and identity, so they viewed the Dialect more positively than the Standard. This is noted in Menelaos's remarks, who although considered the Standard as the best, made the following comment:

"I think Greek is the best, and then the Cypriot dialect. But if the question would be which one you prefer to speak then I would put the Cypriot first ... I would prefer to speak the Cypriot dialect but I think that the best is Greek"

¹²³ CD psumi (bread), afka (eggs)
SMG: psomi (bread), avga (eggs)

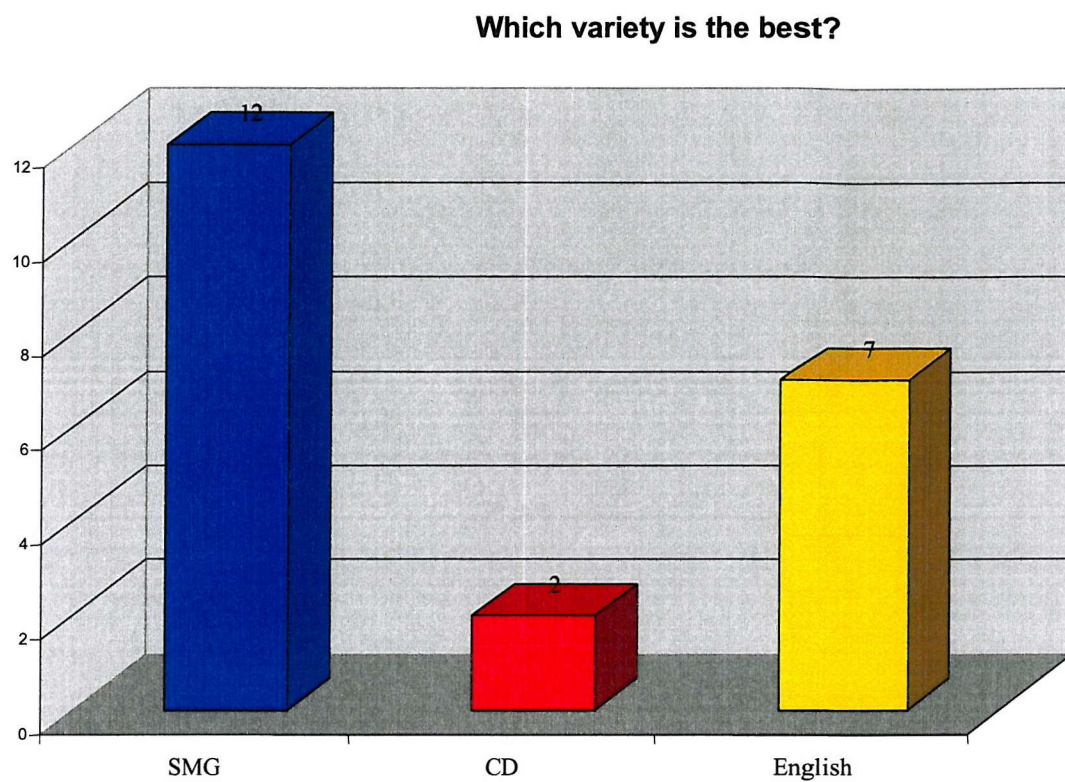


Figure 7.6: Which variety is the best?

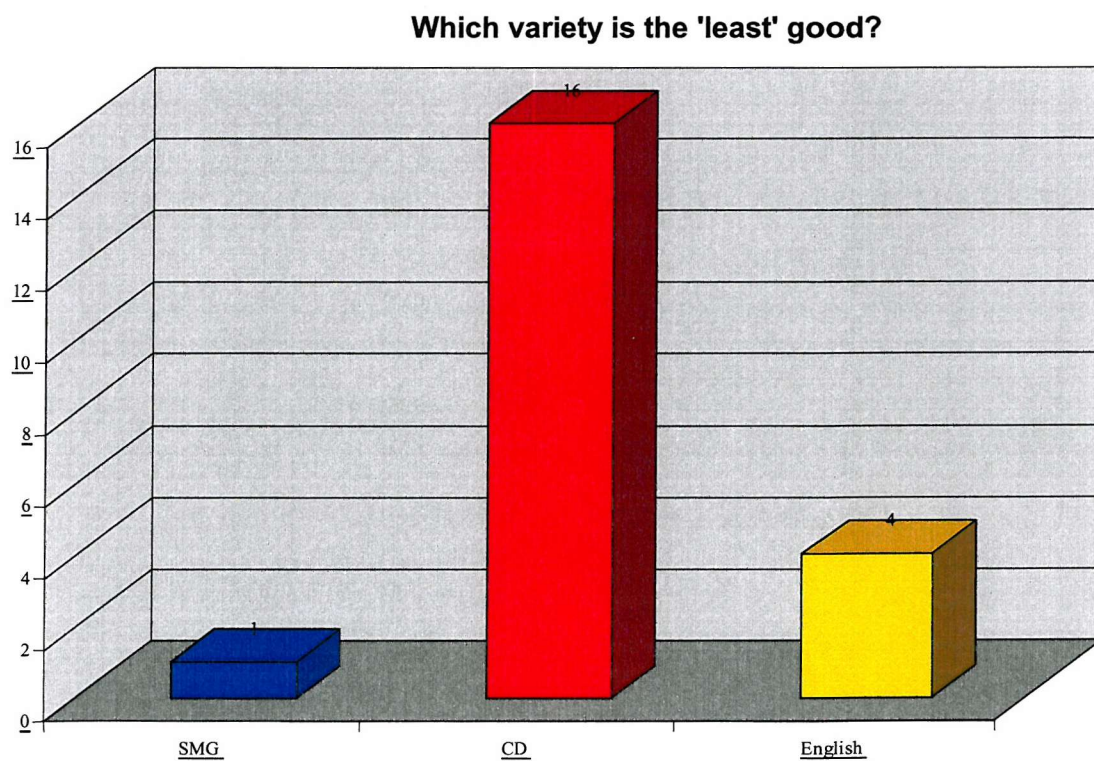


Figure 7.7 Which variety is the "least good"?

6.4 Values associated with feeling comfortable using, solidarity and identity

Although there was a 'hidden' positive evaluation for the Dialect on status and prestige, overall it can be argued that it was underestimated. It was only in another set of variables that it was highly evaluated, while the Standard was mainly undervalued: language use and language and identity. In particular from students' comments two main issues were identified, first the concept of authenticity versus artificiality in language use, and second the concepts of solidarity and identity in relation to language. These are examined next.

6.5 Authenticity Vs artificiality

"I can speak Greek if I want to but sometimes Cypriot just come to my head and I say it, well I cannot speak only Greek"- Froso

The students' comments revealed that the Dialect was their authentic and spontaneous variety (Table 7.6). Many of them used the term 'normal' or 'normally' to describe it, stressing in that way the genuineness of the Cypriot Dialect. *"We speak normally with my classmates during the break time"*, Dafni pointed out. Similarly, Lydia noted, *"at home we speak normal, Cypriot"*, and Katerina argued, *"Cypriots speak normally, normally is B (CD oral)"*.

Related to the above, all the students argued that they considered the Dialect as easier to use. Orestis for example pointed out, *"I feel more comfortable using Cypriot because I know it better than Greek, and sometimes when I speak Greek I get confused so I can speak Cypriot more easily"*. And he went on adding, *"I speak Cypriot much better, definitely"*. This point of view was confirmed in the focus groups as well:

Extract 8 – Focus Group A

E: What do you think about Cypriot?

Menelaos: they are fine, I like them, I like speaking Cypriot to the others

Aggelos: Cypriot is easier, it is easier to speak in Cypriot than Greek, let's us say a word (...)

E: which one you speak better?

All: Cypriot

Anastasia: if for example I try to speak, say if now I speak in Greek, not Cypriot, I will not speak as comfortable as I do now, I will not speak it..."

In the same way many students stressed the feeling of freedom and spontaneity they had when using the Dialect, implying that this did not happen with the Standard. Giannos for example noted, *“I feel more comfortable speaking Cypriot because I am used to it, I speak without having to think before”*. Furthermore, Dafni’s words revealed that the Dialect was her spontaneous way of speaking:

*“I remember, once I forgot and I used ‘tze’, and my mum told me off ...I feel more comfortable using Cypriot because in Cypriot you cannot, you do not have to speak **with a good manner**, you will say it as you feel it,..., in Cypriot you just say it as you want. In Cypriot it is like you can say anything you like, you do not have anyone to stop you”*.

Table 7.6: The Variables of authenticity Vs artificiality

Variable	Standard Modern Greek	Cypriot Dialect
FEELING COMFORTABLE USING	NO - - - Difficult pronunciation I want and I do not want to use it. Not of my country’s It is a language you have to get used to More difficult when we speak Greek Need to think before you explain something, to find the right word, Get confused	YES + + + The Normal code Once I forgot and I said it I am used to it Do not have to think when I speak Say things as you want / feel Do not have to look for words to say them in a proper way Do not have anyone to stop you I know it from very young I speak it better This is how I learned to speak Easier to speak my own language

Related to the above, the students asserted that the Dialect was easier for them since it was the variety they knew, the one they were 'used to from very young', implying that it was their first language:

- *“I feel more comfortable using that one (CD wr) because I am used to it, that is how I learned to speak”* - Tefkros
- *“For me Cypriot is easier because it is the language I know from very young”* - Orestis
- *“ I prefer Cypriot because we know how to speak it, we know it for years, we have learned it (...) this is how I learned to speak this is how I can speak...I feel more comfortable using Cypriot”* - Achilleas

The Standard on the other hand was attributed with exactly the opposite features. When students described their speech accommodation when talking to their peers

from Greece, they noted their discomfort when doing so. Most of them argued that using the Standard in their everyday communication was hard and often embarrassing, mostly because of the 'mistakes' they often made. Froso's words illustrate this point: *"we might get confused, we mix the words and we do not know, we say things as they come"*. In the same way Lydia described the way she felt when she tried to talk in SMG with her best friend, Aphrodite: *"I do try to explain to her but it is a bit difficult because it is easier to speak **my own** language"*.

The main reason students provided for their discomfort when using the Standard was first their 'low competence'. Aggelos for example asserted that he found it difficult to explain something in the Standard: *"let us say in order to explain a concept we need to find the appropriate word and it is difficult, we need to think about it"*. Aggelos also stressed the 'difficult' words found in the Standard arguing, *"I find it a bit difficult to speak Greek because maybe there are some difficult words I cannot say"*. A similar point was made by Achilleas, who argued that *"I feel a bit uncomfortable when I use Greek because there are some words that I do not know, I know their meaning but I do not know how to pronounce them and I find it hard"*.

Another reason they pointed out for their discomfort they felt when using the Standard was that it was not their authentic speech, something that made things more difficult for them. Menelaos for example, noted, *"I am not sure if I like using it (SMG) because it is a language **you have to get used to it in order to speak it faster and better**"*. Menelaos's comments revealed that it took an effort for him to use the Standard in a relaxed way and he was aware that he was not very competent in using it. Dafni also noted, *"in Greek you look for the words in order to say them in a proper way. When I speak Greek it is like I want to and I do not want to"*. Finally, the following extract from a focus group discussion encapsulates this point:

Extract 9 – Focus Group D

"E: *and how about Greek, when you speak Greek?*

Tefkros: *it is the other way around*

Orestis: *it is not convenient for us*

Achilleas: *we try to say something for example and*

Tefkros: *we say other things*

Agis: *we say other things in Cypriot*

Achilleas: *well, I go on to say something in Greek and then I change my mind and I go on to say it in..."*

What is striking in students' comments is the comparison with the policy making and the situation in class where the Standard is the legitimate variety. Students' words revealed that the 'legitimate' variety was a variety they found difficult, artificial and they were less competent in it, while the variety they could express themselves better was banned. Contrary to the policy makers' views who believed that the appropriate variety should be the Standard and that this did not constrain the students, voices from the classroom indicated that students were constrained and could not express themselves in the variety they knew best. Persease's words note this, "*I speak freely and I say whatever I want (in the Dialect)*".

6.6 Solidarity - identity

From the overall language attitudes of the students it can be argued that Dialect functioned as a marker of their Cypriot identity (Table 7.7). Some students, mainly the boys, made direct references to it, connecting their Dialect with Cyprus and therefore holding more positive attitudes towards it. In contrast, others, mostly girls, appeared hesitant towards the Dialect and in many instances distanced themselves from it, regarding it as stigmatised. However a closer analysis of their answers revealed that they all considered it as the variety of their everyday life, using words like 'ours' to describe it.

In particular, the majority of the students directly connected 'our language' with 'Cypriot' people, connecting the Dialect to their country. Menelaos characteristically pointed out, "*Mostly the Cypriots speak like that (CD oral), I like this language because it is **the language of my country***". Ifigenia also argued, "*I feel more comfortable speaking Cypriot because I am from Cyprus*". She also added, "*I like A and C more, but I also like B because I was born in Cyprus and in my class they are all from Cyprus, and we speak like that*". Agis also added confidently, "*I think that the Cypriot is better because I am Cypriot, so I prefer to speak Cypriot*".

Related to the above, the Dialect was connected with their identity as Cypriots since, as they argued, they needed to use it in order to communicate with other Cypriots. In this case the Dialect functioned as a within group solidarity marker. Giannos for example took it for granted that he would use Cypriot with his relatives and appeared

surprised when I posed him the question: “*Well I do not know, because all my relatives are Cypriots, I prefer that (CD), what, would I speak to them in Greek, miss?*” Agis also added, “*this is how all the Cypriots speak and this is what I speak*”. He also pointed out that he would not like to use the Standard because his friends would not understand him. “*I think A and C sound less nice than B because when I speak A or C maybe my friends cannot understand me*”. Also, Achilleas asserted, “*I would prefer to use Cypriot ... because I know them it and I want to feel the others as my friends*”. Finally, Menelaos pointed out that the Dialect was a boundary marker for excluding those who did not belong to the group in understanding the conversation, arguing “*with the Dialect you can make fun of them, and they cannot understand it*”.

Even those girl who appeared hesitant towards the Dialect and did not identify with it, referred to the dialect as the 'our' language, as Ifigenia.

E: *which one you feel more comfortable using?*

Ifigenia: *our own language*

Erato: *which is our own language?*

Ifigenia: *Cypriot*”

Furthermore almost all the students, as Aggelos, reacted negatively to the question “*Would you prefer it if you would not speak Cypriot*”: “*I would not like it to stop talking Cypriot because I like Cypriot speech because **I am Cypriot and I was born in Cyprus***”.

Table 7.7: The Variables of identity– solidarity

Variable	Standard Modern Greek	Cypriot Dialect
SOLIDARITY	<p>---</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My friends cannot understand me 	<p>+++</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use it with people from Cyprus • Feel others as friends • All my relatives are Cypriot
IDENTITY	<p>---</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feel strange, like a stranger • A bit annoying: Kalamaristika • For them it is their language • You want to show you are someone • Not of my country 	<p>+++</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Our own language • Not embarrassed to use it • Of our country • I would not like to stop speaking like that • We the Cypriots speak like that

As far as the Standard was concerned, most students viewed it as an opponent of the Cypriot Dialect in relation to their identity. Most of them referred to the Standard as 'kalamaristika' and 'their language', as opposed to 'Cypriot' and 'our language'. The following extract reveals that:

Extract 10 - Focus Group B

Demos: I like Cypriot more because when I heard some people from Greece speaking, **they were talking a bit stranger than Cypriot** and I could not understand very well what they were saying

Froso: they speak like **kalamaristika**

Ifigenia: but they are **kalamaras**

E: do you like it?

Ifigenia: we do not like it

Nefeli: sometimes no, if it gets annoying”

Dafni made a similar point: “I do not like speaking like that (SMG wr) because it is like you want to show that you are somebody (to show off) but for them it is their language”. Her comments exhibited that she did not feel very close to the Standard, pointing out that “it is like you want to show you are someone” and not your real self. Agis also added that for him 'Greek' were not 'of his country'. “I do not feel good when I speak Greek because let us say, it is not of my country”. Orestis’s comments were also very revealing: “When I speak Greek I feel, how can I say it, **I feel like I am a stranger** because most of us, especially in Cyprus, we speak Cypriot”.

Furthermore most of the students clearly stated that they would not like to speak exclusively the Standard, adding that they were often embarrassed and felt uncomfortable when they did so because it was not their own variety. Agis's words reveal this. *"I am embarrassed to speak Greek because it is not my real language, and for C the same"*. Similarly, Orestis added, *"I sometimes speak like that (SMG wr) but I would not like to speak it all the time"*. Moreover, Tefkros although admitted that he really liked the Standard, still he mentioned, *"I like this language (SMG wr) but if I would like to speak it, em, yes and no"*.

Nevertheless there were a few students who considered the Standard to be a part of their identity, either along with the Dialect or on its own. In particular, Nefeli pointed out, *"Out of the three I prefer to speak that (SMG wr) because it is my language"*. Nefeli was among the few students who remained consistently in favour of the Standard in all variables examined, keeping at the same time great distance from the Dialect¹²⁴. It is not exactly clear why she retained this position since as I observed in the fieldwork she was using the dialect in her peer interaction. Being however a top achievement girl, with one non-Greek parent, might have had an influence on her close attachment to the Standard. Anastasia, on the other hand, another top achievement girl appeared more 'balanced' in her attitudes towards the two varieties. She accepted the Dialect as part of her identity but she also stood in favour of the Standard as the 'general Greek' language spoken by all the Greek people. Anastasia was particularly in favour of the Standard compared to English, stating *"I would like to speak this language better (En) but I would like to speak Greek as well, not only English"*. She also added, *"I would like to learn English but not like the Greek, I like the Greek language because I am supposed to be from Cyprus and more"*.

7 Conclusions: a dichotomy between Standard and Dialect

From the overall exploration of students' language attitudes, it became evident that the Standard and the Dialect were connected with two different and often opposing sets of values. On the one hand the Standard, being the variety of the school, was associated with appropriateness, high aesthetics and prestige and was considered important for

¹²⁴ Although in extract 10 Nefeli makes a rather 'negative comment' for the Standard it appeared that it was more the result of the group pressure (since all the rest were strongly positioned against the Standard).

social image. At the same time the Dialect was underestimated in all these aspects. Although there were some cases of 'hidden' aesthetics and prestige for the Dialect, on the whole the Standard was in a more hierarchical position in the eyes of the students than their own variety. Evidently the role of educational policymaking, which promoted the Standard as the only appropriate and high status language seemed to have had an effect on students' perceptions.

From students' words it became clear that the Dialect was the variety connected to solidarity, authenticity and students' Cypriot identity. This was evident from the way that, throughout the interviews and the focus groups, they used the terms 'our own language', the 'normal' language and the direct references they made to the 'language of the Cypriot people'. Furthermore, revealing were the constant references to the notions of 'kalamaras' and 'kalamaristika' to describe the people from Greece and their linguistic variety respectively, indicating that the Standard functioned as a linguistic 'other' for them and did not considered it as part of their ethnolinguistic identity. In addition, the overwhelming majority expressed their discomfort when using the Standard, indicating that it was easier for them to use their Dialect and were more competent in doing so.

Finally, the way different students 'positioned' themselves in respect to the different varieties indicates that there were multiple positionings towards the two varieties among the students. Apart from the strong gender differentiation identified, it was seen that Agis, Demos, Giannos and Tefkros consistently used the Dialect in the classroom and held positive attitudes towards it, in contrast with the distancing and negative values they often attributed to the Standard. On the other hand, students like Nefeli, Erato and Anna clearly denied the Dialect, almost in all its aspects and preferred to identify with the Standard. It can be argued therefore that for some of these students the Dialect was clearly a marker of their identity, while for others it was more complex and not that clear. The majority of the students however seemed to be captured between these two opposing sets of values, which often created tensions between on the one hand solidarity and authenticity (Dialect) and on the other, their school achievement and social image (Standard).

The following chapter aims to shed some light on the issue of students' ethnic identity and to examine the role language (i.e. dialect, standard, etc.) played in these identities further. Would the students who denied the Dialect adopt a less 'Cypriot' identity? Would those who seemed reluctant towards the Standard, appear sceptical towards 'Greek' identity? And how about the majority of the students who held positive and negative values for both varieties?

Chapter Eight

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE AMONG STUDENTS

1 Introduction

As was seen in the previous chapter there was a complexity and multiplicity among students as individuals and as a group regarding the values they attached to each linguistic variety. The evidence indicates that language use and language attitudes were value-laden and appeared to be connected to students' preferred ethnic identities. This chapter places ethnic identity at the centre of the analysis and aims not only to explore their preferred ethnic identities in more depth, but also to examine whether these identities were connected to certain linguistic varieties. In particular the following issues are explored:

1. What information do students provide when they describe themselves? Do they refer to ethnic identity?
2. What specific ethnic identities did they adopt? What was their rationale?
3. Which were the components of their ethnic identity?
4. What was the role (if any) of language in these identities?

The first two questions investigate issues of ethnic awareness, identification and to some extent attitudes, while the third explores the concept of ethnic identity in depth, deconstructing it and trying to identify all its different components and associations.

2 Information students provided for themselves: the salience of ethnic identity

2.1 The Ten Statement Test

The Ten Statement Test (TST) and the Imaginary Scenario were the two methods used to explore the salience of students' ethnic identity. The students attributed a wide range of characteristics to themselves in the TST (see Table 8.1) that had to do with different roles and memberships they adopted, their interests and activities, and

personal and ascribed characteristics (Table 8.2)¹²⁵. The most commonly referred to characteristics were ethnic identity, membership of a football team, judgements, tastes and sport activities. This saliency of ethnic identity in their definitions of themselves was further revealed by the way they ordered their answers, where ethnic identity was mentioned, on average, among the three top answers (Figure 8.1). The other two top answers were related to features of their character (i.e. I am generous, I am clever) and their affiliation to a football team.

Table 8.1: Examples of students' Ten Statement Tests

Anastasia	Aggelos
I AM from Cyprus	I AM Omonoia's ¹²⁶ fun
I AM eleven and half years old	I AM student of Polis's primary school
I AM well behaved	I AM Cypriot
I AM a good student	I AM an athlete
I AM clever and kind-hearted	I AM eleven years old
I like to dance	I like playing electronic games
I like it very much to play with my dolls	I like reading mystery books
I like cycling	I like playing football and basketball
I like all the animals and the trees	I like cycling
I do not support any football or basketball team	I like watching TV

¹²⁵ The grouping of the students' answers was based on Gordon's coding categories (1968) for the "Who I am?" test, also used by Hutnik (1991).

¹²⁶ 'Omonia', 'Anorthosi', 'AEK' are football teams.

Table 8.2: Students' replies in "I am" Ten Statement Test

Characteristics	Replies (N=24)	Examples: I AM ...
Roles and memberships		
Ethnic Identity	22	Cypriot, from Cyprus, Greek Cypriot
Football team fan	19	Omonia fan, with AEK
Student	12	Student of 'X' school
Athlete	10	Athlete
Ascribed Characteristics		
Age	8	Eleven, Twelve
Religion	0	
Interests and Activities		
Sports	24	I like: Cycling, basketball, scooters, running
Judgement and tastes	21	MNM music, dolls, dancing, food
Intellectual concerns	14	Reading, painting, languages, literature
Electronic activities	14	TV, electronic games, my computer
Other activities	8	Sleeping, resting
Nature	6	Animals, trees, gardening, planting flowers
Personal Characteristics		
Judgements imputed to others	17	Well behaved, a bit naughty, obedient
Major Senses of Self	15	Good hearted, perfectionist, lazy, clever, fairly good at school
Interpersonal style	12	Smiling, not shy, pay attention to the way I look, polite, do not get angry, funny
Physical Appearance	5	Tall, slim, a bit fat, 39Kg

Key: Purple fonts = most commonly referred characteristics

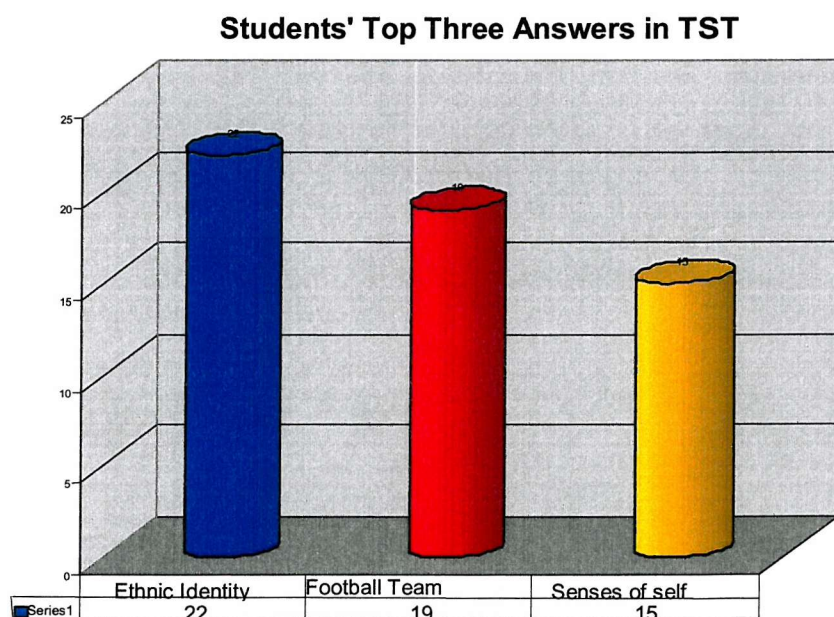


Figure 8.1: Students' top three answers in TST

The ethnic identity that seemed more popular amongst the students was the Cypriot (Figure 8.2) while 'Greek Cypriot', 'Greek' and 'English' had much lower ratings. The

Greek and English identities were referred to by the students who were from Greece (i.e. Evagoras, Periklis) and England (e.g. Demos). Finally, only two students did not mention at all the concept of ethnic identity in their answers (8%).

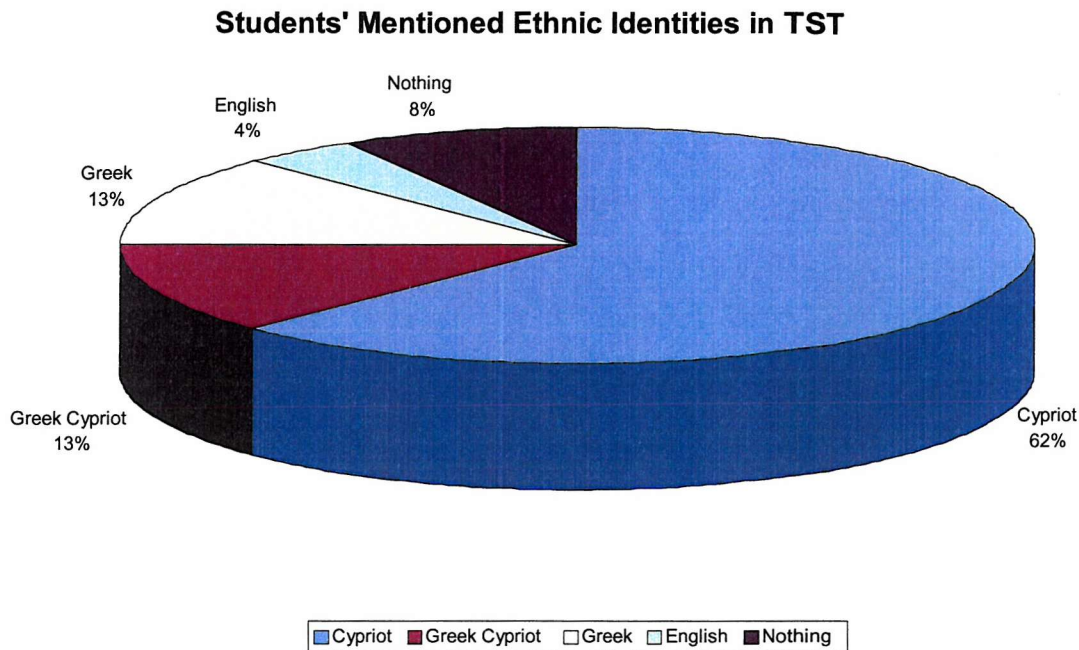


Figure 8.2: Students' mentioned ethnic identities in the TST

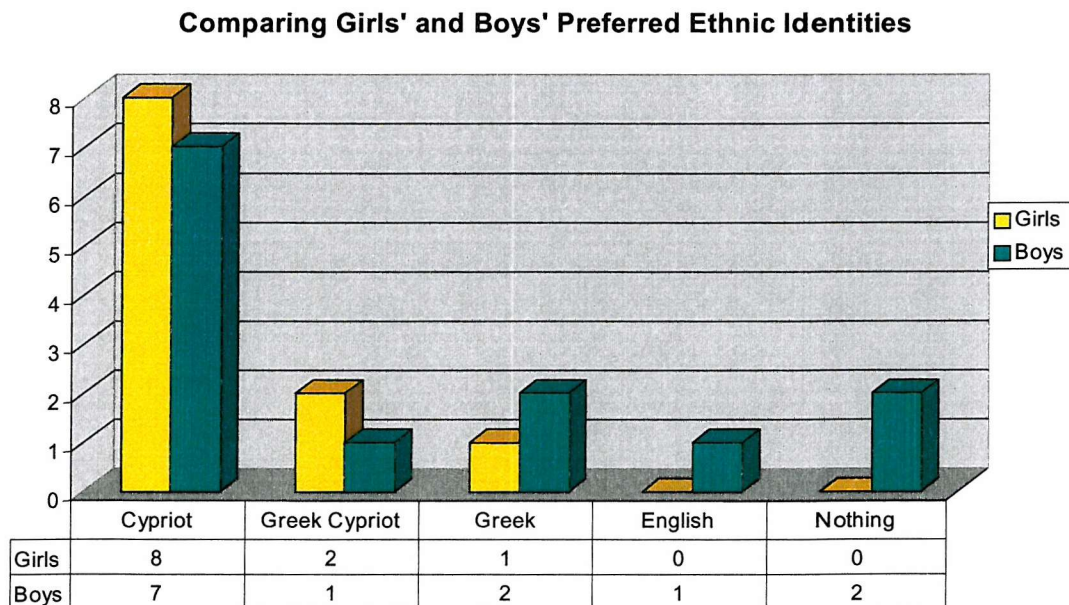


Figure 8.3: Comparing girls' and boys' preferred ethnic identities

Furthermore, in contrast to students' language attitudes, there were no significant gender differences in students' preferences towards ethnic identity (Figure 8.3). The majority of both girls and boys noted the Cypriot identity in their self-description while those students who did not mention identity at all were both boys. Finally, from students' replies in the negative statements (I am not) it emerged that ethnic identity was not as important as in the case of the 'I am' statements, since students did not make any references to it (e.g. 'I am not French'). Instead they mainly focused on issues relating to their character, personal interests and achievement in school (see Appendix 8.1 for full results of TST 'I am not'). What was revealing in the negative statements was that the students focused on the concept of 'town', e.g. *I am not from Lefkosia, I am not from Lemesos*. A possible interpretation of this might be the degree of competition there is among the different towns of Cyprus, with certain characteristics usually being ascribed to people depending on their town membership. Therefore the students focused on a more local notion of the 'other' to describe what they were not.

2.2 The 'stranger' scenario

"Imagine that someone who is from another country rings you, you do not know him/her, s/he does not now you ...it maybe a man or a woman ... and s/he wants to know about you, who you are, so you need to describe yourself (through the phone) to him/her. What would you say?"

All the focus groups provided to a large extent similar replies in the above scenario. In particular they all pointed out that they would talk to the 'stranger' about their personal characteristics (name, age, physical appearance, character), their family and closest environment (e.g. house, pets). Furthermore, as in the case of TST, the issue of country of origin and ethnic identity also featured. All groups referred to their Cypriot identity but from different perspectives. Group D for example focused more on the physical appearance of the Cypriots and on the description of Cyprus, while Group A referred to the political problem of Cyprus. Overall, it was clear that they defined themselves as Cypriots. The following two extracts portray their descriptions.

Extract 1 – Focus Group A

Anastasia: *We would say that we are from Cyprus, from the town of Larnaka*

Giannos: *I would say to him that Cyprus is an island*

E: *Where?*

Menelaos: *In the Mediterranean*

Giannos: *In the Mediterranean Sea*

E: *what else?*

Giannos: *we would say that we have, we have villages that are occupied*

Dafni: *and for our beautiful beaches*

Anastasia: *that the Turks occupied us*

Giannos: *in 1974*

Anastasia: *that they occupied half part of Cyprus and that we still try to get it back, but without war"*

Extract 2 – Focus Group D

Orestis: *I would say that we are in Cyprus, in Larnaka (...)*

Achilleas: *that the weather is good*

Tefkros: *the climate is*

Orestis: *Mediterranean, that the Cypriots are hospitable (...)*

Tefkros: *we are a small island*

Agis: *we have beautiful sights*

E: *how would you name the people of Cyprus?*

Tefkros: *in Cyprus there are Cypriots*

Achilleas: *no, Greek Cypriots"*

In summary, from both the TST and the 'Stranger-Scenario' it emerged that ethnic identity was salient in students' descriptions and it appeared to play an important role in defining themselves. The prime ethnic identity for the majority of the students was Cypriot. Some connected this identity with the specific territory they were situated (Group D), while others related it to the political situation and the partition of the island (Group A). A common theme for all the groups was that they considered themselves Cypriot and this identity seemed to be embedded in the specific socio-geographical context of Cyprus.

3 Choosing among different 'ethnic identities': ethnic identification

After exploring the salience of students' ethnic identity I examined the issue of the different ethnic 'labels' found in the wider context of Cyprus, also referred to by some students in the previous tasks (e.g. 'Greek Cypriot', 'Greek'). The objective was to provide the students with different alternatives in order to examine their ethnic preferences. In the following section the data from two approaches I used, the questionnaires and the identity cards are outlined.

The results of the first part of the questionnaire (i.e. choosing only one ethnic identity) coincided with the results in the TST and confirmed that the dominant ethnic identity among the students was the Cypriot (Figure 8.4). The majority of the students (66%) chose the Cypriot identity while a smaller percentage (13%) opted for the Greek Cypriot one. As in the TST case those students who originated from Greece and England chose Greek and English identities respectively.

Choosing One Identity - Questionnaire

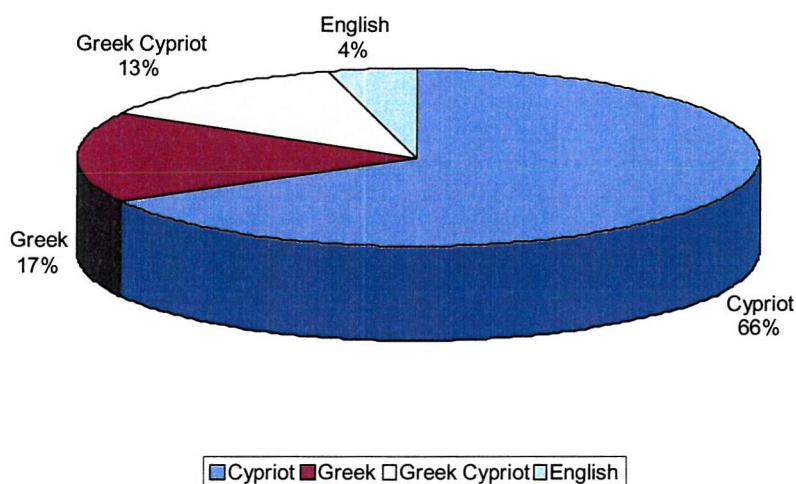


Figure 8.4: Choosing one identity - questionnaire

The results of the second part of the questionnaire (multiple choice) and the Identity Cards (interviews) indicated that the Cypriot identity was again the dominant one. However what emerged was that other ethnic identities appeared strong as well (Figures 8.5¹²⁷, 8.6). In particular a considerable number of students showed also a preference for the Greek Cypriot identity, which scored nearly as high as the Cypriot. Furthermore, the Christian label, which was added to investigate whether students would show a preference for the religious identity (Figure 8.6) had the highest score in the multiple-choice question.

¹²⁷ Students had six options to make and the rating for the analysis was as followed: 6= first option, 5= second option, 4=third option, 3= fourth option, 2=fifth option, 1= last option

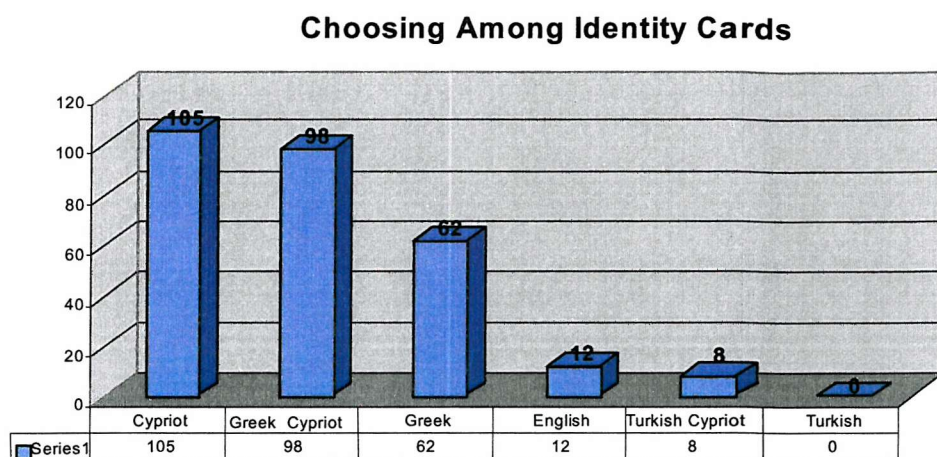


Figure 8.5: Choosing among identity cards

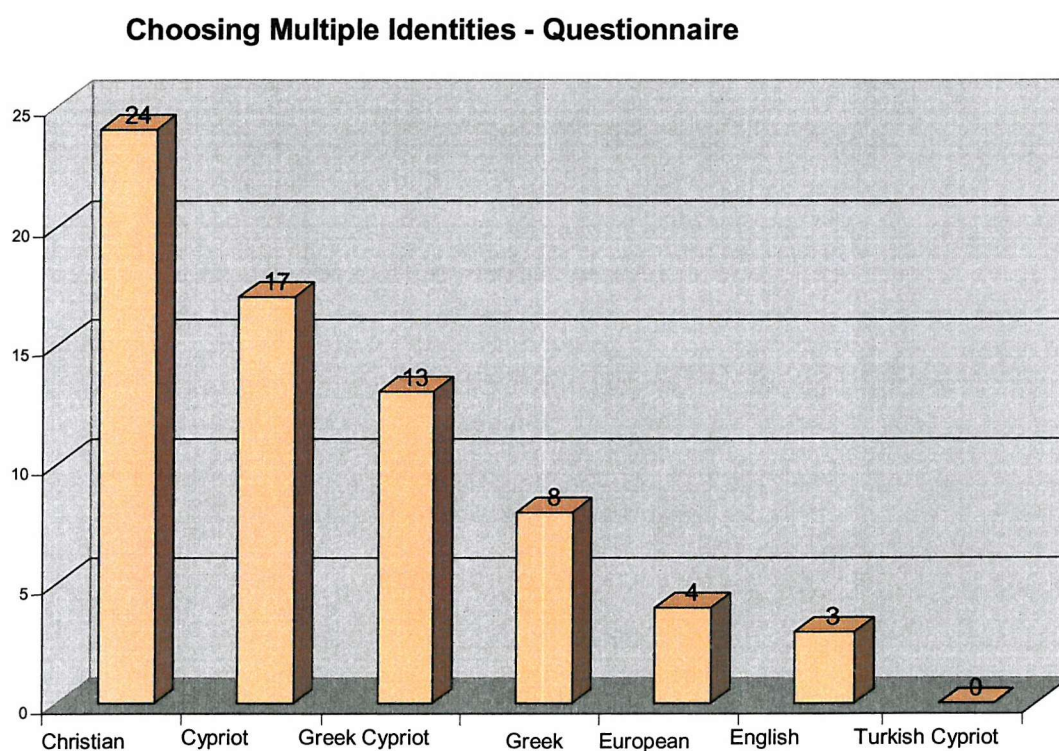


Figure 8.6: Choosing among multiple identities - questionnaire

Overall these different approaches and tasks confirmed the preference of the students towards the Cypriot identity. Nevertheless other identities such as the Greek Cypriot and the Greek identity appeared to have vitality amongst the students. Although they all showed preference for the 'Christian' identity, the salience of this identity cannot be

demonstrated from the data since the students did not mention their religious identity during the TST, the interviews or focus groups¹²⁸.

4 The components of students' ethnic identities: deconstructing ethnic identity

This section examines in more depth students' frames of reference regarding ethnic identity: what exactly they meant when they referred to these identities, their rationale for choosing or rejecting them, and the associations they made for each identity. First, the Cypriot identity is described, as the predominant identity the students adopted. It is viewed as the 'self' (Hall, 1990), and therefore a detailed account is provided for it. Second, other elements of this identity are outlined, as they were identified and described by the students: the Greek and Greek Cypriot identities, as well as the Turkish, Turkish Cypriot and English identities. Finally, in the last part of the chapter an interactive model is built regarding students' preferred (and rejected) ethnic identities and the values and meanings they attached to each, exploring in more detail the role language played in the acceptance (or not) of these identities.

4.1 The self or being a Cypriot

As was previously shown the majority of the students adopted the Cypriot identity as their predominant one. Their initial reaction when they were asked to justify their choice was that Cyprus was their country and the place they came from. Lydia for example argued, *"I chose Cypriot because (...) it is my country, I am Cypriot"* and Aggelos pointed out, *"because I come from Cyprus, it is my country"*. Nevertheless as the discussions proceeded it emerged that their Cypriot identity was not only equated with the place of origin but had other multiple and multi-level dimensions. Students engaged in long and sometimes very personalised discussions about these issues. After studying and analysing their words, I formed a 'Cypriot Identity Conceptual Model' (Figure 8.7) that described the main components of Cypriot identity, as outlined by the students. Each component is examined in the following sections, beginning with those that were most commonly referred to by the students.

¹²⁸ One possible explanation of this can be found in the wider role of religion in Cyprus. In my own experience, Christianity is mostly regarded as an institution that is always there, people show their affiliation towards it, but it is not clear if it has any influence on their daily lives.

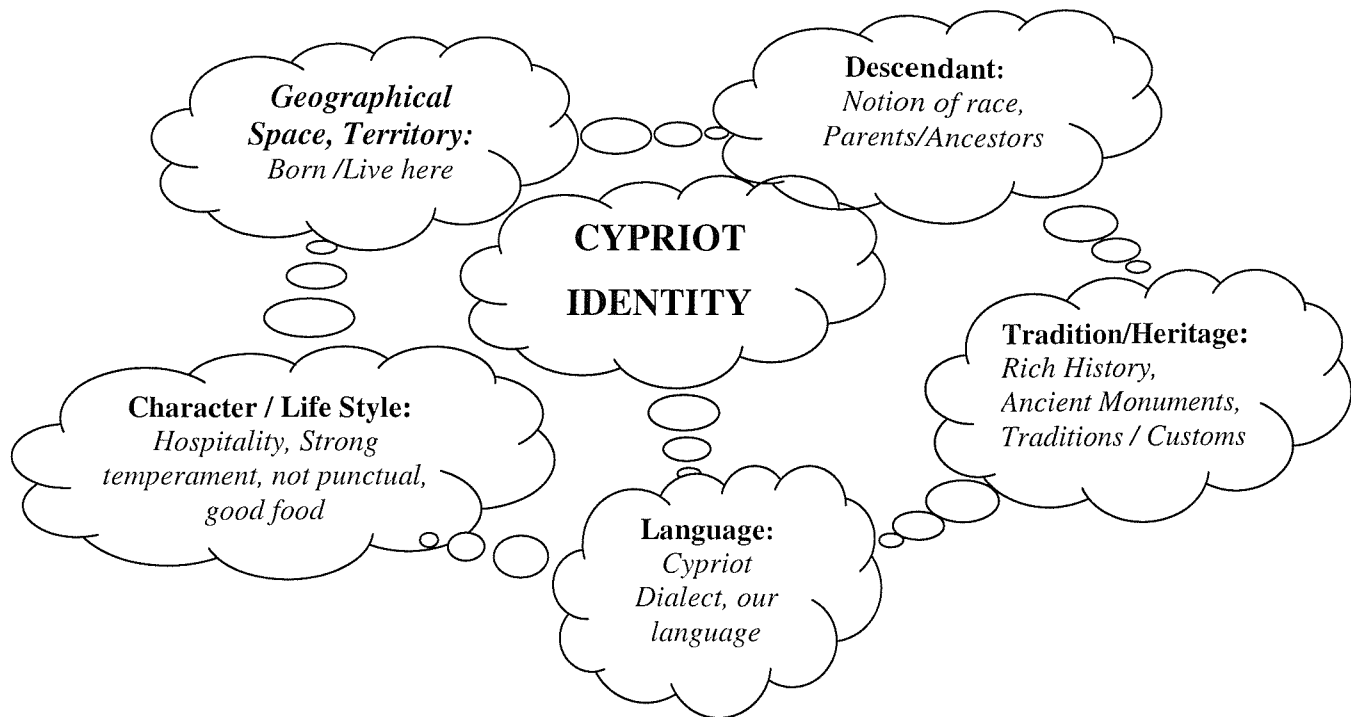


Figure 8.7: The components of students' Cypriot identity

4.1.1 The territory/residence factor

As previously mentioned, students' initial definition of the Cypriot identity focused mainly on the issue of territory and geographical space. In other words they argued, like Nefeli, that a Cypriot is *"a person who was born in Cyprus"*. In the same way, when they justified their preference towards the Cypriot identity they brought forward arguments related to place of birth and residence. *"I was born in Cyprus, my parents are from Cyprus, all my relatives are from Cyprus"*, Ifigenia argued. Overall the overwhelming majority of the students provided this kind of initial definition for claiming to be a Cypriot. This was also confirmed in the focus groups:

Extract 3 – Focus Group D

E: *Why do I say that I am Cypriot?*

Agis: *you come from Cyprus*

E: *what does that mean?*

Achilleas: *you were born here*

Agis: *you were born to Cyprus, your parents are from Cyprus (...)*

Tefkros: *you were born and breed in Cyprus"*

Nevertheless, when I challenged this argument by asking them whether everyone living in Cyprus was a Cypriot, they all appeared confident that not all the people who

lived in Cyprus were to be considered Cypriots. The following extract encapsulates this point:

Extract 4 – Focus Group A

“E: Are all the people who live in Cyprus Cypriots?”

All: no, no

Menelaos: there are Albanians

Dafni: Chinese

Anastasia: there are Greeks

E: Greeks, what do you mean Greeks?

Aggelos: from Greece

Anastasia: there are Turkish Cypriots”

Extract 5 – Focus Group B

“Froso: People might come to Cyprus to study

Nefeli: and maybe there are people who have to come to live to Cyprus because of their job. That does not mean that they are Cypriots (...)

*Patroklos: we have different **rac**es, we have Turkish Cypriots, Turkish, Armenians*

Ifigenia: and from London

Nefeli: we have Indian people who come and work to our houses”

It was evident that students did not consider the different ethnic groups residing in Cyprus, for a variety of reasons (e.g. employment, political refugees), as Cypriots and they distinguished themselves from them. Exploring this, a little further, I asked them whether they considered a child born in Cyprus from Russian or English parents and going to school here as a Cypriot. The majority appeared very reluctant to accept this and openly expressed their doubts. Their rationale for not considering the place of birth as an adequate reason for categorising someone as Cypriot is explored in section 4.1.3.

4.1.2 The language factor

Language, along with place of birth was the most frequently referred to component of students' Cypriot identity, since the overwhelming majority referred to the Cypriot dialect as a marker for being a 'Cypriot'. The following examples illustrate this:

- *“Cypriots are the people who are in Cyprus and speak Cypriot” - Ifigenia*
- *“It is the person who speaks the Cypriot language” - Froso*

- “*Cypriots are the people who live in Cyprus and they speak a bit different from ... they speak Cypriot*” - Lydia

This connection was particularly strong when students compared the way Cypriot and Greek people speak. All of them referred to the 'special way' they spoke compared to the Greeks of Greece and they all identified the Cypriot dialect as the main feature that distinguished them as Cypriots. Anastasia for example noted, “*our language the Cypriot dialect, that we speak differently from the people in Greece*”, and Patroklos pointed out, “*we are from Cyprus, we speak differently from the Greeks*”. For the students, the fact that they did not speak 'like the rest of the Greeks' was one of the major features of their Cypriot identity. The following extract illustrates this:

Extract 6 – Focus Group D

E: what is that that makes us Cypriots?

Agis: we speak Cypriot, it is our language, our behaviour, we say 're'¹²⁹

Tefkros: compared to the Greeks it is a bit different

Agis: not from the Greeks from the English

E: how is it different?

Achilleas: the language is purer, pure

E: whose is purer?

Achilleas: the Greek's

Tefkros: the Greek's, but we are used to ours, it is nicer”

However, things were not completely straightforward and the relationship between identities and linguistic varieties not a linear one. Although students associated their Cypriot identity with the Cypriot Dialect, there were other instances where they connected Cypriot identity with the Greek language in general. Achilleas for example pointed out “*in our country (...) it is Greek we speak*”, and Erato identified with Greek arguing, “*it is my language that I speak*”. For most of the students who made these points, the underlying factor for these attitudes was the context in which the comparisons were made. Hence when they compared the way Greek and Cypriot people spoke they adopted a more Cypriot-oriented identity and the Cypriot dialect functioned as a marker of this identity. When however there was a comparison with English, Turkish or other countries, they adopted the wider term 'Greek language' as a marker of their Cypriot identity. For example, whereas Achilleas stressed the

¹²⁹ Revealing here is the identification of the Dialect with informal speech, something that was mentioned in the previous chapter. The word 're' (an informal way of calling someone) is widely used both in Greece and in Cyprus. However Agis equates the Dialect only with this informal way of addressing someone.

language as a difference between Cypriots and Greeks, he also asserted that *“both of them (SMG and CD) are spoken by Greeks, both are Greek”*. In the same way, Agis who consistently held the Dialect as a marker of his Cypriotness, asserted that, *“Greek and Cypriot almost means the same, and if a Cypriot goes, for example, to England he will have difficulties in communicating but if he goes to Greece he will be able to speak”* (something he also asserted in extract 5).

Other students, as Anastasia, referred to the 'Greek language' being a marker of her identity especially when compared to English: *“I like the Greek language. I would like to learn English but not like Greek because I am supposed to be from Cyprus and more”*. Similarly, Nefeli adopted the Standard as a marker of her identity, especially when she compared it to English:

“Nefeli: I prefer Greek (compared to English)

E: why?

Nefeli: because it is my language”

In other words there was a case of an internal and an external classification in language and identity (Dialect Vs Standard, Greek Vs Non-Greek). From the overall comments of the students however, it can be argued that the internal classification was more intense and evident than the external one. This point is further documented in the following sections.

4.1.3 The descendant component

Apart from the place of birth and the language, other features emerged as well. In particular, most of the students referred to the notion of 'race' or descendant when they tried to explain in more detail who they identified as Cypriot (as Patroklos in extract 5). The following example indicate this:

Extract 7 – Focus Group A

“Dafni: Cypriots are the people who were born here

Aggelos: that come from Cyprus

Anastasia: that live here

E: so the Albanians are

Anastasia: no, that were born here and who live here, that love their place (...)

Giannos: misses it does not matter whether they were born here or not, it matters from what kind of

Dafni: parents

Giannos: *what kind of parents gave birth to them*

Anastasia: *let us say their parents are*

Giannos: ***what race** (ratsa), (laughter from all), what race they are”*

While not all the groups used the term 'race', descendant was identified as an important criterion for Cypriot identity, by either referring to the notions of parents, family or ancestors, as for example in the following:

Extract 8 – Focus Group B

Patroklos: *also if our ancestors are Cypriots then we are Cypriots*

Demos: *the relatives*

Ifigenia: *the family*

Patroklos: *your ancestors”*

4.1.4 The tradition/heritage component

Another component identified by the students as part of their Cypriot identity was 'their tradition as Cypriots'. They frequently used the stock phrase 'our customs and traditions' to indicate this, reflecting the broad usage of the term adopted by teachers, principals, politicians and policy makers, and also found in all the textbooks and curricula. Patroklos for example noted, “ *it is our traditions that make us Cypriots*”, when he had to justify why he would not consider a child born by Russian parents in Cyprus as a Cypriot. Although students' descriptions were often short and a bit blurry, they appeared to have a sense of what constitutes tradition for them. In particular, when I asked them to comment more about the 'customs and traditions' concept they offered various answers, ranging from traditional dances and dresses to food and habits. The following extract encapsulate this:

Extract 9 – Focus Group A

“E: right, what good things do we have as Cypriots, if we have any?

Aggelos: *our customs and traditions*

E: what does that mean?

Anastasia: *the Cypriot dances*

Aggelos: *the old clothing, the dances*

Anastasia: *the sewing (kentimata)”*

Extract 10 – Focus Group C

“Lydia: our traditions

E: yes, like?

Stella: *like for example at Christmas, every country does its own Christmas*

E: do we do something special?

Stella: *(...) like in Easter we crack the painted eggs*

Lydia: at Christmas most of the young people, in America for example, may go out when the year changes while we, our tradition is to stay home all the family, all the relatives”

In addition, some students referred to the 'rich history' of Cyprus and to the sense of pride they had because of that. They argued that they knew many things about their ancestors and that they were very proud of the ancient monuments they had in Cyprus. This sense of pride was also revealed in the comparisons some students made with other countries and in their perception that Cyprus had 'a richer history', and 'more traditional things' than other countries did. The following two extracts illustrate this:

Extract 11 – Focus Group A

“Menelaos: because comparing to other countries we have a very good history

Aggelos: in the old times, many people used to live here in Cyprus, for example in Hoirokitia¹³⁰ which is very old and there are ancient findings there (...)

Dafni: I like it and I would not like to be someone else because I am proud for my country”

Extract 12 – Focus Group B

“Ifigenia: miss, we have more traditional things

Nefeli: our traditional dances

Ifigenia: the traditional dances, several food, customs and traditions

Patroklos: things are different in other countries”

Overall students' responses regarding their tradition and heritage revolved around three major themes. First a sense of tradition related to the past, i.e. their traditional dances, clothing, the ancient monuments. This tradition is taught, promoted and enhanced through school. Second a sense of tradition and culture related to the present and the things they do with their family that marks their Cypriot identity (i.e. the Easter customs, Christmas, namedays). Some also referred to the importance of religion and family in their lives as opposed to other countries (e.g. America), assigning a sense of distinctiveness to Cyprus¹³¹. Finally they all referred to the concepts of ancestors and rich history that were accompanied by a sense of pride for who they were and the past they carried.

¹³⁰ A well known Neolithic archaeological site in Cyprus.

¹³¹ The family factor also proved to be strong in the discussions we had with the students on family. It emerged that the concept of the enlarged and very close family was an important part of students' daily lives.

4.1.5 The character component

All the groups pointed out the character of the Cypriot people as a main component of Cypriot identity, noting, first what they believed were the virtues of Cypriot people and second, the drawbacks. Virtues were hospitality, friendliness, the peacefulness of people and the fact that they really enjoyed good food. “*Cypriots are hospitable*”, Nefeli noted, and Menelaos pointed out, “*the Cypriots are very well known for their hospitality*”. Furthermore, most students stressed that Cypriots were friendly, sociable and easily approachable. Anastasia for example described the general attitude of the Cypriot people towards the political problem as peaceful arguing that, “*we do not want war in the political problem and we want to find a peaceful solution*”.

Elaborating on the Cypriot attachment to good and traditional food, students noted that in the Cypriot culture, good food and family meals are considered very important and the Cypriot people have the reputation of 'kalofagades' (i.e. enjoying good food)¹³². The following extracts reveal this:

Extract 13 – Focus Group B

E: *what are the special characteristics that make us Cypriots?*
Patroklos: *food*
Froso: *Cypriots eat a lot of food*
Patroklos: *they like souvlaki (=kebab)*
Demos: *they like coffee*
Patroklos: *and souvla*¹³³
Demos: *octopus*”

Extract 14 – Focus Group C

Stella: *Cypriots really like good food they are kalofagades*
Lydia: *and our traditional food is souvla*”

Extract 15 - Focus Group D:

Achilleas: *with food we are very much, ah with souvla*
Tefkros: *souvla is our traditional food*
Agis: *we are kalofagades, we eat everything (...)*
Every Sunday my granddad makes souvla”

Apart from the good things about Cypriot people, students also referred to what they thought were the negative elements that characterised Cypriots today. Very often their comments were comparative, discussing Cypriots' negative features with what they

¹³² This image is also promoted and cultivated by the media and the local pop culture.

thought would not be applicable for other people, with some students making comparisons with the Europeans and the English. The following extract indicates this:

Extract 16 – Focus Group A

“Dafni: mostly the Cypriot people react differently

*Anastasia: our **politeness**, maybe some people are not that polite, the **Europeans** let us say might be more polite than some Cypriots*

Dafni: you might do the same thing to English and to a Cypriot and the Cypriot might kill you (laughter)

Giannos: the English and the foreigners are very punctual on their time, while the Cypriots do not always do what they say ... (he gives an example about an incident he had with one electrician where he took his radio and it took the electrician weeks to repair it)”

It was not accidental that Cypriots were compared with the Europeans since in the light of the future accession of Cyprus within the EU, there is the stereotype of the punctual, reliable and well-organised European, that contrasts with the widespread caricature of the contemporary Cypriot who is more relaxed, disorganised and less reliable.

Another feature the students stressed as negative to the Cypriots was their bad temper, something noted by Dafni in extract 16.

Extract 17– Focus Group D

“Tefkros: swearing, if someone tells something to the Cypriots, they will start swearing at them

Achilleas: yes we are hospitable but when they provoke us

Tefkros: we start and we do not stop

Achilleas: we took a bit from the Greeks

Agis: we are easily irritated”

Extract 18 – Focus Group C

“Stella: some people swear a lot

Erato: they swear in the football courts

Lydia: they fight for no reason for their teams”

Overall, the 'character component' of the Cypriot identity as portrayed by the students indicated that they attached specific features to the Cypriot people. Although there are no sociological studies that can verify the characteristics mentioned above, these judgements are widely found in the context of Cyprus. The media, especially

¹³³ 'Suvla' is considered the traditional food of the Cypriot people and something that distinguishes them from the rest of the Greeks. 'Suvla' is big chunks of meat, in contrast with 'souvlaki' (=Kebab) that is smaller.

television through the daily series, newspapers and magazines outline the contemporary Cypriot more or less as the students did above.

4.2 Other faces of the 'self': the Greek element

Apart from the centrality of the Cypriot identity, indicated by all students, it also emerged that there was another element present in their ethnic identity, the Greek element, which was often complementary and sometimes in opposition to their Cypriot identity.

The majority of the students considered the Greek element as complementary to their 'Cypriot' identity, something identified in the Identity Cards and the Questionnaire (Figures 8.5-8.6). The main justification they provided was the common bonds between Greece and Cyprus, indicating the concept of motherland or a family relation between the two countries. A belief that embedded the perception that both came from the same race. They adopted the metaphor of the 'mother' to indicate their perception:

Extract 19 – Focus Group B

Dafni: *Greece is our second mother*

E: *what is Greece for you?*

Patroklos: *like sisters with Cyprus*

Nefeli: *our mother*”

Menelaos also noted, *“Greece is the motherland of Cyprus, they are both from the same race, from the Greek race, both the Cypriot and the Greek”*, and Lydia argued *“Greece is our mother and we wanted to unite with it, Greece is our second country because we are all Greeks”*.

Other common aspects students commented upon were the shared customs and traditions, implying the notion of a common culture. Tefkros for example noted, *“we are close, we have the same customs and traditions”*, and Anna argued, *“we are related in the customs and traditions”*. Furthermore, a few students, as Patroklos, underlined religion as a common feature: *“we have the same religion, we believe in the same God”*. In addition, some students stressed the notion of shared struggles and common national aspirations between Greece and Cyprus. Ifigenia for instance argued, *“they also fought for Cyprus”*, and Giannos added, *“Greece is a co-operating country and it helped Cyprus in the war”*. Aggelos also pointed out; *“it helps us to*

enter Europe and offers us its air-force from Crete that is close in case of need". Finally Stella made a reference to the strength and bravery of the Greeks arguing that, *"we have to be strong as the Greeks are"*.

By contrast, when it came to language this Greek element appeared to be in conflict with their notion of 'Cypriot' identity. Although some students referred to the linguistic factor as a commonality between Greeks and Cypriots, for the majority the main reason they stated that they also felt 'Greeks' had to do with race and culture, rather than language. Aggelose's words for example indicate this: *"they (Greece and Cyprus) are almost like brothers and sisters but they speak two different languages"*. This confirms students' perceptions for considering language mostly as a classificatory feature rather than a commonality, identified in section 4.1.2. This positioning contrasts with the wider political and educational rhetoric in which the 'common Greek' language constitutes one of the main factors that unites the 'Cypriots' with the 'Greeks'.

Students' positioning towards the Greek identity, depended (as in the case of language) to the presence (or absence) of an 'external', 'other' identity such as English or Turkish. Dionisis words were revealing, *"I do not like to be Turkish or Turkish Cypriot, I really like being Greek"*. In the same way Anastasia pointed out, *"because I am also Greek, I am not only Cypriot. I chose the Greek because I am neither English nor Turkish and I am not Turkish Cypriot either"*.

On the whole, it can be argued that the majority of the students acknowledged that their 'Cypriot' identity was closely connected to the 'Greek element' mostly on cultural grounds. Nevertheless, it also became clear that despite this strong element, the students did not consider themselves as Greeks only. This was evident in the way they defined as a 'Greek' someone who is from Greece only, thereby excluding the Cypriot people and distancing themselves from the notion of Greek identity. Achilleas's words indicate¹³⁴ this:

Achilleas - Interview

"A: The Greek is the same with the Cypriot, because he was born to Greece he is Greek (...)

E: does he have any relation with the Cypriot?

¹³⁴ Similar points were made by the majority of the students.

A: *he is Greek, yes, (...) both of them are Greeks, (...) they have, they understand when you talk to them, they have the same religion, the customs and the traditions are almost the same*

E: *would you say that you are Greek?*

A: *no*

E: *what then?*

A: *that I am Cypriot (...) but I do have a connection with them¹³⁵*

4.3 Being a Greek Cypriot? A bit of confusion

As has been shown, students confidently used the term 'Cypriot' to describe themselves and the term 'Greek' to indicate their close connection to Greece. Similarly, they also showed a preference towards the 'Greek Cypriot' identity (Figures 8.5, 8.6), stressing the common bonds between Greece and Cyprus. This connection made them feel a bit of both, and contributed to the creation of a 'mixed' identity, that of Greek Cypriot, as the following examples indicate:

- *"We are Greeks and Cypriots" - Katerina*
- *"I am both Greek and Cypriot" - Dionisis*
- *"I chose Greek Cypriot since I am Cypriot and I am also Greek" - Dafni*

Furthermore, the majority of the students argued that they chose the Greek Cypriot identity because they spoke both Greek and Cypriot. The following examples encapsulate this point:

- *"I chose also the Greek Cypriot, because I speak mostly, I speak Greek and Cypriot, I do not speak Turkish or English" – Agis*
- *"In Cyprus we also speak Greek that is why I chose the Greek Cypriot" - Lydia*
- *"I chose Greek Cypriot because I speak both languages, when I go to Greece I speak Greek and when I come to Cyprus I will speak Cypriot again, so I chose both together" - Perseas*

However when it came to defining what Greek Cypriot meant, the majority of the students had many difficulties and misconceptions in providing the appropriate meanings. Most of them, like Anna, described Greek Cypriots as *"those who stay for a while in Greece and they live in Cyprus"*. An additional misconception was that a Greek Cypriot was someone who had one Greek and one Cypriot parent. Stella for example pointed out, *"I think that a Greek Cypriot is half Cypriot and half Greek, for*

example his father is Cypriot and his mother is Greek". In fact only one student, Tefkros, provided a description closer to the more widely acceptable definition. "A Greek Cypriot is someone who is from Cyprus but because the Cypriots are the same with the Greeks, they are called Greek Cypriots, they speak Cypriot".

Although the students could not provide explicit and accurate definitions for what constitutes a 'Greek Cypriot', mostly because of the complexity of the term and its deeper political meaning¹³⁶, still the term was appealing to them since it appeared to combine the Greek and Cypriot elements both from a cultural and language perspective.

Overall the three identities, Cypriot, Greek Cypriot and Greek appeared to be interconnected in students' eyes. Cypriot was the one they preferred most since it indicated their country, the place they were born and the place they live. It also indicated the special way they spoke, the Cypriot dialect. Greek Cypriot identity appeared strong since it combined both the Greek and the Cypriot elements and it highlighted both the relationship with Greece and the fact that they spoke the Greek language. Finally, Greek identity, although weaker than the other two, exhibited strength as a broader ethnic identity. The following extract reveals the interconnections the students made between these three concepts:

Menelaos - Interview

M: First I am Cypriot, then Greek Cypriot, then Greek. These (the rest of the cards) I do not...

E: (...), why did you choose the Cypriot first?

M: Because I am Cypriot, it is where I come from, this is where I was born so I am Cypriot.

E: Then why did you choose the Greek Cypriot?

M: Greek Cypriot because my descendant is Cypriot but the Cypriots come from the Greeks, so I chose the Greek Cypriot.

E: How about the Greek?

M: Greek because it is the race from which we come from."

¹³⁵ His views were also confirmed in extract 17, when he stressed the distinctiveness of the Cypriot people compared to Greeks.

¹³⁶ See Introduction

4.4 The 'self' and the 'other': the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot element

As was seen in students' ethnic preferences, Turkish and Turkish Cypriot identities were not selected at all (very few students chose Turkish Cypriot identity in the multiple choice). This was expected since the long political and historical rivalry between Greece and Turkey has created feelings of animosity, mistrust and opposition among the people from both countries.

On the whole, students described Turkish people as *"those people from Turkey, who live there and speak the Turkish language"* (Dafni). Nevertheless almost all went beyond this description and referred to the 1974 events in Cyprus, 'caused by Turkey'. They used an explicit terminology to describe these events, such as 'occupation, missing people, coup, invasion'¹³⁷. As was previously seen, all these terms are present in the daily rhetoric of the school and education system and students seemed to reflect on this. Anna for example described Turkish people as *"those who occupied Cyprus"*, and Perseas pointed out that *"Turks enslaved Cyprus"*. Others, like Agis, referred to the general concept of 'war': *"they made a war against us and they occupy half Cyprus"*. Other students provided more details about the war and referred to 'missing and killed people' and 'refugees'. Katerina asserted, *"they have taken over half Cyprus and killed millions of innocent people"*. Menelaos also pointed out, *"the Turks came and took over half Cyprus, they made many people refugees and missing people"*. Finally some students referred to the 'struggles' of the Cypriot (i.e. Greek Cypriot) people to regain 'their occupied places'. Erato for example argued, *"the Turks took over our villages, half of Cyprus and we are struggling to get them back"*. Lydia also mentioned, *"in 1974 they invaded Cyprus and they are still in Cyprus and they do not give us our freedom"*.

Some students appeared even more hostile towards Turkish identity and used terms such as 'enemy' and 'hate' to describe their feelings. *"It is almost an enemy"*, Ifigenia pointed out. Similarly Menelaos completely rejected Turkish arguing, *"I really hate Turkey because it is the country that occupied half part of Cyprus and does not let us visit our places/land and for 26 years it does not tell us what happened to our missing people"*.

¹³⁷ For more complete account of the descriptions the students provided for the 1974 events see Appendix 8.2

It was revealing the way the students made a clear dichotomy between 'us' and 'them'. Although this also emerged when they compared themselves with people from Greece, in the case of the Turkish it was accompanied by feelings of hostility. Students were the ones that initiated the discussion regarding the invasion and the occupation, after I asked them to define "What is a Turkish person". Furthermore some students used the terms 'our Cyprus' to indicate the feeling of belongingness Greek Cypriots have for the other part of the island. Ifigenia for instance, pointed out in her description of Turkish people, *"they now hold half of our Cyprus and they do not accept to give back our half Cyprus"*.

The views expressed above were also extended to other aspects of 'Turkish' people; some students characterised them as 'not good' with a 'barbarian' language. Katerina for example argued, *"the Turkish are not good because they wanted to take Cyprus from us and they do not care that we might be killed (...) the Turks speak (p) like barbarian¹³⁸"*. Similarly, Orestis described the Turkish language as 'barbarian': *"I do not really like it, it is a bit barbarian (...) it sounds weird"*, and Menelaos asserted, *"I do not want to learn the language of the enemy"*. Not only did the students make negative associations with the Turkish people because of the political problem and the way it is promoted in schools, they also transferred these negative connotations to the Turkish language.¹³⁹

Nevertheless there were some students, as Dafni, who did not express hostile feelings for Turkish identity. *"The Turk is a person who lives in Turkey, he speaks Turkish he believes in his God who is Allah and they live differently from us (...) but he is a human being as well"*. In addition some students adopted a more positive approach towards the Turkish element referring however explicitly to the Turkish Cypriots (rather than the 'Turkish from Turkey'). Their main rationale was that Greek and Turkish Cypriots shared many things in common. Although as in the case of the

¹³⁸ 'Barbarian' is a term used in Ancient Greece to indicate all the non-Greek languages. In the contemporary context is not a politically correct term to use, but some of these students used it to indicate 'low cultural level'. In the Greek Cypriot context phrases like 'the barbarian invaders' are often used. Nevertheless the comment here is language oriented, indicating a low appreciation for Turkish language.

¹³⁹ This is also reflected in the wider social context of Cyprus where there is a tendency to underestimate the Turkish language as being not that cultivated (compared to Greek).

'Greek Cypriot' concept, the majority of the students had many misconceptions¹⁴⁰ about the term 'Turkish Cypriot' and could not provide its actual meaning, still they retained more positive attitudes towards the Turkish Cypriot identity, than they did for the Turkish.

Aggelos for example referred to the common past and that Turkish used to be 'our' friends. *"I know that we used to live with the Turkish, we were almost one nation together, but now they have taken over half Cyprus, we are a bit friends"*. Additionally, Anastasia, who throughout the fieldwork had a pro-peace attitude, provided strong characterisations in favour of the reconciliation of the two ethnic groups. *"There were Turks who did not want to be enemies with us, so (...) I do not feel any animosity for them. I would like it better if there wasn't war between us and if we were, the two nations (laoi) united, so that no atrocities would exist"*. Similarly Achilleas focused on language as a commonality between a Cypriot and a Turkish, something not mentioned by any other students: *"Turkish people are related with the Cypriots, not with the Greeks, because they conquered us many times, they left behind words that remained in the Cypriot dialect"*. This comment by Achilleas is revealing since it provides a bond between Greek and Turkish Cypriots that is unique, i.e. that the Cypriot Dialect can be a commonality between the two ethnic groups because of the existence of Turkish words in the Dialect¹⁴¹.

Finally the following comments made by other students revealed that there were some students who diverged from the whole class, rejected the notion of the Turk as the enemy and focused on other aspects that could connect the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots. Stella for instance argued, *"Turkish Cypriot is half Cypriot and half Turkish but I accept the Turkish Cypriot because they are our brothers as well, it does not mean that only the Greeks are our brothers"*. Similarly, Dafni appeared willing to learn Turkish pointing out that, *"because one day I might meet someone on the street that speaks only Turkish and maybe one day we might unite with Turkey"*. Finally, Tefkros seemed sympathetic towards the Turkish Cypriot identity pointing out that he

¹⁴⁰ Although a few top achievement students such as Anastasia and Menelaos provided accurate description: *"Turkish Cypriots are those who used to live, who were living together with the Cypriots after the foundation of the Cypriot Republic. And the Turkish Cypriots usually speak Turkish (Menelaos)*.

¹⁴¹ Something that, as was seen earlier, constitutes a major criticism in the wider context of the Dialect, which is often seen as 'less Greek'.

would choose it as well. His rationale was, *“because we live together on the same island with them, that is why I would choose that as well”*.

4.5 The 'neutral' positioning: the English element

English identity was also examined since in the context of Cyprus, both the English language and the post-colonial influence, play a role in the shaping of the contemporary 'Cypriot' identity (see Introduction). From students' comments it emerged that although they exhibited positive attitudes towards the English language (as the language of social mobility and modernity identified in the previous chapter), they did not identify with the English identity. (Figures 8.5-8.6). Furthermore, the majority of them, as Achilleas, described an English person as someone who spoke English and lived in England, distancing therefore themselves from this identity. *“English is the person who was born in England, in Britain, he grew up there, he studied, he speaks English, he is not related to Cypriots”*.

In particular, students' comments regarding English identity revolved around three basic issues. First, the historical – colonial role of English in Cyprus and the liberation struggle of the Cypriot people; second, the current connection of Cyprus with English in tourism; and third, the future prospects for themselves studying in England.

All the students referred to the fight of the Cypriot people against British colonials, using phrases such as 'struggle', 'liberation' and stressing that Cyprus was enslaved and then freed from English rule (see Appendix 8.2 for a detailed description). Nefeli for example noted, *“in 1955 Cyprus was freed from the English”*, and Patroklos added, *“the English occupied us and we were a colony”*. Because of the liberation struggle and the colonial relationship of England to Cyprus a number of students, as Katerina, held some negative attitudes to the English identity: *“the English is also a bad person because they also wanted to take Cyprus and I would explain to them that it is not a good thing to do”*. However this attitude was not widespread. Most of the students referred to the war and the opposition, but they believed that this was a part of the past and that currently Cyprus retained good relations with England. As Menelaos argued, *“I think that they do not have many relations (English and Greek Cypriots), but now the relations between them are friendly compared to what they*

used to be". The attitudes expressed by the students are understandable since the political problem between Britain and Cyprus (i.e. colonisation) is more or less resolved.

The second theme identified was that Greek Cypriots were related to English through tourism since English people visit Cyprus mainly as tourists. Anna for example pointed out, "*English are those people who come to Cyprus as tourists*", and Perseas added "*they often come to Cyprus as tourists and they see the sights*". Students described the tourism relation between the two countries without any value-laden judgements, referring to it as a mere fact. Finally another issue mentioned by the majority of students was that many Cypriot people went to England to study¹⁴² and they valued England as a place with many good universities, ideal for further study. Patroklos for instance argued, "*many Cypriots go to England to study, to live there*". Similarly, Aggelos pointed out, "*when someone goes to study, he will have to go to England to study*".

Building up a model on students' shaped ethnic identities

Bringing together all the issues examined, I formed an Identity Model, from students' choices, values and attitudes (Figure 8.10), which incorporated all the different elements they outlined and expressed. This model is explained next.

¹⁴² In one of the Geography lessons I observed in Class E, the topic was 'Britain' and one of the things the teacher mentioned was that there are many good universities in England. Possibly some of the students reflected on that in their answers. It is however a fact that British universities are quite popular in Cyprus.

Wider Socio-Political Context in which Ethnic Identity is situated

Life in Cyprus:

Political Problem - Accession to EU - Immigration

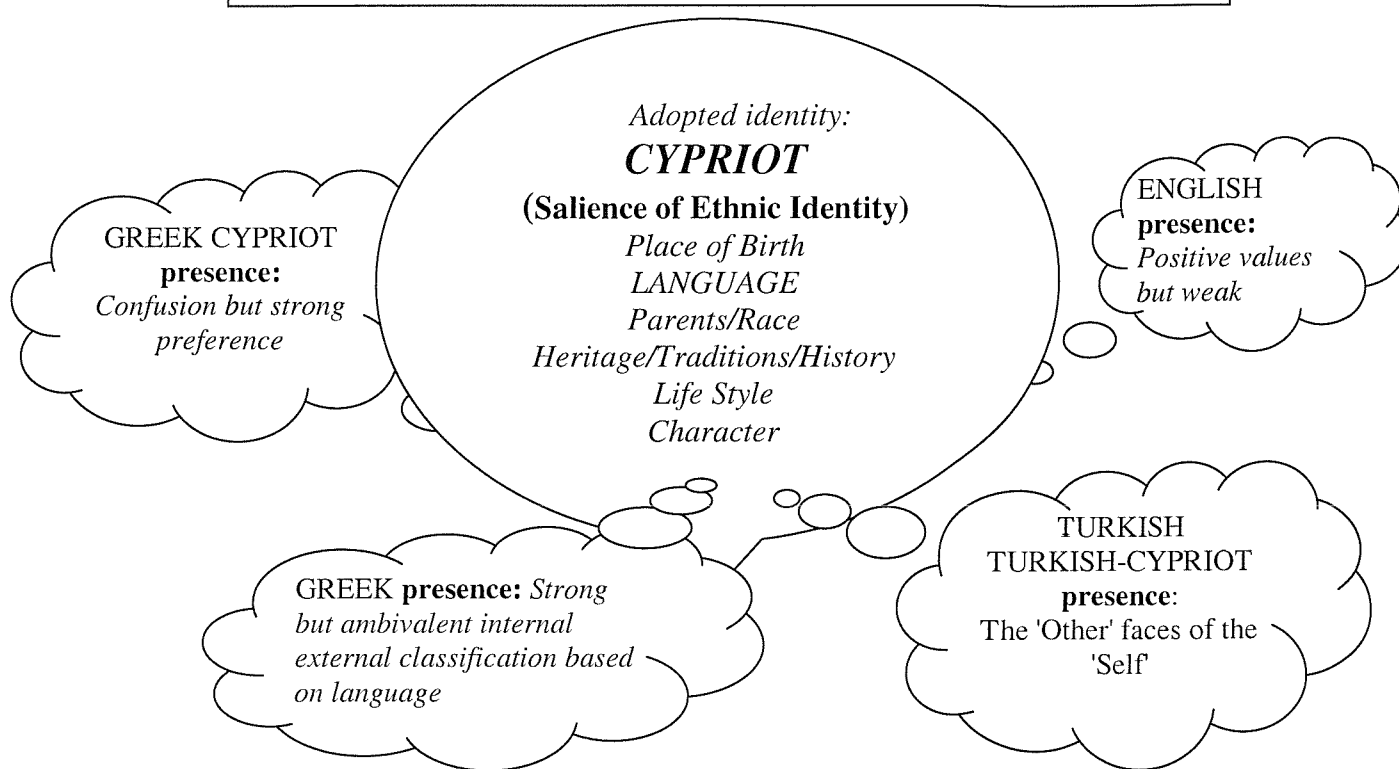


Figure 8.10: Building a model for students' preferred ethnic identities

From the evidence it is clear that the wider socio-political context of Cyprus was a factor in the way students described themselves and the others, indicating that despite their young age the political and historical realities of the territory they lived in formed a part of their identity rhetoric. This was evident from the way they referred to the 1974 and 1955 events¹⁴³ both in the definitions they provided for the various identities and also in their description of historic events (see, Appendix 8.2). In addition the students referred to current social issues central in the context of Cyprus, such as immigration (Extract 20) and the efforts of Cyprus to enter the European Union (Extract 21). They also expressed their hopes about the future and the majority of the students opted for a political resolution in Cyprus (Extract 22).

Extract 20 – Focus Group B

“Ifigenia: in the old times there were immigrants, who were leaving with ships, while today we have immigrants here, not so many

¹⁴³ This was also confirmed by the exploration of the historic events that are considered very important in educational and political rhetoric (a detailed analysis of students' description of these events in Appendix 8.2).

E: why do you think the immigrants were leaving?

Nefeli: in order to go to countries that had money

Patroklos: in order to work and earn money and help their families”

Extract 21 – Focus Group D

“Tefkros: we try to enter Europe but we cannot enter it because we are an occupied island

Agis: and we are a small island so at least

Achilleas: and we try to enter (EU) so as someone can help us to

Orestis: solve

Achilleas: the Cypriot problem because everyone that enters Europe has to be

Agis: has to be free

Achilleas: they have to help us be free

E: do you want Cyprus to enter Europe?

All: yes yes”

Extract 22 – Focus Group C

“E: what do you think will it happen to Cyprus in 30 years?

Stella: I think that we may reconcile with Turkey and that there will be no more wars like in Yugoslavia

Lydia: Cyprus may be left free (...) and we can go to the occupied places

E: do you think that might happen?

Lydia: yes, maybe

Stella: yes, sometime

Katerina: we need to have hope”

It became clear from students' words that social and political issues were part of their lives. From as young as the age of eleven, not only had they imagined computers and high technology for the future, but also a political resolution to the problem of Cyprus and a potential opportunity for them to 'revisit the land of their parents and grandparents'. From this early age therefore it is apparent that students' understanding of who they were in terms of ethnic identity was embedded in the specific political and social context of Cyprus.

It was within such a context that students' multi-levelled identities (Figure 8.10) were formed, with the various components and elements interacting and being influenced by the wider context (as for examples the 'Turkish' part of their identity). In particular, the central layer of this identity was build around a distinct notion of Cypriotness, which had as main component the Cypriot dialect. Students described the Dialect as 'their own code' and almost everyone adopted it as part of their Cypriot identity. Very often the Dialect was opposed and compared to the Standard and the way 'Greek people' or 'Kalamarades' spoke. This attitude revealed that the Dialect played an

important role as a marker of a distinct Cypriot identity. Other components of Cypriot identity were place of birth, descent and race, life style as Cypriots and traditions and customs.

The way the students perceived their Cypriot identity showed that they equated the 'Cypriots' with the Greek Cypriot community only. The references Patroklos made (extract 5, p.213) to the Turkish Cypriots as examples of other groups residing to Cyprus encapsulates this. Although this might seem to be an influence of the policy making, it can also indicate the consequences of the complete isolation of the two ethnic groups since the students do not have any contact with the Turkish Cypriots.¹⁴⁴. In addition as mentioned before, this Cypriot identity was distinct from the 'Greek', since along with the Turkish Cypriots the 'Greeks from Greece' were also excluded from the notion of Cypriot identity (extract 5, p.213). This indicates that the way the students' viewed Cypriot identity did not concur with the traditional political rhetorics (outlined in the Introduction).

Despite its distinctiveness, this 'Cypriot' identity incorporated to a large extent a strong Greek element. This Greek element was mostly culturally and 'race-wise' and less linguistically oriented since language functioned more as a separating factor between Greek and Cypriot identities, rather than a similarity. The fact that the students had direct (their peers) and indirect (media) contact with Standard speakers might have contributed to this divergence tendency. In contrast, the issue of common bonds and common descend with the people in Greece was much stronger in their comments, stressing the family relation of Cyprus with Greece and the sense of motherland that connected the two countries.

As regards the 'Greek Cypriot' label, the majority of the students appeared confused and could not provide an accurate definition for the term. However, they adopted it as part of their identity on the grounds that it combined the Greek and Cypriot elements of their identity, and also because they used both ways of speaking in their repertoire. In other words language reinforced students' choice towards the 'Greek Cypriot' identity since they considered it to combine both elements of their speech

In contrast, there was a strong negative attitude towards Turkish identity and students mainly viewed Turkish people as the enemy and as very distant from them. However, some students retained more moderate and often positive attitudes towards the Turkish Cypriot identity, mostly on the grounds that they lived on the same island. On the whole, it can be argued that the Turkish and the Turkish Cypriot presence were intense in the students' self-descriptions as 'Cypriots', something indicated in their narratives of the historic events (Appendix 8.2). Therefore both elements can be thought of as being in constant interaction with the Self, and therefore forming a part of it. Finally, concerning the English element students appeared more neutral referring both to the past warfare that separated Cypriots from British colonials, but also looking up to the English language and lifestyle. In all these cases, language seemed to have a role in the way students' viewed these identities. In other words, the negative feelings they held for the Turkish people were to some extent transferred into the attitudes they held towards the Turkish language. So, whereas they had minimum contact with it, they retained negative attitudes, characterising it as 'barbarian' and 'weird'. In contrast, the positive attitudes they held for the English language, as mainly the linguistic variety of social mobility, seemed to influence their values regarding English people, and their rather positive perspective of them.

Tefkros's words reveal how all these different layers and elements interact to create one multi-layered identity and how language plays an important role in this identity formation:

“ I feel more Cypriot, it is just the way I feel, then I would say Greek Cypriot because we are the same with the Greeks, we are like brothers, then Greek and then Turkish Cypriot because we live together with the Turkish in the same island, but my language is Cypriot, you know like I speak now, this is the language I like, it is nice too ”

¹⁴⁴ A comparison between Greek and Turkish Cypriot students about the way they see each other would be very revealing on offering a comparative perspective and a holistic picture about the notions of the self and the other.

Chapter Nine

CONCLUSIONS:

The multiple links between 'language' and 'ethnic identity'

"Let us abandon the declarations. Knowledge of the river means being in the river"
- Sinopoulos, 1964

1 The students: 'real' people's voices

From the overall analysis of the students it emerged that the link between language and ethnic identity as experienced and expressed in real life situations was complex. The students of class E' were faced on the one hand with different linguistic varieties and ethnic identities found in the specific socio-political context, and on the other with a fixed and politically oriented educational rhetoric. From their 'voices' in the present study it emerged that their preferred ethnic identities incorporated various elements, and that language seemed to play an interactive role.

From a language perspective (i.e. when language was placed in the centre of the analysis) the data indicated that students' language use and attitudes were governed by various norms, with the ethnic factor being one of them. In particular, the two main linguistic varieties in students' repertoire, the Standard and the Dialect, represented two different and often opposing sets of values, something that was also reflected in their preferred ethnic identities. The Dialect was the variety predominantly used, both in and out of the class, and from students' language attitudes it emerged that it was also valued in terms of solidarity, authenticity and identity. There was a strong gender differentiation, with the girls appearing hesitant and often rejecting the use of the Dialect, a point identified by Milroy and Milroy (1991). Nevertheless, the way they used words like 'normal' and 'our language' to refer to the Dialect, indicated that they considered it as a marker of their identity. From the exploration of students' language use and attitudes, then it can be argued that the Dialect appeared to function as a marker of their identity as Cypriots, with the boys expressing that directly and the girls in more covert ways. This concurs with the theories outlined by Labov (1972) and Milroy and Milroy (1991) in which non-standard linguistic varieties function as markers of identity for groups and individuals.

In contrast, students' positioning towards the Standard was more complicated, especially in relation to their preferred ethnic identities. The majority of the students valued it in terms of aesthetics, prestige and social mobility and they recognised it as the 'legitimate' variety of the school by attempting to use it when participating in the actual lesson¹⁴⁵. Nevertheless, they also expressed their discomfort, making direct references to the notion of it not 'being their own language' and therefore having mixed feelings when using it. This was also confirmed in their observed language use where their chosen linguistic variety in most of the communication in the class was the Dialect, despite the incidents of correction of the Dialect by the teachers. At the same time their efforts to use the Standard in the actual lesson were not always successful confirming their expressed feelings of discomfort. On the whole from their expressed language attitudes and their observed language use it can be argued that the Standard did not form a part of students' identities, characterising it as 'not ours' and 'foreign'. At the same time however it was valued, for the reasons cited in chapter seven, and there were a number of students, who were willing to identify with it¹⁴⁶, signalling that it retained a different kind of vitality among some students.

Whereas there was a division among the students in their expressed language attitudes, with some boys completely identifying with the Dialect (e.g. Tefkros, Agis, Giannos) and some girls rejecting it (e.g. Nefeli, Erato), when it came to their preferred ethnic identities the overwhelming majority showed a clear preference towards the Cypriot identity. The strongest components of this identity were the linguistic and the territorial factors, which is something identified by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985, p.213). The majority of the students referred to the Cypriot dialect as a distinguishing marker of their Cypriot identity and although other features were stressed, such as character, life style, tradition and descent, the linguistic criterion was the one referred to most often.

Nevertheless, the connection between Cypriot identity and Cypriot dialect was not linear. Students' preferred ethnic identities were multi-levelled, contextual or, to use Hall's (1990) terminology had different *presences*, which embedded the notions of *similarity* and *difference* (Woolard, 1997). Some of these *presences* were closely

¹⁴⁵ From the 22 dialect speakers all were attempting to use standard variants except Tefkros, Agis, Giannos and Iasonas.

interwoven with the concept of language while others were built around other perspectives.

The *Cypriot presence*, was central in students' multi-levelled identities, built around their experience of growing up in the specific area and speaking a 'special' kind of Greek. However, the *Cypriot presence* was not tension free, especially in relation to language. Whereas almost all students stated that they felt above all, as Cypriots, and that the linguistic criterion was central to this presence, it remains a reality that at the same time the majority of them underestimated this variety, at least in terms of prestige and power. It can be argued therefore that the students held an identity whose linguistic variety was undervalued. Although this phenomenon (i.e. groups holding on to their stigmatised varieties) has been noted by Halliday (1978) and Hewitt (1986), the evidence from this study presents a divergence from the notions of 'anti-language' (Halliday) and 'language as a resistance' (Hewitt). In other words it cannot be argued that these students held on to their linguistic variety as a form of resistance towards a dominant group, since Greek Cypriots are the dominant group in their territory, retaining an autonomous state. Nevertheless, the cases of Tefkros, Agis and Giannos, who retained the Dialect in Standard dominated situations, may indeed indicate an instance of 'resistance' since they appeared to purposively use the Dialect as a means for expressing their 'resistance' to the dominant school discourse (and to the Standard). The majority of the students however seemed to incorporate the notions of power and solidarity in their identities (a point identified by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985 in their studies of Caribbean students) connecting one variety with more informal domains and considering the other more appropriate for education and social mobility.

Along with the *Cypriot*, the *Greek presence* appeared to have vitality among the students. This presence was built around the notions of *similarity* and *difference*, in which language had a central role. The students considered themselves in many aspects (mainly cultural and 'race-oriented') similar to the Greeks, referring to Greece as the 'motherland' of Cyprus. It was revealing however that the reasons the students provided for showing preference for the *Greek presence* were not linguistic, despite the association of the Standard with the notion of power (something that might seem

¹⁴⁶ Nefeli., Anna, Erato, Froso

appealing). In contrast, the linguistic criterion was the one that incorporated the notion of *difference*, with the students making it clear that they were substantially different from *kalamarades*; and with the Dialect being one of the major reasons for this divergence. One interpretation of this is that the linguistic factor is more striking and observable between people from Greece and Cyprus and therefore easier for the students to choose and identify as a point of difference. This can also mean however, how strong the Cypriot Dialect is as a marker of students' identity, since they considered it as the most important factor that made them *different* from the Greeks of Greece. This contrasts with the constant references made by the policy makers (and outlined in the written policies) of 'language' being one of the main points of similarity between Greece and Cyprus. For these students the connection between linguistic varieties and ethnic 'elements' is much more complex.

The *Turkish presence* constituted the 'other', connected to political opposition and animosity and built around the notion of *difference*. The way most of the students chose not to define themselves as Turkish and the negative connotations they held about Turkish identity provided an insight into their notions of 'self' and defined to a large extent their sense of 'Cypriot' identity. This point is similar to the observations of Hall (1992) in his studies about Afro-Caribbean identities. In this *presence* language did not seem to play such an important role since Turkish was not a part of students' daily repertoire, although some negative values were attributed to it, indicating that often ethnic attitudes are transferred on linguistic varieties and vice versa. Although for the majority of the students the *Turkish presence* was rooted mostly in *difference*, some voices were heard that stressed the *similarity* between Greek and Turkish Cypriots (e.g. Dafni, Anastasia, Tefkros, Stella) referring to commonalities such as a common past, shared territory, and even language (e.g. Achilleas).

Finally, from students' accounts in this study, it cannot be argued that their identities incorporated the *English* or *Western presence*, a criticism often expressed in the media (see Introduction) for the contemporary Greek Cypriots. Whereas students made positive references to the possibilities of entering the European Union, this reflected mostly a political goal for enabling Cyprus to solve its political problem. In addition their attitudes towards the *English element* were rather neutral. Although the English

language evoked positive attitudes in social mobility and prestige, the students did not exhibit any attachment towards English and they did not seem to consider it as part of their identities. This challenges the 'complaints' and 'worries' expressed in public discourse about English constituting a threat to the 'Greek' identity of the Greek Cypriots, by suggesting that English constituted a *non-presence* in students' ethnic identities¹⁴⁷.

Overall, all these *presences* (or *non-presences*), along with the reality of the contemporary socio-political context created the notion of the contemporary Cypriot identity for the students. This identity was not devalued and was 'distinct' or hybrid since none of the students equated themselves either with the people of Greece, or the people from England or Turkey. Although as mentioned before students' ethnic identities and languages were interwoven in a complex and sometimes elusive way, it can nevertheless be argued that the link between the two is there.

2 The policy making: the rhetoric

The comparison of practice and policy in matters of language and identity in the Greek Cypriot context is revealing in that there is a disparity between what is espoused by the Ministry and what is experienced by the students. From the analysis of policy documents and the interviews with key policy-makers, it is evident that educational policy making in Cyprus adopts a strong primordial notion of identity, promoting a univocal Greek identity, rooted mostly in the notions of a glorious past and in relation to a notion of a threatening 'other'. This Greek identity was seen in an essentialist eye: fixed, locked in the past, stressing the similarities of all the Greeks and the differences from all the other ethnic groups. It would seem that the long political instability of the island, the animosity between the two groups and the 'need for cultural survival' prevailed in the educational policy making, hardening the rhetoric towards this primordial and often nationalistic notion of identity. This is a point identified by Smith (1991) who argued that periods of political instability usually coincide with strong national and political rhetoric on language and identity.

¹⁴⁷ Although it would be interesting to see whether students' attitudes will change at later stages of their life.

In addition, this univocal identity was connected with the concept of Greek national language, which in the curricula and the policy makers' views was equated with the Standard. Although the Cypriot dialect constitutes an indisputable part of Greek language, only the 'Standard' was given the status of the 'national' language, a point also made by Mey (1988) in other political contexts. The main rationale of the policy according to the policy makers, was that Greek Cypriots needed to be educated in the language of the 'Greek' world, which was Standard Modern Greek. The Dialect therefore, as the everyday variety of communication was banned and ignored, with no provision or suggestions on how to tackle the issue of students' bidialectalism.

It can be argued therefore that the link between language and ethnic identity from a policy making perspective was straightforward, promoting a linear and bipolar interrelation between Greek identity and Greek (i.e. Standard) language. It is possible to argue that the political instability in Cyprus contributed in the strengthening of this linear connection between one identity and one language. Although some voices were heard from the policy makers for more divergence from Greece, the political and national rhetoric seemed to prevail. Positioning the specific policy making in the instrumental-primordial debate outlined in chapter two, it can be argued that the link between language and identity as expressed from a policy perspective in the Greek Cypriot context has more primordial characteristics. The policy makers stressed the notion of remaining oriented to the 'nation' (i.e. Greece) for 'our ethnic survival'. Such positioning reveal a deeply primordial notion of ethnic identity, as Fishman (1997) or Smith (1991) would describe it. It would be revealing however to see whether this stance on language and identity would change in case of a political resolution between the two communities, where more instrumentalist 'arguments' might emerge (possibly because the Greek Cypriots will not be the dominant group in their territory).

3 Implications of the study - suggestions for policy making

What the evidence from practice, in comparison with the existing policies in the Greek Cypriot context has documented are two main discrepancies on issues of language and identity. Firstly, the discrepancy between power and solidarity (Milroy and Milroy, 1991; Hudson, 1996). On the one hand there are the existing policies that for 'national', practical or other reasons, attach to the Standard power and prestige and

at the same time exclude the Dialect from all the power domains. On the other hand, there are the strong connections the students exhibited between their Cypriot-excluded Dialect and their complex Cypriot identity. Secondly, there is a discrepancy on promoted and adopted ethnic identities. In other words, whereas the policy making promotes one univocal Greek ethnic identity, with the Standard as a central part of it, the evidence from the students indicates that their preferred ethnic identities are much more complex, diverging to a large extent from the promoted identity, and not adopting the Standard as marker of their identity.

A possible understanding of this discrepancy between policy and practice might be that policies and institutions are meant to be 'conservative' and more fixed, especially when they are faced, or think they face, political instability and an 'external' threat to the survival of the ethnic grouping. As Brumfit (2001) asserts social institutions will attempt to control or limit the tendency towards variation, and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) argue that 'agencies' like schools tend to promote focussing in a community. As was noted in chapter two, people tend to find different ways to counterpoise these two forces, and from an identity perspective, the dismissal of certain identities from formal policies and institutions does not necessarily mean the loss of these identities. Similarly, it can be argued that for the case of these Greek Cypriot students the exclusion of the Dialect from formal education might not necessarily indicate the loss of their identities. The Dialect has survived 'out of the educational system' for decades now and Greek Cypriots still opt for their distinct Cypriot identity.

Nevertheless, the consequences of this discrepancy from a pedagogical, social and even democratic perspective, remains a major issue. From the evidence presented in this study and the comparison between students' and policy makers' perspectives on language and identity, the following implications are identified. Firstly, from a pedagogical perspective this study has documented that despite the stated policy, the Dialect is a reality in the classroom. Although the aim of this study was not to directly explore problems and difficulties the students might face because of their bidialectalism, the evidence from class E shows that the extended teachers' talk and the confined students' talk was a reality. This reality was also noted in the change in the amount and the quality of students' talk from the technical to the non-technical

lessons, where the Dialect was more legitimised. In addition, this reality was also evident in students' words, where they accepted that they had difficulties in expressing themselves in the Standard, something also accepted (most of the times as a 'complaint') by the teachers and the policy makers. What the evidence from this study shows therefore is that it is very possible that students had problems in expressing themselves adequately in the 'language of the classroom', and if this is the case then policy making needs to reconsider the issue of bidialectalism in the classroom. If the role of education is, as Van De Craen and Humblet (1989) assert, to contribute to a more holistic and complete development of students at school, imposing a linguistic variety, which prevents them from genuinely, and authentically expressing themselves seems at the very least paradoxical.

Secondly, another implication identified is the consequences these policies may have on students' self-perception and their identities. As was seen in chapter two, theories of Hymes (1985) and Edwards (1983) refer to the strong connection between students' perceptions about their identity and the way their home linguistic variety is considered at school. As has been documented in this study, the students were closely attached to the Dialect and they considered it an important marker of their identity as Cypriots. The policy however seemed to consistently ignore this, establishing a specific value system which socially and educationally disapproves of the first variety of students. Although students seemed to incorporate the two forces of power and solidarity in their identity and in their language use through attempts to code-switch, it remains a fact that these students were denied the right to express themselves in their own dialect and to develop this dialect even more (cf. Brumfit, 2001). More importantly there is evidence in the present study to argue that these students did not enjoy this deprivation, a point confirming Hymes (1985) notion of 'repression' identified in chapter two. Students experienced feelings of discomfort and low confidence with the imposed variety of the school, voicing some of their experiences in coping with this deprivation, using words such as *"this ain't my language"*, *"I feel like a stranger when I talk like this"*, *"it is nice not to have anyone to stop you when you speak"*. If the role of education and schooling is to develop all aspects of students' knowledge and character, perhaps voices like the ones mentioned above need to start be taken into consideration.

Finally another issue identified, which may have social and political implications, is that students' ethnolinguistic identities were multiple and integrated different elements and values. Although the policy making seemed to have had an influence on some parts of this identity - especially on the negative values towards the *Turkish presence* - what is revealing is that on the whole the students did not appear to adopt the 'Greek' promoted identity. Rather they expressed a distinct and multi-levelled Cypriot identity, which had the Cypriot Dialect as a central marker. This documents that the rationale behind the existing policies, i.e. the need to teach Standard for preserving Greek Cypriots' Greekness, has serious weaknesses and does not apply in practice. This identified discrepancy confirms a gap that frequently separates policies from practice but it also provides a framework for rethinking issues of identity and language for current educationalists and policy makers in the Cypriot context. If complex forms of identity are emerging among young people with language playing a subtle role in these identities, then the policy and in particular the school, a place where students spend a significant amount of time, ought to take this into consideration. More importantly in the socio-political context of Cyprus, and in the light of the intensification of the efforts for political resolution due to the possible accession to EU, these multiple and complex identities can be a source of strength and optimism for the political and social co-existence of the different groups on the island. The fact that these students did not follow the policy and adopted more complex and 'open' identities may indicate the emergence of a new era for the Cypriot context where even on a formal level there is space for the notions of multiple identities and multiple linguistic varieties.

4 Personal reflections on the theoretical and methodological framework of the study

In this study I tried to explore two very broad, elusive and not always easy to identify concepts, language and ethnic identity, and examine whether they had any interconnections. Because of the ethnographic nature of the study the theory did not propose fixed frameworks in which ethnic identity and language were to be interpreted. Rather, I drew upon theories from sociolinguistics, sociology and social psychology to understand the multiplicity and different perspectives of the two concepts, and therefore provide a multi-disciplinary exploration. This enabled me to

see the different 'faces' of ethnic identity, the different ways it was realised (i.e. through policies and institutions and in real life), its various components and characteristics and the different theoretical stances taken (i.e. essentialism and anti-essentialism). In addition, I attempted to explore the different ways the link between language and ethnic identity is realised, something that provided a point of comparison between institutions and people. For these reasons, I consider the exploratory nature of the theoretical framework as a strength of this study since it allowed me to discover the way the students experienced the concepts of language and ethnic identity, without imposing on that pre-determined categories and fixed definitions.

The methodology I chose was appropriate for the in-depth exploration of language use, language attitudes and identity, as 'voiced' by Greek Cypriot students. Like Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), I attempted to explore both concepts equally and independently and then to see if they were connected in any way. I believe that this kind of approach constitutes another strength for the present study. Placing the data on language use and attitudes at the centre of the analysis and seeking possible interrelations on ethnic identity, and then reversing this, provided a strong framework for exploring the link between the two. In addition the variety of methods I used, both for language attitudes and ethnic identity provided rich and multi-perspective data that enabled me to build a rich picture on language and ethnic identity among the students of class E.

It also has to be noted that the way the concepts of the study were approached and the different methods adopted would never have been possible without the experience of being an 'insider' both from an educational and a cultural perspective. The knowledge of the specific culture enabled me to see which identities were interacting in the wider context and the position the various linguistic varieties had.

Nevertheless, there were some limitations in the present study, mostly from a methodological perspective. One limitation was that because I decided to focus on the school domain and the complexity in that context, there was not time to explore the lives of the students outside the school, especially at home and therefore I was not able to observe the way their preferred identities were 'lived'. In other words this study

lacks the 'behaviour' perspective on the issue of ethnic identity; it provides only the preferred and claimed identities of the students. Nevertheless, the decision to focus on the school enabled me to provide a point of comparison between classroom (students) and policy (ministry), and therefore not only note the difference between policy and practice but also draw implications for policy-makers.

Another limitation had to do with the methodological tools I used. From a language perspective the observations I conducted in the classroom proved a useful source for understanding language variation and appropriateness in the class. The recordings in combination with the field-notes and the Speech Turn Sheet provided triangulation and stronger validity for the findings. Nevertheless, as already mentioned, for practical reasons I did not systematically examine language use outside the classroom and although I was able to generate rough categories, I think that a comparative perspective on the way the students used language outside class, especially with their Standard speaker peers, would have been very enriching. From a language attitudes perspective the interviews and the use of the written texts and the semi-match guise test proved very useful for eliciting students' values. In the same way the various approaches I used for ethnic identity provided different perspectives on students' ethnic identification (e.g. Questionnaire), the salience of their identity (e.g. Imaginary Scenario), ethnic awareness (e.g. Identity cards) and exploring and deconstructing identity (focus groups, interviews). However I think that it would also be very insightful if I conducted more participant observation with the students, especially out of the classroom and tried to see whether issues of language and ethnic values emerged in their day to day interaction.

Finally, the choice I made during the fieldwork to follow one whole class instead of individual students makes me reflect on whether it restricted my understanding of each student separately. Although I tried to avoid that by creating individual profiles on each student (which provided me with insight on each) still twenty-four students was a rather large number for separate in-depth exploration. On the whole I think that the process of analysis from specific profiles to the larger unit of the class maintained a balance between the two units of analysis enabling patterns and trends to be identified while retaining the individuality of each student's experience. Any limitation from not studying each student in depth was further counterpoised by the

opportunity I had to see the class as a social unit and compare it with the wider policy making.

Despite these limitations, the study has important contributions to make to the study of language use and ethnicity and especially in the link between the two. The main contribution is that it sheds some light on the unexplored issues of language and ethnic identity in the Greek Cypriot context, from an educational perspective using sociolinguistic data. The investigation of the 'voices' of the students on the way they experienced language and ethnic identity in the specific socio-political context marks a first step and opens the way for further research in this area. Secondly, the present study documents a discrepancy between educational policy and practice on the issues explored, where no study has been undertaken, and indicates possible implications for development. Thirdly, the present study marks a step in the linguistic and sociolinguistic documentation of the bi-dialectal situation in Cyprus. The linguistic indexes formed for the Dialect and the documentation and classification of language variation in the classroom into dialect and standard talk, offers a start-point for further research in this area. Finally, this study offers, from a methodological and theoretical perspective, an alternative way of researching the link or links of language and identity, combining sociolinguistic (language variation, language attitudes), social psychological and sociological (ethnic identity) theories and approaches, and thereby counteracting some of the criticisms that have been made of the way this link has been explored.

5 Suggestions for further research

From the detailed exploration of students' language use, language attitudes and ethnic identity, I propose the following as important areas for further research, though for different reasons:

- The division between language use in technical and non-technical lessons to examine whether the amount of talk produced by the students as well as the quality of talk differs. This perspective would be very useful for providing further evidence for indicating whether students are indeed more constrained in the non-

technical lessons and whether they can express themselves better and more freely in the Dialect.

- Whether the degree students converge to the Standard during lesson time has to do with their school achievement, their gender and/or other possible factors. In other words, whether this convergence depends on competence in the Standard, or is a matter of choice (retaining or not the Dialect).
- Students' attitudes towards more explicit levels between the Dialect and the Standard (DSC continuum) in order to examine whether there is a shift in their identification depending on the level of continuum between the two varieties.
- Students' language and ethnic values in friendship groups that include Standard (or other language) speakers, with special focus on the phenomenon of speech accommodation, language divergence and expressed language or ethnic attitudes.
- The link between language and ethnic identity among different age groups in Cyprus in order to see whether new forms of identity emerge or the link between language and identity evolves.
- A comparison of the way Greek and Turkish Cypriot students construct the notion of the 'other', the perceptions they hold for each other as well as the way they see themselves in relation to Greece and Turkey respectively.

Such additional knowledge would shed added light on the findings in this thesis. But it is worth recording here in conclusion that this study marks a first step in the documentation of the phenomenon of language multiplicity in use and perceptions of ethnic identity among contemporary Greek Cypriots, and the complex and subtle links between the two. In documenting a discrepancy between educational policy and practice furthermore, hopefully it may inform future policymaking and educational practice for Greek Cypriot students like those studied in this thesis.

APPENDIX I: Methodological Appendix

Appendix 3.1: Pilot task

Name:	Age:
<p>(1) <u>Answer briefly the following questions:</u></p> <p>a). I am from</p> <p>b). What language or languages do you speak?</p> <p>c). What do you usually read in your free time?</p> <p>d). What do you usually do in the afternoons?</p> <p>e). What are your favourite hobbies?</p> <p>g). Which are your favourite TV. programmes?</p> <p>(2) <u>Write down who may read these materials (I show them different reading materials in the class)</u></p> <p>a). Newspaper</p> <p>b). TV guide</p> <p>c). Comics</p> <p>d) Elle</p> <p>e). 'The Hunter'</p> <p>(3) <u>You will listen to three kinds of talk. Listen to me carefully and then fill in the following:</u></p> <p>a). I like more:</p> <p>---- Speech 1</p> <p>---- Speech 2</p> <p>---- Speech 3</p> <p>b). The most correct is:</p> <p>---- Speech 1</p> <p>---- Speech 2</p> <p>---- Speech 3</p> <p>c). I speak like:</p> <p>---- Speech 1</p> <p>---- Speech 2</p> <p>---- Speech 3</p> <p>d). I would like to speak like:</p>	

Appendix 3.2: Students' speech turn sheet

OBSERVATION SHEET 1

OBSERVING STUDENTS OF CLASS E' IN THE CLASSROOM

Subject: *Greek*

Teacher: *Ms Artemis*

Date: *10/5*

Time: *3rd-4th Periods*

STUDENTS' TALK

REMARKS	Cypriot Dialect	Standard Modern Greek
Reply to teachers' questions / participating in actual lesson	1	38
Requesting	2	
Pose Question	3	2
Reporting / Complaining	2	
Commenting	1	1
Informal Discussion	1	
Reading aloud	1	11
Other		

Appendix 3.3: Teachers' speech turn sheet

Subject: *Greek*

Date: *16/3*

Teacher: *Ms Artemis*

Time: *1st - 2nd Periods*

Category	Cypriot Dialect	Standard Modern Greek
Correcting		
Telling Off		
Explaining		
Posing Question		
Telling lesson - oral		
Telling lesson - written		
Directions		

Appendix 3.4. Classroom Critical Incident Sheet

<p><u>OBSERVATION SHEET 2</u></p> <p><i>OBSERVING STUDENTS OF CLASS E' IN THE CLASSROOM</i></p> <p><u>Issues discussed that might relate to ethnic or national aspirations or ideologies</u></p> <p>(e.g. Greece, Turkey, invention, national celebrations, Turkish Cypriots)</p>			
<p><u>Subject:</u> Greek _____</p>		<p><u>Teacher:</u> Ms Artemis</p>	
<p><u>Date:</u> 15th May</p>		<p><u>Time:</u> 6th Period</p>	
Topic Discussed	When / Who	Occasion	Comments
<p>1). The spirit of friendship among Turkey - Greece because of the earthquakes</p>	<p>The teacher raised the issue and the students expanded on it.</p>	<p>Text under study: "Protect yourselves from the earthquakes"</p>	<p>The students seemed really motivated and talked extensively</p>

Appendix 3.5: Observing the teachers during break-time

CONTACT SHEET: 12/5, Staff Room

Topics Discussed	People / Teachers	Language Variety Used	Comments
1. Droughts in Cyprus	Tilemahos, Mihalīs, Eleftheria, Aspasia	Mostly in the Cypriot Dialect	The teachers complained about the droughts in Cyprus and the vital need for water and rain.
2). Missing People	Mr Tilemahos initiates the topic	Cypriot Dialect	He accuses those who were responsible for the events of 1974 and were not punished.

Appendix 3.6: The semi-match guise test

'Anastasia's Semi Match Guise Test'

From a scale 1-10 write down what do you think for the three type

Of speeches you have just listened where:

10 - I agree completely

5 - so and so

1 - I completely disagree

	A ¹⁴⁸	B	C
• It is correct		10	5	5
• It is ugly		1	2	2
• It sounds nice		10	6	10
• It is rude		1	2	1
• I speak like that		10	10	1
• It is polite		10	5	10
• It is "peasant"		1	2	1
• I feel comfortable speaking like that		2	10	1
• I would like to speak like that		5	This is how I speak	5
• I am embarrassed to speak like that		1	1	1

Place in an order the three speeches beginning from the one you think is the best

1. A
2. B
3. C

¹⁴⁸ A: Σήμερα ξύπνησα το πρωί, πλύθηκα, ντύθηκα, έφαγα και ήρθα στο σχολείο (SMG)

B: Σήμερα εξύπνησα το πρωί, επλύθηκα, εντύθηκα, έφαα τζαι ήρτα στο σχολείο (CD)

C: Today I woke up, I washed my face, I got dressed, I had something to eat and I came to the school (English)

Appendix 3.7: The ten statement test

WHO I AM

Directions: Complete the following phrases with words or sentences that

Best describe yourself.

1. **I am**
2. **I am**
3. **I am**
4. **I am**
5. **I am**
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

Appendix 3.8: Students' identity questionnaires

1). Circle only one answer:

I am (choose only one)

- a). Greek
- b). European
- c). Cypriot
- d). English
- e). Greek Cypriot

2). Tick whatever you think expresses you (you can tick as many as you like):

I am

- a). Cypriot
- b). English
- c). European.....
- d). Turkish Cypriot.....
- e). Greek Cypriot
- f). Christian

Appendix 3.9: Teachers' questionnaires

TEACHERS' LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

A. Complete

Sex:

Age:

Years of Experience:

B1. Complete the following table where:

0= Completely Disagree, 1=Tend to disagree, 2 = so and so/not sure, 3= Tend to Agree, 4 = Completely Agree

The teachers:

1. Should use exclusively the Standard Modern Greek in the classroom	0	1	2	3	4	5
2. Should not use the Cypriot Dialect in class	0	1	2	3	4	5
3. Depending on the occasion they should use either Cypriot or Standard Modern Greek	0	1	2	3	4	5
4. It is better to use the language that is closer to the students	0	1	2	3	4	5

B2. Complete the following table on the variety you use with the students:

	Cypriot	Standard	Changing between the two	Something in between
When I teach				
When I try to explain concepts				
When I tell them off				
When I joke				
When we talk about informal things				
During break time				
In the technical subjects				

C1. Circle that which is closer to what you think:

1. We should not let the students use Cypriot in the class

- 0. I agree
- 1. I am not sure
- 2. I disagree

2 Teachers should correct the Cypriot expressions used by the students in the class

0. I agree
1. I am not sure
2. I disagree

3 **We should let students express themselves freely, using Cypriot as well, if that helps them express themselves better.**

1. I agree
2. I am not sure
3. I disagree

4 **The interference of the Cypriot dialect probably makes the acquisition of the Standard more difficult for the students**

1. I agree
2. I am not sure
3. I disagree

5 **The oral speech of the students in Cyprus lacks compared to the students in Greece.**

1. I agree
2. I am not sure
3. I disagree

6 **The textbooks “My Language” do not respond to the special circumstances of the Cypriot context.**

1. I agree
2. I am not sure
3. I disagree

C2. How would you generally evaluate the acquisition of the Standard by students in Cyprus?

C3. Tick where you agree

In my classroom

- I leave the students use the Cypriot Dialect
- I correct every Cypriot interference replacing it with the appropriate phrase in the Standard
- I prefer my students to express themselves in the Standard
- I consider the Cypriot expressions as mistakes

C4. What is your view for introducing the Cypriot Dialect in formal education (either as a medium of teaching or as a subject for study)?

D1. Complete the following, you can select as many as you wish

	Cypriot Dialect	Standard Modern Greek
It is correct		
It sounds nice		
It indicates education		
It shows friendliness		
It reveals status		
It reveals distances/hierarchy		
I personally use it more in the classroom		
I personally use it more in my life		

E. Policy of the Ministry of Education

1). Do you think there is a specific policy of the Ministry on the issue of the Cypriot Dialect in education, and which is that?

2). Do you believe that Cypriot education should follow all the changes and trends that take place in Greece?

Z.

1). Do you believe that Cypriot education promotes a specific ethnic identity, and which is that?

2). Is there a change in national orientations depending the elected government?

3). In case of a political resolution do you think that some changes should take place in education? Which?

Appendix 3.10: Themes discussed with the principal of the school

Structure of language policy making

Evaluation of language policy making

Delivery of policy into practice

Position of Dialect in policy making and an evaluation of this

Assessment of students' oral speech

The way teachers should tackle the issue of the Dialect

Connection of Greece and Cyprus in matters of language policy

Role and evaluation of current language textbooks

Role of school in ethnic identity construction

Nationalism in Cypriot education

Link of language and identity

Appendix 3.11: Themes discussed with the policy makers

Interview with MP	Interviews with Policy Makers (basic themes)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Role of Parliamentary Committee for Education, connection to the Ministry - Critique on textbooks, influence of Greece, ideology of ruling class - Connection of Greece and Cyprus in education - Special features of the Cypriot space - The concept of Cypriot identity - Nationalism in education - The Political Problem and the role of education - The Role of the Cypriot Dialect in education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Formation of Language Policy - Different Carriers of LP - Links with Greece - Implementation of LP - Problems in children's speech, textbooks - Dependency from Greece - Critique to the current policy making - Attitudes towards Cypriot Dialect at school and generally - Connection between language and identity - Role of education in the political problem

Appendix 3.12: My values towards my research: *a poem*

The Poem

I DO NOT KNOW - I AM CONFUSED

So, I have to go "back"
I have to let my mind uncover, discover,...
Feelings and thoughts that left a mark on me.
About my language, my country...
About who and what I am (or think I am)
I have to uncover my Is, map down my subjectivity
track my feelings, my emotions, my sadness, my happiness
my good and bad times

- All these in another language -

I do not know. I am confused.
The boundaries seem to weaken, to disappear.
I am not sure which my case is (goals, purposes objectives
so many words to mask what we want to do)

I was born in a small island
- somewhere in the Mediterranean -
Raised as a Greek
born and lived as a Cypriot
I am (or think I am) a Greek Cypriot.
Do all this make any sense?

There was war on my island.
A terrible war that divided us in two.
I cannot go to the other part...
I feel sad, angry, bitter about that.
There are some other people there.
There are some other people there
Turkish Cypriots (or just Turkish. Is not the same?)
I do not know. I am confused.
I was raised as a Greek
I learned that Turkey was the enemy.
People are divided about that.

Sometimes I say they are, sometimes I say they are not...
It always depends on my mood and my values at that time
I do not know. I am confused

I hear an inner voice saying:
- We have to live with them (as we did at the past)
We can do it. We have to do it.
We have to see our island united again.
Yes, I say, we can do it. Yes, I say, we have to do it.

Suddenly images begin to pass in front of me
Faces, events, people...
rejecting, resisting, protesting
struggling to establish their denial:

Women in black (symbols of loss),
Wives without husbands
Daughters without fathers
Mothers without sons
Huge cemeteries, white crosses
- symbols of loss and grief of a nation -
Deserted villages, sacrilegious churches
A ghost-town and a big mountain bleeding.
I know that behind that mountain lies
a small beautiful town and a bit further
a village...where my grandfather was born
where my father learned to swim
where my parents fell in love.
And I get frustrated and angry when all these
memories become alive.
My mind seeks for Justice and I keep asking:
- Who is to blame?
I do not know. I am confused.

I was raised as a Greek but my passport says "Cypriot"
Is that the same? What is the difference?
I do not know. I am confused.

I speak Greek. A special kind of Greek.

Cypriot Greek they call them.
It is an ancient dialect of Greek
survived through the centuries
alive and authentic
- a bit different from the Greek spoken in Athens -
But I like that. Their uniqueness makes them special to me.
I feel a warm feeling when I think of that.

I was raised as a Greek.
Sometimes I feel only Greek
Sometimes only Cypriot.
Sometimes a bit of both.
There are times that I feel that Turkish is our enemy.
Some other times I do not.
I do not know. I am confused.

So, I say to myself. You are Greek, Cypriot
you are a woman, a student (trying for a Ph.D.)
you are a foreigner, a teacher
you are weak and strong, confused and confident,
sensitive and powerful, pessimistic and optimistic.
You are all these at the same time
and each of these at certain times.

And I am now learning to respect my confusion.
“Wow...I am not sick of doubt”
I believe in doubt.
Getting strength from it, developing my imagination
provoking my sensations
provoking myself ... from doubt.
So, I believe in doubt.
I believe in “living in the light of doubt”
This is what it is all about after all.
Simply doubt. Not objectivity. Not subjectivity.
Just pure doubt!

So, every day I wake up, every day I leave behind
and every day I long for coming
I am doubting - my feelings, my morals

my values, my beliefs, my ideas - my own self!

Deep inside me I know.

This is life, this is experience,
this is experiencing the experience
this is research.

Making, unmaking, building, deconstructing
working out again and again
until you reach the end
where doubts are not threatening
because they have been identified
because they have been controlled.

That will do.

So, it does not matter if I am confused about things
It does not matter that my Is are mixed up
and my personal values are a bit vague.
I can work it out.
At least I am aware of it. At least I know.
After all, it is only the beginning.
It might get cleared as time goes by.
But again, it may not.
I do not know. I am (not) confused.

January, 1999
Britain

Appendix 3.13: Students' narrative profiles (Anastasia)

Anastasia

Anastasia was an eleven year old, bright and confident girl with high achievement in the school (School records, class teacher), sociable with many friends (observations), very active presence in the school life (member of the school orchestra, president of her class committee, writer in the school journal), and with different kind of hobbies and interests (reading, TV, playing with dolls, sports). She came from a strong family-bond middle class environment. She was very talkative and articulated and contributed lots in classroom talk (observations). Her language use extended from 1 to 4 in the dialect - standard continuum. In the class she used a kind of SMG that could be characterised as a 4 in the continuum (Field Notes). Outside of the class though, she used the dialect a lot (1 in the continuum, Field Notes).

During the interview she was at ease with the major key points, communicated without difficulty what she wanted to say, and had a consistent and clear opinion about things. I noted in my journal: *"The interview with Anastasia has been very revealing; not only because she pointed out major aspects of my research but also because it reinforced my choice of research the students, to go back to the school and see how "real people" understand and experience the issues of ethnicity and language"* (May 2000).

When Anastasia was presented with the four texts, she recognised three out of four (SMG, CD and English) but mistook Turkish for English. She defined the SMG text as "Greek", the text in the dialect as "Cypriot", and the English text as "English". Anastasia also recognised the three different varieties (SMG, CD, English) in the oral channel.

When it came to associating groups of speakers with linguistic varieties Anastasia pointed out two major distinctions. First between Greeks and Cypriots, and second between villagers and people who live in towns. For the first case she connected the SMG text with the people of Greece, and used an explicit term (most common among the adults) to distinguish a person who comes from Greece:

"E: Who speaks like that?"

A: The Greeks (Elladites)

E: What do you mean "elladites"?

A: The people who are from Greece and not Cyprus"

The above reveals her linguistic awareness in terms of the fact that the people of Cyprus speak a somewhat differently from the people of Greece who are usually labeled as "elladites" by the Cypriots.

Although she associated SMG with the people from Greece she did not associate the text in the dialect with the whole of the Cypriot people. Rather, she connected it with a specific regional group, “those people from the villages”:

E: Which language is this?

A: Cypriot

E: It is Cypriot. Who speak like this?

A: Those people who are from the villages of Cyprus mostly.

E: Those from towns don't speak like that?

A: No, we don't.

E: We don't?

A: Maybe there are some, but mostly those from the villages speak like that.”

Obviously Anastasia chose to take distance from the dialect and associated it with the people from the villages only. “*We don't speak like that*” she said (meaning we, from the towns). One possible reason for her reaction might be that the specific text was in a more “heavy” form of the dialect (0 Continuum), whereas her speech extends in the dialect-standard continuum from 1-2 (break time, friends, family) to 3-4 (class, strangers). Another reason might be the lack of a formal written form for the dialect; not being familiar with this kind of writing, she chose to take distance from it.

This was confirmed with her reaction towards the oral text in the dialect. She immediately identified herself with the dialect and had no hesitation in admitting, “*this is how I speak*”. Also, she seemed willing to be identified with the text; she admitted that she spoke like that, but she pointed out that she used some features of the dialect as well (tze).

When I explicitly asked her about her own language use, Anastasia initially claimed that she was using the standard but with some words in the dialect. Specifically she said: “*Yes (I speak like that) but I might say “tze” and similar stuff*”. She was willing therefore to be partly identified with the standard, retaining at the same time her Cypriot linguistic identity by mentioning that she uses “tze”, one of the most common features of the Cypriot dialect. This remark reveals her language awareness, i.e. that she is aware of the differences between the two varieties, she knows that some linguistic features belong to the standard and others to the dialect. This awareness was revealed in another part of the interview when she said that in the Cypriot (dialect) “*there are words that the Greeks cannot understand*”.

In order to investigate that further, I asked her how she spoke on specific occasions and domains. Her words revealed the different function each variety has: “*In the class I speak Greek and Cypriot. I speak Greek to my teachers and Cypriot with the person who sits next to me in the class. I will speak Greek to someone I do not know but I use Cypriot with my friends during the break time*”. Here, we can clearly see the two different functions of each variety as

a dialect speaker expresses them. The standard is considered a more formal code (in the classroom and with strangers), while the dialect more informal.

Furthermore, Anastasia had strong values attached to each variety. She had positive language attitudes for SMG in issues of prestige, status and necessity. She pointed out that she would not prefer to use the dialect more in the class noting the usefulness and necessity of the standard: *"I have to learn to speak more beautifully, ... if I would speak only Cypriot then I would not be able to write correctly"* and *"it is more right to use the Greek language every time we speak"*. Her comments also revealed aesthetic criteria attached to the standard, which is *"beautiful"* and *"correct"*. What is positive in the standard is negative in the dialect, so she valued the dialect as not that polite: *"It is rude to speak in Cypriot, for example re inta pou kamneis ra"*¹⁴⁹.

All these variables of prestige, beauty, correctness and politeness (and the opposite) seem to contribute in issues of social use and language choice. It is not surprising then that Anastasia expressed concerns about her social image, about what people might think of her when she uses the dialect: *"it would be better (to use the standard more), there are many people that are very rude, so people might create a negative picture about you, so it is better not to speak Cypriot ...every time, since people might have a negative idea for you"*. However, Anastasia does not exclude the possibility of using the dialect, *"but limited"* since its use might create a negative social image. Here the issue of stigmatisation of the dialect and its association with values like *"rudeness, ugliness, etc."* emerges.

These attitudes were confirmed in the semi-match guise test, as well. Anastasia found the standard *"correct"*, *"sounding nice"*, *"polite"*, not *"ugly, rude, peasant"*, whereas she found the dialect not that correct (5/10), not sounding that nice (6/10), not that polite (5/10). In her view, it is a constant opposition between what is beautiful and polite on the one hand and ugly and rude on the other.

Although she held strong positive values towards the standard and some negative attitudes towards the dialect (i.e. *"a bit rude"*, *"not that correct"*), at the same time she paradoxically seemed sympathetic towards the dialect. She admitted she was using the dialect and at some stages of the interview she used the term *"normally"* to imply the dialect. It is obvious from the spontaneity of her answers that no matter what values she had for the standard; the dialect remained for her the *"normal"*, the *"regular"* code. Added to that, many times she stood up for the dialect, supporting it and revealing the attachment she held for this code. She said that she

would like speaking the standard but added, *“Cypriot is nice too”*. She also put the Cypriot code second in a rank between the three (first Standard, third English) because she argued that *“this is the way we speak every day, and it is good as well”*, adding that she felt more comfortable using the Cypriot. Her attachment toward the dialect was confirmed in the Focus Groups where she pointed out that *“if I try to speak, say I speak Greek not Cypriot, I will not speak so comfortable as I do now”*, and also *“(the dialect) has nice words”*.

Moreover, a closer look at her answers in the semi-match guise test, reveal that she retained close attachment to the dialect as the code she speaks (*“This is how I speak”*), as the code she feels more comfortable using (10/10) and as a code which is not “ugly, not rude, not peasant”.

Finally, in relation to the concept of speech accommodation, she noted the habit of the Cypriot people to accommodate to the Standard:

A: But there are many people who think that when you speak to someone who came from Greece you have to speak to him in Greek not to speak Cypriot.

E: What do you think about that?

A: I think that we have to speak in every way we know.”

Although she held some negative values about the dialect still Anastasia believed that people should speak in every way they know, implying that it is not always necessary to change the way you speak.

From the sometimes-contradicting comments of Anastasia a conflict is revealed between the standard and the dialect and the values she attributed to each. She attributes positive values to the standard by considering it the best, the most beautiful, the one we should use more often. But at the same time she retained a strong attachment to the dialect as the “normal” code of daily life, the one she used most of the time even though she sometimes found it rude, peasant and not that polite.

When Anastasia was confronted with the text in English she immediately recognised the language and associated it with the people who live in England. It is expected that the students recognise the language as from Year 4 they are taught English as a foreign language. Added to that they are exposed to English language through television, music and the pop-culture that is so popular among young people.

Anastasia claimed that she could speak English *“but not that well”*. Her reply revealed maturity and honesty since most of her classmates claimed that they could speak

¹⁴⁹ This phrase is in the dialect and it means “How are you”. However, the interesting thing in this sentence is not that it is in dialect only; it is in a specific speech style that can be found both in the dialect and in the standard and that is consider rude.

English¹⁵⁰. She said that English was useful for the tourists who come to Cyprus but, unlike most of the others interviewees who considered English as very important for their future (e.g. for further studies), she did not seem willing to learn to speak English very well, viewing it as almost opposed to Greek. The following extract notes her preference:

E: Would you like to speak English very well?

A: I like Greek language, I would like to learn it (English) but not like the Greek because I am supposed to be from Cyprus and more.

E: Right, good. Out of these three languages, which one would you say is the best, for you?

A: Greek"

These views were also expressed in the semi match guise test. Although she found English as "sounding nice" and "polite", she did not characterise it as "correct" and she kept a distance from it saying that she did not speak like that (1/10) and that she did not feel comfortable using them (1/10). She also put them last in a scale of which code is the best arguing that "*I put C (English) last because I do not like it particularly*".

As far as ethnic identity issues were concerned, Anastasia had a very good knowledge of the historic events featured in the photographs. She knew many things about the Greek Revolution against the Turks (1821), the Greek Cypriot struggle against the British colonisers in 1955-59 and the 1974 Turkish invasion. This is not surprising since these events are taught at school and her teachers confirmed that she was a very good student.

To describe the photographs about the Turkish invasion she used three important key words that are dominantly used in school, curricula and textbooks. She referred to the "*Turkish invasion*", the "*missing people*" and the "*refugees*". Her answer revealed that Anastasia was well informed the 1974 invasion:

"I know that the Turks made the invasion in Cyprus and that there are many missing people and refugees... They found an excuse that the Cypriots did not treat the Turks well, so they carried out the invasion with this excuse, but the real reason was for taking over Cyprus. But the Cypriots resisted and many people were killed..."

What is interesting in her comments is the use of the term "*Cypriots*" to describe the Greek Cypriots, and the term "*Turks*" for the Turkish Cypriots. There may be two reasons for this. First, that the two parts live completely isolated from each other and each one perceives its own part to be Cyprus. Secondly, many Greek Cypriots perceive themselves as the "legal" Cypriot citizens since after 1974 the southern part is recognised by the international community as the legal republic of Cyprus.

¹⁵⁰ This may be justifiable since in the eyes of the students knowing some words or phrases in another language may be considered enough for claiming that they speak the language.

The importance Anastasia placed on the political problem of Cyprus also emerged in the Focus Groups I conducted six months after the main fieldwork¹⁵¹. In the given scenario Anastasia gave the following information about herself:

“ I would say that I am Anastasia Ioannou... that I am eleven years old ... that we are from Cyprus, the town of Larnaka... and that the Turks occupied us, that they occupied half of Cyprus and that we still try to regain it but without war...”

We can therefore see that references to the political problem of Cyprus and the Turkish occupation seem to play major role in the description of her. Also very interesting is the way she switches from “I” (personal information about herself: name, age) to “We” (information about Cyprus), indicating that Cyprus and the political problem play an important role as identity markers for Anastasia.

When Anastasia was presented with the identity cards she was not hesitant in choosing the **Cypriot** first, then the **Greek Cypriot** and finally the **Greek**. She supported her choice for the Cypriot card arguing that *“ I was born in Cyprus, I live in Cyprus, I cannot say that I live in Greece”*. The most determining factor for her identity was the place she was born and the place she lived. This perspective was confirmed in the Focus Groups: *“Cypriots are the people who live here, who were born here and they still live here, who love their place ... they must be born here”*. However, she disagreed with the statement that all the people who were born in Cyprus are Cypriots. Instead she pointed some other aspects of Cypriot identity that go beyond place of birth: *“We are Cypriots because of our language, the Cypriot dialect, that we speak differently from Greece”*.

In this more subtle definition the importance of language (dialect) as an element of the Cypriot identity is noted. Furthermore, during the focus groups Anastasia pointed some other characteristics of what she considered as Cypriot: *“the Cypriot dances, the sowings ...that we do not want war in the Cypriot problem, we want a peaceful resolution...I like Cyprus because it is small, it has little population and it does not have any pollution, it has less criminality, it is more quiet”*. Here some characteristics that have to do with the way of life of the Cypriot people and their traditions are noted.

Although for Anastasia the Greeks *“are those people who live in Greece, were born in Greece and speak the Greek language”*, in her the Greek element seemed important as well. Anastasia said, *“the roots of the Cypriots are from Greece”*, and that *“I am also Greek, I am not only Cypriot”*, and elsewhere *“The Greeks and the Cypriots are the same, the Cypriots*

¹⁵¹ During the Focus Groups I tried to explore more ethnicity and all its components. Ethnic identity issues were approached indirectly (see Methodology) so there were no direct references on the political problem, Greece, Turkey, etc.

are also Greeks". Her answers reveal the existence of a dual identity: she is Cypriot because she lives in Cyprus and speaks the Cypriot dialect, but she is also Greek because her roots come from Greece. Specifically she said that both Cypriots and Greeks speak the same language, but with some differences and she also mentioned that Cyprus is an island of Greece but it did not make it to unite with Greece so it became independent.

There is a clear connection then in her mind between Cypriot and Greek identity. Language seems to play an important role in this connection. The following extract notes that:

"The Cypriots are also Greeks... the roots of the Cypriots are coming from Greece so if I say I am a Greek Cypriot it means that I am also a Greek...both of them (the Greek and the Cypriot) speak the same language, with some different phrases (dialect)...Cyprus wanted to unite with Greece but it did not make it at the end".

For Anastasia the dialect is the marker of Cypriot identity, but still this dialect is Greek (with some differences) and it connects the Cypriot people with the Greeks of Greece. Nevertheless, she appeared confused in defining the Greek Cypriot card. Specifically she said that Greek Cypriots are those people who were born in Greece and then they came to Cyprus. She was unsure about the language they speak and she said that they speak Greek and maybe Cypriot.

As far as the rest of the terms were concerned there were some interesting answers concerning the Turkish and the English cards. Anastasia used the following words to describe what a Turk is *"It is the person who fought against Cyprus but there are Turks who did not want us to be enemies...they live in Turkey and they speak Turkish"*. It is clear that the term Turkish is not a neutral one for Anastasia. For her the Turks are those who made the war against the "Cypriots", those who occupied half part of the island. However it is clear that she would prefer a more peaceful situation and she would not like to hear about wars and atrocities. *"I would not say that I feel animosity for them but I would prefer it there was not a war between us and if we could be two nations united..."*.

Anastasia was one of the few cases to distinguish successfully between a Turkish and a Turkish Cypriot. *"The Turkish Cypriots are like the Turks but they have one common thing with us, because the Turkish Cypriots were born in Turkey and then they came to Cyprus. They were raised here and made their family. So they speak Turkish and Cypriot and they now live in the occupied places and in Turkey"*.

Overall it can be argued that Anastasia's views reflect some wider sociolinguistic perceptions found in the Cypriot society, but most importantly they reflect the national language and educational policy making. Anastasia, a competent bidialectal speaker, values the formal code of the school more in terms of prestige, correctness and social mobility. At the same time, she undermines her own linguistic code that finds not that appropriate, associated with the

peasants. The school imposes on Anastasia a set of linguistic values that influence her perceptions towards her own linguistic varieties. However Anastasia retains a strong attachment towards the dialect for two mainly reasons. First, because it is the variety of home and therefore the one that she feels more comfortable using. Second, because the dialect is a marker of her identity as a Cypriot, spoken by all the Cypriot people and she feels a strong attachment to it.

Furthermore Anastasia appeared to retain a dual ethnic identity. She felt Cypriot because as she noted, Cyprus was her country and because she spoke the Cypriot dialect. She also felt Greek because the roots of the Cypriots were from Greece, and because she shared a common language with the Greeks. Evidently, language becomes both a separating and a uniting factor in her perception of Greek and Cypriot identities. It distinguishes Cypriots from the Greeks because of the differences in the dialect and the standard, but it also connects them because both varieties are Greek.

Appendix 3.14: Students' sharper profiles (Agis and Erato)

AGIS

"this ain't my real language, miss"

"εν ' εν η γλώσσα η άσνλά μου ..."

1) LANGUAGE AWARENESS

1.1). Labeling written texts:

SMG - *Greek*

CD - *Cypriot*

English - *English*

1.2). Associating texts with group of speakers

SMG - *Greeks*

CD - *Cypriots*

English - *English people*

1.3). Differences and similarities between the two varieties

Differences: *One is peasant (horiatiki) and the other is not, it is more polite.*

Similarities:

"E: Are these two related?"

A: Yes

E: How?

A: They have the same meaning"

1.4). Speech accommodation

He said that he uses "Greek" when he goes to Greece.

2). CLAIMED LANGUAGE USE (LANGUAGE CHOICE)

- *What language do you speak?: I speak Cypriot (Pre-test: Greek, Cypriot, English, Australian)*

2.1). Level of identification with the language

Standard written: **Medium**¹⁵²

Standard spoken: **Medium** (+-)

Dialect written: **Yes** (+) *"I use that one (CD) more"*

Dialect spoken: **Yes** (+++)

English: **Sometimes** *"Sometimes I speak like that, when I want to practice my English"*

Turkish: N/A

Different reaction in oral and written dialect: NO

¹⁵² E: Do you speak like that?

A: e, yes (not very confident)

... E: Do you like speaking in that way?

A: A little

2.2). Occasions each variety is used:

“I use that one (SMG) when I go to Greece, for trips. And I use Cypriot when I am home”

Class (to teacher): *Greek*

Class (teacher): *Greek... sometimes she uses Cypriot*

Class (to student mates): *Cypriot*

Break time: *Cypriot*

Home: *Cypriot*

Grandparents: N/A

Parents: N/A

With friends, play time: *Cypriot*

Restaurant: N/A

Strangers: N/A

3). LANGUAGE VALUES

Ling. Varieties	Positive	Middle	Negative
Standard (Wr)	More polite (for the school)	He said he liked speaking like that a little	
Standard (Sp)	10: Correct 9: Polite 1: NOT ugly, rude, peasant	5: I speak like that, Comfortable using second (2nd)	Does not like it when he uses it ¹⁵³ , not his country. 9: Embarrassed using ¹⁵⁴ 2: NOT sounding nice 1: would NOT like speaking like that
Dialect (Wr)	<i>I use Cypriot more</i> <i>I like Cypriot more</i> <i>I feel more comfortable using Cypriot</i> <i>I would prefer using Cypriot in the class</i> Polite (for me) <i>Cypriot is better, I prefer speaking them because I am Cypriot</i>		
Dialect (Sp)	10: Correct, sounds nice, I speak like that		10: Peasant ¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ E: Do you like it when you use it?

A: No

E: Why?

A: Because, let us say, it is not of my country

¹⁵⁴ *Because it is not my actual language*

¹⁵⁵ *“I put peasant because it is Cypriot and all the Cypriot people speak “horiatika”*

	<p>nice, I speak like that, polite, comfortable using, would like to speak it</p> <p>1: NOT ugly, rude, embarrassed</p> <p>the best (1st)</p>		
English	1: NOT peasant	<p><i>I speak it sometimes</i> <i>We learn it because we may go abroad for visit</i> <i>I find it easier than other languages that is why we learn it.</i></p> <p>5: Correct¹⁵⁶, Ugly, Polite, Comfortable (4)</p>	<p>10: Embarrassed, rude¹⁵⁷</p> <p>3: I speak like that, 1: NOT sounding nice, would not like to speak like that.</p> <p>Last (3rd)</p>
Turkish	N/A	N/A	N/A

Out of the three he said that he found Cypriot more comfortable using and better.

Prestige: Preference to the Dialect as the best

Aesthetics: He found the Dialect nice and beautiful

Social mobility: **Standard** (but not very strong about it, he said that we have to learn to speak politely)

Solidarity: **YES, very strong attachment towards the dialect as a marker of who he is.**

Comfortable using: **Dialect**

Association with Villages / Towns: NO

What would you prefer to speak in the class? **YES (Dialect)**

“E: Why you think we have to speak Greek in the class?

A: In order to learn to speak politely.

E: So when you speak in Cypriot you do not speak in a polite way?

A: No, for me it is polite.”

We have two kinds of polite here. The polite imposed by the school that expects students

learning and using the standard modern Greek and implying to them that their code is not that

polite. And the “polite” decided by the student who thinks that his code is polite but

acknowledges that this is his own personal view, *“for me it is polite”*

4). DOES THE CHOICE OF LANGUAGE INDICATE ANY ETHNOLINGUISTIC IDENTITY?

¹⁵⁶ Because I do not speak like that

¹⁵⁷ I do not like it

YES: Andreas was from the few cases where not only he identified with the dialect but he also had very positive values towards it and he had specific and consistent justifications for his opinion. The following extracts encapsulate his views:

1) *E: Which one you think is the best?*

A: Cypriot

E: Cypriot is better...

*A: Because **I am Cypriot***

E: So you prefer

A: to speak Cypriot

2) *E: Do you like it when you use it?*

A: No

E: Why?

*A: Because, let us say, **it is not of my country***

3). *(I put that B sounds nice, and so and so for A and C) because when I speak A or C may be my friends cannot understand me, so ..."*

4) *A and C are not my actual language ... επειδή εν' αιν η γλώσσα η άσυλά μου.*

5). FORESEEN CONFLICTS AMONG LINGUISTIC VARIETIES AS THEY ARE EXPRESSED BY THE SPEAKERS

He seemed at ease with all the varieties however his strong attachment to the dialect along with the fact that he considered it "peasant", and his statements that the standard is "not of his country" but at the same time is the variety he needs to use in the class in order to sound polite, all these indicate some kind of tensions and conflicts both within the varieties and between them.

6). ETHNIC IDENTITY (DIRECT AND INDIRECT APPROACHES)

6.1). Information they give for themselves:

Scenario: see focus groups sheets

Adjectives / Characteristics (TST):

I AM Anorthosi fun, twelve and half, athlete, Cypriot

I AM NOT untidy, from Nicosia, stupid

6.2). Ethnic Identity

Identity Cards:

Cypriot: *Because I am and will be Cypriot*

Greek Cypriot: *Because I speak mostly, I speak Greek and Cypriot, I do not speak Turkish or English*

Questionnaire:

One choice: **Cypriot**

Multiple choices: **Cypriot, Christian**

Definitions offered:

Greek: *Greece is one big country of Europe, Greek language is like the Cypriot one ... Greeks live in Greece.*

Cypriot: *They are from Cyprus, a small island ... they speak peasant Cypriot... and Greek*

Greek Cypriot: *I still have not learned that ... I suspect he speaks both Greek and Cypriot*
Turkish: *He comes from Turkey and he speaks Turkish. It is a big country with many people.*
Turkish Cypriot: *I do not know, I suspect that he likes both Turkey and Cyprus and he speaks both languages ... he may live in both countries.*
English: *He is from England, he speaks English*

6.3). Components of Cypriot identity

Historic Events:

1955-59: **So and so** (*there was a war with the English*)
1821: **SO and so** (*with the Greeks and the Turks*)
1974: **NO** (*There was a war with the English in Cyprus*)

Religion: N/A

The Greek element: Connection of Greek and Cypriot:

"Greek and Cypriot means almost the same, and if a Cypriot goes for example in England he will have difficulties in speaking, but if he goes to Greece he will be able to speak..."

Language: YES *Language has the same meaning ... Greek language is like the Cypriot one +*
"The relationship of Cyprus with Greece is that their languages have the same meaning"

(POST TEST)

Culture/ traditions:

Religion:

History:

Other:

The Turkish element (other):

"Turkish people may come here (that is why we have Turkish on our banknote).

Occupation: YES¹⁵⁸

Hostility:

Common grounds:

The European-Anglo element:

"E: Does the English have any connection with Cypriot?

A: None"

Liberation struggle:

Tourism: YES, *Many English people come here ...*

Studying:

7). LINK OF ETHNIC IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE

Andreas clearly identified himself as Cypriot and he made that clear in many instances of the interview that he felt Cypriot and was proud about it, *I am and will be Cypriot*. He also felt close to Greek Cypriot since he speaks Greek *"I do not speak Turkish or English"*.

¹⁵⁸ E: Do they have any relation with the Cypriot?

A: yes, they made a war

**Foreseen conflicts among ethnic identities as they are described by students: NOT
REALLY**

ERATO

"This is (SMG wr) like the way we speak now and that one (CD) is a bit peasant... I speak mostly that one (SMG) ... I never speak like that (CD)...not at home, not with my granny ... I never say "tze"... those who live in villages speak like that and they say "tze", they speak Greek but a bit different from us...A (SMG) is more correct than B (CD) because in B they say "tze"... and I do not like that, when I hear it on the TV I switch channels... it is rude, it is a shame to say "tze" to the others..."

1). LANGUAGE AWARENESS

1.1). Labeling written texts:

SMG: *As we speak now, Greek ... Cypriot*¹⁵⁹

CD: *A bit peasant, with tze*

English: *It is English*

Turkish: N/A -

1.2). Associating texts with group of speakers

SMG: *Me, my teacher, my classmates we all speak like that except Periklis and Evagoras*¹⁶⁰.

CD: *Those who live to the villages and they say "tee", Peasant (post test)*

English: *People from England-*

1.3). Differences and similarities between the two varieties

She confused the two varieties and had her own classification: she identified the way she talked (and her friends and most of the Cypriots) with the SMG (both spoken and written).

She rejected the dialect as something distant, spoken by peasants and inappropriate. She also took distance from the "real" SMG spoken by her two classmates.

1.4). Speech accommodation: N/A

2). CLAIMED LANGUAGE USE (LANGUAGE CHOICE)

2.1). Level of identification with the language

What language do you speak? *I speak Cypriot, like the* (points out the text in SMG) ... *I speak Greek, I do not say tee ...* (Consistent in the post test)

Standard written: **Yes (+)** , *I speak that one*

Standard spoken: **Yes (+)** *I speak like that* (semi match guise: 10)

Dialect written: **Sometimes**, *Sometimes I speak like that*

Dialect spoken: **No (-)**

English: Sometimes

Turkish: N/A

¹⁵⁹ When she says Greek she means the way she spoke, which is 2-3 in the standard-dialect continuum. She rejected the text in the dialect as peasant.

¹⁶⁰ *We, myself, my teacher, my classmates... we all speak Greek, except Evagoras and Periklis, they speak differently from us but they speak Greek.* (For her what she labels what she speaks as Greek but she distinguishes it from standard Modern Greek since she distinguishes the way two standard speakers speak).

2.2). Occasions each variety is used:

Class (to teacher): Greek

Class (teacher): Greek

Class (to student mates): Greek

Break time: Greek

Home: N/A

With friends, play time: N/A

Restaurant: N/A

Strangers: N/A

Other: N/A

3). LANGUAGE VALUES

Ling. Varieties	Positive	Middle	Negative
Standard (Wr)	She identified with it		
Standard (Sp)	<p>10: Correct¹⁶¹, Sounds nice, I speak like that, Polite, Feel comfortable using it.</p> <p>1: NOT ugly, rude, peasant, embarrassed</p> <p>The best (1st)</p> <p><i>A is more correct</i></p>		
Dialect (Wr)		<i>A bit peasant</i>	<i>I do not speak like that at all...</i>
Dialect (Sp)	1: NOT ugly	<p>5: Sounds nice¹⁶², Rude¹⁶³, Polite, Feel comfortable, Embarrassed, Correct</p> <p><i>B is so and so correct, sounds nice¹⁶⁴</i></p>	<p>10: Peasant</p> <p>1: DO not speak like that</p> <p>Last (3rd)</p> <p><i>I feel embarrassed¹⁶⁵</i> <i>I do not like hearing it¹⁶⁶</i></p>
English	1: NOT rude, peasant	5: Correct, Ugly, sounds nice, polite, comfortable,	1: DO Not speak like that.

¹⁶¹ "Because speech A is more correct, it's more correct, while B is so and so"

¹⁶² "Because they say tzai"

¹⁶³ "Because it is a shame to speak to the others and say tzai"

¹⁶⁴ Because they speak like "tzai"

¹⁶⁵ I do not like it when I hear the word "tzai"

¹⁶⁶ When I hear it on the TV I change channel.

		embarrassed Second best (2 nd)	
Turkish			

Prestige: SMG spoken

Aesthetics: SMG spoken

Social mobility:

Solidarity: SMG spoken

Comfortable using: SMG spoken

4). DOES THE CHOICE OF LANGUAGE INDICATE ANY ETHNO-LINGUISTIC IDENTITY?

Her responses to all the tests and interviews indicated that she seems a bit confused in naming each variety. She identified with SMG and said that all Cypriots speak like that, she said that the two SMG speakers did not speak like that and she rejected the dialect as inappropriate and rude. However, she pointed out a common thing among the three varieties that they are all Greek. She also identified the Cypriots in two categories, those who speak like peasants and those who speak “normally”.

5). ETHNIC IDENTITY (DIRECT AND INDIRECT APPROACHES)

5.1). Information they give for themselves:

Adjectives / Characteristics (TST):

I AM *Anorthosi fun, Cypriot, athlete.*

I AM NOT *from England* (2)

5.2). Ethnic Identity

Choice and rational:

Identity Cards:

Greek (“Because it is my language that I speak”) and **Greek Cypriot** . She chose **Cypriot** in the Questionnaire.

Multiple choices (questionnaire): **Cypriot and Christian**.

Definitions:

Greek: “It is the language that I speak most”

Cypriot: “Cypriots speak peasant, they say tee...”

Greek Cypriot: “It comes from the name Greek and Cypriot ...they speak like I speak and they also speak peasant... they live in Larnaka, Cyprus”

English: “They speak English and they live in England”

Turkish: “They speak Turkish and they live in Turkey”

Turkish Cypriot: “It is a person who is Turkish and Cypriot ...he lives in Cyprus, no in Turkey ... they speak Turkish”

5.3). Components of Cypriot identity

The Greek element: Connection of Greek and Cypriot:

Language: yes¹⁶⁷

Culture/ traditions: no

Religion: no

The Turkish element (other):

Occupation: yes¹⁶⁸

Hostility: (not very strong about it, in the post test descriptions when she described Turkey she only referred to the earthquakes)

Common grounds:

The European-Anglo element:

Liberation struggle:

Tourism:

Studying:

6). *THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE*

Erato considered herself Cypriot (indicated in many different tests) but she did not connect her identity with the Cypriot dialect. On the contrary she rejected the dialect as peasant and inappropriate. However she identified the Cypriot people with another linguistic variety (closer to SMG written - because she was not identified with the SMG spoken by standard speakers) and that was not closer to the variety spoken in Greece because in many instances she differentiated the way Cypriot people speak. Erato considers herself Cypriot who speaks Greek that are not “peasant” and do not include “tze”, but at the same time are not the same as the Greek spoken in Greece.

¹⁶⁷ “The Greeks speak a different language and the Cypriots also speak differently, but the words we say are the same, only that they use “tzei”

Also in the post test descriptions she said that in Greece they speak Greek but they have a bit different attitude (than us).

¹⁶⁸ *The Turks took over our villages, half part of Cyprus and we are struggling to get them back.*

APPENDIX II: The Teachers of the School

Appendix 4.1: Teachers' attitudes on language use, language teaching and language policy

Although the focus of the study was the students, I thought that I had also to explore some aspects of teachers' values regarding language, language policy and the tensions between Dialect and Standard. As I could not record comments from these informal discussions, which would reveal these values, I decided to purposively aim to unravel them, using questionnaires.

From this questionnaire exploration of the teachers' language attitudes, it emerged that they held positive values towards the Standard in everything related to status and prestige. However they identified the Dialect as the variety they mostly use, and they all recognised the Standard as indicating distance (Figure A1). Although initially they all claimed to use the Standard in the class (Figure A2), in a more detailed question about language use it emerged that both the Standard and the Dialect had a place in teachers' language use, identifying the existence of an intermediate variety¹⁶⁹ they would use (Figure A2).

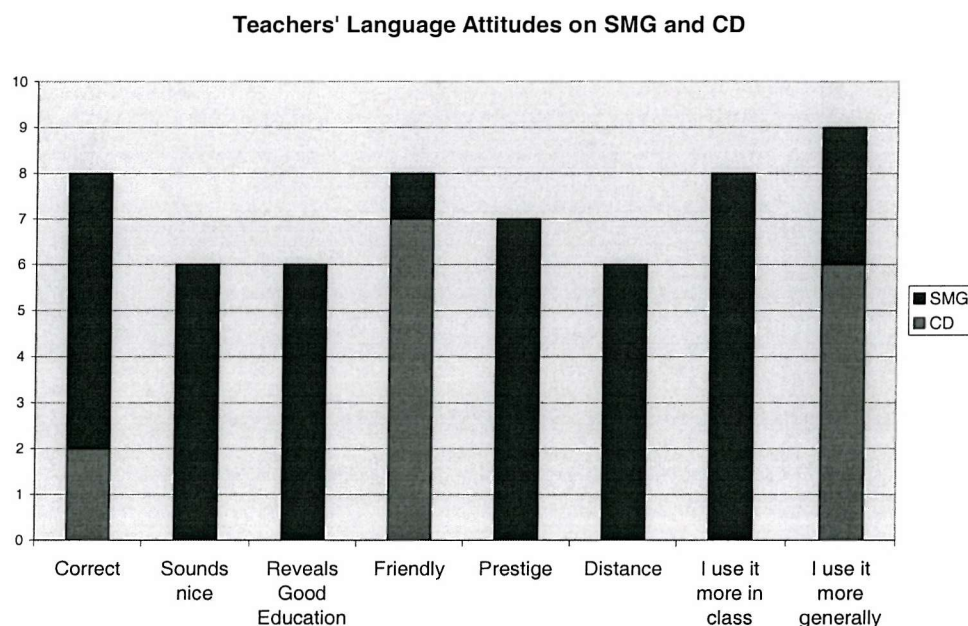


Figure A1

¹⁶⁹ This intermediate variety seemed appealing to the teachers, even when they described their language use outside the class. So, whereas in Table 1 the majority of them claimed to use the Dialect more in their lives, some of them shifted to a preference towards the intermediate variety to describe their language in break-time. It can be argued that this was due to the fact that the domain of school is generally more formal so the use of intermediate variety could be considered more appropriate. My break time observations, where I noted that all the teachers used the Dialect in different levels, confirms in a way the above assertion, since the 'intermediate variety' indicates the different levels between the Dialect and the Standard that can be applied when speaking.

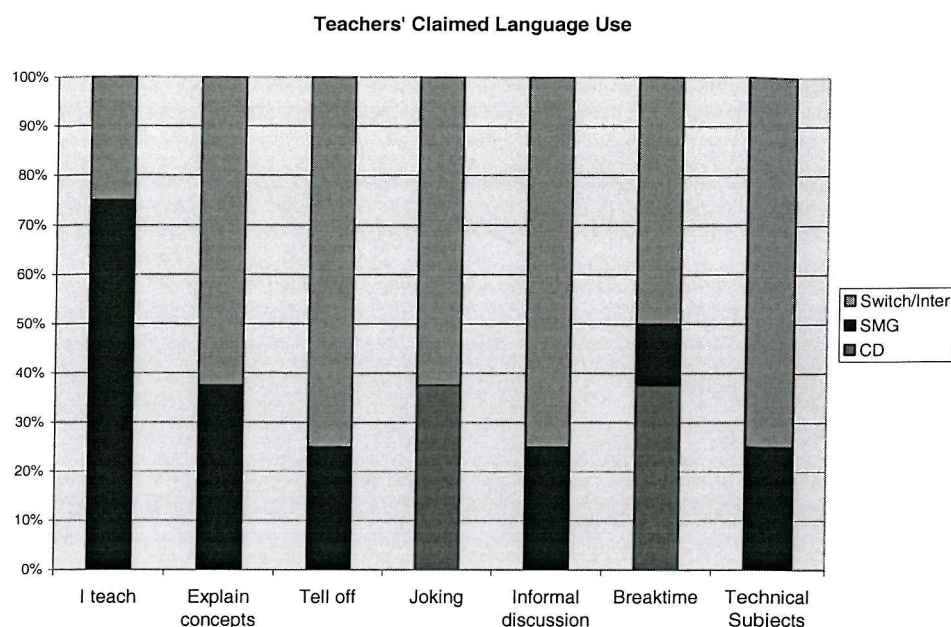


Figure A2

With reference to teachers' classroom practices, and their attitudes towards the use (or not) of the Dialect by the students in the class, there was a division of opinions. Three of the teachers appeared to be against any use of the Dialect by the students and fully supported the Standard, while two were more lenient towards the Dialect and argued that they would accept it in their class; the other three were positioned somewhere in the middle. This division among the teachers was also confirmed when it came to the variety the students should use in the class. There was a diversity of opinions amongst them concerning whether the students should be allowed or not to use the dialect in the class (Figure A3: C1) and an even bigger discrepancy when it came to whether they should correct the use of the dialect in the class (C2).

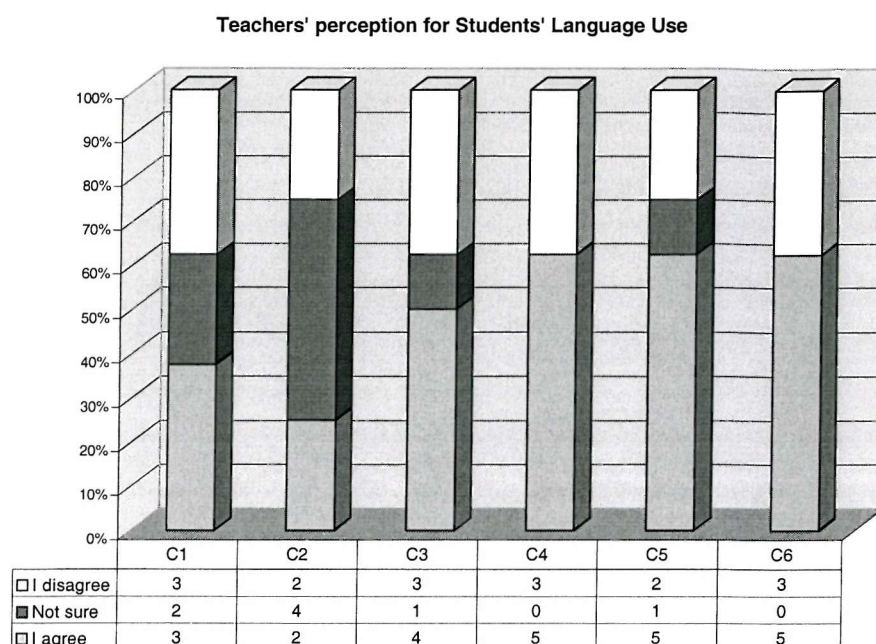


Figure A3¹⁷⁰

Nevertheless, there was a consistency amongst the individual teachers' answers since those who supported the Standard (Tilemahos, Mihalīs, Miria), did it throughout the different questions posed to them, while those who were more lenient towards the dialect (Miria, Aspasia, etc) retained their attitude until the end. Where most teachers seem to agree, was that the dialect interference made the acquisition of the Standard by the students more difficult (C5) and that the Cypriot students were lacking in their oral expression comparing to their peers from Greece (C6). This was confirmed in another part of the questionnaire where all the teachers evaluated students' competence in the Standard as low and insufficient. Here they explain their reasons.

- *"Because the spoken language is Cypriot, the children have difficulties in learning the Standard" - Aspasia*
- *"The problem of diglossia is a restraining factor. The language that the student listens to at home, influences to a high degree its own language" - Artemis*
- *"There are difficulties since the children are confused regarding language use since they listen to one thing, they speak another and they write another. Even the syntax is different. Instead of enriching their vocabulary and the concepts they learn, we try to correct their syntax and replace the Cypriot words with others of the modern Greek" - Dora*

¹⁷⁰ C1: 'We should not allow the students to speak Cypriot in the class'

C2: 'The teachers should correct students' expressions in Cypriot in the class'

C3: 'The students should be let (**allowed?**) to express themselves freely, using Cypriot, if that helps them to express themselves better'

C4: 'The Cypriot Dialect interference possibly makes the acquisition of the Dialect more difficult'

C5: 'The oral expression of the Cypriot students lacks significantly from (**was less fluent than?**) the oral expression of the students from Greece'

C6: 'The books *My Language* do not correspond to the distinguishing features of the Cypriot space'

Additionally all of them seemed positive towards the idea of introducing the dialect at the school, mostly in the form of literary texts for study, stressing that it was important for the student to learn about their cultural heritage. Ms Artemis for example mentioned, *"some texts should be introduced. There are important authors who wrote in the Cypriot Dialect"*. Similarly, Ms Eleftheria pointed out, *"I think it should be introduced with the teaching of Cypriot literary text, because if the existing situation continues, then the Dialect will be forgotten, with all the richness and tradition it carries"*.

Although the number of the teachers was small and there is no intention to generalise or identify wider trends, the replies of this small sample from the school of 'Polis' raise a number of issues. Most importantly, there is an uncertainty about the practices they apply in the classroom regarding the issue of the Dialect and the Standard. As has been seen there was a diversity of opinions regarding the acceptance or correction of the Dialect in the classroom, which raises questions about the effectiveness? of the policy guidelines reaching practitioners. The majority of these teachers (six of them) reported that the ministry did not have a specific policy regarding the use (or not) of the Dialect in the classroom. In addition there was diversity in their answers regarding the issue of following or not the language policy of Greece. Three of the teachers were against this, arguing that Cyprus has its own distinct realities. Three seemed to agree and the other two were someone in the middle, arguing that the Cypriot language policy should 'select' only the positive aspect of the Greek linguistic policy. Most of the teachers however agreed that the current language textbooks, sent from Greece, are not suitable for the Cypriot context (C7: Figure A3). Therefore, it can be argued that even among this small number of teachers the appropriateness of the language policy and its very existence in terms of guidelines for practice is in doubt. Finally, all the teachers appear to attach values to each variety, valuing the Standard in terms of prestige and appropriateness for education, but on the other hand using the Dialect extensively in their informal discussions.

APPENDIX III: The School and the Class

Appendix 5.1: School formal celebrations

Name	Description
1. Agiasmos for the beginning of the year	A priest comes and makes a short service to 'bless' the beginning of the new school year (first week of the first term)
2. Independence Day	The 1 st of October 1960 is celebrated as the day in which the Cyprus Republic was formed
3. National anniversary for the 28 th of October and celebrations of the Flag (Simaias)	The beginning of the fight of Greece against the Italians during the Second World War, that lead to the victory of Greeks is celebrated
4. Christmas celebration (last week of the first term)	Celebrating the birth of Jesus and New Year
5. Birthday of Ethnarhi Makarios (19 th January)	Honouring the first president and archbishop of Cyprus republic in 1960.

Appendix 5.2: Examples from teachers' discussions in staff room

Event 1, Staff Room, 12/4

Mr. Tilemahos starts talking about the issue of the 'missing people'¹⁷¹ (people who went missing during the Turkish invasion in 1974) and Mihalis, Miria and Aspasia join the conversation. They all seem disappointed that nothing can be done to resolve this issue and that the families will never know what happened to their relatives (Aspasia). Then Mr. Tilemahos points out that 'those who are responsible should see these' (implying the responsibility of some Greek Cypriots in the events prior to the partition).

Event 2, Staff Room, 19/5

Mr Petros, Ms Dora and Ms Artemis talk about the transfers (metathesis) of the teachers from one school to another. Then Mr Mihalis joins in and says that if it was possible he would like to be placed in the school of Rizokarpaso (this is a village in the northern part of the island where there are still some Greek Cypriot families living there and there is a Greek primary school as well).

¹⁷¹ People who went missing during the invasion of Turkey in 1974. This is a main political issue for the Greek Cypriots who demand to know what happened to nearly 2000 people during the events of 1974.

Appendix 5.3: Time-table of class E'

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Maths	Greek	Maths	Greek	Greek
Geography	Greek	History	Greek	Greek
PE	Maths	Greek	Art	Maths
History	Music	Greek	Art	English
Greek	Science	English	Music	House Econ. /
Greek	Science	PE	Maths	Design & Tech.
Religious St.	Maths	Geography	Activities	Religious St.

Appendix 5.4: Thematic analysis of textbooks

Thematic Analysis of Year 5 Textbooks 'My Language'

Thematic Units	Number of Texts
About Children	8
Science, technology (before, after)	7
Immigration	7
Historic / National events (28 th October, Politehnio, Greek revolution)	7
History - past – Archaeology	6
Peace, Anti-war	6
Travelling, adventures	5
Stories from family, working people	5
Nature	4
Symbolic stories (with animals)	4
Traditions / Religion (Christmas, Easter)	4
Life with other people, importance of life	3
Greece at past	2
Future, space	2
TOTAL	70

Themes from 'Do not Forget and Struggle Textbook' (Year 5-6)

A Short Reference in the History of Cyprus (p.8-15)
The Coup, the Invasion and Refugees (p.16-38)
Missing People (p.39-47)
The town of Kerynia (p.48-77)
Pentadaktylos mountains (p.78-86)
The plain of Morfou (p.87-95)
The Mesaoria valley (p.96-119)
The town of Ammohostos /Famagusta (p.120-143)
The Rizokarpaso area (p.144-172)
Struggle for Return (p.173-189)
Appendix- Consequences of the Turkish Invasion, some statistics (p.193-196)

APPENDIX IV: Language Variation in the Class

Appendix 6.1: Dialect linguistic Index

The most commonly referred to dialect markers as they were recorded in the fieldwork

Overall List of Dialect Features from 8/3, Focus and Field Notes			
CD	SMG	Description	Other similar features
τζαι	Και	K --- τζ morphology	90 τζείνη (12), τζοιμάσαι
εν	Είναι	Different form of verb	72
ξέρω το	το ξέρω	Different order of verb object	59
εβλέπαμεν	Βλέπαμε	Addition of ε +	58
έν' να	είναι να = θα	different form of verb	57 που' να (3), ήταν ννα (5)
εν το θέλω	δεν το θέλω	drop of δ	51 εν τζαι (10), έθθα (2)
Όι	Όχι	drop of -χ-	43
Έκαμα / κάμνω	έκανα / κάνω	v --- μ	34
Έφυες	Έφυγες	drop of -γ-	31 πηαίννει, λλίο, εβλοημένο,
Που	Από		22
μεν το	μην το	η --- ε	20 έξερα, έθελες
Λαλεί	Λέει		20
Αρμα	Όταν	old words	18
Τούτα	Αυτά	old words	15 τούτο, τούτος, πο τούντο
Πολλά	Πολύ		15
εν' εν	δεν είναι		15
Στες	Στις	ι --- ε	14 πάλε, τες, ξύλενουν, ξίχασες
Έσσει	Έχει		13 είσσιες, είσσιε
Πέσουσιν	Πέσουν	addition of -iv	12 αρκέφκουσιν, κάμνουσιν
Βάλλω	Βάζω	ζ --- λλ	10
Αρέσκει	Αρέσει	addition of -κ-	10 μερκάν, χωρκάτικα
Τζιαμαί	Εκεί		8
Υστερα	Στις		7
Πιάννω	Παίρνω		7 έπιασα, πίασει
Ονειρεύεσαι	Ονειρεύεσαι	β --- φκ	7 δυσκολεύκεται
Ακούσετε	Ακούσατε	α --- ε	7 είδετε
Είνταλος	Πώς		6
Έτο	να το		6
Τωρά	Τώρα	change in stress	6 μπόρεις, εμείναν
Φκαίννω	Βγαίνω	βγ --- φκ	6 φκήκετε, φκάλλει, φκουν, εφκίκασιν
Αρκέψουν, αρκέφκουν	Αρχίσουν, αρχίζουν	χ --- κ, ι --- ε,	6 αρκέφκουσιν, αρκεφκουμέν
Μιλούμε	Μιλάμε	α --- ου	5
Κάθονται	Κάθονται	ο --- ου	5 φαίνονται, στέκονται, στέκουν
Έρκεται	Έρχεται	χ --- κ	4 έρκονται
Ιζητήσε	Ζητήσε	addition of ι+	4 ιμπορεί,

Appendix 6.2: Categorisation of the main dialect features

Cypriot Dialect (CD)	Standard Modern Greek	English	Comments
CATEGORY A: VERBS			
A1: Features Related to the verb «To Be»			
εν (en)	είναι (ine)	Is	
εν να (en na)	είναι να / θα (ine na = tha)	will	Future tense
εν εν (en en)	δεν είναι (den ine)	isn't it	Negation
ήταν να (itan na)+ ρήμα (π.χ. ήταν ννα πάω)	Θα + παρατατικός ρήματος (π.χ. θα πήγαινα)	I would+ past present verb	
Που ννα (pu 'na)	pu ine na (otav tha)	when will	
A2: Features related to the verb «to Do»			
Έκαμα (ekama) 'Εκαμες (ekames) 'Εκαμε (ekame) Εκάμαμεν (ekamamen) Εκάμετε (ekamete) Εκάμασιν/εκάμαν ekamasin / ekaman)	Έκανα (ekana) 'Εκανες (ekanes) 'Εκανε (ekane) Κάναμε (kaname) Κάνατε (kanate) 'Εκαναν (ekanan)	I did You did He/she/it did We did You did They did	Verb «Do» in Past Simple
Έκαμνα (ekamna) 'Εκαμνες (ekamnes) 'Εκαμνε (ekamne) Εκάμναμεν (ekamnamen) Εκάμνετε (ekamnete) Εκάμνασιν/εκάμναν (ekamnasin / ekamnan)	Έκανα (ekana) 'Εκανες (ekanes) 'Εκανε (ekane) Κάναμε (kaname) Κάνατε (kanate) 'Εκαναν (ekanan)	I was doing You were doing She/he/it was doing We were doing You were doing They were doing	Past Continues form of verb "Do" (while in the Standard the verb has the same form for past simpla and past continues, the dialect retains different forms of the verb for the two tenses)
A3: Features related to the verb « to Have»			
'Εχω (Eho) 'Εσσιεις (Ešis) 'Εσσιει (Eši) 'Εχουμεν (Ehumen) 'Εσσιετε (Ešete) 'Εχουν/ έχουσιν (Ehun /ehusin)	'Εχω (Eho) 'Εχεις (Ehis) 'Εχει (Ehi) 'Εχουμε (Ehume) 'Εχετε (Ehete) 'Εχουν (Ehun)	I have You have He/she/it has We have You have They have	

Λαλεί (lali)	Λεεί (lei)	Say/tell	All the forms of the verb 'to say'
Θωρώ (thoro)	Βλέπω (blepo)	I see	All the forms of the verb 'to see'
Εβλέπαμεν (evlepamen)	Βλέπαμε (vlepame)	we were lookin''	prefix ε+ in front of past verb (M)
Βρίσκουσιν (vriskusin)	Βρίσκουν (vriskun)	They find	- ουσιν (--usin) verb ending: 3 rd person Plural
Βάλλω (vallo)	Βάζω (vazo)	I put/I place	Change of z to ll (ζ→λλ) "βάλλω τους τόνους"
CATEGORY B: NEGATION «NOT = DEN»			
Εν το θέλω (en to thelo)	Δεν το θέλω (den to thelo)	I do not want it	Drop of first letter from negation
Εν τζαι (en tze)	Δεν και = δεν (με έμφαση) (den with emphasis)	'not and' (with emphasis)	
Εν εν (en 'en)	Δεν είναι (den ine)	It is not	"εν εν αλήθεια"
Έθθα (etha)	Δεν θα (de tha)	It will not	
CATEGORY C:			
C1: Drop Of Consonants Between Two Vowels			
Έφυες (efies)	Εφυγες (efiyes)	You are gone	drop of -y
Πηαίνουν (pienoun)	Πηγαίνουν (Piyenoun)	They go	(πτώση -γ-)
Εβλοημένο (evloimeno)	Εβλογημένο (evloyimeno)	blessed	
Κλείει (klii)	Κλείνει (klini)	It is closing	drop of -n (πτώση -v-)
Φόο (foo)	Φόβο (fono)	fear	drop of -v-
C2: Transforming The «I» Into «E» (I, H → E)			
Μεν (Men)	Μην (Min)	Not	η → ε
Έξερα (Exera)	Ήξερα (Ixera)	I knew	Change of 'i' sound (as in 'big') to 'e' (as in red)
Έθελες (etheles)	Ήθελες (itheles)	you wanted	

Στες (Stes)	Στις (Stis)	At	ι → ε
Πάλε (Pale)	Πάλι (Pali)	Again	Change of 'i' sound (as in 'big') to 'e' (as in red)
Τες (Tes)	Τις (Tis)	(female plural preposition)	
Ξύλενος (xilenos)	Ξύλινος (xilinos)	wooden	
C3: Change in κ (k) → τζ (tz)			
Τζαι (tzai)	Και (Kai)	and	
Τζείνη (tzini)	Εκείνη (ekini)	her	It also changes for him, it, they
Τζει (Tzi)	Εκεί (eki)	there	
Τούρτζοι (turtzi)	Τούρκοι (turki)	Turks	
CATEGORY D1: LEXICAL DIFFERENCES			
Πολλά (polla)	Πολύ (poly)	a lot /many/much	"εν πολλά ωραίο"
Που (pu)	Από (apo)	From/ when	"είμαι που την Κύπρο"
Πιάννω (pianno)	Παίρνω (perno)	I take	"έπιασα τον τηλέφωνο"
Βαρετό (vareto)	Βαρύ (vary)	heavy	
Λαλεί (lali)	Λεεί (lei)	Say/tell	All the forms of the verb 'to say'
Τούτα (tuta)	Αυτά (afta)	These	
Θωρώ (thoro)	Βλέπω (blepo)	I see	All the forms of the verb 'to see'
Ει στην (ei stin)	Στην (stin)	At	"επ'α ει στην Αμερική"
Σαν (san)	Όπως (opos)	Like	"Σαν επ'αιννα σπ'ιτι"
Πόθεν (pothen)	Από πού (apo rou)	where from	"πόθεν είσαι"
CATEGORY D2: IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS			
Έτο (eto)	Να το (na to)	there it is	
Τζιαμαί (tziamai)	Εκεί (eki)	there	
Ποδά (potha)	Απο εδώ (ap'edo)	from here	
Δαμαί (dame)	Εδώ (edo)	here	
Είντα λος (intalos)	Πώς (pos)	how / in what way	"είντα λος να το κάμω κυρία;"
Τέλλεια (tellia)	Εντελώς (entelos)	completely	"εν τέλλεια λάθος τούτο"
Οζά (oxa)	Ή (')	Or	"να το κάμω έτσι οζά έτσι;"
Γηά το ένα γηά το άλλο(gia)	Ή το ένα ή το άλλο	Either the one or the other	

Με το ένα με το άλλο (me to ena me to allo)	Ούτε το ένα ούτε το άλλο (oute to ena oute to allo)	Neither the one nor the other	
Καλό (Kalo)	Τότε (tote) βέβαια (bebaia)	then sure	"καλό τι θέλεις;" "έλα τώρα, καλό"
'Αδε (athe)	Κοίταξε (Koitaxe)	Look	
CATEGORY D3: FAMILY TERMS			
Παπάς (papas)	Μπαμπάς (Mrampas)	dad	
Μάμια (mamma)	Μαμμά (mamma)	mum	
Ανίψια (Anipsia)	Ξαδέρφια (xatherfia)	cousins	
Αρφούες (arfoues)	Αδερφοί/αδέρφια (aderfoi/aderfia)	Brothers	
CATEGORY E: DIFFERENCES IN STRESSING OF WORDS			
Τωρά (tora↓)	Τώρα (tora)	Now	
Μπόρεις (mporis ↑)	Μπορείς (mporis)	You can	All the forms of the verb 'can'
Εμείναν (eminan ↓)	Εμειναν (eminan)	They stayed	
CATEGORY F: SYNTACTIC DIFFERENCES			
Ξέρω το	Το ξέρω	I know it	In the dialect the article goes after the verb

Appendix 6.3: Examples of teachers' talk in Class E

A. EXAMPLES OF TEACHERS TELLING OFF STUDENTS IN CLASS

Examples 1-6 are translated into English but the rest are in Greek.

(1). Geography, 22/5

Telling off a girl for closing her notebook and not doing her work:

“το τετράδιο σου **έννα** το **πιαω** να το κάμω **θκνό κομμάθκια**, έτσι να θυμάσαι ότι το αφήνουμε ανοιχτό, **όι** σαν το **πατσιαούρι τζιαμαί**”

(your notebook **I will take it** to **make it two pieces**, so as for you to remember that we leave it open, **not** like a **rag there**)

(2). Greek, 6/3

Telling off a boy for being distracted.

“**τζοιμάσαι τζ’ ονειρεύκεσαι**”

(you sleep and you dream)

(3). Greek, 21/3

Telling off a girl for hiding her notebook during the dictation of the spelling

“ποιος **εν** **που** **’ννα** **δει** **τζαι** κρατάς το τετράδιο; **φύε** το να μπορείς να γράφεις τουλάχιστον”

(who **is going to** see **and** you hold the notebook? **Leave it** so you can see at least)

(4). Greek, 21/3

Telling off two boys for talking to each other during lesson time and not paying attention

1. “**εν τζαι** **εσιώπησεν** η γλώσσα σας εσάς τους **δύο** (your tongue **is not silent** you two)
2. **έτους πάλε** **πουρ πουρ πουρ** (there they are again bla bla bla)
3. **τωρά** **που** **έννα** **πιάτε** **δέκα** **που** τα είκοσι όμως, **έθθα** σας αρέσει (now that you will get ten out of twenty though, you will not like it)
4. **τζαι** **κατώτερα** (even less) They go on talking
5. κύριε ελεήσον (Jesus Christ)
6. **πέστε** μου **είντα** **που** **ννα** **κάμω** μαζί σας σήμερα (tell me what will I do with you today)
7. **πέστε** μου για να **μεν** σας στείλω κάτω (tell me so as not to send you downstairs)

(5). Greek, 16/5

The students are writing their «I think and write» essay. It is very quite in the class, some students from other class pass outside and they make a lot of noise. The teacher goes out and tells them off

«γίνεται να **μεν** φωνάζετε;»

(6) Greek, 16/5

The student complete their essays and rush to give their notebooks to the teacher. She tells them: «μεν σιασιάρετε, έχετε ακόμα λίγα λεπτά, μεν μουρμουράτε» (3)

(7) Ελληνικά, 16/5: «άμα σου γυρίσω μιαν ανάποδη» – Στο Γιώργο

(8) Γεωγραφία, 22/5. «τέλειωνε, αν ετέλειωσες κάτσε» (σε ένα μαθητή που πήγε να ξύσει τα μολύβια του την ώρα του μαθήματος.)

(9) Γεωγραφία, 22/5 «ετέλειωσες, εποσπάστεις;» (ρωτά ένα μαθητή αν τελείωσε τις εργασίες που τους έβαλε)

(10) Γεωγραφία, 22/5 «το τετράδιο σου έννα το πιάω να το κάμω θκύο κομμάθκια έτσι να θυμάσαι ότι το αφήννουμεν ανοιχτό, όι σαν το πατσιαούρι τζιαμαί» (telling off Elena for closing her notebook and leaving it aside instead of doing her work)

(11) Ελληνικά, 6/3: «μολυβόπεννες που 'σεις ρε»

(12) «τζοιμάσαι τζ' ονειρεύκεσαι» (ίδιο)

(13) «εποσπάστεις;» (ίδιο)

(14) Ελληνικά, 15/3: «κάτσε ρε Γιώργο, κούμπα μπροστά» ()

(15) Ελληνικά, 15/3 «ρε έδωκα γυρό τζαι εν το ήβρες ακόμα;»

(16) Ελληνικά, 15/3 «έσσεις ώρα για κουβέντες;»

(17) Ελληνικά, 15/3: «η υπομονή έχει τζαι όρια, έσσει που το πρωί ξημέρωμα που παίζετε»

(18) «Νικόλα μου, είδες τα πού είναι; Έτα ρε που να μείνουν εβλοημένα» (ίδιο)

(19) Ελληνικά, 21/3: «ε εν τζαι εσιώπησεν η γλώσσα σας εσάς τους δύο (π) έτους πάλε πουρ πουρ πουρ, τωρά που έννα πιάτε δέκα που τα είκοσι όμως, έθθα σας αρέσει, τζαι κατώττερα (συνεχίζουν να μιλούν), κύριε ελεήσον, πέστε μου ίντα που ννα κάμω μαζί σας σήμερα, πέστε μου, για να μεν σα στείλω κάτω»

B. EXAMPLES OF TEACHERS' TALK IN 'ACTUAL LESSON'

(1). Design and Technology:

Πόσους έχουν μείνει τα πόδια τους ακόμα (τα πόδια των τραπεζιών που φτιάχνουν) (π) της Ελένης, του Δημήτρη, του Αλέξανδρου, ου πολλοί (π) το λοιπόν, θα βάλω εκείνους που δε θα χρειάζονται βοήθεια, τώρα να φέρετε να σας δείξω

How many have their legs still (not yet still attached to the table they are making)? (p) Eleni's, Dimitris's, Achilleas's, oh many (p) right I will have those who do not need help now to bring it <here> to show you

(2) Science:

Τι καταλαβαίνετε παιδιά (...) τι καταλαβαίνουμε με αυτές τις δύο λέξεις; (π) τι σημαίνει πεπτικό σύστημα; (...) μέσα στον οργανισμό μας λειτουργούν διάφορα συστήματα, ένα από αυτά είναι και το πεπτικό σύστημα, σκεφτείτε να δούμε, ποια είναι η λειτουργία αυτού του συστήματος, (...) κοιτάξετε τις εικόνες και σκεφτείτε

What do you understand children (...) what do we understand with these two words? (p) what does digestive system mean? (...) in our organism they function several systems, on of these is also the digestive system, let us think, which is the function of this system? (...) look at the pictures and think.

(3) Maths:

1. T: Κι έτσι ως τώρα έχουμε τελειώσει τον πολλαπλασιασμό με την πρώτη θέση που είναι οι μονάδες και η δεύτερη που λέει δεκάδες, και μας μένει το τρίτο ψηφίο των εκατοντάδων (π) ακούω κάποιον που εν είπε ως τώρα (π) Βασιλείου

(So, until now we have finished the multiplication with the first position which is the monades and the second which says decades and <it remains the third digit of hundreds (p) I hear someone who did not talk so far (p) Vasiliu)

2. Anastasia: δύο φορές τέσσερα οκτώ
(two times four, eight)
3. T: οκτώ, είναι θέση εν τούτη Βασιλείου εδώ;
(eight, what position is this Vasiliu here?)

(4) Music:

θέλω είπαμε, να υπενθυμίσω κάτι (p), να υπενθυμίσω κάτι, είπαμε η πρώτη στροφή θα είναι επανάληψη, δηλαδή (...) θα είναι σιγά στην αρχή, (...) όι επιάσαμεν το λλίο χαμηλά. (...) σιγά και να τονίζετε, ακούστε το, όχι ακούστε το

(I want, we said, to remind something (p) to remind something, we said <that> the first verse will be repeat, in other words (...) it will be slow at the beginning (...) no we have it a bit low (comments about the tone they sing) (...) slowly and stress, listen to it, no, listen to it)

(5) Music:

Λοιπόν ακούστε, είναι πολύ σημαντική η αρχή, ακούστε με μια φορά. (...). Τονίζετε από την αρχή, και μετά τη δεύτερη φορά δυνατά, έτοιμοι ξανά, Άγη. (...) Πολύ ωραία.

(right, listen, it is very important the beginning, listen one time (...) stress from the beginning, and then the second time loud, ready again, Agi (**tells him off**), very good)

Appendix 6.4: Examples of students' talk in Class E

Example 1, 'Orestis'

δε γίνεται ο Πύραμος να τραβήξει σπαθί και να σκοτωθεί επειδή οι κυρίες έννα τρομάζουν (*it is not possible for Píramos to take out the sword and be killed because the ladies will be scared*)

Example 2, Achilleas

1.1.1.1.1 Achilleas: «και για πιο καλύτερη ασφάλεια» (and for better security)

Teacher: ναι (yes)

Achilleas: ε, το «πιο» εν εν ανάγκη να μπει (em the “pio” does not have to be there)

Teacher: α είδετε, είναι γραμματικό (...) (ah, you see it is grammar)

Example 3, Froso

Teacher: εντάξει τί είναι το λάθος; (ok what is the mistake?)

Froso: το λάθος είναι ότι εν μπορεί κάποιος να παραστήσει τον τοίχο (the mistake is that someone cannot act out a wall)

Example 4, Anastasia

Anastasia: ότι έστησαν τη σκηνή και είχαν (*that they put the stage and they had*)

Teacher: δε θα έστηναν απλώς εκεί στο χώρο, θα έκαμναν δοκιμή (*they would not just put it there in that place, they would do a rehearsal*)

Anastasia: θα εκάμναν δοκιμή και εκεί θα (π) και εκάμαν, εμ, εντύνουνταν (*they would do rehearsal and there they would p and they did, em, they got dressed up*)

Example 5, Aggelos

T: μαζέψτε τα φυλλάδια να μην τα χάσουμε (collect the sheets not to loose them)

Aggelos: έτα κύριε, εν ούλλα δαμαί (here they are sir they are all here)

T: φέρτα να δω (bring them to see)

Example 6, Lydia

Γιατί μπορεί να μην, αν δεν τα χωνεύουμε (π)→ έθθα μπορέσουν να φκουν που μέσα μας (because it might not if we do not digest them → they will not come out of us)

Example 7, Demos

στη γωνιά, που κάτω που την πόρτα (in the corner, from under from the door)

Example 8, Agis

εν εκατό φορές παραπάνω (it is hundred times more)

Example, 9: Group Work

Achilleas: Κυρία εν γίνεται να χρησιμοποιήσουμε μολύβι; (miss, isn't it allowed to use pencil?)

Teacher: Εννα έρτει πολύ μικρό το σχέδιο (the drawing will be very small)

Καλά, ξεκινάτε όπως νιώθετε άνετα, αλλά εγώ επιμένω (fine, begin with the way you feel comfortable but I insist)

Giannos: *Κυρία άμα κάμουμε λάθος;* (miss, if we make a mistake?)

Teacher: *Άμα κάμουμε λάθος με παστέλ τι κάμνουμε;* (if we make a mistake with pastels what do we do?)

(...)

Teacher: *Βάζουμε άλλο χρώμα από πάνω, το παστέλ σβήνει το παλιό το χρώμα* (we put another colour on top, the paster <can> erase the old colour)

Patroklos: *Ε μα το μαύρο κυρία;* (but how about black, miss?)

Teacher: *Καλά, εντάξει έννα διορθωθεί μετά* (fine, all right it will be corrected later)

Evagoras: *Κυρία γίνεται να (π) αντί για παστελ να χρησιμοποιήσω χρώμα γιατί δε βρίσκω μαύρο;* (miss, can I, instead of pastels to use colouring pencils because I cannot find black?)

Aggelos: *Να σου δώκω εγώ ρε* (I will give you re)

Appendix 6.5: Dialect disapproval Incidents

Example 1, Design and Technology 19/5

The students are tidying up their tables. Erato asks the teacher what they are going to do next and the teacher tells her off for using the Dialect:

Erato: *κυρία τι έννα κάμουμεν* (miss what **are we going to do**?)

T: *OXI TI ENNA KAMOYME, τι θα κάμουμε* (NOT «WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO», «what are **we going to do**¹⁷²»)

Example 2, Science 21/3

Students were asked by Mr Tilemahos to name some food with starch:

S1: *η, ε, νόμπου τη λαλείς; η φατζιή* (the, **how do you call it? lentils**)

T: *η φακή* (lentils)

Example 3, Greek 12/5

The reading aloud continues by the students (SMG). Ifigenia is now reading (SMG) but she reads something “wrongly” (Dialect). Everyone is laughing so is Ifigenia corrects her “mistake”:

1. *Ifigenia: και μπλέκανε μεσ' τα πόθκια*, (**and they were in the feet**) **students are laughing, Ifigenia laughs too**
2. *εεε, πόδια τους* (ee, their **feet**)

¹⁷² Ms Charis tells off a student for using dialect variants while she used one of the dialect features used by Erato (to do: kamoume). As Ms Artemis in extract 21 (p.146), her disapproval is directed for only one dialect feature ('enna' = will). This tendency has been noted by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) among the teachers in the Caribbean.

APPENDIX V: Students' Ethnic Identities

Appendix 8.1: Results of 'I am not' ten statement test

NAME	Interests	Characteristics	Status	Nationality
Menelaos	do not like vegetables	stupid (1), gay (2), bad student (3), skinny, do not like annoying people, do not hang out with stupid people		
Aphrodit	do not like winter and fall, do not like sweets	Ungrateful (1), closed to myself (2), forgetful (3), naughty, bad student, do not like to be disturbed, never forget my good friends, emotional		
Aggelos	do not like handball, boiled food, theatre	girl (1), untidy (3), very tall, fat, slow		French (2) from Limassol
Anastasia	fun of any team (2), athlete	untidy (1), naughty, ugly, liar, making fun of the others, bad person		from Paphos (3)
Lydia		untidy (1), selfish (2), naughty (3), ugly, liar, making fun of the others, hitting people, bad person, shouting, adults hitting children		
Dafni	beans	untidy (1), ugly (2), clever - nerd (3), pleased with myself, perfect, do not like being interrupted, complaining, yelling, hurting people		
Froso	do not like Geography, sweets, Fall	ugly (1), selfish (2), blond (3), bad person, fat, mean, do not like fighting with my friends		
Nefeli	not a fun of any team	easily believe people (1), naughty (2), easy character (3), untidy		
Tefkros	Omonoia fun (1), football, basketball, cycling, video games	athlete (3), a bit naughty, pay attention to the way I		Cypriot from Larnaka (2)

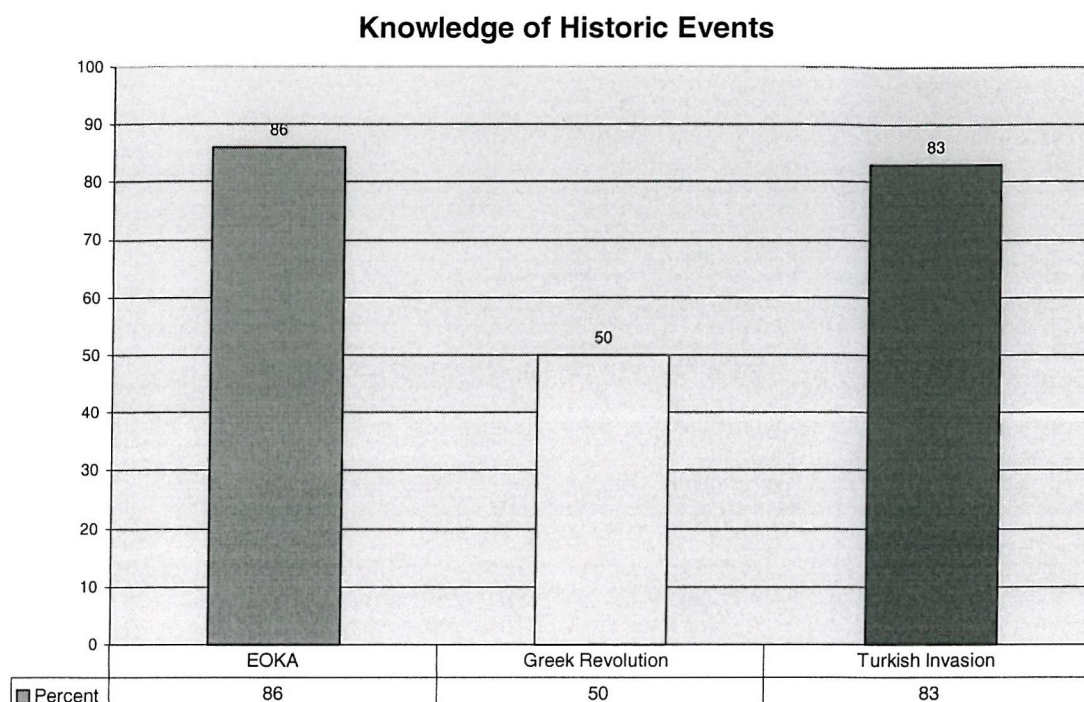
		look	
Demos	athlete (2), footballer (3) , do not like volleyball, good painter, do not have a computer	good student (1) , very handsome	
Stella	do not like rose ice-cream	bad student (1), mean (2), love money (3) , ugly, selfish, untidy, pretending to be smart, hate the others	from England (my mum is)
Anna	do not like beans,	pretty (1), good student (2) , naughty boy do not like being shout of	from Nicosia (3)
Katerina	not a fun of any team, do not like being alone	untidy (1), careless (2) , ugly, mean, do not like hurting people, do not like to show off, do not like speaking badly to others	from Paphos (3)
Orestis	do not like math, basketball, lentils, staying at home, dark colours	mean (2), naughty (3) , short, ugly	from Paphos (1)
Ifigenia	not with Anorthosi, do not like mushroom	untidy (1), ugly (2) , bad student, thief, hypocrite, stubborn, quiet	from Nicosia (3)
Erato	do not want to study medicine, do not like mushroom, not with Omonoia	naughty (1), untidy (3) , bad student, do not like being misunderstood, ugly	from England (2), from Greece

Appendix 8.2: Students' knowledge of historic events

1. Knowledge of 'Historic' Events

As mentioned before, in the current Greek Cypriot educational rhetoric three historic events related to the contemporary political history of Cyprus are promoted and taught. First the 1821 Revolution of the Greeks against Ottoman Rule and the resulting formation of the Greek state; second the 1955-59 liberation struggle of the Cypriot (=Greek Cypriot) people against British colonial rule; third, the 1974 'Turkish invasion' and partition of Cyprus. As was already seen students made references to some of these events in their descriptions of the different ethnic identities given to them. In other words they connected the 'Turkish' and 'Turkish Cypriot' identities with the 1974 event, while they made associations between the English identity and the colonial liberation struggle of the 1955. My rationale was to examine this further and explore students' frames of reference regarding these events and the possible effects they might had on their preferred (or rejected) ethnic identities.

From students' knowledge of historic events (see figure below), it emerged that the majority of them were very well informed about the EOKA (1955 liberation fight) and the 1974 Turkish invasion events providing full and detailed descriptions for each of them. In contrast only half of the students provided accurate description of the 1821 Greek Revolution



1.1 The EOKA Liberation Struggle

The students had a detailed knowledge for the EOKA struggle of 1955, since this event is highly promoted and taught in schools. Students learn about the EOKA, the Cypriot liberation army that fought against British colonisers to free Cyprus and they study 'all those heroes who gave their lives in achieving this'. The promotion and teaching of the liberation fight was intensified during the Right Wing Government that claimed credit for the organisation and realisation of the struggle (Mavratsas, 1996).

Students' descriptions portrayed the English as the 'enemy' that held Cyprus under rule, and the Cypriot (= Greek Cypriot) people as the heroes who fought against foreign rule, using the terms 'us' and 'our country' to refer to Cyprus and to Greek Cypriot people. "*The Cypriots revolted against English in order to **free our country***", Lydia argued. Similarly Patroklos pointed out "*In 55-59 the liberating struggle of EOKA took place because the English were occupying us and we wanted to be free*". Other students provided more detailed narratives referring to the dream Greek Cypriots pursued for uniting with Greece. Aggelos's account is an example:

"It was when the English bought us from Turkey, because Turkish owed some money to the English and they sold us, and we let them sell Cyprus because we

thought that they would unite us with Greece, we wanted to unite, but they did not accept so the liberating struggle 55-59 took place."

Nevertheless, despite the strong rhetoric in education, which as the students' descriptions suggest, is influential on students' sense of history, as was seen in the previous section the students retained a rather positive, but distant positioning towards the English identity, indicating that despite the strong rhetoric, they retained their own voice on how they viewed this identity.

1.2 The 1974 "Turkish Invasion"

"the invasion happened, we have many refugees and missing people and many people were killed, the Turks came into Cyprus because they wanted to take it over, they envied our freedom (...) I think this was not right because all the islands, all the countries want to live freely" – Lydia

As expected, students were well informed about the 1974 events providing rich and detailed descriptions that were often associated with intense feelings. As was seen in chapter five, the 1974 events are widely stressed in the school context, as well as in the media and in the daily life of the Cypriot people. Because it happened relatively recently and its consequences (i.e. partition, refugees) are still present and real in students' daily life, it is not surprising that they appeared so well informed. In order to show the intensity in students' narratives regarding the 1974 events, I formed a 'Word Map' (see figure below) from the words the students used to describe this event.

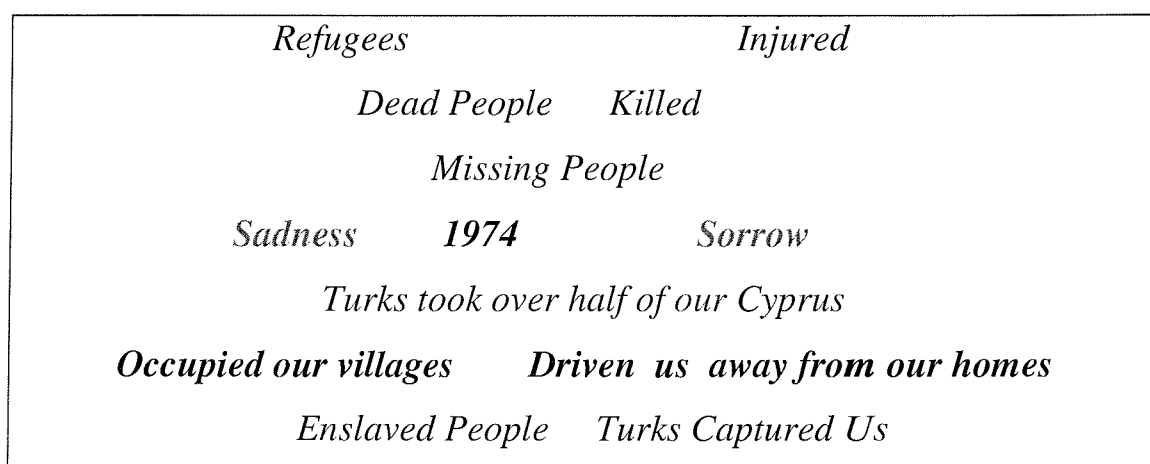


Figure: Word Map for the 1974 Events

Nearly every student had his or her story to tell regarding the 1974 war in Cyprus, something that was already seen in students' descriptions of 'Turkish' identity. The

common theme in all stories was the Turks as invaders, coming and occupying half of Cyprus, as the following examples show:

- *“Cypriot people fought against the Turks in order to free Cyprus, the Turks won and took over half of our Cyprus” - Ifigenia*
- *“The Turks came and they did the invasion in Cyprus, then they enslaved half of our Cyprus, now we cannot go in our occupied villages, the Turks have them and they guard them” - Perseas*

A common theme in all the narratives was the concept of 'our island', 'our Cyprus', 'our country', a terminology revealing students' attachment to Cyprus and strengthening their identity as Cypriots. A terminology however that also revealed a strong political rhetoric in which Cyprus in its majority belongs to the Greek Cypriot peoples.

Furthermore, the consequences of the invasion were stressed by all the students, such as refugees, the missing people, those who were killed and suffered. Katerina for instance mentioned, *“I know that the Turks came to Cyprus to capture it and there are many families that are refugees because the Turks took their houses”*. Similarly Patroklos pointed out:

“I know that in 1974 the Turks took half of our Cyprus from us and many people stayed in the half part, others were driven away from their villages and many were killed, others were injured.”

Evidently, many students put the blame on the Turks as the 'external' and 'powerful' enemy who envied their country and occupied a part of it. Giannos's words encapsulate this:

“The Turks came, they took over Cyprus for the, because we had many beautiful, em, many sights, beautiful stuff in Famagusta, in Kerynia, these now they are in the towns that they have taken away from us”

Additionally, a number of students expressed disappointment and sorrow for what has happened to Cyprus, showing that they emotionally participated in the event and its consequences. Anastasia for example noted,

“I feel that it is so sad that young people were killed. Their mothers for example go now to Ledra Palace¹⁷³ and they cry. I feel sadness. But we always retain hope”

¹⁷³ A part of the Green Line where many protests against the Turks take place

In the same way but being a bit more critical and hostile towards the Turks Orestis pointed out: *“I am moved when I hear about these things because let us say, the occupied people managed to survive the barbarisms of the Turks for so many years”*.

Finally Menelaos expressed his opinion about how things should be done in the future in order to have justice:

“Half part of Cyprus has been occupied by the Turks and now many refugees, and basically all the habitants of Cyprus want to go back to the occupied places in order to know and see their belongings again. These refugees, especially the missing people, have to be set free, those who are alive in other words, and the refugees have to return back to their houses because they are their fortunes and they belong to them.”

1.3 The 1821 Greek Revolution

Although most of the students appeared very well informed for the two events outlined above, this was not the case for the 1821 Greek Revolution. Although all three events are taught and promoted in schools (and there was a special event organised to the school to honour this event), only 50% of the students provided accurate descriptions of this event. This may be due on the first hand to the fact that this event referred to Greece, and Cyprus did not have any direct involvement in it, or because compared to the other two it was rather old.

Many students, like Nefeli, provided inaccurate descriptions for this event, pointing out, *“Greece was set free from the English”*, instead of the Turks. Others confused it with the 1955 events in Cyprus like Ifigenia who noted, *“it was when Markos Drakos fought, oh no, Karaolis, Mpoumpoulina brave people, they fought the Turks in order to free Cyprus”*. Finally many students provided very short and incomplete accounts like Perseas, who mentioned, *“The first Greek war happened with Papaflessa”*.

Nevertheless the other 50% of the students did provide accurate and detailed information; those students belonged to the top achievement groups, reflecting the input school provided to them. All, mentioned the 'revolution' of the Greek people against the Turkish rule and stressed their bravery and courage:

- *“In 1821 the Greek Revolution took place, the Greeks who were slaved by the Turks raised in order to send them away from their country”* - Orestis

- *“In 1821 the Greek Revolution took place when the Greeks, after 400 years of slavery under the Turkish “boot” achieved to free at least Pelloponisos and afterwards the rest of Greece” - Menelaos*
- *“There was a war in Greece and many heroes became great and bright examples for us” - Lydia*

Overall from students' accounts on the three historic events the following points can be made. First, that students appeared better informed on the events related to Cyprus (i.e. 1955 and 1974). Second, that although in both the liberation struggle and the 1974 war students described the struggle of the Cypriot people against an external enemy, they appeared more emotional and intense of the Turkish invasion. This can be explained in a number of ways. England and the English people are not generally regarded as an enemy in the wider Cypriot context. Turkey, in contrast, is considered the enemy not only because of the long past warfare tradition between Greece and Turkey but also because the political problem in Cyprus remains unresolved. Thirdly, their descriptions of the Greek Revolution were accompanied by positive feelings of admiration for the Greek people and parallel consideration of the Turkish as the 'mean enemy'. This indicates students' affiliations towards Greece and the Greek people and can be connected to the strong Greek element identified in their shaped ethnic identities.

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