

Capitalising on linguistic diversity via a bidialectal
intervention programme to improve linguistic performance
and sociolinguistic awareness in two proximal varieties

Ioli Ayiomamitou

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DECLARATION

I confirm that this thesis represents my own work, that where the language of others is used, quotations marks so indicate, and that appropriate credit is given where I have used the language, ideas, expressions or writings of another.

I confirm that the thesis describes original work that has not been previously presented for the award of any other degree of any institution.

Ioli Ayiomamitou

ABSTRACT

Extensive theoretical and empirical research conducted in settings where proximal varieties are used simultaneously has highlighted the benefits associated with capitalising on linguistic diversity in education. In fact, long-standing research on bidialectal models of instruction which use the dialectal native variety in tandem with the standard language has shown that linguistic diversity, when recognised, respected and promoted, can improve students' scholarly performance dramatically, while promoting social, cultural, pedagogical, cognitive and linguistic advancement. Yet, national policies on language and literacy curricula still reinforce approaches which favour the standard language(s), while linguistic bias and oppression still occur, even when bidialectal education policies are part of official language policies: evaluations on theoretically bilingual/bidialectal programmes point to covert monolingual/monodialectal aims, screening and assessment methods.

Addressing a gap in research, this study seeks to examine how bidialectal education affects first (D1) and second (D2) dialect learning and whether there are differences in first dialect production between children who have received bidialectal schooling and children who have received monodialectal schooling. A partly experimental bidialectal intervention project was carried out in the bidialectal setting of Cyprus implementing a mixed methods design, with one hundred and nineteen (119) fifth-grade Greek-Cypriot primary school students divided into an experimental and a control group. Data collection took place twice via unstructured written and oral tasks in D1, the Cypriot Greek (CG) dialect, and D2, the Standard Modern Greek (SMG).

The results of the intervention reiterated the benefits of bidialectal education for the maintenance and development of both first and second dialect. Experimental students showed increased ability to distinguish between their D1 and D2, which led to diminished dialectal interference in standard oral and written production and more register-appropriate dialect use in written dialect production. This study has both theoretical and practical educational implications. As regards its theoretical implications, the study proves that the meaningful co-existence of two or more languages or varieties in education not only does not hinder, but may well facilitate the learning of all varieties involved. As regards the implications of the study for educational practices, bidialectal language awareness methods can be incorporated in language teaching for the purpose of enhancing performance in the standard school variety while maintaining and promoting bidialectal learners' performance in their native variety.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

acc.	accusative
fem.	feminine
fut.	future tense
gen.	genitive
imp.	imperative
impf.	imperfective
masc.	masculine
neut.	neuter
nom.	nominative
past	past tense
perf.	perfective
pl.	plural
pres.	present tense
sg.	singular

AAE	African American English
AAE	Australian Aboriginal English
AAVE	African American Vernacular English
AE	African English
ALA	Association for Language Awareness
CERE	Centre of Educational Research and Evaluation
CG	Cypriot Greek (dialect)
CMC	Computer Mediated Communication
D1	First dialect
D2	Second dialect
ESL	English as a Second Language
EU	European Union
FELIKS	Fostering English in Kimberley Schools
FF	False Friends
GC	Greek Cypriot

GLM	General Linear Model (test)
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
KEEP	Kamehameha Early Education Program
K-S test	Kormokorov-Smirnov test
L1	First language
L2	Second language
LA	Language Awareness
MoEC	Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture
NALDIC	National Association of Language Development in the Curriculum
PISA	Program for International Student Assessment
SAE	Standard American English
SDA	Second Dialect Acquisition
SES	Socio-Economic Status
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SMG	Standard Modern Greek
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Rationale of the study

In recent years, considerable research has been devoted to linguistically diverse settings in which regional, social or ethnic linguistic varieties are used alongside a standard variety of the same language. Researchers have particularly aimed to identify whether the bilingual advantage, which has strong empirical support (Bialystok, 1988; Bialystok, Craik and Luk, 2012) extends to speakers of proximal dialectal varieties¹ (Antoniou *et al.*, 2014, 2016). The educational implications of the coexistence of such varieties have also received a great deal of research attention. Indeed, in the domain of education, research has focused on exploring the inequities and obstacles faced by nonstandard-speaking students, who are some of the neediest members of linguistically diverse communities. The aim has been to shed light on such questions as which code to use as a medium of instruction, what the best policy is for such settings, and how nonstandard-speaking children could be supported, so as to attain literacy skills and enhance their overall school performance (Siegel, 1999b, 2008; Rickford, 2001).

The standard versus nonstandard debate in bidialectal contexts has been linked to educational underachievement, with the co-existence of standard and dialectal grammar giving rise to problems in educational systems that are predicated on the use of the standard varieties, an after-effect of the fact that literacy has typically been identified only with competence in the standard (Edwards, 1989; Yiakoumetti, 2006). Inevitably, this has led to anachronistic educational systems that sought to reduce departures from the standard by establishing prescriptive language policies which enforced exclusive use of a monolingual standard variety in formal education, even when the standard was external to the country in which it was taught (Cheshire, 2007; Yiakoumetti, 2012b). However, despite efforts to ban nonstandard varieties from the classroom (Ndemanu, 2015), dialect speakers continued to consistently exhibit underachievement in the school when compared with their standard-speaking peers (Cheshire *et al.*, 1989; James, 1996).

Much research has suggested that dialectal diversity may often have favourable learning outcomes and, in particular, that there is merit in assessing the potential of bidialectal

¹ The terms ‘dialectal varieties’ or ‘dialects’ refer to distinct varieties (or versions) of a language and are used in this thesis interchangeably with the theoretically and politically more neutral term ‘nonstandard varieties’. Nevertheless, the term ‘dialect’ should be understood herein as a descriptive term, not a value judgement indexing the negative connotations the language-dialect dichotomy implies.

approaches which embrace linguistic diversity in formal educational settings. Studies carried out in various linguistic settings have clearly indicated that, far from impeding scholarly performance, dialectal diversity in education may, in fact, lead to academic advancement. Rather than being detrimental to literacy growth – as argued by proponents of monodialectism – bidialectal approaches appear to improve literacy skills while affording additional educational, social and cultural benefits (Rickford, 1999; Papapavlou and Kouridou, 2007; Watts, 2007). Specifically, in Cyprus, Yiakoumetti (2006, 2007) demonstrated that the experimental introduction of bidialectal education (deploying the Cypriot Greek dialect alongside Standard Modern Greek) led to higher academic achievement in terms of the targeted standard variety. In Australia, Malcolm and Truscott (2012) provided evidence of positive influences on repertoire building after a bidialectal programme deploying Australian Aboriginal English alongside Standard Australian English was introduced. Similarly, in Canada, improvement in Standard Canadian English reading skills was recorded when Canadian Aboriginal English was used alongside Standard Canadian English in bidialectal programmes (Battisti *et al.*, 2011; Ball and Bernhardt, 2012).

Previous research on bidialectal education has thus far focused exclusively on its effects on the students' performance in their second variety, namely the standard variety, while ignoring students' performance in their first variety altogether. Existing evaluation reports on bidialectal models invariably focused on the assessment of children's proficiency in the standard only. This confirms that language proficiency and literacy have been equated with the acquisition and enhancement of the standard; academic achievement is judged on the basis of the mastery of the standard and the effectiveness of a bidialectal model derives from its capacity to facilitate the acquisition of the standard (Siegel, 2012).

Although previous research into bidialectism is indeed crucial, its limitations stem from its monolingual objectives and assessment measurements, despite claims to the opposite. In fact, when these policies were actually implemented, their initial aim of biliteracy was largely overlooked in favour of the learning of the standard, albeit this time covertly practiced. The rhetoric of bidialectal education for biliteracy was either not realised or, at best, rarely thoroughly assessed. All in all, although to date, cumulative evidence points toward the fact that bidialectal education facilitates the acquisition of the standard (Rickford and Rickford, 1995; Rickford, 1999; Yiakoumetti, Evans and Esch, 2005; Cheshire, 2007), previous research seems

to have hitherto disregarded or superficially addressed the influence of bidialectal education on the learners' native varieties.

Albeit being a dominant model, bidialectal education has not yet attracted sufficient investigation into all of its components. Systematic educational and psycholinguistic research is still needed to explore empirically the fullest potential of this model for the education of linguistically diverse communities. In other words, if a model is to be called bidialectal and aspire to cultivate biliteracy, then it needs to target the balanced acquisition of both varieties and develop adequate assessment methods to explore whether it is mutually beneficial in creating skilful speakers both in the standard and in the naturally acquired linguistic variety. This will only become possible if the focal point is removed from the standard and is expanded to explore the possibility of enriching students' knowledge in their first dialect (henceforth D1) by exploiting the bidialectal learning model. Only then will we be in the position to speak of a true bidialectal education and gain a better understanding of its possible pedagogical implications.

The present bidialectal intervention study aims neither to dismiss nor downgrade the contribution of bidialectal intervention programmes in enhancing scholarly performance in the second dialect (henceforth D2). Rather, this study proposes that the focus of such programmes might be broadened so that they may support children in enriching the knowledge of their native varieties as well, which is in fact the desired outcome of true bidialectal programmes. Reinforcing bidialectism through a truly bidialectal model which capitalises on linguistic variation would allow children to fully benefit from advantages associated with linguistic diversity: it would facilitate access to the linguistic richness of their entire linguistic repertoires and motivate them to draw on their various languages and literacies for effective communication in various (linguistic) contexts. Acquiring the linguistic and literate capacity to interact bidialectally is expected to ultimately lead to gains with respect to children's linguistic confidence and self-respect. Having said that, promoting children's native varieties and cultural identities is a critical step toward equal linguistic rights (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 2008; Devonish, Daley-Morris and Carpenter, 2015). In light of this, the present study sought to investigate concomitant effects of bidialectal education in students' performance in both varieties.

1.2 Purpose and significance of the study

The current investigation aims to fill a gap in research by examining – through a Language Awareness Bidialectal intervention programme – whether bidialectal education facilitates the acquisition of both D1 and D2 and whether there are any differences in D1 and D2 performance levels between primary school students who received bidialectal and monodialectal instruction. The proposed programme is truly bidialectal in that it adheres to the principles of linguistic diversity, not only on the level of language instruction and teaching but also on the level of assessment, as it aims, alongside the evaluation of the students' D2, to obtain measurements for their performance in D1.

This study was driven by two research questions, which will be fully explored in Chapter 5:

1. What is the effect of bidialectal education on students' oral and written performance in their second dialect, namely the variety of education, and what changes does this programme effectuate in their awareness of their first dialect? How does bidialectal education affect learners' oral and written production in both linguistic varieties?
2. Which lexical and grammatical changes were effectuated in the students' oral and written D1 and D2 after the intervention?

The present study was carried out in the Greek-speaking part of the island of Cyprus. As will be explained in the next chapters of this thesis, Cyprus is home to two main ethnic communities, the Greek Cypriots (henceforth GC) and the Turkish Cypriots; since 1974, following the Turkish invasion, the GCs and the Turkish Cypriots constitute two distinct linguistic communities which have separate administrative and educational systems (Karyolemou 2001; Goutsos and Karyolemou, 2004). The focus of the study is on the GC community of Cyprus and therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, reference to the terms Cyprus and Cypriot/s must be understood to refer only to the southern, Greek-speaking part of the island. The educational and sociolinguistic landscape of Greek-speaking Cyprus rendered it a suitable setting for this study, as it requires and supports linguistic diversity. In particular, Greek-speaking Cyprus is a bidialectal community where a standard variety, SMG, exists side by side with a nonstandard variety, the Cypriot Greek dialect (henceforth CG). These two proximal varieties are used on a daily basis and mastery and manipulation of these varieties is a requisite skill for GCs.

SMG and the CG dialect are genetically related varieties which, however, exhibit differences on all levels of linguistic analysis (Phonology/Phonetics, Morphology, Syntax, Lexicon/Semantics). They also exhibit differences in terms of role and status within the community: SMG is one of the two official, codified languages of the state (the other one being Standard Turkish). SMG is typically used for formal purposes such as administration, the media and education, while the CG dialect is the Greek-Cypriots' native variety, which is employed in everyday oral interactions. Being a native variety, the CG dialect is naturally acquired, while the standard variety is typically added to the GCs' repertoire as a second dialect when they start school (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2005; Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou and Kappler, 2011) (see chapter 4 for an exploration of the sociolinguistic nature of the GC community).

Apart from having sociolinguistic characteristics which are in line with the focus of this research, education in the GC community is representative of most bidialectal settings in which language policy disproportionately focuses on students' standard variety. Specifically, similarly to other learners in bidialectal educational settings in various contexts around the world (Yiakoumetti, 2012a), GC children are treated as monodialectal rather than bidialectal speakers by being educated exclusively through the medium of the standard variety (Hadjioannou, 2009). Relevant empirical studies have shown that bidialectal education improves the students' performance in SMG (Yiakoumetti, Evans and Esch, 2005; Yiakoumetti, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Papapavlou and Kouridou, 2007); however, these studies did not involve assessment of the students' performance in their native CG dialect.

This study suggests that, due to the fact that the two linguistic varieties in the GC community assume distinct functions and that the CG dialect is increasingly being used in new domains such as the media and internet-based communication (Themistocleous, 2007, 2010; Sophocleous and Themistocleous, 2014), it is highly important that children master both; the study also proposes that the improvement of GC students' performance in their D1 should be an important objective alongside the cultivation of increased (meta)linguistic and sociolinguistic awareness (so that the students are able to recognise not only the structural properties of both varieties but also under what circumstances the one or the other variety is preferred).

This study implemented a bidialectal language programme that embraced linguistic diversity in the classroom and aimed at promoting the learning of both the first and the second dialect of the students. In essence, the first pillar of the programme refers to the incorporation of the students' D1 into the learning process as a teaching tool and a learning objective alongside the D2: by

means of conscious contrastive language teaching, both SMG and the CG dialect were allocated comparable amounts of teaching time. At the same time, the programme's second and most innovative pillar involves the use of appropriate assessment methods for the evaluation of children's linguistic competencies with an eye to investigating the potential effects of the proposed model of teaching on D1. The study is significant both for the local context of the GC community and its educational system, which served as the setting for this exploration, as well for the wider research field of educational linguistics. In relation to the local setting, the characteristics of the CG dialect and its speakers have not yet been fully investigated. In addition, although research regarding dialect and classroom interactions in the Cypriot setting has flourished since the 1990s (Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2010; Tsiplakou and Hadjioannou, 2010), pedagogical interventions aiming to foster biliteracy are sparse (Tsiplakou, 2018; Papanicola and Tsiplakou, 2008; Papanicola, 2010), contrary to other countries which achieved educational reforms as a result of bidialectal intervention studies conducted in the 1970s and 1980s.

Consequently, since its inception, the educational system of Cyprus retains the same anachronistic monodialectal language policies which exclude GCs' native variety from the education process, while various attempts made by the Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture (henceforth MoEC) to modernise the Cypriot educational system failed to bring about any change. A highly indicative case is the innovative 2010 National Language Curriculum, which was abolished before being fully implemented. The 2010 Curriculum aspired to introduce the CG dialect in the classroom within a framework of critical literacy (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2010). The prospect of the Cypriot dialect entering official domains such as education led to heated controversies and was eventually dismissed, as it was seen by some as a potential threat to the Cypriots' Greek identity (Xenis, 2013). As researchers have noted, GC bidialectal students are prevented by the current educational system from reaching their 'full potential', as they would have done had their native language productively been employed in education (Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004).

The study also contributes to a better understanding of its local setting in that it a) describes the local linguistic landscape b) takes into consideration the strong relationship between language and ethnic identity at work in the GC community, c) adheres to the principles of linguistic diversity by recognising and respecting all linguistic codes co-existing in the classroom and the wider GC community and by dealing with any instances of negative language attitudes and

prejudices against the dialect and d) ensures that both varieties receive equal attention, at least for the duration of the programme, and that bidialectal students are supported and assessed in their endeavour to achieve competency in both the standard variety and the dialect.

Regarding the wider research field of educational linguistics, the significance of this study derives from the originality of its focus and its theoretical contribution to the field as well as its implications for educational policy and practice in settings similar to the GC one. This research study is expected to add to the body of knowledge of bidialectism (Bull, 1990; Siegel, 1997; Wolfram, 1998; Rickford, 1999; Malcolm, 2001; Ioannidou, 2007; Yiakoumetti, 2012a, 2012b; Ball, 2015; Grima, 2015; Kamwangamalu, 2015; Ricentro, 2015) by revealing the effect of bidialectal education on students' native linguistic elements. As already noted, this matter has not been sufficiently investigated, as the scope of previous research studies centred mainly on the effects of bidialectal education on the standard variety of the students.

This study aspires to provide further evidence of the advantages of bidialectal education, and to show the benefits of this model for students' performance in both their D1 and D2. Despite possible limitations imposed by the particular local setting, its findings are meant to have a degree of generalisability or relatability that would make them relevant to other linguistically diverse communities around the world which display similar characteristics to the GC setting, while demonstrating that, by adhering to the principles of linguistic diversity and implementing genuinely bidialectal models, students will be helped to become plurilingual and equally competent in all their language codes. At the same time, linguistic discrimination and negative attitudes towards minority languages are hoped to be mitigated in what could be a countermeasure against language loss.

1.3 Thesis outline

The thesis is organised in ten chapters. **Chapter 1** outlines the study's purpose, overarching aim and significance. **Chapter 2** is the first part of the literature review of this thesis. It highlights linguistic diversity worldwide by presenting the linguistic heterogeneity that characterises modern societies and proceeds to emphasise how this phenomenon has pervaded the domain of education worldwide. This chapter initiates a discussion on the opportunities and challenges that this linguistic and cultural diversification has brought about. The chapter then introduces the multifaceted phenomenon of bidialectism and the prevailing perspectives on standard and

nonstandard varieties in education and discusses the issues raised when multiple linguistic varieties co-exist in the same classroom. The chapter concludes by raising attention to the tensions created between monolithic language policies and the multilingual reality of classrooms. The second part of the literature review is presented in **Chapter 3**, which focuses exclusively on the sociolinguistic phenomenon of bidialectism and aspects of bidialectism that are relevant to education. This chapter draws on existing literature on linguistic variation and education and reviews the issues that have been central foci of research around this topic. In particular, it starts off with the ‘medium of instruction’ conundrum and presents the three pedagogical approaches that have been diachronically proposed for bidialectal settings, with special emphasis on bidialectal education. A thorough review of the most recent approaches to bidialectal education and their educational benefits is presented. Next, the discussion turns to the use of dialects in the classroom and the attitudes societies have traditionally held towards standard and nonstandard varieties. The chapter concludes by discussing issues of performance and fair assessment among bidialectal populations and brings to the forefront the failure of bidialectal models to develop linguistically appropriate assessment methods that would allow the equal monitoring of bidialectal students’ development in their foundational linguistic element. The chapter uses this discussion as a backdrop for introducing the gap that the current inquiry seeks to address. **Chapter 4** describes the context where the study was carried out, that is, the Greek-speaking part of Cyprus, and explains why it was deemed a suitable setting for this investigation. The chapter provides thorough information regarding the (socio)linguistic and educational landscape of the Greek-Cypriot community. It also presents the linguistic and sociolinguistic relationship between the two proximal varieties, namely Standard Modern Greek and the Cypriot-Greek dialect. **Chapter 5** presents in detail and provides arguments for the (quasi-experimental) methodological design of this study. It focuses on the research design and addresses issues relevant to the research paradigm within which the study’s methodology is situated: the participants, the data-collection tools, the validity and reliability of the study, the ethical considerations and the researcher’s role/s in it. **Chapters 6, 7 and 8** present the findings of the study in response to the research questions posed. **Chapter 6** provides responses to the first research question on the effects of the bidialectal programme on the oral and written competence of students’ D1 and D2 in quantitative terms. **Chapter 7** presents an in-depth item-by-item analysis of the students’ output before the intervention study. The focus is on identifying the most prevalent dialectal elements in students’ standard and dialectal production. The pre-intervention results are complemented by an analysis of the qualitative data obtained from

interviews which aimed at exploring (focal) students' language attitudes, language preferences and their understanding of the linguistic situation in the CG community. **Chapter 8** complements the findings presented in Chapter 7 by providing an insight into how the use of the targeted linguistic forms by the students changed during the course of the intervention. **Chapter 9** engages in a discussion and theorisation of the findings presented in the three previous chapters and outlines their implications for educational policy and practice. The final chapter, **Chapter 10**, contains a number of concluding remarks. Specifically, it summarises the main findings of the study, acknowledges its limitations, highlights its contribution to existing research and suggests directions for future research.

Chapter 2 Linguistic diversity: contexts and forms

2.1 Introduction

The present chapter is the first part of the literature review of this thesis. It aims to introduce the reader to the linguistic diversity in most contemporary societies and their educational systems while raising awareness of the chasm that still exists between reality and anachronistic educational language policies, which fail to support learners. Chapter 2 is organised into five main sections. The first section highlights linguistic diversity in the modern world by showing that multilingualism (and, by extension, multilingual schools) is now the norm rather than the exception in many parts of the world. The second section of this chapter deals with linguistic diversity in the domain of education, and discusses the challenges and opportunities that it poses. This is followed by an introduction to the sociolinguistic phenomenon of bidialectism and its multifaceted nature. Next, the review focuses on issues that are central to the theme of this study: bidialectism and education. The chapter concludes by raising attention to the paradox of the 21st century: despite the enormous linguistic diversity in today's world, the ideology of a single, standard, national language is still prevalent in modern societies (Silverstein, 1979, 1996; Siegel, 2007), and educational systems still adhere to outdated policies of linguistic assimilation, thereby failing to support their linguistically and culturally diverse populations. Neither the validation of all language codes as equally effective nor evidence of the benefits of multilingual policies have so far been enough to pave the way towards a truly multilingual world (May, 2012).

2.2 Multilingualism today

Throughout the last century, there has been a remarkable increase in the linguistic and cultural diversity of modern states. The radical historical and socio-economic changes that occurred after World War II (Fishman, 1977), together with transnationalism, internationalism and globalisation, have all led to the creation of linguistically diverse societies, which include multiple language varieties and different populations (Vertovec, 2011). People come into contact with many different linguistic and cultural communities all over the world; this interconnectivity between people, which is further facilitated by transportation and telecommunication technologies, inevitably makes strict (linguistic) borders in the sense of single, unitary national standard languages being confined within the remit of single nation states more irrelevant than ever.

All the aforementioned developments today act as a counterforce to state monolingualism which can be traced back to the 19th century – reflecting the political nationalism and the ideals of centralisation of states that burgeoned at the time – as well as to re-emerged monolingualising tendencies in modern states (May, 2012). A dominant ideology of monolingualism in today's complex and multilingual societies would be most irrelevant while it would also raise questions of social justice and equal linguistic rights. Indeed, a large body of research deals with the issue of language and human rights (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998, 2000; May, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2012). As Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995) point out, linguistic human rights' assert that every individual's native variety should be acknowledged and recognised. Similarly, Skutnabb-Kangas (1998) emphasises that in a civilised state, every individual should have the right to identify with, maintain and fully develop one's native variety/varieties, since it is an obvious, fundamental individual linguistic human right. The language ideology of suppressing one's home languages is a form of discrimination and perpetuates social injustice (Blackledge, 2000).

Although 100 years ago monolingualism was thought to be the norm, today it seems that it is the exception rather than the overarching rule (Mansour, 1993). While there are countries which are largely linguistically homogeneous, such as Iceland, most parts of the world are now characterised by linguistic and cultural heterogeneity (Grillo, 1998). In fact, according to some conservative estimates, over 50 per cent of the world's population speaks two or more languages on a daily basis (Tucker, 1998) while second language learners are one of the fastest-growing populations worldwide. Examples of officially bilingual countries are Canada and Belgium, while multilingual countries include Singapore, South Africa, and Switzerland.

However, diversity within contemporary societies is not limited to what is officially recognised. Europe, for example, shows significant language diversity. According to the Europa data, the EU now has 24 official languages, some of them with worldwide coverage. Official languages are only one part of the enormous range of multilinguality. Also, part of the heritage of the EU are some 60 minority languages of national minorities or nonstandard varieties which are spoken in specific regions or by specific groups. In addition, due to immigration, it is estimated that at least 175 nationalities and their respective languages are now represented within EU borders. An interesting example of a European country which has one national language while it is highly diversified linguistically and culturally is England (Edwards, 2007). According to Anderson and Macleroy (2015), enormous population movements (after World War II) have rendered England

a highly multilingual setting. Despite the dominance of English, England is currently home to at least 300 languages (NALDIC, 2013).

Outside the EU, the picture of language diversity is comparable. In the United States, for example, where the national language is English, about 20 percent of Americans speak a language other than English at home as of 2009, according to the United States Census Bureau. According to the report which is based on American Community Survey data collected from 2009 to 2013, at least 350 languages are spoken in American homes (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). In the New York metropolitan area alone, more than 1 in 3 people aged 5+ speak a language other than English at home, and at least 192 languages are spoken in total.

Similarly, the Census of Population and Housing data released by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in 2011 shows that more than 300 different languages are spoken in Australian households (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2011). In Canada, the 2011 Census of Population counted more than 200 native varieties or languages spoken most often at home. These include Canada's two official languages (English and French), Aboriginal languages and immigrant languages, the latter resulting from the waves of international migration that Canada has experienced over the centuries. In 2011, 17.5% of the Canadian population, which translates into 5.8 million persons, reported speaking at least two languages at home, as opposed to 14.2% (nearly 4.5 million persons) in 2006.

Multilingualism is therefore becoming a social phenomenon created by the needs of globalisation and global mobility. As Yiakoumetti (2015) notes, individuals today need multiple languages, as one is simply insufficient to meet the requirements of the linguistically diverse communities. Complex forces of globalisation demand for speakers to be able to function both in the linguistic varieties that are associated with social empowerment and in local languages, which are crucial elements of people's identities.

2.3 Linguistic diversity in education: challenges and opportunities

Being a microcosm of society, classrooms can not but reflect the ongoing changes in population patterns that globalisation and global mobility have brought about. It is not surprising that the enormous linguistic and cultural diversity that characterises the modern world has led to heightened levels of linguistic diversity in the domain of education. Not only is multilingualism present, but it is actually prevalent in schools across the world. The pervasiveness of linguistic and cultural diversity in the domain of education is manifested in the co-occurrence of multiple

linguistic voices in contemporary classrooms: partly due to immigration, many schools have students from a variety of backgrounds and first languages (henceforth L1s), with different learning requirements (Cummins, 2007). For example, according to NALDIC, in some city schools around the world there might be as many as 30 or 40 different native varieties among students, while in England there are over one million children who learn English as an additional language (EAL) (NALDIC, 2013).

The heterogeneity of classrooms worldwide has been the topic of numerous studies. For example, Van Tuijl, Leseman and Rispen (2001) and Hanson, Boogaard and Herrlitz (2003) examined the large percentages of primary school children from Turkish and Moroccan immigrant groups in Dutch schools. Lasagabaster (2008) reports a number of studies conducted in 12 different countries in Europe which revealed a multilingual student population. Blackledge (2012) investigated the multilingual practices and identities of young people and their teachers in multilingual classrooms in four European settings: Birmingham, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Tilburg. Setati and Adler (2000) described and discussed the language practices of teachers in primary multilingual mathematics classrooms in South Africa. Eleven official languages and many other African languages co-exist in South African classrooms. Sharifian (2015) and Angelo and Carter, (2015) focused on indigenous multilingual students' linguistic repertoires and advocate for their appropriate education and assessment. Vaish (2015) worked within the multilingual Singaporean context and explored the performance of Malay speakers in their linguistic repertoires which consist of three languages (Chinese, Malay, Tamil) besides English.

Indeed, this striking linguistic diversity which enters education has brought about challenges as well as opportunities. In essence, schools which involve intense linguistic and cultural diversity are faced with a number of pedagogical, linguistic as well as social challenges (Cheshire *et al.*, 1989; Malcolm, 1995; Sridhar, 1996; Edwards, 2007). To reiterate the sentiment of authors such as García, Bartlett and Kleifgen, (2007) and Yiakoumetti, (2014), the major challenge is for language-in-education policies and pedagogies in educational contexts around the world to adapt to the emerging complex language realities of the modern world and create a system of education that can support the multiplicity of languages and literacies. In other words, policies and practices of the 21st century are called upon to nurture populations that are linguistically capable of interacting translingually and transnationally. Ideally, education today should aim to equip all students with multilingual competencies while seeking to cultivate a sense of equality,

respect and acceptance of linguistic diversity among children from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds (May, 2012; Yiakoumetti, 2014).

In accomplishing this, the role of educational systems is to ensure that majority and/or power-associated varieties should not stay out of reach for minority language-speaking students (Ball and Bernhardt, 2012). It goes without saying that this applies to children from different backgrounds, be they majority groups, minorities (whether traditionally resident in a country or recent migrants), indigenous peoples or speakers of nonstandard varieties. Equally importantly, educational policies must ensure that linguistically diverse children can have all their home languages and varieties acknowledged, respected and developed in contemporary classrooms. Of course, this presupposes strong resistance on behalf of the educational systems against the suppression of language variation of all kinds for the sake of promoting an abstracted, homogeneous language. Such exclusionary practices have been shown to perpetuate social divides and disadvantage groups with a lower socioeconomic status and those with a history of migration (García and Sylvan, 2011) and threaten minority and indigenous speakers' languages and cultures with extinction.

In fact, a number of studies suggest that banning children's native languages or varieties from school and replacing them with the standard variety can lead to the cultivation of negative feelings towards their own native language and cultural tradition, which will be stigmatised as inferior (Fischer, 1992; Pavlou, 1997; Siegel, 1999c). Discrimination against one's language equals discrimination against one's self and one's identity and could have immense psychological and social effects (Heath, 1983). The children's self-esteem (Garrett *et al.*, 1994) and self-confidence regarding language is low (Romain, 2000; Hernandez-Campoy, 2007; Watts, 2007), which has a direct bearing on their attitudes towards school and the dominant culture (Ogbu, 1999); in turn, students' learning and educational proficiency is negatively affected (Toohey, 1986; Baker, 1992; Wolfram, Adger and Christian, 1999; Simmons-McDonald, 2004).

On the contrary, in the last fifty years research has made a clear case towards the opportunities and benefits of capitalising on linguistic diversity in education and promoting native language/variety education. Monolingual students who only possess one language now have the opportunity to experience new linguistic varieties simply by being in their classrooms. Currently, numerous studies associate bilingualism with linguistic, cognitive and other educational and social benefits. Apart from leading to enhanced linguistic skills (Cummins,

1986, 2001), recent research has reported beneficial effects of bilingualism in the realm of non-linguistic cognitive functioning (Barac and Bialystok, 2012). A growing body of evidence has shown that regular use of two languages enhances bilingual children's executive control skills (Bialystok and Viswanathan, 2009; Sorace, 2016). Bilingual children grow up to become not only good language switchers but also good task-switchers (Prior and Gollan, 2011), while they have been shown to be more sensitive to social stimuli (Grosjean and Li, 2012). Recent research in many educational settings around the world has shown that when learners are supported by the educational system, they use their (entire) linguistic repertoires concurrently to achieve learning purposes (García, Bartlett and Kleifgen, 2007). These favourable outcomes apply equally to speakers of all types of languages: majority languages, minority and indigenous languages as well as nonstandard varieties (Antoniou *et al.*, 2014).

Meanwhile, native variety education has been theoretically as well as empirically shown to be a constitutive element of children's well-being and progress at schools. Native variety education forms a fundamental linguistic human right. A lot of work is currently being conducted by international (supranational) bodies such as UNESCO, the European Union and the Council of Europe in relation to the promotion of educational language rights of minority and indigenous groups (Breidbach, 2002). UNESCO's mandate charges it to deal with language issues; in particular, in the last sixty years UNESCO has been strongly committed to the promotion of primary education in children's native variety (UNESCO, 1951, 2003a, 2003b). At the same time, the need to foster a better education on the principles of access, equity and quality is highlighted and strongly voiced by the charter of human rights (2013) of the Commonwealth nations.

As regards bilingual instruction, in the late 1960s/early 1970s, bilingual/multilingual and multicultural education emerged as a specific policy response to the claims of minority groups, predominantly migrant groups, for greater recognition within education of their ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic diversity (May, 2012). Different models of bilingual education have since then been practised across the globe, unanimously demonstrating the benefits that students can gain from an education which embraces linguistic diversity. Among the models of bilingual education, additive approaches to bilingualism/multilingualism were extensively supported (Harris-Wright, 1999; Mordaunt, 2011). In additive bilingualism, minority language and culture were meant to be maintained and fostered over time parallel to the development of the D2 (Siegel, 2010; Malcolm, 2011).

As new, complex language practices emerge, research is still trying to address the education of bilingual and language-minoritised populations through new pedagogies that build on their strengths and use their ‘complex and fluid language practices’ (García and Lin, 2017) to perform their learning. Recently, the innovative pedagogical approach of translanguageing has been receiving increased academic interest (García and Wei, 2014; Velasco and García, 2014; Otheguy, García and Reid, 2015; Tsiplakou, 2015).

Translanguageing appeared in the 21st century as a promising alternative to traditional subtractive or additive models and it is related to the newly emerged notion of transglossia and the phenomenon of dynamic bilingualism. Transglossia refers to the fluid and hybrid language practices of groups of people in contemporary societies and dynamic bilingualism to the theoretical framework/model that offers a space to explore and develop this fixity and fluidity of language practices that characterise the contemporary world (Yiakoumetti, 2015).

The term ‘translanguageing’, a neologism given by Baker (2001), was first coined by Cen Williams (1994) to describe a teaching strategy in which students receive information in one language and produce an output of their learning in another (Canagarajah, 2011a). Since then, the term has become globally popular among researchers, who use it to refer to ‘the complex discursive practices of all bilinguals, and the pedagogies that build on these discursive practices to release ways of speaking, being and knowing of bilingual subaltern communities’, according to García (2011), one of its most well-known proponents.

According to Flores and Schissel (2014), the concept of translanguageing argues for a move toward a dynamic approach to bilingualism, which would allow the simultaneous coexistence of different languages in communication and the development of multiple linguistic identities. According to García (2014) and García and Wei (2014), translanguageing legitimises fluid language practices with which bilinguals around the world operate today. Bilingual students are allowed and prompted to use all of their available resources to achieve learning and challenge monolingual practices. For García (2009), translanguageing accepts the idea of language as a medium of contact among bilinguals and highlights that the languages of bilinguals work on a language continuum with no linguistic boundaries. Educators and students draw on all of their available linguistic resources or literacies but also use multiple and dynamic types of the various languages and literacies they utilise.

It should be emphasised that, while the pedagogy of translanguageing has received increased academic interest, practical and pedagogical issues around translanguageing and its use in the

classroom are still being explored. This is related to the fact that translanguage is an ever-changing and still developing concept.

2.4 Bidialectism

The first two sections of this chapter presented the linguistic diversity of the modern world and discussed the many challenges and opportunities that these emergent new linguistic realities pose for education. Even though linguistic diversity is most commonly associated with the phenomenon of bilingual-multilingual countries where different languages with an official status co-exist in one place (majority-minority-indigenous groups), variability can also take other forms. According to Cheshire *et al.* (1989), there are countries such as the Netherlands (Belgian Dutch - Standard Dutch), Switzerland (Swiss German - Standard German) and Cyprus (Cypriot Greek - Standard Modern Greek), where varieties of the same language are spoken. In such cases, we no longer refer to bilingualism/ multilingualism but to the linguistic phenomenon of bidialectism/multidialectism.

A bidialectal situation is one in which two varieties of the same language are used, typically a standard and one (or more) nonstandard varieties of the same language. Typically, in cases of bidialectism, speakers are raised to speak a nonstandard variety in their home and community, which, albeit displaying similar features, differs linguistically from the standard language. The nonstandard varieties may include social dialects, such as working-class English; regional dialects, such as Appalachian in the United States; and ethnic or minority dialects such as African American Vernacular English (henceforth AAVE) and Australian Aboriginal English (henceforth AAE), as well as contact languages, pidgins and creoles, such as Melanesian Pidgin and Hawaiin Creole English (Siegel, 1999)

Bidialectism is a phenomenon that exists to varying degrees in many countries (Yiakoumetti and Esch, 2010). Researchers agree that dialectal diversity is natural and widespread; everyone speaks a dialect depending on the national, regional, and social circumstances of birth (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974). However, the extent to which the dialect and the standard diverge varies considerably from country to country (Cheshire *et al.*, 1989). Bidialectism should therefore be understood as an umbrella term which itself involves considerable variation and describes a variety of situations and linguistic relationships between the dialect and the standard; such examples are cases of discrete variation named ‘dichotomous bidialectism’, in which the distance between the standard and the dialect is so vast that we can speak of two clearly identifiable linguistic codes. This is true in cases such as English and most English-based creoles

(Winch and Gingell, 1994), Standard High German and the Swiss German dialects (Rash, 1998), Standard English and AAVE (Rickford, 1999), and Standard English and a local variety of English (Scottish, Welsh, Irish) in the UK (Edwards and Cheshire, 1989). However, bidialectism is not limited to cases of discrete bidialectism. Usually, the linguistic situation is too complex to be seen as dichotomous and the relationship between nonstandard and standard is better conceived as a continuum (Kaplan, 1969) rather than a set of discrete linguistic systems (Cheshire, 2005). The so-called continuum/standard-with-dialects model can be found in Norwich, England, as well as in parts of Germany, Netherlands and in the Greek-speaking part of Cyprus (Yiakoumetti, 2007a).

In recent decades, bidialectism has received a great deal of research attention (Papapavlou and Yiakoumetti, 2003) by scholars who aim to differentiate between standard and nonstandard varieties. Research has been especially productive in diverse geographic and linguistic contexts including Africa, Asia, Australia, Canada, the Caribbean, the United States and Europe in relation to aboriginal/indigenous languages, minority languages, nonstandard varieties (i.e. regional, ethnic, and social varieties) and contact languages (i.e. pidgins and creoles). In particular, research in the USA has focused on AAVE (Rickford and Rickford, 1995; Harris-Wright, 1999; Wolfram, Adger and Christian, 1999); in Canada on the First nation dialects; in Australia on ethnic varieties spoken by minority indigenous groups (Malcolm *et al.*, 1999; Siegel, 1999a; Yiakoumetti and Adami, 2011); in Europe (UK, Wales, Scotland, Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, Spain, Sweden and Cyprus) on regional bidialectism (Ammon, 1989; Stijnen and Vallen, 1989; Yiakoumetti, Evans and Esch, 2005); and a lot of relevant research has also focused on pidgin and creole languages such as those of the Caribbean (Melanesian Pidgin and Hawai'i Creole) (Siegel, 1996, 1999b). Be that as it may, the field of dialectal variation is still considered largely under-researched. Although research has been done on different types of bilingual groups (second language learners, successive bilinguals, heritage speakers, etc.), much less research has been done into speakers who have extensive knowledge of two or more typologically very proximate languages.

By and large, the role, function and status of the standard and nonstandard varieties in a bidialectal situation clearly reflect a contentious debate regarding the standard-nonstandard dialect dichotomy. In fact, the rise and superimposition of standard varieties motivated by economic, social, geographic, historical and political circumstances that prompted a dichotomous perception of language varieties as dominant and subordinate has further social

consequences. It often leads to the emergence of a relatively stable social phenomenon, with which bidialectism is strongly associated, that of diglossia. Classic diglossia, as originally described by Ferguson (1959), describes the co-existence in a single setting of two or more (often typologically related) varieties, which, following societal norms, show functional differentiation. One forms the 'prestige' or 'high' variety (i.e. H) and the other one the 'low' variety (i.e. L). Ferguson's classic examples include Standard German/Swiss German, Standard Arabic/vernacular Arabics, Standard French/Creole in Haiti, and *Katharevusa/Dimotiki* in Greece.

It is a widely held view within the linguistic community today that the designation of a linguistic code as a standard language or a dialect is usually based on socio-historical and political criteria rather than on purely linguistic ones (Eskey, 1974; Toohey, 1986). Some scholars argue in favour of linguistic equality and claim that dialects should be treated with the same respect that is bestowed upon standard or 'official' languages, as they are also indexical of local cultures and a part of people's identity (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2007). Much (socio)linguistic work over the years has proved that the linguistic differences between standard languages and dialects should not be perceived as deviations from an 'ideal' norm, but rather as a set of systematic characteristics. Historically, standard languages evolved from the languages which were used by particularly influential groups, such as the upper class, (Field, 2011) and which eventually became established as the norm (Milroy, 2007). It follows that the evaluation of dialects as inferior is simply a social construct and the real battle between dialects and standards is being fought not on linguistic but on socio-evaluative grounds (Eskey, 1974).

The whole controversy around dialects and standards acquired at times polemical proportions (such as the case of Ebonics and the Oakland controversy of 1996-1997) (Baugh, 2000; Smitherman, 2000) and to a large extent still remains unresolved. The standard language ideology thrives in bidialectal settings despite advances in linguistic research which proved that the purported superiority of the standards is merely an illusion. Standards are still more highly regarded: they are still reserved for formal contexts and are still associated with the elite, the government, the business world, education and the media. Conversely, non-standardised varieties are devalued and categorised as inferior vehicles of communication (Yiakoumetti and Esch, 2010) whose use is restricted to informal, private domains.

2.5 Bidialectism in education

The coexistence of two or more varieties has not been reported to cause any considerable problems to the bidialectal or multidialectal speakers' everyday lives. On the contrary, in most cases, such speakers grow into adept code-switchers who use both according to the communicative objective of the situation. Similarly to a bilingual situation, the bidialectal speaker is usually aware of the language norms that prevail in different speech situations and he/she can usually respond accordingly (Malcolm, 1995). Nevertheless, in the domain of education, the coexistence of multiple linguistic codes in the same school setting entails a number of inherent complexities giving rise to numerous crucial pedagogical issues and educational implications for both teachers and students (Edwards, 2007; Malcolm, 2010). The differences in status between standard and nonstandard varieties, with the latter being associated with inferiority, inevitably causes confusion in educational settings regarding the role/s that the latter varieties should assume in formal education and the choice of the language/s that the school should invest in (see Cheshire *et al.*, 1989).

How nonstandard varieties are to be handled in schools has so far been the major focus of discussions in the literature concerning language variation (Taylor, Payne and Cole, 1983; Prah, 1995; Kamanda, 2002). The task of determining the language of instruction has been a challenging one, owing to the inevitable tension between the pedagogical imperative to instruct children in their native variety and the socio-cultural imperative to use the official, state-approved standard variety which has higher status in society and represents the dominant groups (Bourdieu, 1991; Kamwangamalu, 2012). Today, it is well understood that language policy, especially in education, is a deeply political process, reflecting relations of power and safeguarding the rights of the majority or of the powerful elite.

Education has historically been used as the vehicle par excellence for the promotion of the monolingual and monodialectal nation-state and as May (2012) has put it, to favour civism over pluralism. With rare exceptions like Norway, Luxembourg and Switzerland, where there is more than one official standard variety (Trudgill, 1997), in the majority of (linguistically diverse) countries, the battle between standard and nonstandard varieties has been unbalanced in favour of the standard varieties and, consequently, school systems have invariably promoted a definite standard-oriented policy, while nonstandard varieties are devaluated and marginalised (Fishman, 1977; Hernandez-Campoy, 2007).

Bidialectal children's instruction and teaching of early literacy has traditionally been conducted

in a dominant high-status standard language – the official national language – as opposed to the children’s native tongue. Through the implementation of assimilatory programmes, the aim of the school has been to eliminate nonstandard speech and help students acquire language proficiency in the standard variety. This undermines the students’ dialectal native varieties, while language development in their native variety is hindered (Siegel, 2010). In essence, political aims and ideological stances might often overshadow values such as the children’s right to receive their primary education in their mother tongue or principles of equal appreciation for the numerous regional and minority languages (UNESCO, 1951).

Such educational policies have their roots in the erroneous traditional view, which prevailed up until the 1960s, that dialect-speaking children are linguistically deficient and cognitively underdeveloped, as this is reflected in their nonstandard, error-infested, hesitant speech (Baratz, 1969). It has been commonly assumed that children’s native varieties are non-legitimate, corrupted forms of the standard variety which inhibit students’ verbal and cognitive growth and hinder their overall school performance (Craig and Washington, 2006). Paradoxically, instead of being seen as competent in a different dialect, bidialectal children have been perceived as underprivileged standard speakers with incomplete and inadequate knowledge of the standard variety; in some unfortunate cases, they have been regarded as intellectually deficient (Adger, Wolfram and Christian, 2014), lazy or even non-typical speakers with a diagnosed speech disorder (Papapavlou, 2004; Edwards, 2007; Ball and Bernhardt, 2012).

However, as Hernandez-Campoy (2007, p.56) put it, ‘[i]n the same way that obligatory monolingualism causes educational problems for those who are members of linguistic minorities and for governments, on a different scale, and perhaps with greater difficulties, compulsory monodialectism creates problems in multidialectal contexts’. The mere fact that children are required to learn through the medium of a linguistic variety that is not their home language puts them in an extremely disadvantageous position as nonstandard-speaking children are subjected to a number of inequities and obstacles at school (Siegel, 1999).

Extensive research has showed that the educational exclusion of students’ nonstandard native varieties can be detrimental and is linked to a number of negative effects (behavioural problems, low self-esteem, confused self-identity and academic failure (Trudgill, 1975). Discriminating against one’s language by implying that it is inferior can be likened to an attack against one’s identity. The results of this include alienation at school and a violation of school values, students’ reluctance to participate in classroom activities, or hypercorrections, a sign of

linguistic insecurity (Trudgill, 1983). On a social level, it also perpetuates social divides and linguistic hierarchies: a number of studies have demonstrated that, when the school learning environment is not inclusive of nonstandard varieties, negative attitudes are created towards the nonstandard varieties themselves as well as their nonstandard speakers. This is reflected in the attitudes not only of teachers (Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 1999; Haig and Oliver, 2003), but also of parents, who want their children to receive standard-only education. What is more, bidialectal speakers are not impervious to this linguistic prejudice, but in fact often perceive themselves as speakers of a corrupted form of language (Pavlou, 1997; Yiakoumetti and Esch, 2010). According to various studies, the majority of the children whose native variety is marginalised or ignored fail systematically at school compared to their mainstream peers (Rickford and Rickford, 1995; Craig *et al.*, 2009; Oliver *et al.*, 2011). This obstacle is related both to the fact that bidialectal students' linguistic and cognitive growth is suppressed, as they are discouraged from using their own variety (Baker, 2001), and to the linguistic prejudices that lower students' self-esteem and, by extension, their performance.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the debate over the position of dialects in education reached a critical point (Cheshire *et al.*, 1989). The growth of sociolinguistics as well as the development of principles and practices of second dialect teaching and learning (Malcolm, 2015) gave a new impetus to research. The erroneous views on the deficient character of nonstandard varieties (Bernstein, 1960; Baratz, 1969) were dismantled, at least in the scientific world of linguists, and replaced by the difference hypothesis, which argued that, while there are obvious social differences between language varieties and the functions they traditionally serve, there are no linguistic grounds to argue that one variety is superior to another (Wolfram, 1969; Labov, 1973; Toohey, 1986). The wider recognition of the value of dialects was followed by suggestions for new pedagogical approaches and multicultural and bidialectal education was put into practice through various types of programmes.

Since then, bidialectal education has been widely applied through various types of models (see next chapter for a thorough description), encompassing nonstandard regional or ethnic dialects, vernaculars, pidgins or creoles (Malcolm, 2015). Programmes which accommodated nonstandard varieties in classrooms have been highly popular in Australia, Canada, pidgin and creole-speaking communities, as well as in Europe. A plethora of research works in the aforementioned contexts refuted anachronistic views and myths condemning dialect education and stigmatising dialect-speaking students. At the same time, it demonstrated the positive effects

that linguistically inclusive approaches have for dialect-speaking students' self-esteem, self-image, performance and stances towards the standard language and culture. Finally, the benefits of native variety education and the effectiveness of multicultural and bidialectal policies that embrace linguistic equality and welcome linguistic diversity became irrefutable (Malcolm, 2001; Rickford, 2001; Siegel, 2010; Ball and Bernhardt, 2012).

2.6 The gap between reality, theory and current (educational) language policies

Notwithstanding the significant advances of the last 60 years, which saw more plurilingual approaches (May, 2012) to education and provided accumulative evidence towards the educational, cognitive, cultural and psychological benefits of linguistically diverse education, tolerance towards minority, indigenous languages and nonstandard varieties is still minimal (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). As reported in recent literature, linguistic diversity in education is still strongly contested and the perennial issue of native variety education versus standard-only education 'shows no sign of abating' (Yiakoumetti, 2012b). The arguments against the use of stigmatised varieties in education are still put forth strongly and often pose obstacles to educational reforms. As noted by (Yiakoumetti and Esch, 2010), the well-established understanding gained after decades of sociolinguistic work that all languages are equally legitimate is often ignored because entrenched social attitudes create another biased impetus (Adger, 1997).

Linguistically diverse communities worldwide are still suffering from the stigmatisation of language varieties and entrenched prejudice against dialect speakers – this is apparent in the persistence of negative attitudes and prejudice towards minority languages – while standard varieties are still seen as the only vehicle for social mobility and a prerequisite for better opportunities. A general lack of awareness prevails in contemporary societies regarding issues of linguistic diversity, equality of dialects and the benefits gained from their implementation in education, which hinders the possible introduction of multicultural policies. Yet any attempt at educational reform and inclusion of dialects in education is doomed to failure unless the general public becomes aware of its benefits and willingly embraces it.

For many regions of the world, linguistic equality remains a far-fetched goal: multilingualism in the western world as well as in Asia still lacks considerable support (McKay, 2011). Cummins (1997) argues that issues related to linguistic and cultural diversity have remained at the margins

of educational reform efforts in many countries. Even when educational policies do incorporate components of multicultural and bilingual/bidialectal education, they are often restricted to government circulars, that is, written statements of government policy and recommendations, and no actual implementation of the declared policies takes place (Siegel, 2011; May, 2012; Ball, 2015; Ricentro, 2015). Also, as Yiakoumetti (2014, p.14) notes, ‘Although the rhetoric of these policies seems to reflect positivity towards multilingualism and multiculturalism, on closer examination, only very few favour maintenance of languages and cultures which are associated with minority, indigenous or nonstandard varieties. Even fewer favour promotion of these languages and cultures’. What prevails in educational systems is an invisible language policy based on monodialectal assumptions or, agreed published policies that are implicitly undermined or subverted in practice (Kamwangamalu, 2012; Malcolm and Truscott, 2012; Yiakoumetti, 2012a). The gap between policy and implementation becomes especially obvious in the way bidialectal students are assessed: despite purported policies of dialect inclusion, exclusive testing in the standard variety continues to be carried out leading to biases and an unfair equation of bidialectal students with their monodialectal peers (Delpit, 2006; Malcolm, 2011).

In the words of May (2012, p.17), ‘[...] the relative educational efficacy of various approaches for such students seems to have so little influence on educational decision-making processes’. He points out ironically, that ‘[...] over the last decade [...] we have seen a rapid and significant retrenchment of multiculturalism as public policy especially within education’. The number of formal multilingual nation-states in the world today is disappointingly limited (May, 2012). Today, more than ever, it is obvious that nation-states worldwide seek to reassert notions of commonality at the expense of linguistic and cultural diversity. Recent EU elections have shown a move to the right, pointing to tensions within pluralistic societies and seeming to perpetuate social divides. In analysing the linguistic situation in different countries around the world, we are faced with a paradox: Multilingualism stealthily exists in countries whose constitution recognises only one official language (Cheshire *et al.*, 1989; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995). The majority of countries in the world are monolingual nation-states in the sense that they recognise, *de jure* or *de facto*, only one official language for governmental and legal purposes. Although these might be bilingual or multilingual societies, only one language has legal authority.

In a transnational milieu of an ever more pluralistic world (Jacquemet, 2005; Canagarajah, 2006) it is discouraging that in modern societies the ideology of a single, standard, national

language is still prevalent (Silverstein, 1996; Siegel, 2007). Current educational policies in the majority of European and other countries around the world largely fail to acknowledge and to subsequently harness the emerging reality of linguistic variation (Yiakoumetti, 2014). Meanwhile, the processes of language loss are menacingly ongoing (Hornberger, 1998; Epstein and Xu, 2003; McKay, 2011; Ball and Bernhardt, 2012). It is estimated that more than half of the 6000 languages currently spoken in the world are in danger of extinction during the 21st century; national language policies can either mitigate or exacerbate this phenomenon.

Unfortunately, the chasm between the reality of today's multilingual classrooms, what theory has shown and what policies prescribe tends to disadvantage the neediest members of linguistic societies. Minority, indigenous, nonstandard varieties and their speakers become subjects of social discrimination and their languages and cultures are threatened by power-associated languages and cultures. At the same time, as pointed out by a recent study (Smith, 2016, p.194) '[w]hen the needs of nonstandard speakers are not addressed efficiently, it is not only they who suffer. In fact, monolingual/monodialectal speakers too fail to benefit from an ability to navigate cross-linguistic and cross-cultural terrain so adeptly traversed by their dialect-speaking multilingual counterparts'.

2.7 Conclusion

In an era of globalisation, increasing migration and advanced communication technology, the modern world is characterised by enormous linguistic and cultural diversity (both inside and outside national borders). Many societies consist of users of multiple linguistic varieties: local, regional, national, and global varieties, as well as a mixture of languages and dialects (Yiakoumetti, 2014, 2015). This linguistic diversity in society is reflected in the classrooms. Policies and practices of the 21st century are called upon to nurture populations that are linguistically literate and ideologically capable of interacting translingually and transnationally (May, 2012). This would mean supporting learners in acquiring access to the languages traditionally associated with power and empowerment while preserving or even developing their local languages which are a strong symbol of identity. At the same time, language education planning should, as suggested by Kamwangamalu (2015), make a paradigm shift and attempt to associate local languages with an economic value that would allow them to acquire and bring them into harmony with standard varieties (Yiakoumetti, 2015). As Yiakoumetti and Esch (2010) suggest, educational systems should recognise, value and use bilingual/multilingual

students' linguistic resources. But is this how education today approaches linguistic diversity in schools? This study argues that it does not. Scholars are warning against the rapid and significant retrenchment away of multiculturalism over the last couple of decades (May, 2012); looking at current approaches in minority language education, it seems that much is left to be desired (Yiakoumetti, 2012b). We have yet to see nonstandard varieties, minority languages and indigenous native varieties enjoying public respect and school recognition. We have yet to acknowledge that underlying linguistic prejudices affect how equally students learn. Ostracising nonstandard varieties from formal education has implications both for speakers of nonstandard varieties and for the monolingual speakers of official varieties.

Chapter 3 Perspectives on dialects in education: review of related literature

3.1 Introduction

This second part of the literature review focuses exclusively on the multidimensional phenomenon of bidialectism and its parameters in education. The main aim of the chapter is to unveil some educational and pedagogical complexities associated with bidialectal communities. In particular, the chapter is organised around four facets of linguistic variation in education. The first section addresses the medium-of-instruction conundrum, that is, the long-standing issue of which language or language variety² should serve as the medium of instruction in linguistically diverse societies and presents three lines of argumentation associated with bidialectal settings. These generated three types of programmes: dialect-eradication programmes, dialect-promotion programmes and bidialectal programmes. The chapter devotes a separate subsection to reviewing recent bidialectal teaching approaches and demonstrates their pedagogical usefulness by providing relevant data from their application in various bidialectal contexts. The second section discusses actual language use in bidialectal classrooms across the globe and highlights the survival of dialects despite their institutional ostracism. Next, the chapter revisits the issue of social attitudes towards standard and nonstandard varieties and demonstrates how this is manifested in education. The chapter concludes by drawing attention to perceived shortcomings of bidialectal education as it is practised today. It also looks at the gap between policy claims and implemented performance measurements – an issue which literature on bidialectal education has overlooked.

3.2 Dialects and media of instruction

The language of instruction in or out of school refers to the language used for teaching the basic curriculum of the educational system. The choice of the language or, indeed, the languages of instruction (educational policy might recommend the simultaneous use of several) is a recurrent challenge in the development of quality education: given that language is a construct that is intimately linked to the shaping of identities (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985) and of

² ‘Language variety’ is used in this thesis as a general term to refer to a language, dialect, or register speech. In what follows, the term ‘standard variety’ refers to an official distinct language and the term ‘nonstandard variety’ is used interchangeably with the term ‘dialect’.

conceptions about nationhood (May, 2012), designating the medium of instruction is a major part of the language planning policy of each country and an area over which governments exercise considerable control (Gupta, 1997; Kamwangamalu, 2012).

As Wiley and García (2016) have noted, language policies reflect relationships of power in a given society. Inevitably, decisions regarding the official language policy of a community should be understood as inextricably linked with politics (Mar-Molinero, 2000) and strongly influenced by issues of socio-economic empowerment (McKay, 2011). In his paper on African language policies, Kamwangamalu (2012) likened the topic of language policy and planning to an interest-driven game, through which social control is sought. In this framework, language policies may promote or discriminate against the teaching of particular languages and by extension exclude speakers' access to particular, highly regarded domains.

In areas where populations are relatively homogeneous, the issue of the medium of instruction is fairly straightforward, since the official standard language and the home language of the children are highly comparable. However, in culturally and linguistically diverse communities where multiple linguistic codes co-exist in school settings, numerous crucial pedagogical issues and educational implications for both teachers and students arise (Cheshire *et al.*, 1989; Malcolm, 1995; Edwards, 2007). Each linguistic code represents unequally empowered populations and carries a different symbolic power within society (Cummins, 1997). Typically, in such cases, the choice of the language/s used at school is highly contested due to tensions in relations of ethnic identity and socioeconomic power that already operate in the wider society between the dominant and marginal groups (Friedrick, 1989; Bourdieu, 1991; Kamwangamalu, 2012). As the forces operating at a national and socio-cultural level demand the exclusive dominance of the standard language, they clash with the pedagogical demand of offering early literacy education in the students' native variety. In the majority of cases, classrooms inevitably fall victims to these forms of national or local pressure that demand the dominance of a single standard language (Malcolm and Truscott, 2012).

The medium-of-instruction conundrum is very relevant to bidialectal/multidialectal settings, where the coexistence of a standard dominant language with local, stigmatised linguistic varieties must be handled in the education system. Yet, there seems to be no consensus between researchers and policy makers about whether nonstandard varieties should be included in the curriculum; rather, there are currently three conflicting schools of thought regarding the medium of instruction. Some argue in favour of policies supporting native variety instruction; others

incline towards public investment in standard varieties, which ensure equality inside and outside the school context. Others, still, envision a linguistic and cultural plurality and hold a more neutral, conciliatory approach which favours code-switching between dominant and non-dominant languages in education according to the norms pertaining to the social situation (Ball and Bernhardt, 2012).

These three schools of thought correspond to three types of programmes that have so far been associated with bidialectal settings: dialect-eradication programmes, dialect-promotion programmes and bidialectal programmes (Fasold and Shuy, 1970; Yiakoumetti, 2007a). The debate around the issues of instruction media in dialect-speaking areas still remains unresolved and relatively unchanged, with each of the educational models having its advocates (Yiakoumetti and Esch, 2010). In what follows, this chapter will present the three types of programmes and their underlying philosophies.

3.2.1 Standard-only education: dialect eradication programmes

Proponents of these programmes argue towards the exclusive use of standard varieties in education and strive to ban dialects from the educational process. Through the implementation of dialect-eradication programmes, the aim of the school/s is to eliminate the nonstandard speech and help students acquire language proficiency in the ‘correct’, standard variety. In such programmes, initial literacy instruction is invariably conducted in the dominant high-status standard language – the official national language – rather than in the learners’ native tongue. Teachers are trained to consistently discourage students from using their native variety in class, for example by refusing to respond to or acknowledge utterances which are produced in the nonstandard variety (Dean and Fowler, 1974) or by punishing students when they code-switch to their native varieties during the teaching process (Willans, 2010). In this context, bidialectal children are treated exactly as their monolingual peers, while students’ native varieties are undermined and suppressed (Siegel, 2010). Such educational policies are based on the premise that banning dialects from the classroom will automatically alter dialect speakers’ linguistic habits and force them to replace their native varieties with the standard speech in school contexts (Baratz, 1969; Fasold, 1972).

The whole standard-dialect controversy and, in fact, the standard superiority argument is based on four premises: linguistic legitimacy, national unity, socioeconomic advancement and interference. In essence, the linguistic legitimacy premise questions the adequacy of nonstandard varieties to serve as fully fledged languages which display systematicity in their

grammars. This argument has been ideologically founded on the deficit model (Bernstein, 1960; Dean and Fowler, 1974), which prevailed throughout the 1960s and held that children's dialectal native varieties are non-legitimate, corrupted forms of the standard variety which inhibit students' verbal and cognitive growth and hinder their overall school performance (Washington and Craig, 2001).

Based less on linguistic criteria and more on social considerations, the second premise concerns the promotion of standard varieties for the sake of maintaining national and political unity among the speakers of a community (Gupta, 1997; Custred, 1990). A single standard language is thought to index the unity of a nation while efforts to adopt minority languages or nonstandard varieties within dominant institutions such as education are seen as efforts to legitimise minority groups and alter their relationship to the state (Wiley and García, 2016). This is in line with Gupta (1997: 496), who argues that in contexts characterised by multilingualism, maintaining 'social cohesiveness' might be more important than the possible advantages that education in the native variety might entail.

The third premise involves socioeconomic advancement. Nonstandard varieties are seen as insufficient and inadequate to secure equal opportunities of empowerment or employment chances to all members. Proficiency in the standard variety of a country, on the other hand, is considered to be the key to successful education, socio-economic development (McKay, 2011), employability and social empowerment (Dean and Fowler, 1974, Eskey, 1974). As noted by Yiakoumetti (2012:ch12), '[i]t has been advocated that, since linguistic prejudice can inhibit people's advancement, students had better talk and write like people with power' (Sledd, 1969). Gupta (1997) agrees, claiming that when the native variety of a group is not the official, privileged language, then its usage as a medium of instruction does not guarantee top-notch education and it is also likely to be responsible for the exclusion of a minority group from power. She emphasises that students' future professional, socio-political and economic status should not be hampered by lack of competency in the standard language. Similarly, Pennycook (1998) highlights that it is assumed that providing people with access to a dominant language will bestow them with 'economic and political benefits'. This becomes more relevant in countries with increased migration where it is suggested by proponents of standard education that the best way to ensure social mobility for immigrant children is to intensify teaching in the formal language of the state.

The fourth and last premise of the claim for the superiority of the standard was mostly prevalent in the 1950s/1960s and is known as the interference argument. According to it, the dialect is considered responsible for causing interference effects: the learners' tendency to apply aspects of their first language to the target of acquisition, in this case the standard variety, is thought to impede progress and undermine the school's goal to create competent speakers in the standard variety (Snow, 1990; Thomas, 1990; Gupta, 1997; Siegel, 1999b). This assumption is theoretically founded on the strong association relevant research introduced between language, cognitive development and performance in formal education (Rickford, 2005) and holds that if children's acquisition of the standard dialect is hindered, this in turn will adversely affect students' overall performance at school. Surveys and statistics in various contexts support this claim by indicating the 'devastating rate at which dialect-speaking children fail at school' (Rickford, 1999, p.15). Yet, paradoxically, the nonstandard-speaking students' massive educational failure worldwide is seldom attributed to inadequate educational policies but rather to their local nonstandard speech, which is assumed to hinder linguistic and cognitive growth (Baratz, 1969).

3.2.2 Dialect-only education: dialect promotion programmes

Dialect-promotion programmes argue in favour of introducing nonstandard varieties and dialects in schools for the education of both standard and nonstandard speakers. According to Papapavlou (2010), all such programmes systematically incorporate the dialect of a given speech community in the school curriculum and treat it as a language in every respect. Proponents of dialect education (Atkins, 1985) reject standard-only programmes and argue in favour of policies supporting native variety instruction, while warning against the potential pedagogical harm of undermining learners' home language or variety.

Dialect-only educational programmes draw first and foremost on the significant advances that took place in research in social dialectology (Shuy, Wolfram and Riley, 1968; Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1975; Toohey, 1986), which disproved the legitimacy claim and provided evidence for the equality of standards and dialects. In the mid-1960s, sociolinguists and developmental psychologists engaged in large-scale studies investigating the vernaculars of bidialectal children and providing careful structural descriptions. After several decades of descriptive language study and sociolinguistic work, scholars provided overwhelming evidence towards the equality of standards and dialects in terms of linguistic efficacy, grammatical correctness and

communication effectiveness. It was shown that, despite sometimes being substantially different from the standard varieties, community dialects were still equally systematic, rule-governed, efficient language codes (Wolfram, 1969; Labov, 1973; Toohey, 1986).

This approach helped dismantle the erroneous views on linguistic deficiency of nonstandard varieties (Bernstein, 1960; Baratz, 1969) and replaced them with the difference hypothesis (Cheshire et al., 1989), which argued that all languages and dialects are regular and have rule-governed systems. Advocates of this view claimed that language superiority is the result of particular socio-historical and economic conditions and as such, speaking strictly linguistically, all linguistic codes should be considered equally efficient and expressive and, by extension, equally appropriate for schooling (Eskey, 1974; Toohey, 1986; Wolfram, Adger and Christian, 1999).

To support their claim, proponents of dialect-only programmes quote UNESCO's recognition of the key role of the native variety in the context of equal social empowerment. UNESCO, which famously declares that 'education is most successful when conducted in the learners' mother tongue' (1953), is strongly committed to promoting literacy education of and through children's own language (UNESCO, 1953, 2003a, 2003b). In its General Principles of the Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights (Article 9) it is stated that '[a]ll language communities have the right to codify, standardize, preserve, develop and promote their linguistic system, without induced or forced interference' (UNESCO, 1996). UNESCO's conventions are also in agreement with the literature on language human rights: respect for people's languages are among the fundamental individual human rights and, in regard to education, the linguistic rights that have been framed in international agreements include schooling in their languages.

The ultimate rationale for the promotion of native variety education is the equal empowerment of all, irrespective of linguistic background (Yiakoumetti, 2014). In line with this, it has been demonstrated that social and cultural benefits accrue when people are granted the right to their native variety (Pennycook, 1998). Skutnabb-Kangas (1998, p.22), emphasises that 'in a civilized state there should be no call for arguing about the right to identify with, to maintain and to fully develop one's mother tongue(s) since it is an obvious, fundamental *individual* linguistic human right'. He argues that a universal postulate regarding linguistic human rights should guarantee that everyone can learn the native variety orally as well as in writing and use it/them in most official situations, such as education.

Moreover, inclusion of nonstandard varieties in education can help prevent language death or the current ‘dying out’ of numerous languages such as, according to Hernandez-Campoy (2007, p.54-55), ‘Cornish, Dalmatian, Livonian, Manx, Irish, Scots, Gaelic, Breton, North Frisian, East Frisian, Sami, Sorbian, Kashubian, Ladin, or Romansch’. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) argues that linguistic genocide signals also the loss of ‘cultural wealth’ and of ‘important ancestral knowledge’ that is rooted in native languages. On the official website of UNESCO, under the theme Endangered Languages, it is declared that half of the approximately 6000 spoken languages are expected to vanish by the end of this century. As Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) points out, if language deaths continue, it is likely that, in the next one hundred years, 90% of the world’s spoken languages will cease to exist.

The importance of the mother tongue is justified not only theoretically but also empirically. There is currently much evidence demonstrating the benefits of mother tongue education even in the case of nonstandard dialects (Cummins, 2000). For instance, evaluation of programmes which utilised students’ native language or variety showed that those children are more likely to succeed in school (Kosonen, 2005). Interestingly, benefits concern not only the acquisition of early literacy (Cummins, 2000) but also achievement in other subjects like mathematics (Mohanty, 2008) as well as in learning a second language (Brooks-Lewis, 2009). Beyond increased educational performance, studies have indicated improved school attendance, classroom participation, increased metalinguistic awareness, as well as self-esteem and lessening of negative attitudes towards their own languages and cultures. This is especially relevant if we consider that the children of 476 million people who speak a nonstandard language or variety are not educated in their native variety (UNESCO, 2003b).

3.2.3 Bidialectal education

The third type of educational programmes is bidialectal education, which aims to support nonstandard dialectal speakers in acquiring a second dialect, the school’s standard, whilst incorporating their home varieties in formal education and teaching students to value them (James, 1996). It represents an additive conceptualisation of bidialectism and, within this framework, it considers the maintenance and enhancement of the students’ first language to be fundamental for the successful acquisition of a second language/dialect (Malcolm, 1995; Oliver *et al.*, 2011). In contrast to its predecessors, namely subtractive approaches which aimed at

reducing dialectal variation in bidialectal students, the objective of additive approaches is both to acknowledge and to extend biliteracy/bidialectism.

Contrary to dialect-promotion programmes, which do not normally pay special attention to the use and functions of the standard and encourage the development of a local rather than a national identity, bidialectal programmes celebrate and aim to extend linguistic diversity (Malcolm and Truscott, 2012). As Papapavlou (2010) notes, bidialectal programmes by and large appear to (a) promote the simultaneous learning of two or more codes (usually a dialect and a standard or two dialects), (b) provide equal opportunities for exposure to each code (especially in their written forms), (c) encourage the use of each code in its communicative context in and outside school hours, and (d) refrain from advancing the development of a strong, singular cultural or national identity. Edwards (2007, p.47) explains that ‘a multivariety approach’ does not ignore the need of the students to access the standard variety. On the contrary, by ‘accurately reflecting the heteroglossia of everyday life in the classroom, this approach sends out positive messages’ about the rights of nonstandard language speakers and challenges ‘the hegemony of standard speakers’.

Bidialectal education originated in the late 1960s-early 1970s, following significant developments in the areas of sociolinguistics and second language-dialect acquisition, which gave a new impetus to research and challenged the main arguments based on which nonstandard varieties were stigmatised and banned from classrooms (Winch and Gingell, 1994; Siegel, 2007). First, as noted earlier, the sociolinguistic knowledge generated by Labov, Shuy, Wolfram and others showed that these varieties are legitimate, rule-governed forms of language and in no way intrinsically inferior to the standard (Shuy, Wolfram and Riley, 1968; Labov, 1972). Meanwhile, empirical research in Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA) in the late 1960s and 1970s (e.g. Dulay and Burt, 1973) provided room for further discussion and reconsideration of the interference argument.

Research on SLA has demonstrated quite amply that acquiring a second language always involves a certain degree of L1 transfer/ transfer effects and fossilisation of interlanguage structures even at end state (Hawkins, 2001; White, 2003; Tsimpli and Dimitrakopoulou, 2007; Tsipplakou, 2017). In addition to this, it has also been shown that cross-linguistic transfer and fossilisation become more prominent under specific conditions, for instance, when linguistically proximal languages varieties are involved (Cheshire, 2007; Siegel, 2010). Relevant research on the psycholinguistic processes that facilitate the acquisition of a new system indicates that the

close proximity of two varieties renders the new linguistic system largely comprehensible and actually hinders the learners' ability to notice and hence acquire new differing structures in the D2/L2 (Grohmann, 2014; Garraffa, Beveridge and Sorace, 2015; Leivada and Grohmann, 2017). Consequently, subtle differences between nonstandard and standard varieties inevitably increase the difficulty of keeping two varieties apart and negative transfer occurs even more frequently. Today, it is well-acknowledged by linguists that children's lack of (metalinguistic) awareness of the distinctive features that distinguish the linguistic codes they acquire equals delay in the acquisition of the L2/D2 and lack of fluency (Siegel, 1999c, 2010).

Indisputably, transferring from D1 to D2 causes educational issues; however, by no means is it justified by linguistic research to claim that the root of the 'problem' lies in the children being dialect speakers and that the only solution is found in the eradication of their dialect speech (Winch and Gingell, 1994). Both theory and practice have showed that D1 interference flourishes – rather than being mitigated – in the absence of the dialect from the educational process, while when the dialect is overtly introduced in the class, cross-linguistic transfer is largely prevented (Yiakoumetti, 2012b). As Cheshire (2007) points out, language transfer is common in cases where the two varieties are closely related; however, when linguistic juxtaposition is applied in the classroom, cross-linguistic transfer is reduced (as cross-separation is facilitated). Most crucially, transfer and fossilization in core areas of the grammar notwithstanding, metalinguistic awareness is a significant desideratum in any bidialectal programme, not only as a way of mitigating residual transfer/interlanguage effects in grammatical acquisition but also as a means of honing awareness of communicative appropriateness, register, style, the indexicalities of particular variants.

Various research programmes which implement native variety teaching for nonstandard-speaking students (for detailed examples, see the following section) have not just disproved the assumption that dialect teaching or explicit, contrastive D1:D2 instruction is detrimental to the acquisition of the dominant variety; they have also shown that it actually helps children differentiate between the two related varieties and enhance the acquisition of the standard (Wight, 1971; Siegel, 1999b).

3.2.4 Bidialectal education practised internationally

This section focuses on presenting examples from different types of recent bidialectal educational programmes that have been pedagogically successful in various bidialectal contexts. All approaches value students' native varieties in formal education as well as the cultural norms associated with them and aim to help children acquire bidialectal competence and biliteracy (Malcolm and Truscott, 2012). They provide evidence showing that education conducted in the children's native language – even in the case of nonstandard dialects – has positive effects, with educational, cognitive and social benefits following their enhanced language performance (to be analysed in the next section of this chapter).

Bidialectal education has been widely employed in educational contexts where students speak a nonstandard regional or ethnic dialect, indigenised varieties, pidgins or creoles. As noted by Malcolm (2015), it began as an application of linguistic knowledge to contexts of educational failure. Since their inception, approaches to bidialectal education varied in terms of the extent to which they accepted students' native varieties and the way these were incorporated in the classroom (Siegel, 1999; Rickford, 2005; Siegel, 2007). For example, there were cases where the nonstandard varieties were used as the medium of instruction and students were initially exposed to literacy learning in their native variety while the standard variety was introduced at a later stage. Other types of programmes accommodated the children's native varieties in the classrooms to a lesser extent. This was translated into either allowing the use of the home varieties during the teaching process – instead of reprimanding the children for doing so – or by using the student's first language as a facilitating tool to help students distinguish between the two dialects and further enhance the acquisition of the D2.

In surveying recent instructional approaches to bidialectal education, Siegel (2010) classifies them into *instrumental*, *accommodation* and *awareness approaches*.

3.2.4.1 Instrumental approaches

These approaches refer to cases where children's native varieties are used as the formal medium of instruction to teach initial reading and writing as well other subjects of the curriculum (Siegel, 2011). Children's schooling begins by systematic exposure to their first dialect while the D2 is introduced afterwards. The children's home language (D1) is initially used while the goal of the instruction in language lessons is the learning of the language of the educational system (D2). However, as noted by Siegel (2010, p.202), '[...] such an approach is most suitable in situations

where the D1 is clearly distinguished from the D2 and where all students in the classroom are speakers of the D1'. In other words, educational settings which involve highly similar varieties should implement such approaches cautiously. The implementation of instrumental programmes in various bidialectal contexts around the world, especially in pidgin- and creole-speaking communities (Siegel, 1999), has yielded positive outcomes in almost all departments: students' performance in both the D1 and D2 improved, while their involvement in the learning process was increased.

One example of this approach refers to the use of dialect readers to teach basic reading skills in the children's native varieties. Such programmes employ reading material designed in the students' D1 so that children develop their reading skills through the medium of the language they are already familiar with until later, when reading materials in the standard variety are introduced (Rickford and Rickford, 1995). Examples can be located in Europe (Bull, 1990) as well as in the USA, the most well-known study being the Bridge readers programme, reported by Simpkins and Simpkins (1981), which was implemented in American schools (Rickford, 2005). This four-month study involved an experimental group of African American students that were taught initial writing through material written in their vernacular while introducing gradually the standard variety. The findings showed that the experimental group outperformed their peers who were instructed through the traditional standardised reading materials. As Siegel (2010, p.200) notes, there is evidence of the benefits of the use of dialect readers in enhancing student achievement as well as attitude, and their use as a 'transitional prop' towards literacy in the standard has been defended. Yet, despite its success, the programme was not embraced by the general public, who viewed the use of the vernacular in education with scepticism (Siegel, 2011). Although the programme ceased early (Rickford, 1999), dialect readers constitute an area of dispute and disagreement, while the possibility of the use of dialect readers is still pursued and in some cases actualised (Königsberg, Collard and McHugh, 2012; Malcolm, 2015).

3.2.4.2 Accommodation approaches

In the second type of bidialectal education, the role of the minority language is circumscribed, in that it does not serve as the formal medium of instruction. Nevertheless, accommodation programmes still welcome students' first language and permit its use in the context of the class

to varying degrees. The features of students' speech are recognised and teachers do not discourage the use of the nonstandard. An example of a successful accommodation programme is the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP), designed for underachieving native Hawaiian children (Roland, 1982; Tharp, 1982) and aimed at helping children improve their reading skills through their native linguistic and cultural norms. Also, in Canada and Australia, various accommodation programmes have been applied to support the teaching of Standard English as a second dialect (Malcolm and Königsberg, 2007; Battisti *et al.*, 2011). Findings from both contexts provided supportive evidence for the highly effective character of the programmes in improving Aboriginal students' literacy skills (Ball and Bernhardt, 2012).

A more recent, innovative accommodation programme was developed in the context of Australian Aboriginal communities and was further adopted by researchers at Edith Cowan University. The project aimed to develop a teacher-training curriculum supporting bidialectism in the schools, ultimately targeting Aboriginal students' English language problems (Malcolm, 1995; Malcolm *et al.*, 1999; Malcolm and Königsberg, 2007). Fundamental principles of this approach to bidialectal education were the acceptance of Aboriginal English, the creation of a bridge to standard English, and the cultivation of Aboriginal ways of approaching experience and knowledge. Malcolm and Truscott (2012, p.235), explained its underlying philosophy as follows: '[t]he approach is two-way in that both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal staff work on it together, and in that it envisages that both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students will be engaged in learning from one another and from their respective dialects'.

The core objectives of this model were therefore, firstly, to promote dialectal variation by recognising the validity and adequacy of Aboriginal children's speech style as well as its associated culture and, secondly, to cultivate Aboriginal ways of approaching experience and knowledge (Malcolm, 1995). At the same time, both monodialectal and bidialectal students were supported in their endeavour to achieve competency in the standard variety. This model draws on the main aspects of 'Schema theory³' proposed in 2005 by Malcolm and Sharifian, according to which schools should 'recognise the validity and adequacy of the speech styles of Aboriginal children and cultivate Aboriginal ways of approaching experience and knowledge' (Malcolm and Sharifian, 2005, p.526). According to the authors, in order to learn a second dialect, you need to learn a new language and cultural schemas for the organisation and

³ 'Schemas are conceptualisations of the human's experiences, units into which knowledge is organised. Piaget considered them to be part of the human's cognitive development' (Malcolm and Sharifian, 2005: 516).

interpretation of the experience. After the implementation of the programme, the findings provided strong evidence in support of its beneficial character in enhancing learning and its effectiveness in creating a school environment which promoted cross-cultural communication. Bidialectal teaching programmes which accommodated the nonstandard varieties in classrooms have also been highly popular in Northern California, the USA, Australia, Canada, Pidgin and Creole-speaking communities as well as in Europe (Rickford and Rickford, 1995).

3.2.4.3 Awareness approaches

Awareness programmes have been highly popular and influential (Rickford, 1999, 2001). Based on the acknowledgement that both students and teachers are largely unaware of the systematic differences between the two varieties (Rickford, 1999), these programmes accommodate the learners' first language in the classroom as a facilitating tool for helping them become aware of the commonalities and differences between their two language codes (Siegel, 2011). Through a contrastive presentation of the two varieties, the learners become aware of the features of each system and thus the process of separation is facilitated and promoted. As Rickford (1999, p.25) points out with regard to the benefits of this approach, '[...] this method allows for increased efficiency in the classroom, as teachers can concentrate more on the systematic areas of contrast with the standard variety [...] than on the more daunting task of teaching all of English grammar'. This approach allows the nonstandard variety speakers to learn how to change their own variety forms to standard forms when this is appropriate. In addition, in the context of the lessons, students are also exposed to some basic sociolinguistic concepts related to dialect variation.

Examples of awareness programmes were implemented in several localities, and included the Afro-Caribbean Language and Literacy Project in the UK and the Caribbean Academic programme in the USA as well as other programmes in Hawaii. A well-known awareness programme was developed and implemented in Western Australian schools, namely the Fostering English Language in Kimberley Schools (FELIKS), which aimed at equipping teachers with an understanding of the sociolinguistic situation of the community and helping them identify the linguistic needs of the Aboriginal students. FELIKS was a professional development course which initially aimed to raise primary-school teachers' understanding of the nature of Aboriginal English-based Creoles and of their appropriateness in certain communicative settings (Siegel, 1999a). For this purpose, teachers and administrators underwent a series of training sessions, which familiarised them with the linguistic validity of

Aboriginal English and its systematic differences from the Standard Australian English so as to be able to distinguish between occurrences of genuine language errors and cases in which the students were using linguistic features of their D1. As part of the programme, a resource book for teachers was published (Berry and Hudson, 1997), including supportive material and ideas for classroom activities. In general, the programme was warmly welcomed by educators and, due to its successful application, it was implemented in more educational systems.

To conclude, there seems to be a strong correlation between the introduction of the aforementioned types of bidialectal education and an overall development of the students' linguistic and metalinguistic abilities. Findings indicate higher scores on achievement tests that measure reading and writing skills in the standard language, and an overall improvement in academic achievement (Siegel, 1999c) as well as higher participation rates, motivation and self-esteem (Siegel, 2011), all of which suggest the prodigious potential of such programmes. Nevertheless, the success of bidialectal programmes is largely dependent on the attitudes of educators, school principals and parents; the way in which teachers and the wider community view the vernacular defines whether they will welcome these educational approaches and, by extension, might inevitably tamper with its outcomes (Wight, 1971; Rickford, 1999).

3.3 Dialects in the classroom

Many studies have focused on investigating children's language use in bidialectal educational settings. The aim of observing classroom interactions has been to identify how nonstandard varieties are used by students and teachers in real situations. Given the legislative frameworks enforcing education in the standard, many studies aimed to account for the existence or lack of dialects in the classroom settings and, in the former case, to further investigate what functions nonstandard varieties perform, and how they interact with standard, official varieties in the classrooms. Investigations of the classroom context in various bidialectal settings have shown code-switching and code mixing between the languages legitimated by the school and the home varieties of the students, despite the constitutionally established standard-only policies in public education (Rosenberg, 1989; Van de Craen and Humblet, 1989; Heller, 1996; Martin-Jones and Heller, 1996; Duff, 2002; Ioannidou, 2009; Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009b).

While policy makers promote monolingual policies and circulars, the actual situation in the classrooms is rather different and much more complex. Children's native varieties remain vital

despite monolithic language policies and their potentially negative consequences. The majority of children and schools tend to use nonstandard varieties in classrooms regardless of the official educational policies that strongly advocate or even demand the use of dominant standard or international languages. This mismatch between declared policies and practices reflects the failure of the educational systems to resonate with the local linguistic landscapes (McKay, 2011).

The case of the Republic of Botswana in Southern Africa is a typical example of the mismatch between language policy claims and practical implementation. English occupies a prestigious position as the language of education beyond Grade 4, whereas Setswana is used in the first four years of primary education and is marginalised thereafter. Any other languages have no official classroom role. However, an investigation into language use in mainstream schools in Botswana suggests the existence of code-switching between the nonstandard and the standard varieties (Arthur, 1996). Similarly, Perera and Canagarajah (2010) revealed code-switching in ESL classrooms in Jaffna (Sri Lanka), although teachers are mostly unaware of using or permitting Tamil, and even consider it inappropriate for ESL. Code-switching between official and nonstandard language is also well-documented in multilingual Kenya. In this particular case, national language policy mandates the use of the language of the catchment area as the medium of instruction in Grades 1 to 3 (Nyatuka, 2014); in practice, however, schools flout this policy and code-switch among three languages: English, Swahili, and various native varieties (estimates of the indigenous languages range from over 30 (Gorman, 1974) to over 40 (Abdulaziz, 1982).

Ioannidou (2009, p.266), in looking to account for the survival of nonstandard varieties in institutional settings where the norm is predominant, claims that other forms of language maintenance take place: through social networks, individuals act as language planners in order to sustain their home varieties (Milroy and Milroy, 1997). In particular, identity (Rampton, 2006), solidarity (Hudson, 1996) and the use of language as a form of resistance to existing power or institutional structures (Halliday, 1997; Rampton, 2017) have all been described as contributing to the maintenance and reinforcement of multiple language use. Yiakoumetti (2012) adds that the persistence of dialectal variation in education (despite common efforts to eradicate it) reflects the irreplaceable functions that dialects serve. As Trudgill (1983) maintains, dialects represent membership of a particular culture, class, or geographical group. The imposed use of other varieties thus represents attempted violations of loyalties to one's group. Simply

put, the prominent presence of dialectal variation in education also reflects the reality of dialect speakers' lives: dialects survive (and, in many cases, thrive) because there is a population of speakers who use them in their daily lives. The presence of dialects in education is indicative of the fact that dialect speakers have refused to be silenced.

Nevertheless, despite the survival of dialects in classrooms, the results of the data from micro-level ethnographic approaches in bidialectal classroom settings suggest that language hierarchies are still firmly in place and reflect (hierarchical) societal norms and values attached to the same varieties in the broader society (Tsiplakou, 2007; Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2010). Typically, the interactions between 'legitimate' and 'non-legitimate varieties' in the speech of teacher and students depend on the occasion of communication (Hymes, 1985), with the standard variety being associated with 'high' functions that are relevant to the actual lesson and involve formality, while the nonstandard varieties are associated with 'low' functions relevant to casual talk and informality. Teachers in primary and secondary school settings commonly employ various correction techniques to promote the use of more standard variants in 'standard-dominated' occasions. Inevitably, if students fail to comply with the norm, tensions are created between students' language choice and the norm of the classroom, with serious educational and pedagogic implications (Ioannidou, 2009).

In Cyprus, Ioannidou (2009, 2012, 2014) and Ioannidou and Sophocleous (2010), who explored issues of language use and values in GC schools report that, throughout the analysis of classroom talk it emerged that the dialect was associated with more informal occasions such as commenting, complaining and joking, while the standard was associated with the actual teaching and the aims and objectives of the learning process. For instance, when teachers taught new concepts or gave instructions on what students should do, they used more standard variants. In contrast, when the teacher made a parenthetical comment or made a humorous remark, more CG variants were employed (Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2010). In the US, Adger and Wolfram (2000) discuss a similar phenomenon concerning the classroom behaviour of African American English-speaking students and teachers. The teachers mainly used standard English but shifted to African American English (AAE) to achieve other interaction effects, while students generally used AAE without sanction from the teacher, but turned to standard forms when classroom tasks were related to literacy and authority (Adger and Wolfram, 2000). According to Cheshire (2007, p.27), 'the association of standard English with authority shows how linguistic variation is manipulated to project different identities'.

3.4 Attitudes towards standard and nonstandard varieties in education

Research has shown that the status and value of a language are often based on the attitudes of individuals towards its features, uses and cultural associations of the language (Leong, 2014). At the same time, entrenched language attitudes have the power to perpetuate and consolidate linguistic prejudices, biases and stereotypes. For example, Milroy (2007) concurs that the standard-nonstandard dichotomy has had an impact on the way people perceive their language, and language in general. She points out that standard languages carry significant ideological and symbolic power that informs people's attitudes towards language. The perpetuated hegemony of standard languages has generated firmly fixed language ideologies and attitudes against nonstandard varieties and nonstandard speakers. These passed through a process of stabilisation and exerted an even greater social force on the perpetuation of biases against nonstandard speakers (Lanehart, 1998; Kioko and Muthwii, 2003; Kamwangamalu, 2012).

In relation to societal language attitudes, a host of sociolinguistic studies worldwide have demonstrated that the dichotomy between the 'superior' standard varieties and the 'inferior' nonstandard language forms is reflected in the peoples' negative attitudes towards nonstandard speakers themselves (Tegege, 2016). Language attitude studies have documented that both standard and nonstandard dialect speakers rate speakers of nonstandard varieties lower than standard speakers on a variety of personality characteristics (Tucker and Lambert, 1969; Hewett, 1971; Niedzielski and Preston, 2000; Cross, DeVaney and Jones, 2001). Evidently, nonstandard speakers are frowned upon as less educated, less polite and less intelligent, whereas speakers of standard dominant varieties are regarded highly and, by extension, are associated with better educational and professional performance (Rickford, 1999). The status and socioeconomic position of the speakers also influence these attitudes (Giles and Coupland, 1991).

Inevitably, the attitudes speakers hold about language varieties are reflected in educational settings. It is a widely held view today that dialects in formal education are mostly associated with negative attitudes and unjustified stereotypes (Yiakoumetti, 2014). Indeed, a number of studies have demonstrated that nonstandard-speaking students are subjected to discrimination and negative labelling inside schools by teachers and educational authorities (Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 1999; Haig and Oliver, 2003). For example, in Holland, some teachers have been reported to believe that only the standard-dialect speakers would be received to heaven (Kroon and Sturm, 1989) while in England, a study reports that students have been ridiculed by staff

for using certain dialect forms (Cheshire and Trudgill, 1989). Similarly, in Western Australia, use of nonstandard language forms has been reported to be seen as ‘deficient’ and linked to dialect-speaking students’ ‘restricted’ linguistic capacity. Children’s failure to meet their teachers’ vocabulary expectations is associated with a limited language repertoire and is attributed to their lower socio-economic status and limited experiences (Haig and Oliver, 2003). Similar findings are also reported with regard to creole speakers (Siegel, 1999). At the same time, studies on bidialectal parents’ attitudes reveal the same type of sociolinguistic bias towards nonstandard varieties. Most parents view dialects as inferior and choose to educate their children in the standard variety (Baker, 1992; Hoover *et al.*, 1996; Wolfram, Adger and Christian, 1999). Paradoxically, literature also highlights the parents’ desire to maintain their children’s linguistic and cultural heritage, which is, however, usually sacrificed for the sake of promoting standard proficiency (Yiakoumetti, 2014).

Many attitudinal studies have dealt with the association between attitudes, identity, and school performance (Rickford, 1999; Craig and Washington, 2006). Negative attitudes towards dialect-speaking children are shown to have consequences for a range of issues relating to behaviour problems, low self-esteem, confused self-identity, academic failure and reluctance towards social interaction (Tucker and Lambert, 1969). Teachers’ attitudes have also been reported to lead to low expectations and wrong assessment of the dialect speakers (Wolfram and Christian, 1989). At the same time, as stated by Yiakoumetti and Esch (2010, p.306), ‘how teachers respond to dialects can ultimately affect students’ performance’. Similarly, Nieto (1992) contends that the attitudes and practices of schools, communities and society dramatically control the opportunities for success among various populations of students. Willans (2010), for example, showed that the declared policies – according to which children and teachers in Vanatu should only use English during school hours– constrained children’s language use in the classroom. Similarly, Kioko and Muthwii (2003) argued that the children in Kenyan schools opted out of in-class interaction because they felt uncomfortable and lacked the confidence to use the version of the English language that is officially used in schools.

Also, Purdie *et al.*, (2002) argued that Nyungar Aboriginal school children were reluctant to use either African English (AE) or Standard American English (SAE) in the school setting and preferred to remain silent. The authors pointed out that the discrimination which children faced within the context of their school and the society was responsible for developing negativity towards school in general, which triggered behavioural issues and had a considerable bearing

on their academic performance. The authors provided evidence to suggest a strong link between attitudes and school achievement. As they reported, '[...] the correlations found in [this] study between SAE competence, students' attitudes to AE, and teachers' perceived attitudes to AE in the classroom and in the playground give support to the notion that competence in SAE will only occur when students feel that their home language is valued at school' (Purdie et al., 2002, p.413).

In the same vein, Malcolm and Truscott (2012) attributed Aboriginal students' non-compliant behaviour and lack of engagement to the unpleasant and unwelcoming school environment in which they found themselves on a daily basis. The great association between attitudes-identity issues and academic success was also revealed in the ethnographic study Ogbu (1999) conducted in a Black speech community in Oakland, California. Ogbu suggested that students' underperformance was not only attributed to dialectal differences but also to the contradictory, equivocal beliefs and attitudes that community members held towards Standard English. Even though they felt that English was required for educational and professional success, they simultaneously believed that proper English posed a major threat to their own identity. These attitudes passed from parents to children and had an impact on their ability to master proper English. As Ogbu suggested, in order for this problem to be resolved, first, slang English should be recognised, additive approaches to bidialectism should be applied and schools should set out to eliminate the contradictory attitudes speakers hold towards their language repertoire.

In relation to the above, research also focused on showing that the educational system appears to play an important role in the way children themselves develop concepts of language and self-perceptions and behaviours. As Dooly (2005) notes, teachers' attitude plays a crucial role in shaping the classroom environment. In the same vein, Yiakoumetti and Esch (2010) argue that teachers' attitudes towards the dialect can profoundly affect students' sense of identity. An indicative example comes from Day (1980) who studied children's attitudes toward Hawaiian Creole English and standard English before and after their exposure to the standard-only school policy. While children showed a clear preference towards Hawaiian Creole English before schooling, their attitudes towards their native variety changed later on and a preference for standard English over Hawaiian Creole English was observed. As Day hypothesised, this shift in children's perceptions could be attributed to the influence of the educators and the school's standard-only policy. Other studies have also showed that, as children grow older, they become socially conditioned (Ohama *et al.*, 2000) and come to respect nonstandard varieties less.

Unfortunately, adults' negative attitudes might influence students' attitudes, who gradually start viewing their own nonstandard native varieties as inferior (Pavlou, 1997).

Still, it is important to note that attitudes towards nonstandard varieties as reflected in educational policies are not always negative. In fact, Norway, Switzerland and Luxembourg provide notable examples of countries which have positive attitudes towards nonstandard varieties and show a greater tolerance toward their use in education (Trudgill, 2000), while countries like Switzerland and Italy use dialects in education (Rosenberg, 1989) – notably, in South Tyrol, Italy, a dialect-oriented textbook has been introduced by the government. Generally, educational approaches aiming for a solution of language variation problems in schools highlight that positive attitudes towards pupils' native varieties is of the utmost importance (Trudgill, 1975).

3.5 School performance and evaluation of bidialectal students

The notion of dialects frequently comes up in discussions about educational failure. Indeed, research conducted so far in bidialectal settings on nonstandard-speaking students' school performance has showed that, on the whole, nonstandard-speaking students have a history of underachieving compared to standard-speaking students (Malcolm, 2011). For instance, national achievement measurements in Australian schools demonstrated that Aboriginal students in Western Australia ranked consistently low (Sharifian, 2008; Oliver *et al.*, 2011). Upon reaching school age, fewer Aboriginal children achieve benchmarks compared with non-Aboriginal peers across all academic areas (Sharifian, 2008). Also, African American students in the US revealed chronic academic underachievement, particularly in reading tasks (Rickford and Rickford, 1995; Ogbu, 1999; Rickford, 1999; Craig *et al.*, 2009). Similar results were reported with regard to western education in Africa. The results of various research studies in Africa pointed towards an increase in the number of illiterate people throughout the African continent (Ball and Bernhardt, 2012). Accordingly, in Canada, more than forty per cent of First Nation children failed to complete their schooling, while teachers reported immense speech and language deficiencies (Ball, 2008). Parallel observations have also been reported with regard to pidgin and creole-speaking communities such as those of the Caribbean (Winch and Gingell, 1994) as well as in Europe (Mar-Molinero, 2000; Hernandez-Campoy, 2007).

As noted earlier, the poor academic performance of dialect-speaking students has been seen as a repercussion of bidialectism (Pavlou and Christodoulou, 2001; Yiakoumetti, Evans and Esch, 2005; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2007) and it has been inferred that stigmatised nonstandard varieties, minority languages or the use of pidgins and creoles are accountable for the students' massive educational failure (Baratz, 1969; Toohey, 1986). For example, African American children's reading failure was construed by some educators as evidence of the immense negative effects that the dialect has on the educational progress of the children (Malcolm, 2015). Also, Orr (1997), who believed that African American English is inferior to standard American English and thus unfit for conveying abstract and logical functions that can be conveyed in the standard, argued that, for speakers of AAE, language is a barrier to success in mathematics and science. However, nonstandard dialect use cannot be held solely responsible for the underachievement of these students. Such underachievement is usually due to a very complex network of socio-economic and socio-cultural factors such as poverty, hunger, poor housing, and other kinds of discrimination, the role of which is outside the scope of this thesis.

Moving on, performance is inextricably linked with assessment and, as such, the reported gap in the achievement of bidialectal students can be seen as true only if appropriate assessment methods have so far been applied. Exploring the way in which nonstandard-speaking students have been assessed through the years, it becomes obvious that inferences about bidialectal students' performance have been made on the basis of their evaluation in a standard language and register they do not customarily use outside of the school (Sharifian, 2015; Anderson and Macleroy, 2015). By and large, literacy skills are typically and traditionally equated with proficiency in the standard and by extension all assessment is undertaken exclusively through standard language testing. Linguistic and social contextual factors which differentiate bidialectal students from other test takers are therefore ignored (Malcolm, 2011) and multicompetent users are assessed linguistically only on their competence in the standard, which is actually their second dialect/language.

In fact, this lopsided assessment of dialect-speaking students has sometimes resulted in misdiagnosing bidialectal students as linguistically and cognitively impaired (Papapavlou, 2004; Adger, Wolfram and Christian, 2014; Edwards, 2007; Ball and Bernhardt, 2012; Malcolm, 2015; Sharifian, 2015). Increasingly, the use of standard-only language assessment tools with bidialectal children is being criticised as inappropriate for language and cultural reasons, while scholars stress the need for further research to guide appropriate assessment

(Malcolm, 2011; Pearce and Williams, 2013; Anderson and Macleroy, 2015; Sharifian, 2015). Malcolm (2011) argues that indigenous students' distinctive linguistic, cultural and political circumstances as well as their unique history require a multi-layered understanding of their performance. Similarly, Sharifian (2015) cautions that nonstandard-speaking students' performance is frequently misinterpreted and calls for the creation of alternative assessments that take into account students' entire linguistic repertoires.

Paradoxically, the failure of educational systems to develop (culturally and linguistically) fair assessment for language and literacy learners with diverse needs and objectives has not only been obvious when standard-only educational approaches aimed for unification of outcomes but also when multilingualism and multiculturalism is envisioned. In vivo expressions of bidialectal policy declarations have shown that educational reforms are impeded due to lack of effective monitoring and development of adequate procedures to assess the professed goals of biliteracy and biculturalism (McKay, 2011; Siegel, 2011). Typically, over time, the objective of biliteracy fades away, with educational authorities monitoring mostly the development of standard literacy (Malcolm and Truscott, 2012). Nonstandard variety and culture are supposedly ascribed an instrumental role in classrooms, but in reality, this role only exists in school curricula and biliteracy/bidialectism is never actually achieved in education. This is reflected in school settings as well as in the lack of methods for assessing students' literacy development in their foundational element, their native tongue. As Ball and Bernhardt (2012) note, the vast majority of screening and assessment methods target the evaluation of the standard language and culture, throwing discredit on the bidialectal model of education and negating its 'genuine bidialectal' character.

Australia's educational strategy is a telling example of the discrepancy between the intended bilingual/bicultural objectives of the educational system and the monolingual/monocultural performance measurements applied to evaluate the Aboriginal students' academic success. Malcolm and Königsberg (2007) note that the problem derives from the fact that, while the national educational policy recognises two essential components of literacy for the Aboriginals – the foundational element that is their native variety and the overlaid element that is standard Australian English – the measures developed to assess their performance in what ostensibly stands as a bicultural system only take their standard literacy into account, and not their foundational linguistic competence. Put differently, in this context, the initial objective of

biliteracy is either illusory to begin with or progressively sacrificed for the sake of the Aboriginal students' standard performance.

Similarly, in reviewing available reports on bilingual/bidialectal programmes, Siegel (1999a, 1999b, 2007) finds that these programmes were evaluated on the basis of language tests, measuring the children's oral and writing skills merely in the standard. In fact, improvement was defined as the reduction of negative dialect transfer in the students' standard language production while the other elements of bidialectal students' repertoires were completely ignored. Siegel also points out that the number of comprehensive evaluations of bidialectal approaches is limited, and much research is still required in this area.

Exceptions are scarce and mainly refer to cases of bilingual programmes involving a creole or a pidgin language. For example, Murtagh (1982) conducted a thorough study in Australia aiming to test whether bilingual education would facilitate the learning of both Standard English and Creole. Murtagh reported positive results for both the native variety and standard proficiency. Despite such results, this bilingual programme, along with others, was terminated by the government at the end of 1998 (Siegel, 2010). Similarly, Benson (2004) evaluated a bilingual programme in Africa which utilised a Portuguese-lexified creole to facilitate learning in standard Portuguese. The performance of the students at the end of the programme was assessed not only in standard Portuguese, but also in Crioulo and was compared to that of students involved in other programmes. The evaluation results were promising: Siegel (2010) notes that the use of Crioulo in literacy learning facilitated the students' comprehension of the lessons. What is more, he argues that speaking production increased, and that students were less reliant on rote learning. Overall, these students performed as well as – if not better than – those in other programmes.

A more recent example is the two-way bidialectal programme applied in Australian schools (Malcolm and Königsberg, 2007; Malcolm and Truscott, 2012). This programme recognised the Aboriginal students' native language and aimed to foster their communicative and literacy skills in both Aboriginal and standard English (Malcolm and Truscott, 2012). After the implementation of the programme, the findings provided strong evidence in support of its contribution to enhancing biliteracy and biculturalism. However, the monoglossic assessments used by the majority of bidialectal programmes have been one of the reasons that (additive) bidialectism, despite its profound popularity as the most influential proposal for the education of nonstandard-speaking learners, received heavy criticism as being based on a racist premise.

It has been argued that, in alignment with the assimilatory and compensatory goals of its monolingual predecessors (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), bidialectal education, too, allowed the dominant standard to prevail in the classroom, thus stealthily committing linguistic genocide under the label of multicultural education.

In sum, to the best of my knowledge, very few bidialectal programmes have so far been genuinely bidialectal in the sense that they aimed to develop active bidialectal skills, including biliteracy and biculturalism (Malcolm and Truscott, 2012). Their policy claims for promoting tolerance of cultural and linguistic differences, respecting the right of minority students to retain their linguistic and cultural identity and their commitment to help them enhance both their linguistic and cultural elements have been proven ineffective in actual practice as well as in evaluation reports of existing bidialectal programmes. As stated by Malcolm and Truscott (2012, p. 240) '[i]t is especially important that assessment, in keeping with the bidialectal nature of the programme, recognises student achievement in both dialects, while providing student and teacher with diagnostic guidance for the ongoing improvement of skills in the second dialect'.

3.6 Conclusion

The use of nonstandard varieties in formal education has consistently been a contentious issue, which has generated heated debates among scholars, educators and policy makers. Some favour home-language support, while others are wary of it (Malcolm, 2011), fearing it can potentially disempower nonstandard-speaking people (Nakata, 2003). Conventionally, nonstandard varieties and dialects have been institutionally ostracised. Nevertheless, the actual investigation of the classroom context has shown, first, that children's native variety exists despite the stated policies and, second, that monoglot policies have offered no remedial solution to the challenges bidialectal children face. At the same time, research advances led to the rise of bidialectal education, which challenges the largely anachronistic ideology that promotes exclusive use of an educational monolingual standard variety and advocates the use of all linguistic varieties, be they standard or nonstandard. Despite research findings supporting the educational, social and psychological benefits of bidialectal education, it remains a contested area, especially because it has failed to assess fairly the communicative repertoire of bidialectal students who are only evaluated in the standard. Pupils' foundational element, their native tongue, is typically left unmonitored, negating on the one hand the 'genuine bidialectal' character of the programmes

(Ball and Bernhardt, 2012; Siegel, 2012) and, on the other hand, failing to provide research data about how D1 performance is affected by bidialectal education.

Chapter 4 Sociolinguistic and educational landscapes of Cyprus

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to set the scene for the research by describing the context of the study, namely the Greek-speaking part of Cyprus, which, for reasons of convenience, will henceforth be referred to as Cyprus. As noted earlier in this thesis, Cyprus is a bidialectal community with two genetically related Greek varieties co-existing: the natively acquired Cypriot dialect and the official Standard Modern Greek language. Albeit being historically linguistically diverse, Cyprus has always adopted monodialectal and monolingual language policies, rendering it an ideal research setting for this investigation. The current chapter consists of three main sections. In the first section, historical and political background information is briefly provided, to enable a better understanding of the Cypriot context. Following this, the chapter focuses on the linguistic and sociolinguistic landscape of Cyprus by presenting the two linguistic varieties – the Cypriot dialect and the official Standard Modern Greek language – and discussing their formal characteristics, role and status as well societal attitudes towards them. The last part of this chapter centres on discussing the linguistic varieties in the educational context of Cyprus. It presents the rigid language-in-education policies that have been implemented in Cyprus from a historic and synchronic point of view, while comparing them to the complex and multidimensional language practices that emerge in classroom discourse today. The chapter concludes by referring to prior literature on the impact of bidialectism on learners' performance in the standard, in this case the SMG, and what studies have so far shown regarding the linguistic and cognitive effects of bidialectal education in Cyprus.

4.2 Historical and political background of Cyprus

Cyprus is located in Southeast Europe and is the third largest island of the Mediterranean Sea. Owing to its strategic position, Cyprus went through long periods of political turbulence throughout its history, as it was colonised by several rulers including the Mycenaeans, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Franks, Venetians, Ottomans, British and Turks (Varella, 2006; Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou and Kappler, 2011). In its recent history, the

island came under Ottoman rule from 1571 until 1878, when it became a British colony (1878-1960). It was not until 1960 that the island acquired its independence and the modern Cypriot state, known as the Republic of Cyprus, was founded.

The constitution of the Republic of Cyprus recognised the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities as the two main communities of the state and their national languages, Greek and Turkish, as the two official languages (Karyolemou, 2001) of the newly-founded state. Importantly, the varieties of Greek and Turkish spoken on the island today differ substantially from the mainstream Greek and Turkish languages which are spoken in Greece and Turkey respectively (Newton, 1972; Georgiou-Scharlipp and Scharlipp, 1998). The existence of these two distinct linguistic codes on the island was by no means conducive to the development of a bilingual society, as ongoing hostility kept the two communities polarised and culminated in their complete segregation, especially after the partition of the island in 1974, following the Turkish invasion (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou and Kappler, 2011). Since then, the Turkish and Greek communities have been separated into the north and south part of the island respectively and constitute two fundamentally different entities with distinct administrative and educational systems (Özerk, 2001; Goutsos and Karyolemou, 2004). As will be shown in what follows, the turbulent historical past of the island and the constant struggle of GCs to maintain their Greekness influenced the language policy of the Cypriot state (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou and Kappler, 2011), which constantly aimed to reinforce the Cypriots' Greek identity by promoting the common national language of the Greek world. In the context of education, the aim has been to emulate various features of the educational system in the Greek state, including the language of instruction, sacrificing, inevitably, the linguistic and cultural specificities characterising the Cypriot state.

4.3 Ideologies and ethnic identity in the Greek Cypriot community

The historical background of Cyprus as well as its present political situation (the division of the island) have played a significant role in shaping Greek Cypriots' political ideologies and, by extension, the way they perceive and construct their (ethnic) identity. In particular, the political and historical developments in Cyprus have led to the emergence of two political ideologies: Hellenocentrism and Cyprocentrism (or Cypriotism), which derive from alternative concepts of civic and ethnic nationalism respectively (Karoulla-Vrikki, 2009). Hellenocentrism and its proponents, hellenocentrics, emphasise the historical, cultural, religious, and national ties of Cyprus with Greece. This political orientation is based on an ethnic nationalist ideology which

considers the Greek identity as the ethnic identity of Cypriot Greeks. On the other hand, Cyprocentrics invoke the pre-Greek past of Cyprus and refer to Cyprus as an independent, autonomous state that is separate from Greece, suggesting in this way a civic understanding of contemporary Cyprus. By the same token, Cypriotism propels a civic-nationalist ideology which sees the Cypriot identity as the ethnic identity in Cyprus (Karoulla-Vrikki, 2009). Proponents of each political orientation hold relevant language ideologies: Hellenocentrics promote the common national language, SMG, in prestigious domains related to power, while Cyprocentrics are more positive towards the use and protection of the local Cypriot dialect. The ideological clash between Greek nationalism and Cypriotism which emerged after the 1960s, when Cyprus became an independent republic, still constitutes the major battle in the GC 'contest' over identity (Mavratsas, 1997).

For most of the modern history of Cyprus, ethnic nationalism has undoubtedly been the prevalent political ideology (Mavratsas, 1997). For the reader to get a sense of the Greek-centred ideology that was dominant on the island, it is worth noting that, prior to the Turkish invasion in 1974, 'union' (*enosis*) with Greece, rather than independence, was supported by the majority of Greek Cypriots. Following the events of 1974 and the dissolution of the two countries' relations, Hellenocentrism was briefly suppressed by Cypriotism, but it was soon revived in different forms (Mavratsas, 1997). Today, Greek nationalism does not seek unity with Greece but rather aspires to reaffirm the Greek identity of the GCs by ascertaining the Greek character of the island and continuity with Greece.

This trend is manifested in many important Cypriot institutions – such as the Cypriot state and judicial system, the political parties, mass media, the economic and financial system, the church and the educational system, which have been consequently 'Hellenised' (Mavratsas, 1997) – and is also illustrated in the way language and language variation is handled in Cyprus. Language and, in particular, the formal SMG language has been utilised as the sole determinant of GC identity and is seen as a way to effectuate the linguistic link with Greece. In a similar vein, education is used as the vehicle par excellence for the promotion of the Greek language, at the expense, in fact, of the local variation and its respective culture. The Greek identity is transmitted to Greek Cypriots through school and the use of SMG (Terkourafi, 2007). As it will be further elaborated in this chapter, rather than aiming to ascertain the country's linguistic identity and establish the local norms of language use, educational reforms over the past 30 years have consistently been modelled on the Greek system (Karyolemou 2001).

4.4 The Greek Cypriot linguistic and sociolinguistic landscape

4.4.1 Linguistic varieties

When discussing bidialectism in Cyprus, we refer to the co-existence of the Cypriot Greek dialect (CG) and the Standard Modern Greek (SMG) language, which are linguistically related. CG is naturally acquired and is the only variety which Greek Cypriots (GC) are exposed to until the age of 5, when they start formal schooling. Being traditionally associated with sociolinguistically ‘low’ functions and roles in society, CG is mostly employed in informal contexts such as private oral communication (Tsiplakou and Ioannidou, 2012). Conversely, SMG is acquired sequentially, mainly through formal education, and is regarded as a high-status variety used in most public fora and formal settings, including education, the press and the media, administration and public speeches. As CG has not, to date, been standardised and codified with an established orthography, SMG is exclusively employed in contexts that involve writing. The following section provides important information separately for each variety.

4.4.1.1 Standard Modern Greek: a description

Modern Greek belongs to the family of Indo-European languages and is the only constitutionally recognised language in the Republic of Greece. As noted above, it is also one of the two official languages of the Republic of Cyprus. Modern Greek is also natively spoken in countries such as North America, Australia, Germany, and the United Kingdom, by Greek minorities or communities of Greek immigrants. In the case of Modern Greek, among all the dialects and varieties of the Greek language spoken in the modern era, the SMG variety has been selected to function as the standard norm in Greece. SMG exhibits congruence between its written and spoken form, is codified and has undergone extensive grammatical description. Yet, albeit being a standard language, which means it is generally invariable, SMG involves a degree of variability (see Babiniotis, 1979; Warburton, 1980; Mackridge, 1985). This is mainly due to the following two reasons: firstly, throughout much of its history, the Modern Greek language existed in a situation of diglossia (Ferguson, 1959), with *Dimotiki*, the regional spoken language, being the low variety and *Katharevusa*, a form of the Modern Greek language conceived in the early 19th century as a compromise between Ancient Greek and the Demotic Greek of the time (Arvaniti, 2002; Mackridge, 2009), serving as the high, learned variety. Various features of the latter have actually been preserved until today, long after the *Katharevusa* was rendered obsolete

(Mackridge, 2009). Secondly, SMG was also influenced by regional variation, the aftermath of population movement toward the main financial centres of Greece during the 20th century. The results of this are twofold: first, there is a wide range of alternative linguistic forms that express the same meaning in SMG and, second, there is considerable discrepancy between everyday oral communication and the highly normative type of language that is taught at schools (Mackridge, 1985). In the context of Cyprus, however, at least up until today, SMG has featured mostly in particular contexts and forms (the written form in coursebooks, the press and the media) and consequently Cypriots have been mainly exposed to specific, highly standardised and normative registers of SMG. While this is still largely true today, more informal, everyday uses of the SMG have started to be introduced in the Cypriot context through the waves of Greek immigrants that relocated to Cyprus following the Greek financial crisis.

4.4.1.2 Cypriot Greek: a description

The CG dialect belongs to the southeastern Greek dialect group, (Newton, 1972; Trudgill, 2003) and was formed between the 7th and 14th centuries AD. Being the native variety of virtually all GCs, it is spoken by approximately 700,000 speakers in Cyprus and abroad. Due to the geographic isolation of the island from mainland Greece, the CG dialect exhibits a major difference compared to other Modern Greek dialects: its use is widespread on the island as it is the universal medium of informal communication. This attests to the vitality of CG, contrary to other regional Greek dialects that are increasingly being replaced by SMG and whose use is confined to isolated, rural areas (Browning, 1983; Kontosopoulos, 2001). Although CG is predominately a spoken variety, it features in a sizeable body of written records. Nevertheless, its written usage is rather restricted compared to the use of SMG, which is the medium through which all formal writing purposes are served (see section 4.4.1.2.3).

4.4.1.2.1 Variation within the Cypriot Greek

Far from being a single, homogeneous entity, the CG dialect is characterised by a high degree of variation within its own linguistic borders (Tsiplakou, Armostis and Evripidou, 2016). Prior to the partition of the island in 1974, this variation was described as geographical, with early descriptive studies on CG (Menardos, 1884, 1969, Newton, 1972, 1983; Kontosopoulos, 2001) making mention of a geographical continuum consisting of eighteen regional varieties or

basilects, collectively termed '*horkatika*' (peasantry), as opposed to '*ellinika*' (SMG). The rapid geodemographic and social changes that followed the partition of the island in 1974 as well as the extensive exposure to SMG owing to economic and infrastructural changes, urbanisation and advancements in transportation and telecommunications led to dialect levelling and koinesation processes which are still ongoing within CG (Moschonas, 1996; Hinskens, 2001; Terkourafi, 2005b). In particular, regional varieties are gradually losing (mostly infrequent) local variants and are on their way to becoming obsolete, while sociohistorical and structural evidence support the emergence of today's generalised Cypriot koine, commonly referred to as the contemporary urban Cypriot dialect.

Contemporary urban CG is free from local variation and is structurally mixed or hybrid in its acrolectal levels due to SMG influences (Tsiplakou, Karyolemou and Pavlou, 2009). This fused system at the acrolect of the CG koine, which approximates SMG but still diverges from it, has been referred to in literature as the Cypriot Standard Greek variety – the term was coined by Arvaniti (2006, 2010) to refer to the version of the SMG language that is in use in the GC community but differs from SMG spoken in Greece, despite the fact that GC speakers are not aware of the existence of this linguistic form and the ways in which it is different from SMG (Arvaniti, 2006).

A growing body of literature (Katsoyannou *et al.*, 2006; Tsiplakou *et al.*, 2006; Tsiplakou, 2014) has also suggested that the ongoing levelling processes, apart from leading to the emergence of an urban koine, have also effectuated a shift from a regional dialect continuum to a register continuum within the CG. According to this view, the CG now consists of different registers rather than geographical subvarieties. The registers seem to be vertically stratified, ranging from more to less basilectal or sociolinguistically stigmatised (the latter is what the term '*horkatika*' implies today) and from more distant to closer to standard Greek (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009b). Even though the labelling and quantification of these levels as well their delimitation have not yet been defined, testing on GC speakers' intuitions confirmed that they recognise a hierarchy of linguistic categories ranging from 'heavily peasantry' to 'SMG'. As stated by Tsiplakou (2009), there is evidence in support of the sociolinguistic/register-continuum view: first, today's CG speakers, especially younger ones, have only limited awareness of the structural characteristics and geographical distribution of the basilectal subvarieties that '*horkatika*' refers to and are unable to identify regional variation (Tsiplakou, 2004). Karyolemou and Pavlou (2001) showed that young GCs recognise phonological and morphological items of

the CG koine as salient while they ignore the saliency of more marked features belonging to regional varieties. Second, the term ‘horkatika’ has now evolved, from referring generically to the Cypriot dialect to describing a specific register of speech involving marked, mainly regional CG items.

Nonetheless, the Cypriot dialect, either as a regional dialect continuum or a register continuum, has been characterised by internal variation and GC speakers have always had a rich bidialectal repertoire at their disposal. Today, by moving along a register continuum, they can use different linguistic resources to indicate distinct levels of formality and encode a range of registers (basilectal, mesolectal, acrolectal). The choice of one over the other variant in a language that is characterised by internal variation (πολυτυπία) is expected to be determined by contextual considerations (Meyerhoff, 2001). As such, the selection of a particular register or sub-variety of CG depends on various factors relevant to the interactional exchange, such as the setting, the speakers’ relationship, profession, age and topic of discussion. Cypriot speakers are expected to learn how to deal with the varied repertoire through socialisation (Sophocleous, 2011).

4.4.1.2.2 The sociolinguistic status of Cypriot Greek

The sociolinguistic reality of the Republic of Cyprus used to be described as diglossic, in the Fergusonian sense, with CG being the sociolinguistically low variety and SMG holding the position of the high variety. This was true when CG and SMG represented relatively closed and distant linguistic systems; today, following the ongoing processes of language change described above, the relationship between CG and SMG fails to fit the strict bipartite distinction that the Fergusonian definition of diglossia entails (Tsiplakou, 2003, 2009, 2014). According to Sophocleous (2011), language practices in contemporary Cyprus do not display the usual pattern of diglossic distribution, but rather a blend of the two varieties in a range of intermediary uses. Likewise, Papapavlou and Pavlou (1998) consider that in Cyprus there is no distinction between high and low varieties as such, even though Greek Cypriots use CG in their everyday activities and switch to SMG in official circumstances. Interestingly, Karyolemou (1992, 2006) suggests the existence of a continuum in usage and diglossia in speakers’ perceptions which is claimed to maintain, in this perspective, the sociolinguistic reality of the GC community, still by and large diglossic (Tsiplakou, 2009). In her words: ‘As perceptions tend to persist long after reality has evolved, the diglossic perception has not only been maintained, but it has also retained a

classificatory value, since it is used by Cypriot speakers as a means to categorize linguistic performances (theirs or others')' (Karyolemou, 1992, p.264).

The newly emergent koine has today expanded in domains which previously dismissed the dialect as inappropriate (Themistocleous, 2005, 2007, 2010; Coutsougera and Georgiou, 2006). In fact, the new emergent register levels of the CG dialect seem to have taken over both formal and informal domains by widely replacing the use of SMG, which has now been significantly marginalised. For example, contemporary CG, or at least its acrolectal levels, are now used in formal or semi-formal domains such as the court, public speeches, university lectures and the media. The dialect is indeed allocated an increasingly larger space in the current Cypriot mediaspace via the broadcasting of Cypriot sitcoms and TV series, which enjoy popularity. This has granted the dialect not only visibility but also some kind of 'legitimation' (Tsiplakou, 2009).

This recent significant increase in the use of Cypriot Greek in the media seems also to have played a significant role in the emergence of hyperdialectisms in slang/s. As noted previously, the young generation of Cypriots have only minimal awareness of the structural features and geographical distribution of basilectal sub-varieties. Concomitantly, instances of obsolete and/or artificial Cypriot forms are used hyperdialectally (Tsiplakou and Ioannidou, 2012). In hyperdialectal slangy production, practically obsolete dialect variants, forms constructed on the basis of dialectal morphological and phonological templates, or even 'ill-formed' dialect forms often generated through over-application of dialect features in structurally inappropriate environments are used to indicate language play, non-conformity to linguistic prescriptivism, youth identities, etc., but, crucially, not (awareness of) geographical provenance (Tsiplakou, 2004; Tsiplakou, Armostis and Evripidou, 2016).

According to Tsiplakou (2014), the anticipated stability of the koine is predicated to a large extent on its divergence from geographical basilects and on its partial convergence to Standard Greek. The fact that it has shed many of the 'peasantry' features of geographical basilectal sub-varieties of CG in favour of more 'standard-like' features has granted it a new (c)overt prestige that positively worked towards its wider acceptance by the society. As will be shown in the next section, the language shift that is in process in the CG society has also had a direct impact on the status of the two varieties and the speakers' attitudes towards them, which, in turn, contribute to the consolidation of the new linguistic landscape on the island. Overall, it seems safe to

assume that the contemporary CG dialect is potentially turning into a (c)overt prestige variety (Rowe and Grohmann, 2013).

4.4.1.2.3 Writing in Cypriot Greek and the sociolinguistics of existing orthography conventions

Although CG is a non-standardised, non-codified variety, it has a long history of writing and there is a sizeable body of poetry and folk literature written in CG (Themistocleous *et al.*, 2012). In particular, CG is one of the first varieties of Modern Greek to have exhibited written records (Armosti *et al.*, 2014). Written documents in CG include the Chronicles of Machairas and Boustronios and the Assizes of the Lusignan Court, and date as far back as in the fourteenth century (Symeonidis, 2006; Horrocks, 2009). In addition, several modern writers and poets used the dialect as a means of expressing themselves on paper (Michaelides (1849–1917), Lipertis (1866–1937), Liasidis (1901 –1985), Montis (1914–2004)). Apart from printed folk literature, a number of authors attempted to describe the dialect by producing CG dictionaries and grammars (Chatziioannou, 1996, 1999; Papangelou, 2001; Yiangoullis, 2009), while today CG also features in scripts for theatrical plays, TV sitcoms, and radio comedy sketches.

In recent times, written CG is also extensively used in nonprint environments such as computer-mediated communication (henceforth CMC), text-messaging and internet media like instant messengers, email, social networks and weblogs. As Themistocleous (2010) notes, the recent emergence of new genres and the development of new means of communication which exhibit spoken linguistic features allowed the GCs to use their native dialect in writing, a domain which was formerly exclusively associated with SMG.

As regards the orthographic representation of CG, the lack of a codified CG orthography and the inadequacy of the standard orthography to accurately represent the CG sounds that are absent from the SMG have led to the emergence of an overwhelming number of non-standardised/ non-systematic orthographic systems/spelling conventions (Coutsougera and Georgiou, 2006; Georgiou, 2010; Themistocleous, 2010). Examples include: boldface characters or capitalisation of characters, combinations of existing Greek letters, the use of Latin characters or additional diacritic marks placed over, below, or next to certain graphemes to adequately and transparently render the distinctive sounds of the dialect. Recently, the use of CG on the Internet and various instant messaging services have led to the emergence of a novel Romanised spelling

system of the dialect, adding further to the multiplicity of existing orthographic models (Themistocleous, 2010, 2015). Interestingly, this trend which is ubiquitous in CMC has permeated other writing arenas, such as note-passing in class among female students (Themistocleous, 2007; Sophocleous and Themistocleous, 2014).

The written form of the dialect has recently received extensive research attention, with recent publications highlighting the repercussions of the lack of a unified way to render the dialect in writing and pointing out the necessity for codification and standardisation of the CG (Armosti *et al.*, 2014; Papadima, Ayiomamitou and Kyriacou, 2014). Research has also turned its focus to investigating the sociolinguistics of the existing CG orthographies/ spelling conventions. In particular, by drawing on Sebba's (2009, p.13) view of orthography as a symbolic system/action that carries social messages, Papadima *et al.*, (2014) investigated the orthographic choices of a number of GC users. Their study showed that GC users' orthographic practices are in line with their ideological positioning in relation to issues of language and (national) identity. Every time a user opts for a particular orthography convention, they are reflecting political and language ideologies and immediately their choices become markers of difference or belonging (Cyprocentrism versus Hellenocentrism).

The authors classified GC users into three categories according to the degree to which they were willing to depart from the Greek orthography to adequately and transparently render idiosyncratic CG sounds. The first group includes those who support an etymological approach to the orthographic representation of the CG. For them, orthographic choices are a statement about the country's connection to the Greek nation and, by preserving 'orthography unity', they aim to preserve 'national unity' and further to emphasise their Greek identity over their Cypriot identity. The second group refers to those who support a more phonemic approach to the spelling of the CG. Proponents of this view are in favour of a 'shallower orthographic system' where there is greater correspondence between sounds and characters so that the written form of the word adequately represents its pronunciation and speech form (Klima, 1972, cited in Sebba, 2007, p.19). Ideologically, those who fall within this category prioritise their civic identity (Cypriotness) over their national identity (Greekness). Within this category we can include all orthographic conventions that make use of the Roman characters – Latin characters embedded in Greek words and the use of Greeklish. The third group includes those who stand in the middle and actually constituted the majority of the study participants. They are willing to abandon the historical Greek orthography in order for transparency to be served but within certain limits,

which would exclude the use of a script other than the Greek one. Their orthographic choices include various combinations of Greek letters with or without the use of diacritic marks.

Finally, the study also revealed a strong association between age and orthographic preferences, with the youngest group of participants (under 24) opting for shallow orthographic conventions that are more transparent in relation to the rendition of the CG sounds and the oldest group (over 45) prioritising deep Greek-centred orthographies. These behaviours reflect the changes in the sociolinguistic status of the CG that have taken place in recent decades (see section 4.4.1.2.2).

4.4.2 Investigating Greek Cypriots' language attitudes towards SMG and CG

The two varieties have traditionally been associated with overtly prescriptive views which are inextricably linked with the political and language ideologies held by GCs. As noted earlier (see section 4.3), the prevailing language ideology in Cyprus is that CG is a dialect of SMG and, consequently, that Cypriots are ethnically Greek (Arvaniti, 2006). The Greek identity of Cypriots is ascertained through the common Greek language and religion, while SMG is seen as the first and perhaps the most important determinant of Greek identity and connects Cyprus with the rest of the Greek world (Ioannidou, 2009; Terkourafi, 2007). On these grounds, CG, as denoted by its collective appellation '*horkatika*' and/or '*vareta*' (Greek for *heavy*), is strongly associated with low status and its use stigmatises the speaker as less educated, less attractive, unrefined and impolite. On the other hand, the superposed SMG, which generally enjoys higher prestige, elevates the speaker as more sophisticated, prestigious and cultivated (Sciriha, 1996; Papapavlou, 1998, 2001; Goutsos and Karyolemou, 2004; Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004). Nevertheless, more nuanced findings from attitudinal studies point towards a fast-growing (c)overt prestige that the contemporary koine is gaining. The new roles that the contemporary CG dialect has acquired have had an immediate positive effect on the dialect's status as well as the way it is perceived by its speakers.

For example, Papapavlou (1998), in a study which used a match-guised technique to gauge university speakers' attitudes, reports that CG guises were characterised as less attractive, less educated, less intelligent, less ambitious, and less attractive than SMG ones, but, at the same time, SMG guises were judged as less sincere, less friendly and less humorous. This split in attitudes has been associated with Greek Cypriots' ambivalent identity perceptions; positive

attitudes towards CG signal an exclusive Cypriot identity. Karyolemou and Pavlou (2001) argued that Cypriot speakers hold negative attitudes towards acrolectal and basilectal CG varieties (the Greek terms being '*kalamaristika*' and '*horkatika*') but are positive regarding the middle varieties. Tsiplakou (2004) reported that, today, Greek Cypriots generally hold positive feelings towards their dialect and previously marked dialectal occurrences are today gaining in popularity. In addition, it has been observed that the selection of a particular register level of CG or variety might influence speakers' language attitudes, language choice, and their perceptions regarding linguistic variation (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009).

4.4.3 Structural properties of two competing systems

Despite the fact that the two varieties are genetically related and have significant overlaps in phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon, they exhibit differences in all levels of linguistic analysis that prevent them from being mutually intelligible. In fact, the two varieties are characterised by asymmetrical intelligibility in the sense that SMG is perfectly comprehensible to Greek Cypriots, whereas CG seems fairly unintelligible to speakers of the standard (Newton, 1972; Kontosopoulos, 2001; Terkourafi, 2007). As will be argued later in this section, the two varieties exhibit differences which vastly exceed the sphere of phonetics and phonology. The fact that GCs provide unreliable judgements of their own speech (Cypriots tend to downplay the structural distance between CG and SMG and describe their dialect simply as an accent (Arvaniti, 2010) is indicative of the Greek-centred ideology that exists on the island and allows no room for the Cypriots' native variety to be recognised as sufficiently different from the Greek native variety (Arvaniti, 2006). Nevertheless, what this tendency actually demonstrates is the limited awareness Cypriots have regarding the structural relationship of their two varieties.

Defining the boundaries between SMG and CG – as in the case of any set of related linguistic varieties – is not straightforward: first and foremost, as noted above, the two varieties are internally variable as opposed to homogeneous; secondly, CG is not standardised or codified, which renders its linguistic features rather elusive and indefinable. The following comparison of the two varieties draws on a number of descriptive studies on CG that are themselves based on the authors' personal observations and analyses of written sources (Menardos, 1969; Newton, 1972; Kolitsis, 1988; Hadjioannou, 1999; Kontosopoulos, 2001; Symeonidis, 2006). It is important to note that not all linguistic aspects of CG have received adequate attention (Symeonides, 2006, p.244): most analyses are mainly concerned with CG phonology,

morphology and lexical idiosyncrasies, while studies on syntax (e.g. Agouraki, 1997, 2010; Grohmann *et al.*, 2010) and pragmatics (e.g. Terkourafi, 2001) are limited in number and concern only certain phenomena. According to prior references and speakers' intuitions, the most frequent and salient formal differences between the two varieties are at the lexical level, followed by a lesser degree of divergence at the morphological and phonological levels, while the two varieties seem to exhibit very few and minor differences at the syntactic level (Karyolemou and Pavlou, 2001).

In what follows, the main differences between CG and SMG per level of linguistic analysis are presented. A more detailed description of the differences on which this study focused is presented in Appendix 1.

a) Phonetics/phonology: Certain speech sounds are only found in CG, namely [t̪], [ʃ], and [ʒ]. These sounds are the result of palatalisation of [c], [ç] and [z] before a front vowel or glide. Also, geminates and aspirated stops do not occur in SMG. Other prevalent CG phonological features are the omission of intervocalic [v], [ð], [ɣ] and the epenthesis of [ɣ] in the verb ending [evo].

b) Morphology: A prevalent morphological feature of CG is the retention of syllabic augment [e] as a marker of past tense, which in SMG is preserved only when stressed. Also, CG has a different 3rd person plural ending ([usin] vs SMG [un]) and a different future particle, while it uses a final [n] in the accusative. The word-final [n] is retained where it appears in Medieval/Ancient Greek as well as in new positions without any historical basis. It also tends to assimilate with the following consonant in speech.

c) Syntax: The two varieties differ in the position of object pronoun clitics. CG displays enclisis whereas SMG exhibits proclisis; CG displays proclisis when the verb is preceded by certain negative and prohibitive particles (<εν> [en] 'not', <μεν> [men] 'don't'), temporal and conditional conjunctions (<πριν> [prin] 'before', <αν> [an] 'if') and [wh-] words, which trigger clitic fronting (Menardos, 1969). Another feature of the CG syntax is the extensive use of complements in genitive (see Menardos, 1969, p.29-40), with verbs that in SMG take accusative (e.g. CG [ftín:o su], SMG [se ftíno] 'spit at you').

d) Semantics/Lexicon: According to Kontosopoulos (2001), the idiosyncratic words found in CG – along with CG phonetics – is what renders the variety non-intelligible to speakers of other Greek varieties. A great number of words in CG are of Turkish, Arabic, French, Italian or English origin (for more details, see Newton, 1972; Papapavlou, 1994; Pavlou and Christodoulou, 2001). Furthermore, as Arvaniti (2010) observes, an additional factor which makes the CG lexicon divergent from SMG is a preference towards lexical items which are not commonly used in SMG, in place of more common ones, e.g. <αφυπηρέτηση> [afīpirétisi] instead of the more common SMG equivalent <σύνταξη> [sídaksi] ‘retirement’ and <πρόσωπο> [prósopo] instead of <άτομο> [átomo] or <άνθρωπος> [ánthropos] ‘person’.

In what follows, the chapter focuses on the school environment and language-in-education policies in Cyprus.

4.5 The educational curriculum in Cyprus: a historical perspective

4.5.1 Language policy in Greek Cypriot education: The role of the two varieties in the educational system

The country’s complex historical and political background and the fact that the Cypriot issue has so far remained insoluble have played a crucial role in shaping the prevailing Greek-centred ideologies that have been dominant in Cyprus. By extension, as research in Cyprus has suggested, political and language ideologies have heavily influenced Cypriot language policies and, consequently, education (e.g. Karyolemou, 2001, 2002; Karoulla-Vrikki, 2007). The educational system of the Republic of Cyprus has been repeatedly characterised as monolithic, conservative and unable to address the specific needs of a bidialectal community. Despite the historically linguistically diverse composition of CG society, since 1960, the state has consistently employed a monolingual/monodialectal language-in-education policy which largely emulates the one used in the Greek state (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2005). In policy terms, this means that the linguistic objective (proficiency in SMG), language of instruction (SMG), school curricula and educational materials are identical in the two countries. The Greek state publishes coursebooks which are provided free of charge to Cypriots. Often, these textbooks contain language and notions which Cypriots are unfamiliar with and which sometimes do not relate to Greek Cypriot culture (Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004). The limitations of this policy lie in that it overlooks the fact that CG is Greek Cypriots’ native variety, and is in opposition

with declared policies which promote literacy acquisition through one's native variety (UNESCO, 1951).

Many scholars who have investigated language policy in Cyprus (Karyolemou, 2002; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2005) have argued that it remains by and large a covert policy. There are no specific official documents that clearly define the language of education. Notably, in a total of 2,745 circulars that have been issued since 2003, the terms 'dialect' and 'Cypriot Greek' are employed only rarely (Leivada, Kambanaros, *et al.*, 2017): one such example is an official circular from the Ministry of Education and Culture published in 2002 (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2002), which refers to both language varieties and indirectly acknowledges the bidialectal character of the speech community. However, the circular only recognises SMG as the legitimate language variety for both teachers and students during class: according to said document, the dialect is acceptable only for certain communicative purposes, such as in role play that portrays scenes from everyday life, when reciting CG literature or in cases when children face difficulties in oral communication.

Behind the Greek-centred or 'hellenocentric' (Philippou, 2007) educational policy lie national, cultural and religious affiliations with the Greek world and ideals (Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004). In essence, scholars argue that the main rationale is the intention of the Cypriot state to secure national unity and promote the Greek identity through the preservation of a common national language, even if that occurs at the expense of the GCs' native variety (Coulmas, 1988; Karyolemou, 2001; Terkourafi, 2007). Throughout Cypriot history, the Greek language as well as Greek formal education have served as a linguistic link to the motherland, evidence of the Greekness of Cyprus and a defining feature of the Greek Cypriots' linguistic identity as well as a marker for distinguishing GCs from the 'other', for instance foreign rulers (Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2009).

The need for modernisation of the existing curricula was pointed out in a report on Educational Reform and further highlighted in a second report made from UNESCO, which assessed the public educational system of Cyprus. This led to the introduction of a new national curriculum into Cypriot schools, partially in 2010 and fully in 2012, which proved highly controversial, as it involved for the first time an explicit and direct reference to the CG dialect (Tsiplakou, 2007; Ioannidou, 2012) and suggested its use in formal education within a framework of 'critical literacy' (MoEC, 2010). It explicitly suggested the use of the dialect in the classroom as a contrastive and awareness-raising tool which, as supported by relevant literature, facilitates the

acquisition of the standard and the reduction of dialectal interference (Siegel, 1999c; Yiakoumetti, 2006, 2007a). The curriculum exposed students to texts from both varieties so as to consolidate the structural and lexical similarities and differences of the two varieties and also to help students understand the functions each one serves in each context. It also stated that any negative feelings towards the dialect should be put aside and the dialect should be understood as a fully-fledged language system with structure and systematicity on all its levels.

However, the concept of introducing the dialect in formal education sparked controversy, with prominent figures from church and university circles (e.g. Xenis, 2013) objecting to the implementation of the new curriculum on the grounds that it posed a threat to Greek Cypriots' Greek identity. Ultimately, albeit being revolutionary and promising, the curriculum was short-lived: its pilot implementation lasted a year, but was terminated in 2013 by the Ministry of Education, which replaced educational policymakers and curricula and reconsidered the objectives and structure of language learning. Within the Ministry's most updated circular, no reference is any longer made to the use of CG in the classroom, while the primary goal of language instruction has been reduced from 'critical literacy' to 'literacy' (MoEC, 2013).

4.5.2 Language use in the classroom

Issues related to the interactions between language policy and practice in the domain of education in Cyprus have been at the centre of multiple empirical and attitudinal studies (Ioannidou, 2007, 2009; Pavlou, 2007; Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2010). Several have provided ample evidence of the fact that the linguistic reality in Greek Cypriot schools today stands in stark contrast with the official policies. Despite the authoritative and legitimising nature of SMG in education, the dialect survives and is present in the educational setting, albeit unofficially (Yiakoumetti, Evans and Esch, 2005). As noted earlier as well, GC classrooms are by no means monodialectal and SMG is not the only 'legitimate' language during the process of formal teaching. Interestingly, this was a reality long before the attempt for educational reform in 2010 (Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2010), leading to a clash between policy and practice.

Ethnographic studies which investigated classroom discourse in GC classrooms (Tsiplakou, 2007; Ioannidou, 2009; Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2010) found that the language practices of both teachers and students during the teaching process in primary and secondary are complex

and multidimensional. The legitimate standard SMG code was found to be heavily mixed and switched with the dialectal CG in the language use of both pupils and teachers– in fact, the dialect was shown to predominate at least in the students’ discourse. The type and style of speaking occasions (Ioannidou, 2009, 2012) as well as the teachers’ (co)overt language attitudes influence this balance. In particular, evidence demonstrated that each variety is systematically associated with specific functions and pedagogic purposes. Therefore, the dialect is found more in informal occasions such as commenting, complaining, joking, as well as in occasions of encouragement. On the other hand, it is evident that the standard is the language of classroom authority, as in all content-based and actual lesson-related activities (formal domains of instruction) the amount of SMG use increases in teachers’ speech. For their part, students make an effort to comply with this norm (Ioannidou, 2009).

This tendency is also reflected in teachers’ language attitudes. In a number of attitudinal studies which examined teachers’ language views as well as their reports regarding their linguistic behaviour in class (Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2005), the teachers reported that they consciously avoided using the dialect during formal teaching. At the same time, they noted that they reprimanded students for doing so, except on specific occasions which were usually marked as less formal (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2005). Interestingly, although the teachers did not appear to view the dialect negatively, but rather considered it as equally effective in the language system, according to the authors, ‘they appeared uncertain regarding whether the dialect should be included in school curricula’ (Papapavou and Pavlou, 2005). This fact reflects the great influence that is exerted by current educational policies on teachers’ views and behaviours, which, in turn, leads to the emergence of a value system in which authority and superiority is attached to the standard variety (Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2010). Moreover, Ioannidou (2009) reports instances when tension is created between the legitimate language and students’ native variety: this is due to the lack of explicitly stated policies which would help educators understand the exact place and role of the dialect in class and also instruct them how to deal effectively with the phenomenon of bidialectism and balance between the two varieties.

It is interesting to note that, when many teachers revert to SMG during standard-domain classroom situations, they are not exactly using SMG, but rather, as Yiakoumetti and Esch (2010, p.294) point out, ‘the spoken classroom standard’ which seems to be in accordance with Arvaniti’s (2010) ‘Cypriot Standard Greek’, namely a hybrid of SMG with dialectal elements. Leivada *et al.*, (2017) who actually investigated teachers’ proficiency in the SMG through a

grammaticality test, demonstrated that teachers' 'SMG' production invariably involves dialectal elements, as their performance in SMG is not comparable to that of a native Greek speaker.

In sum, although the Cypriot educational system has retained the same monolithic and ethnocentric language policies for decades, the current language practices in GC classes illustrate ongoing changes in the dialect's status and role and reflect the complex interaction of the following varieties: CG, the home variety used among students, SMG, the language of the teaching material, and another standard-like variety that fuses elements from both varieties and is present in the repertoire of both students and instructors (Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2010; Sophocleous and Wilks, 2010; Leivada, Kambanaros, *et al.*, 2017).

4.5.3 Language performance and language assessment

According to established language policies, the aim of the GC education regarding language performance of GC pupils has been (near-)native proficiency in SMG. This concerns equally the receptive (reading and listening) and productive (speaking and writing) use of the standard variety. Language testing was designed accordingly: GC students' assessment is largely based on standardised tests designed for standard Greek speakers. As in various other standard-dominant educational settings worldwide, no 'accommodations' to the needs of second dialect learners have been made and testing has so far failed to acknowledge any differences between GC and SMG test takers (Paran, 2010).

Despite the fact that at the age of 5, GC schoolchildren undergo a rigorous immersion programme in SMG as though it were their native variety, studies show that their oral and written SMG production is problematic (Pavlou and Christodoulou, 2001); this is consistent with the results of international assessment, especially of language skills (e.g. PISA), which show that GC students consistently underperform in literacy tasks. At this point it should be emphasised that, as Cyprus is a wealthy country, educational underachievement cannot possibly be linked to socio-economic and socio-cultural factors. This consistent underachievement has increasingly received public attention, as reflected in the national press (e.g. Moschonas, 1996; Tsingis, 2004) as well as in claims of lay members of the Cypriot society regarding Greek Cypriots suffering from lack of fluency, and hesitant, error-infested speech.

The designation of GC pupils' speech as problematic stems from an implicit comparison to the fluent standard speech that speakers of SMG produce, which is used as the yardstick by which

divergences are measured (Terkourafi, 2007). At the same time, educators' observations reinforce this well-entrenched public opinion, as they have repeatedly asserted that a serious language problem exists: they claim that, while GC students' receptive SMG skills are satisfactory, oral and written SMG production results are disappointing. Similar data are given by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) that examines the literacy level (comprehension and written production) of students between the ages of 9 and 14 annually and compares the standards across many countries. Their yearly records reveal that Cypriot students consistently perform poorly in language class in comparison to their Greek counterparts, despite the fact that the language of instruction as well as the teaching materials are almost identical in the two countries.

The 'Cypriot linguistic problem' and the impact of GC schooling on (first) language acquisition has been the focus of many recent experimental studies (e.g. Papapavlou and Yiakoumetti, 2003; Loukaidou, 2004; Ioannidou, 2007; Leivada and Grohmann, 2017). Analyses of students' oral and written performance confirmed the beliefs of educationists and linguists in Cyprus: to a great extent, the subjects' SMG production was influenced by their local native variety. The majority of these studies revealed interference of CG in oral and/or written discourse from the perspective of the students. Dialect transfer was measured in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon and the results revealed that the highest degree of transfer in speech occurred in morphology, followed by phonology, lexicon and syntax. In writing, lexical and morphological transfer was most common, with syntactic transference occurring only rarely.

While academics, linguists, educationists and lay members of Cypriot society seem to agree that the dialectal variety interferes with students' production of the standard, their opinions vary regarding the causes of the problem as well as methods for redressing it. On the one hand, lay members of the society including education representatives overlook the fact that SMG is not the students' native language and place the problem on the dialect per se. The co-existence of standard and dialectal grammar is seen as giving rise to problems in the use of the standard language. At the same time, there is a perceived correlation between the phenomenon of bidialectism and educational underachievement, with the former being seen as detrimental to the cognitive development and scholastic achievement of Greek Cypriot students (Papapavlou and Kouridou, 2007).

Conversely, academics from various fields of education, linguistics and cognitive sciences place emphasis on the inability of the educational system of Cyprus to acknowledge the

existence of a dialectal variety as the native variety of the learners and take provisions for a viable bidialectal programme which would support students in acquiring a second standard variety (Papapavlou, 2010). Psycholinguistic studies which investigated the consequences of bidialectism for cognitive and metalinguistic development (Papapavlou and Kouridou, 2007; Antoniou *et al.*, 2016) showed that GC bi(dia)lectal children obtain cognitive advantages comparable to that of bilingual children and outperform their monolingual Greek peers in terms of metalinguistic awareness (Papapavlou and Kouridou, 2007) as well as in a variety of non-linguistic cognitive functions (Antoniou *et al.*, 2013, 2016).

Further on the controversy over bidialectism and the use of the CG dialect in education, a number of empirical, experimental and ethnographic studies have investigated the potential educational benefits of bidialectal education (Yiakoumetti, 2006; Papanicola and Tsiplakou, 2008; Papanicola, 2010; Tsiplakou and Hadjioannou, 2010) and provided sound evidence regarding the use of the CG dialect in the classroom. Yiakoumetti (2003; 2006; 2007a) for example, implemented a bidialectal programme which encouraged formal and conscious reflection on language differences and similarities between bidialectal speakers' two related codes aiming to investigate its adequacy for improving the linguistic performance of primary students in the standard variety. The language intervention programme led to improved language use: according to the analysis of the results, the programme boasted considerable improvement in SMG on all four levels. In addition, the occurrence of the CG dialect variants in the oral and written performance of the students in SMG was reduced. According to Yiakoumetti (2006), this evidence indicates that focusing bidialectal students' attention to the formal properties of their two dialectal varieties fosters second-dialect development. The particular study is, however, limited by its strong focus upon the measurement of SMG performance. As in other international studies, for various political or ideological reasons, the assessment of bidialectal programmes involved the evaluation of only one linguistic element: that of the standard variety. As the author herself points out in the limitations of her study (Yiakoumetti, 2006, p.311), the potential for concomitant changes in students' D1 performance is overlooked when the focus is only on the assessment of the D2.

4.6 Conclusion

Cyprus was chosen as the setting of this study, as it provides a rich linguistic landscape for exploring questions related to bidialectism. The GC society is bidialectal and the two varieties

that co-exist, CG and SMG, have long stood in a diglossic relationship. Apart from having sociolinguistic characteristics consonant with the research purposes of this investigation, Cyprus provides an ideal research setting for this study as it has always adopted monodialectal and monolingual language policies, which opt for a medium of instruction that is different from the linguistic variety used by the learners at home. Behind the tendency of the Cypriot educational system to impose a single literacy and ignore the importance of linguistic diversity lie ideological and political issues related to the GCs' ethnic identity and the Cyprus issue. Language policies and planning in Cyprus are strongly related to issues of ethnicity, community and national identity formation, language maintenance and language shift. This places it in an interesting – but by no means unique – context for the examination of varying constructions of the role of language in education. (Papapavlou and Yiakoumetti, 2003).

The idea of adopting a more open and diverse language curriculum which promotes and reinforces linguistic diversity by aiming for the equal development of the language varieties still remains unaddressed. Thus, more empirical research is needed before selecting an appropriate bidialectal educational programme which will provide the requisite opportunities for equal and parallel mastery of both codes (standard and nonstandard). As Papapavlou (2004) argues, such research can bring about findings that can be useful for practical educational uses as well as for helping bidialectal speakers feel more comfortable in expressing themselves in both codes and in all settings (formal and informal).

Chapter 5 Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The present chapter presents in detail the methodological framework of the study and the steps taken before, during and after the actual intervention programme. The chapter begins by addressing the research questions and objectives driving this inquiry. The research paradigm and the theoretical assumptions within which the design is situated are then discussed. Next, the chapter describes the mixed methods design of the study through which the research questions were addressed. It then discusses the sample of the study and sampling procedures. This is followed by a detailed record of the actual intervention study and the procedures of empirical data collection, as well as a discussion of the proposed language model the study introduced and the material which supported the bidialectal teaching approach. The data collection tools and data analysis procedures are also described. The chapter concludes by addressing issues pertinent to validity, reliability, the role of the researcher and other ethical considerations.

5.2 Research questions

This study was driven by two research questions:

1. What is the effect of bidialectal education on students' oral and written performance in their second dialect, namely the educational variety, and, respectively, what changes does this programme effectuate in their first dialect? How does bidialectal education affect learners' oral and written production in both linguistic varieties?
2. Which lexical and grammatical changes were effectuated in the students' oral and written D1 and D2 after the intervention?

The first research question, which relates to the main quantitative findings from the bidialectal intervention programme, is concerned with examining the effects of using the students' native variety (CG) for the purposes of contrastive analysis and the fostering of (meta)linguistic awareness as regards the students' D2 via a bidialectal teaching approach. Meanwhile, with an eye to promoting real bidialectism⁴, the empirical study is equally interested in the effects of the bidialectal programme on the first dialect; this area of bidialectal education research is still

⁴ The reference to 'real' bidialectism is used as a juxtaposition to *professed* bidialectism, where plans for adding a second dialect to a developing first are not followed by equal monitoring and assessment of both linguistic varieties.

under-explored. This research question entails the following sub-aims: i) to measure students' initial performance in the two varieties that compose their linguistic repertoire and set assessment criteria which will allow the investigation of changes in their D1/D2 production in both written and oral modes after the intervention, caused by the proposed bidialectal treatment and ii) to compare bidialectally instructed students' D1 and D2 oral and written performance to that of monolingually instructed students who were exposed to the mainstream education language programme. In this way, the study evaluates at the same time the effectiveness of the mainstream monodialectal, standard education as regards second dialect performance while shedding light on the unaddressed issue of how standard mainstream education affects the development of students' D1.

The investigation of these types of questions that require direct measurements and comparisons is normally facilitated through the collection and analysis of quantitative data (Creswell, 2007). Quantitative measurements enable the researcher to draw standardised, normative evaluations based on numerical data; this might also afford the research some degree of generalisability (Bassey, 1981) and predictability for similar settings and contexts. It was therefore deemed necessary to incorporate into the research design a quantitative strand which would predict data that are in some way norm-referenced and quantifiable.

The second research goal is to proceed to a more comprehensive account of the nature of any potential effects of the bidialectal teaching approach on the students' D1 and D2 outputs. This requires a more detailed item-by-item structural analysis, supplemented by the analysis of items in context and examination of their contextual appropriateness. The investigation of this question also entailed constructing a record of the actual D1 and D2 performance profile of the students before the intervention by providing a thorough description of the content of the outputs of the learners in both varieties. In relation to D2 performance, this means unpacking the most common instances of interference, while, as regards D1 performance, it refers to CG-specific items which were more prevalent in the students' oral and written D1 use. Speakers' grammatical choices can point towards (non-)fully acquired grammatical structures while they can be construed as building-blocks of style/register and thus serve as indexicals of sociolinguistic awareness of register variation and style. Finally, the learners' ability to represent phonetically and phonologically distinct dialectal features on paper has also been investigated.

On the assumption that contextual factors affecting the complex phenomenon of language and (language) performance may include language attitudes, supplementary interview data were

collected to enrich the interpretation of the results. This source of supplementary data sought to offer an insight into the students' perceptions and attitudes regarding the linguistic varieties that co-exist in the GC linguistic community and form their linguistic repertoire. In addition, the analysis of these supplementary data sought to explore whether or not students' language attitudes and opinions matched their linguistic choices and performance in the administered written and oral tests.

5.3 Research design

5.3.1 Research paradigm

The field of social and behavioural inquiry is not presented as a coherent body of knowledge sharing the same beliefs and understandings; it is characterised by a wide range of divergent philosophical approaches, each of which entails a distinct way of carrying out social research as it represents a different worldview, that is, ontological and epistemological assumptions (Robson, 2011). The term 'ontological' refers to the way a person perceives social reality, in most cases identified as either objectively real or socially constructed, while 'epistemological' relates to a person's understanding of the nature of knowledge, again either as objective and transmittable or more experiential and subjective. These sets of beliefs are conceptualised as different research paradigms and form the theoretical assumptions that underpin each project, give consistency to its design and guide researchers' choices (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002).

Educational research has traditionally been influenced by the world of social science, which, broadly defined, was epitomised in two radically opposite schools of thought, namely positivism and interpretivism. Positivism is the tradition which draws on objectivism: the ontological position which argues in favour of a single, independently existing reality and a single, objective way to make sense of the world (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002). Objectivism affirms that social phenomena and their meanings are independent of social actors (Bryman, 2008). According to epistemological positivism, knowledge has to be built upon demonstrable, measurable facts or observations that only a scientific research path could maintain (Opie, 2004). Researchers assuming a positivist perspective employ quantitative techniques, which they claim to be value-free, objective and thus scientific (Smith, 1983; Howe, 1985, 2009).

On the other hand, interpretivism postulates that there is no single reality, but rather multiple realities which are the products of human mental activity (Smith, 1983). Interpretivism draws on (social) constructivism, the ontological position which affirms that 'social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors (Bryman, 2008). In contrast to positivists, who separate the reality of the world from people's understanding of it, interpretivists focus upon the meanings and understandings which people assign to their own social environment. The meaning is constructed by human beings as they interact and engage between them in interpretation and, according to interpretivism, meaning does not/ cannot have a separate existence. In this sense, the meaning-making process can only be understood in the presence of a context, and, objectivity is undermined, as there are participants with different understandings of reality, including the researcher (Robson, 2011). With regard to their epistemological stances, knowledge is accredited with a 'human face' and is conceived as context-bound, in the sense that knowledge is always constructed according to a framework and similarly, what is considered as true is again nothing more than a product of humans' own making (Eisner, 1992). Contrary to the positivist paradigm, interpretivists promote qualitative approaches, which constantly and consistently take context into consideration, allowing them to acquire multiple perspectives. On this basis, qualitative approaches are deemed as more appropriate for research involving humans (Walsh, 1999), despite the fact that qualitative data has been repeatedly criticised as subjective and biased (Greenbank, 2003).

The traditional dichotomy between positivism and interpretivism received much criticism and was repeatedly refuted by many scholars who argued towards epistemological and methodological pluralism for more effective research (Maxcy, 2003). In the 1990s, a number of scholars abandoned the sterile, positivist-interpretivist divide as well as the enforced choice of a single research method. Instead, they turned towards complementary qualitative and quantitative methods. Post-positivist approaches including pragmatism and multi-strategy design (Robson, 2011) adopt such theoretical frameworks: these can offer a philosophical foundation for mixed methods (the corroboration of strands) and at the same time urge the social researcher to opt for methodologies based primarily on what works better for the problem, that is, the research questions under investigation, rather than following a specific approach pre-assigned by a philosophical stance (Popper, 1983).

Post-positivism is the umbrella term used inclusively to refer to various research approaches that emerged following the demise of positivism (Robson, 2011). Post-positivism rejects both

positivism and a more relativistic interpretive theory of social science while retaining elements of both paradigms (Demetrion, 2004). Proponents of this philosophical strand strive for objectivity as well as general laws and theories – still, they are aware of the fact that knowledge and the process of meaning-making is influenced by socio-political and ideological factors driven by social activity; hence every observation is laden with both value and theory. Furthermore, they recognise that absolute objectivity is never possible or at least completely achievable and they acknowledge the possibility of fallibility in all measurements. On these grounds, they highlight the importance of triangulating across multiple fallible sources in order to reduce the possibility of error while establishing validity and reliability. Objectivity may never be fully reached, but it can at least be approached. Post-positivism can therefore serve as a theoretical grounding for methodological pluralism.

In this study, the research questions driving the inquiry resonate with the need for multi-strategic designing and methodological pluralism, therefore a solely quantitatively-based or qualitatively-based theoretical and methodological framework would not be appropriate. Rather, the ontological position adopted is post-positivism, which, due to its flexibility, allowed for an in-depth exploration of the students' production and a blend of design components that might successfully address the research questions.

5.3.2 Theoretical premises of the study: a post-positivist view

The study abides by a Hallidayan view of language, which sees language as having a social semiotic value. The forms and structures of language, apart from denoting meaning, are seen always to realise a cultural and/or situational context and reflect the social norms and cultural values of the society in which we live (Halliday and Hasan, 1989). Any text is created from the context of culture, the context of situation and the language system. As such, the grammar and lexicon are not merely seen as linguistic entities but as tools which carry the power to perform certain functions, for example, to index social categories such as sociological age, gender, class, profession as well as socio-cultural rules, norms and values in accordance with the situation of communication they are found in. According to Silverstein (2003), linguistic forms are indexicals in that they point to ideologies and different ways to inhabit social reality and life.

Relevant to the socio-semiotic functions of language is linguistic variation. Language endows the speaker with the power to capitalise on a range of linguistic choices in order to index various

stances and styles depending on context, and thus enact roles, perform identities, project certain social images, and index social meanings and social processes (Labov, 1963; Silverstein, 2003; Eckert, 2008; Irvine, 2011). Linguistic variation is at the heart of the concept of meaning-making at large. Without variation, there is no basis for distinguishing social meanings. To change style or registers is to take advantage of the variation at one's disposal, whether this refers to different languages, different varieties of a language or even different registers of the same variety.

According to Hymes (1962, 1964), the social and cultural practices and beliefs of the members of a particular culture or speech community can be signalled through exploiting the linguistic diversity at hand and the distinct functional roles of language can be signalled through the use of different languages, registers or different varieties. Contextual variables (extralinguistic, social variables) influence a speech community's choice and use of alternative language varieties. For example, relationships or social intimacy, formality, education, politeness, acceptance, as well as cultural identity and empowerment may be signalled by switching between distinct languages or between varieties of a single language. As shown in previous chapters, standard variants tend to convey formality, while nonstandard ones convey informality: to speak the standard when norms of appropriateness call for nonstandard (and vice versa) is felt to mark the speaker as unduly proper, unfriendly, distant, and phony. To speak the nonstandard dialect when norms of appropriateness call for the standard is felt to mark the speaker as ignorant.

In this study, the design and analysis of the assessment tasks as well as the bidialectal treatment itself followed the premises of a social semiotic approach to language. In particular, the pupils were assessed on open-ended production tasks which were situated in contextualised occasions of communication. Some of the texts which pupils were invited to write were based on scenarios (see Appendix 3), while for their oral assessment, situational variables which define the social situation – interlocutor, setting, and topic/theme – were manipulated accordingly so as to guide their communicative behaviour and their choice of language (Greenfield and Fishman, 1968; Fishman, 1972). These variables also guided the evaluation of this production. Similarly, in addition to helping students identify where their two varieties display similarities and where

⁵ Halliday and Hasan (1989) interpret register as 'the linguistic features which are typically associated with a configuration of situational features – with particular values of the field, mode and tenor'. In general, *field* refers to the type and focus of the activity, *mode* to the channel of communication (e.g. speech writing or any combination of the two), and *tenor* to the relationship between the individuals involved in a communicative event, that is, the extent to which one is of a higher or a lower social status.

they vary, the proposed bidialectal teaching intervention aimed to increase their metalinguistic and sociolinguistic awareness regarding register variation (within their native variety) and to inform them about the socio-semiotic functions that each register variation and style perform in the particular context. This was effected by bringing into the experimental teaching authentic texts, representative of different speech styles and registers of the CG. The linguistic choices of the authors were analysed during the experimental instruction in the light of the situational characteristics of each event and the purpose/s of the activity. Students came to understand how variation can be manipulated to index meanings and construct social identities, values and beliefs.

To this effect, the study echoed a social constructionist rationale and called for a qualitative approach, alongside a major quantitative strand. This decision was dictated by the nature of the study's overarching research question (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004) – to evaluate the language proficiency of a group of students in different conditions – which necessitated a large sample size as well as numerable data which only a quantitative phase could accommodate. On these grounds, this study adopted a mixed methods orientation, following the rationale that post-positive research paradigms legitimise the choice of the researcher to opt for the approach which would render the research design most effective (Robson, 2002).

5.3.3 Mixed methods design: mixed methods quasi-experimental intervention

The aims and research questions of the study were central to choosing the methodology and research tools used for conducting the research (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Those of this study called for a mixed quantitative-qualitative design: alongside the numerical evaluation in the study, the aim was to interpret students' language production qualitatively.

The choice of a mixed methods design was also dictated by the fact that the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods enhances the validity of the study (Creswell *et al.*, 2003; Dörnyei, 2007; Greene, 2007). Mixed methods design was introduced in the field of social sciences in the 1970s following the recognition that quantitative and qualitative approaches can enhance one another and yield richer data in combination. In fact, this design provides a bridge between the two research paradigms and contributes to increasing the validity of a given study by allowing the data to be triangulated.

In seeking a suitable design to frame the quantitative aspect of the intervention study, a quasi-experimental design was opted for (Campbell and Stanley, 1963). Quasi-experiments are very often used in educational research when true experiments cannot be carried out (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002). For example, in this particular study, randomising the sample through a probability-based sampling strategy was not feasible, due to constraints imposed by the educational agenda of this inquiry. Even when I was granted permission to work with particular schools or classrooms, the school system did not allow the students to be moved out of the classrooms in order to be randomised on the basis of systematic procedures, as this would affect their normal schedule (Mertens, 2010a; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2017). As a result, the treatment was administered to entire classrooms that were available for the study.

As with most experimental designs, this intervention study involved two groups: an experimental group which was systematically instructed on the basis of the proposed bidialectal language model and a control (reference) group which received mainstream instruction. Juxtaposing two groups in quasi-experimental designs is crucial, as it allows the researcher to constantly compare and monitor change against a specific benchmark. The design of the study also involved pre-tests administered before the intervention and post-tests administered after the intervention, so as to evaluate the dependent variable of language performance. Testing the sample in two stages allowed me to anticipate and control any initial differences between the groups.

5.3.4 Participants

The target population of the study was local bidialectal GC children aged 10-11 who spoke SMG as a second dialect. The sample was expected to have been extensively exposed to the CG variety from birth until the age of five/six and thus it was assumed they spoke the CG dialect natively, while at the same time having a degree of proficiency in the SMG variety mainly through formal schooling. As the vast majority of primary classes in Cyprus are made up of native GC speakers, the few non-GC bidialectals who were spotted were excluded from the datasets. Likewise, non-typically developing children with speech or other disorders were also excluded from the dataset. No criteria other than those stated above were used and, for ethical reasons, all children of the selected cohorts had full, equal access to the intervention programme, with the exception of students whose parents did not consent to their participation. In such cases,

depending on the parents' choice, students were either transferred to another class or stayed in and were exempted from the assessment procedure.

The researcher's decision to choose primary school children as opposed to secondary school students was informed by a number of issues: the purpose of the research was to study and enhance language acquisition and performance, which is the main objective in primary school – in secondary school; on the other hand, the focus of the language courses moves from teaching grammatical structures to content analysis of literary and non-literary texts, while grammar is assigned a secondary role. Also, choosing fifth-graders aged 10-11 ensured that the students would have fully operational command of the language and would be competent writers (Kress, 2005) as well as demonstrating formal language skills in the standard. In addition, as the investigation involved testing tools, final primary school years (i.e. Years 5 and/or 6) were deemed appropriate, given that they involve a more rigorous school curriculum and standardised assessment, as the educational focus is on training students linguistically for secondary school. Finally, according to the literature (Andereck, 1992), by this age, children have formed clear social and linguistic attitudes, which facilitates the investigation of their attitudes.

The sample of the study comprised 119 pupils from eight classes in four public primary schools; two of them were classified by the Cyprus Ministry of Education as rural and the other two as urban schools. The schools were selected on the basis of convenience and accessibility, as the study was conducted in Limassol, the researcher's home town. Gaining access to schools in order to conduct research proved to be a long process involving obtaining permissions from multiple individuals – headteachers, teachers, parents – and levels of various organisations, including the Ministry of Education (Mertens, 2010a, 2010b). Having gained permission from the Centre of Educational Research and Evaluation (CERE) of the Cyprus Ministry of Education to undertake the study, I approached several schools and presented my proposal; only four of them expressed willingness to participate in the study. From each school, two fifth-grade classes were recruited, one of which was randomly chosen to serve as the control and the other as the experimental class. As Table 5.1 shows, the students from all eight classes totalled 135, 119 of which were typically developed, bidialectal GC whose parents consented to their participation in the study. Gender and grades were not checked, as classes in which there was already a relatively even distribution (between boys and girls and between high and low performers) were kept intact.

A sub-set of four students, two boys and two girls, from the experimental group of two schools participated in one-to-one interviews in order to draw conclusions about their attitudes towards their two language varieties. The selection of these students took place before the onset of the intervention and was based a) on the schools' and the teachers' agreement to allow the students to participate in this extra task, b) on the willingness of the students to participate and on their parents' consent and c) on their language lesson marks, as these were reported by their teachers. Two high-performance students and two low-performance students were pooled (from two school sites, namely school 1 and school 2. The interviews took place in the setting of the school during the pre-intervention phase.

	Location	Final sample		All students	
		Experimental	Control	Experimental	Control
School 1	Urban	14	13	18	16
School 2	Urban	16	14	18	16
School 3	Rural	13	16	16	18
School 4	Rural	16	17	16	17

Table 5.1 Number of students participating in the intervention study.

5.4 The intervention study

As already noted, the intervention study involved two groups: one experimental and one control and both experimental and control conditions were assigned to all four schools. Firstly, this increased the possibilities of having equal numbers of students in the two conditions; secondly, it minimised the possibility of extraneous school-specific variables interfering with the situation. Experimental students received the experimental treatment for two weeks on a daily basis, which replaced 100 per cent of the traditional language classes for the indicated time span. According to the fifth-grade curriculum, this meant 7 hours of language teaching per week divided into 40- or 80- minute daily lessons.

All four experimental classes were either concurrently or sequentially taught by the researcher and received the same instructional bidialectal treatment administered via a specially designed

textbook (see Appendix 2 for an indicative sample), the content of which was approved by the headteacher and the educator/s of each school. Aiming for real-time coding of the children's language-learning experiences during the bidialectal programme, the research design also included audiovisual recordings, with the video and audio-tape equipment placed at the back of the classroom due to child protection and anonymity considerations and to avoid distracting the students and disrupting ordinary behaviours, to the extent that this was possible. Conversely, the students in the control groups attended mainstream language classes with their teachers. To ensure that the same conditions would be applied in all three control classrooms, a protocol was prepared and shared with the control group teachers. This protocol reminded teachers about the unit they had to cover, the grammatical phenomena and the language they had to use while teaching: teachers were reminded that instruction should be performed through the medium of SMG, as demanded by official circulars.

Importantly, both the experimental and control groups were exposed to the same curriculum, and the lessons were delivered at roughly the same pace. Specifically, the experimental lessons did not vastly deviate from the designated material in terms of topic; in fact, the classes were carefully designed based on the same module from the Ministry-approved textbook which was meant to be taught by the teachers in that period. The teachers who participated actually agreed on the choice of the module and the treatment covered the structures and functional language that mainstream teaching would; to that material, I added supplementary texts which were thematically linked to the module and I also revised previous grammatical structures that students had already learned during that school year, this time implementing contrastive presentation and analysis of D1 and D2. Old and new structures were presented to the students in a contextualised way via tests which were all inspired by the predetermined topic. This was done for two reasons: first, to minimise or eliminate the possibility of other variables, such as unequal cognitive demands of different curriculum topics, influencing the results; second, to address teachers' and parents' possible concerns that the intervention could potentially interfere with the mainstream educational programme by delaying the students' progress in the prescribed educational material.

For the purposes of this study, all children both in the experimental and control groups were tested on the same tasks simultaneously at two points in the intervention: before the outset of the programme and upon its completion. In this way, their language performance was monitored and compared to identify any potential changes. The tasks, which will be presented in detail in

the next sections, formed open-ended oral and written production tasks, the topics of which were, however, slightly different from the first to the second session, so as to ensure validity and reliability by eliminating any repetition effects. Written production tasks were completed as part of the students' lesson, while oral tasks took the form of individual interviewing or informal discussion with an interlocutor. With evidence suggesting that familiarity with the interlocutor affects the formality of the event and, in turn, language use, different interlocutors were used to measure the participants' D1 and D2 oral fluency (Christodoulidou, 2013).

5.4.1 Bidialectal language model: the teaching approach in the experimental group

The study's proposed language model falls under the additive approaches to bidialectism in which the first variety is developed and the culture associated with it is valued, while the second language is added. Employing an additive approach which builds on the compartmentalisation of linguistic varieties by helping students distinguish between their varieties in terms of structure and functions, as opposed to more dynamic approaches to bidialectism such as translanguaging pedagogies, was deemed more appropriate for the present study after taking into consideration the sociolinguistic reality of the GC context and the aims of the study.

In detail, the purpose of this study was primarily to enhance language acquisition and language performance. As noted in an earlier chapter (chapter 2), translanguaging is an ever-changing and still developing concept. While research on translanguaging as practiced in classrooms over the last 20 years has shown that the psychological benefits of translanguaging pedagogies, which build on the fluidity of linguistic practices, are undeniable, their contribution to language acquisition is still not entirely clear, contrary to the well-recognised contribution of additive approaches to this aim (Siegel, 2010).

In particular, no quantitative studies have been conducted that would establish the potential benefits of this learning strategy. As laid by Canagarajah (2011b), while a lot has been done regarding the practice of translanguaging in social life, we haven't figured out how to develop such proficiency among students in classrooms. Further on, he emphasises that, while teachable strategies of translanguaging are developing, serious issues regarding the assessment of the effectiveness of translanguaging as a pedagogy have not yet been considered (Canagarajah, 2011b). Drawing on this, it was considered more suitable for the particular study to adopt an additive approach whose benefits on language learning and performance, as presented earlier in

detail, have been verified through various research studies in linguistically diverse settings worldwide.

In addition, the decision to employ a pedagogy which is based on the rationale of language separation was taken based on the sociolinguistics of the Greek-speaking landscape of Cyprus : knowing the context of a community and tailoring interventions and programmes to its norms and culture increase the chances of success. As such, in opting for compartmentalisation, existing ideologies and attitudes towards the languages that co-exist in the GC community were taken into consideration, as were the links between language, identity and power. As elaborated in the previous chapter, prior studies have tended to demonstrate that Cypriots perceive the distinction between CG and SMG in absolute terms, despite the fact that language practices reveal the existence of a dialect continuum. The relationship between the two varieties may be described as gradient in usage but it is still categorical in people's perception (Karyolemou 1992, 2006), with SMG being seen as superior and more appropriate for use in formal domains such as educational contexts. Consequently, allowing GC speakers to learn how to change their own variety forms to standard forms when they aim for a higher level of formality appears to be vital for the particular community despite their natural everyday speech exhibiting high fluidity and transcending the boundaries between the named varieties.

On these grounds, the study proposed a model which directly assists students to become consciously aware of the structural differences and functional uses of their varieties, be they standard or nonstandard, and to learn how and when to use them separately when appropriate. At the same time, the study acknowledges the flexible and transient nature of students' language practices and capitalises on them. In the classroom, emergent instances of dialectal or mixed production were seen as a significant desideratum and were ultimately exploited to serve the purposes of this study's teaching: to hone linguistic and metalinguistic awareness qua awareness of grammatical forms and functions as well as communicative appropriateness. In practice, therefore, the proposed model acknowledges the contribution of new dynamic pedagogies to the field of bilingualism and bidialectism as they actually share a common premise: the development of linguistic and metalinguistic awareness. As García (2014, 2017) notes, translanguaging leverages the fluid language practices of all bilingual students and communities to learn deeply, while also equipping students to recognise when to use what features for what purposes.

Lastly, the decision to opt for an approach which builds on language separation was also taken after looking at the existing educational system in Cyprus and the prescribed need for improvement in the standard (school variety). While aiming to implement an innovative language teaching approach, the study aimed to stay close to what is practically feasible, accessible and potentially acceptable by the public and the educational world in Cyprus. As the whole philosophy that underpins language education in Cyprus builds on language separation, since it still perceives the linguistic reality of the community in dichotomic terms, a dynamic approach to bidialectism would negate its fundamental principles and lead to negative reactions. A transition from an anachronistic, rigid monodialectal/monolingual pedagogy to a dynamic one, to my understanding, would be abrupt and unrealistic for the context of Cyprus.

Among the different types of bidialectal education, the proposed bidialectal teaching approach was based on Language Awareness (LA) (for more information on awareness programmes, see Siegel, 2010). A current definition of LA is that of the Association for Language Awareness (ALA), which states that LA can be defined as ‘explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use’ (ALA, 2012). LA work is centred ‘on noticing the language around us and examining it in a critical manner’ (Van Lier, 1995, p.10) and its benefits are said to affect five domains: affective, social, power, cognitive and performance, with the last domain being assessed in this study. A language awareness bidialectal programme was chosen, as it suits the purposes of the study best: by fostering analytical knowledge and awareness of patterns and rules of language, it has a positive effect on students’ language performance. In addition, fostering a better understanding of language, its variation and functions is essential in terms of understanding how it is used in everyday situations.

The proposed LA pedagogy uses contrastive analysis to promote noticing and enhance cross-linguistic awareness (Schmidt, 1990, 1992, 2012). In this context, the term ‘contrastive analysis’ is used to refer to contrastive grammar, a linguistic method for teaching/learning a foreign language that draws upon common and diverse elements of diverse linguistic varieties (Hawkins, 1992). In this study, the GCs’ first language variety was accommodated in the classroom and learners were explicitly instructed about its formal grammatical characteristics as well as being encouraged to use it in class. At the same time, the dialect was actively used in the teacher’s practices as a contrastive and awareness-raising tool in order to enhance students’ cross-linguistic awareness and promote learning. The LA contrastive approach was realised

through a system of structured and open-ended contrastive exercises that were introduced to the children (see next section). It is worth noting that the students were already accustomed, through mainstream teaching, to an approach which focuses on the teaching of grammatical forms; however, mainstream instruction limited itself to the teaching of standard forms. Most crucially, these standard forms were frequently presented in contexts that were not relevant to GC students, as they were ‘purged’ of nonstandard forms. As such, students were offered no support in identifying differences in functions associated with different forms in given situations.

The particular bidialectal LA programme draws on students’ intuitive knowledge of their first and second dialect and, through systematic explicit teaching on grammatical forms and functions, supports them to convert unconscious linguistic knowledge into explicit/declarative knowledge. Through this model, learners are assisted to develop skills such as ‘noticing’ and the articulation of linguistic intuitions and to apply them both to their native variety and the standard language (Hawkins, 1992). As such, through the programme, students were expected to develop metacognitive awareness of those language skills that they hitherto exercised unconsciously. Overall, explicit language instruction promotes noticing, which leads to awareness of what learners intuitively know or what they do not know. Eric Hawkins, sometimes called ‘the father of language awareness’, had been advocating since the 1960s explicit reflection on both native and foreign languages as an integral part of the school curriculum. Developing students’ understanding of the relationships between their two varieties and their value also aids in resolving the conflict between the use of dialect and the necessity to inculcate the standard variety (Crystal, 2004).

In sum, the basic objectives of the bidialectal teaching in the experimental group were:

- a) to make students explicitly aware of the structural similarities and differences between the CG and SMG varieties.
- b) to approach CG as a variety with a structure and a system.
- c) to increase students’ linguistic awareness regarding the linguistic items and structures that are specific to CG.
- d) to enhance students’ sociolinguistic awareness regarding register/stylistic variation, which includes not only the selection of a variety but also of a particular register of CG.
- e) to raise students’ sociolinguistic awareness of different linguistic variants and train them to use them appropriately.

5.4.2 The textbook: learning material for the experimental group

The proposed model employed a textbook, which was put together by the researcher and which was contrastive in nature in that the grammatical as well as the sociolinguistic characteristics of the home variety were juxtaposed with those of the standard. The textbook was designed based on a module from the designated coursebook entitled ‘The television’ (Unit 15) and was organised into ten sessions, each introducing one or more grammatical structures in a meaningful way through short texts. Some of the original texts of the mainstream language coursebook were used, but dialectal real-life texts written in CG which exhibited stylistic variation were also used. These ranged from informal notes, text messages, informal emails, dialogues and advertisements to CG literary texts and poems drawn from the Cypriot Anthology schoolbook⁶. The aim was to expose the children to thematically related texts which differed stylistically due to contextual factors and to raise their awareness of the sociolinguistic and stylistic implications entailed in using different varieties and variants. The students were encouraged to critically examine the texts and discuss the attitudes and feelings of the interlocutors, the relationship between form and meaning, the choice of structure, speech patterns and vocabulary made by the speaker/writer based on the linguistic characteristics of the audience (Bell, 1984); they were also called upon to anticipate and/or to discuss the need to project a different style, but also to challenge preconceived ideas about language use (Ellis, 2012).

The texts were accompanied by several structured or open-ended contrastive activities which aimed to help students practise the grammatical structure/s at hand. The selection of the grammatical structures that were emphasised in the book was based a) on relevant literature which indicated the most salient phonetic/phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical CG characteristics, b) on the pre-test results, which offered a first-hand insight of what aspects of the dialect interfere with students’ standard speech and c) on the grammatical phenomena that the mainstream textbook for fifth-graders had introduced thus far to the students or intended to introduce in the particular module that all teaching was based on during the period of the intervention.

⁶ This book is published in Cyprus and comes to supplement the main textbook on the Greek language which is normally sent directly from the Greek Ministry of Education. It includes Cypriot literary texts.

What follows is a comprehensive list of the task types (structured and freer) included in the book (ideas taken from Papanicola and Tsiplakou (2008), Papanicola (2010) and Tsiplakou and Hadjioannou (2010).

Structured

- Classification of D1 and D2 characteristics
- Sentence transformations from one variety to the other
- Editing tasks, in which students have to spot the CG items in a given text and provide the standard equivalent
- Matching tasks, in which students are given two columns, each containing stylistically different texts or lexical items and are asked to match items of the first column to items of the second column based on stylistic parity.
- Vocabulary tasks in which students are asked to label pictures of objects that are named differently in the two varieties.
- Listening tasks in which students listen to an extract and are asked to decide if the speaker is GC or Greek.

Un-structured/Freer production tasks

- Students are asked to narrate a story based on a sequence of pictures twice: The first time the listener is an SMG speaker and the second time s/he is a GC speaker.
- Students are provided with an event of communication and are called upon to produce oral and written texts.

5.4.2.1 Teaching D1 spelling

One of the objectives of the bidialectal awareness programme has been to assist students to become linguistically aware of the synchronic and diachronic written usage of their native variety and also to raise their awareness of the existing Greek-based CG orthographies. Traditionally, during primary schooling, GC students have very limited opportunities to study CG literature and teaching more often than not focuses on content analysis rather than language analysis. Consequently, even if students have been exposed to written CG to a certain degree,

they are not properly trained to recognise its distinctive features or the existing orthographic conventions so as to represent them in writing. This is one of the repercussions of the current curriculum for language, which does not involve systematic teaching on the CG linguistic features that make the texts dialectal and starkly different from the standard ones; at the same time, it does not prescribe systematic teaching on the writing systems that writers have employed to represent the dialect in print.

Throughout the intervention, the experimental students were given the opportunity to observe the written usage of the dialect in multiple types of CG texts, ranging from extracts of formal literary documents to informal texts. In this case, the students' attention was drawn to different methods and conventions of orthographic representation of their dialect in real contexts and they were taught simple rules for using them. For this project, one of the available spelling methods was chosen and systematically introduced to the children. It should be noted that the onus of this initiative was firmly put on the orthographic systems with diacritics, as this method is heavily employed in the Cypriot Anthology schoolbooks.

In essence, the main orthographic rules that were taught to the students were as follows:

- a) Diacritic marks are symbols added to letters of the alphabet to indicate different pronunciation.
- b) In the case of CG, diacritic marks come to fill the gap of distinctive graphemes in the Greek alphabet to accurately render certain Cypriot phonemes/allophones.
- c) Diacritics are usually placed over the existing Greek graphemes or combination of graphemes.
- d) For the representation of the palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ], when the CG sound is an allophone of the phonemes /s/ or /x/, the grapheme <σ> with a diacritic is employed (e.g. /isia/ > [iʃa] written as <ίσῖα> 'straight'); when the CG sound is an allophone of /sk/ or /sx/, the grapheme <σ> is doubled and both of them are accompanied with a diacritic (e.g. /skilos/ > [ʃ:il:os] written as <σῶλλος> 'dog').
- e) For the representation of the palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ], when the CG sound is an allophone of /k/, the combination of graphemes <τζ> with a diacritic on the second letter is employed (e.g. /ke/ > [tʃe] written as <τζα> 'and'); when the CG sound is [tʃ^h] it is

written as <τσ> with the diacritic again being placed on the second letter (e.g. [tʰ:ái] is written as <τσάι> ‘tea’).

5.4.3 Procedure of empirical work

The study lasted seven months approximately and was made up of the pilot testing and the main intervention study which consisted of three phases: the pre-testing phase, the administration of the bidialectal treatment and the post-testing phase.

The data collection phase of the programme was launched with a pilot testing. The pilot phase was conducted three months prior to the onset of the main research (mid-November) and involved a sample of around 20 fifth-grade primary school GC students who demonstrated the same characteristics as the ones participating in the main study. The students were, however, drawn from a different school site. The aims of the pilot phase were twofold: firstly, to pre-test the research design and particular research instruments that would be used to assess the students’ language performance. Secondly, it was expected to offer the researcher insight into the classroom setting, linguistic level and educational material of grade 5, as well as provide a general idea of how the mainstream language lesson is delivered. Having agreed with the staff of both schools that the bidialectal teaching would be largely grounded on the current curriculum provisions, I was required to know exactly what the content of the fifth-grade books was. The duration of the pilot study was estimated to be one week and it involved four forty-minute classroom observations and written assessment tests: During the pilot phase, the children were asked to write freely on specific topics. Indeed, the children appeared able to produce stories on the basis of a particular topic with little guidance on structure issues.

During the first phase of the main intervention study (the pre-test phase), the children’s D1 and D2 oral and written performance was evaluated through a number of tests, examples of which will be presented later on. The aim of the pre-testing phase was twofold: first, to determine proficiency levels across the groups before the intervention and, second, to show any potential effects of the intervention when compared to post-tests. Aiming to avoid any order effects, tests were administered in the same order across all schools and classes. Pre-testing started with the evaluation of the students’ written D1 and D2 performance and was conducted in the following order:

1. Essay writing in the standard variety (D2)

2. Dialogue writing in the dialect (D1).

3. Oral testing, which consisted of two parts: (i) interview in the D1 variety, (ii) interview in the D2 variety.

All children were tested individually, once in each variety, with a week's interval between the two sessions.

The second phase of the programme, which involved the bidialectal teaching, lasted for a period of two weeks in each school. The bidialectal treatment was not concurrently administered in all four schools, as it would be practically impossible to commute to four schools every day. For this reason, the schools were divided into two groups based on their relative proximity and the treatment was administered consecutively. Overall, a month was allocated for the teaching in all four schools. Immediately after the completion of the second phase at each school, the post-testing evaluation was performed, during which all students were asked to repeat the language performance tests in the same order. Post-tests were deemed necessary so as to detect any immediate effects that the intervention had on the experimental group. Table 5.2 shows a graphic representation of this procedure.

From mid-November to end-November	Pilot stage 1. Four 40-minute classroom observations (20 students drawn from a different school site) 2. Written assessment tasks on different topics
From mid-February to March	I) Pre-intervention stage 1. Pre-tests – assessing D1/D2 language performance (all student participants) 2. 20-minute interviews – language attitudes (4 student participants)
From March to May	II) Administration of the bidialectal intervention programme Instruction lessons, 40- or 80-minute sessions x 2 weeks (all participants in the experimental groups)
From May to June	III) Post-intervention stage Post-tests – assessing D1/D2 language performance (all student participants)

Table 5.2 The stages of the intervention study.

5.5 Main data collection tools: assessment tests

The assessment tasks were based on communicative free production (i.e. activities that involve unplanned language use and whose objective is to fulfil some communicative purpose). This type of tasks – as opposed to structured ones (Luoma, 2004) or differently discrete-point approaches to measuring proficiency – is considered more appropriate for eliciting spontaneous, freely-produced speech that emulates real-life situations and is thought to tap into the learner's unconscious, spontaneous L2 knowledge (Ellis, 2012). Freer tasks, rather than the production of specific items, were a major objective in this study, as spontaneous speech facilitated the measurement of the overall communicative performance of the speakers (Briere, 1971). Speaking and writing task types encouraging spontaneous linguistic production include informal interviews, narrations, descriptions of pictures or objects and asking for and giving directions, and have been extensively used in measuring attainment in Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA) (Siegel, 2010).

According to Luoma (2004, p.51), open-ended approaches to assessment give testers a longer stretch of the examinees' speech and thus demonstrate their ability to sustain an argument and express their thoughts independently. In contrast, accommodating relatively more structured tasks like sentence completions, factual short-answer questions and multiple-choice questions limits the amount of language production by the students and provides them with less freedom to express themselves.

Apart from being open-ended, the freer tasks employed in the programme were also designed on the basis of scenarios (see Appendix 3) that simulated real-life communicative events, which, according to a number of scholars, is considered pedagogically fruitful (McNamara, 1996) and renders the tasks engaging for the pupils. Finally, designing the post-tests involved diversifying the tasks' scenarios from those presented in the class, in order to minimise the test effect and not favour the experimental group, who had the experience of the bidialectal treatment. Also, as mentioned earlier, pre- and post-tests had the same structure, however the topics on which the students were required to speak or write were not entirely similar, in order to eliminate any repetition effects and, at the same time, avoid affecting the objectivity of the assessment as much as possible.

Written tests in both varieties took the form of weekly assessment and were monitored by the students' teachers, rather than the researcher, so as to minimise the Hawthorne Effect. In addition, as Cypriot curricula do not involve official oral testing, the programme administered

written testing prior to oral testing. Writing tasks lasted 80 minutes, which is comparable to the time allocated to mainstream writing tasks and allowed students to proofread and edit their work. Oral testing in the two varieties was assessed in live, one-to-one interactions with the researcher. As noted above, speech in each variety was assessed separately, and students were given unlimited time in each session to complete the speaking task, although most finished within three to five minutes.

During assessment tasks, students were not directly advised about what variety to use. This was done for three reasons. First, the terms CG and SMG are rarely used and explained in the context of school, as the educational variety is the SMG and teachers use the collective term '*ellinika*' (Greek) to refer to it. When embarking on this study, it was therefore unclear how students conceptualise these terms and what variants they assign to them. Second, code-switching is something that happens naturally, and is normally triggered by contextual factors, so determining how students should speak or write might alienate them. Third, one of the aspects of language performance that this inquiry sought to investigate was the students' sociolinguistic awareness regarding variation. As mentioned earlier, bidialectal speakers tend to employ the standard language mainly in formal communicative contexts or when they want to accommodate an SMG-speaking audience. Specifically, the more formal the communicative context, the closer to the standard end of the dialect continuum the speakers are expected to place themselves. According to Halliday's register framework, the audience/reader and specifically the relationship between the participants in a communicative situation is largely responsible for determining the level of formality. This was accomplished mainly by manipulating contextual elements of the language events so as to emulate real-life situations in the GC community that require the use of the standard or the dialect.

5.5.1 Written D2

The topics of the writing tasks were chosen in accordance with the curriculum and were thematically linked to material students were taught just before the start of the intervention; little deviation from the prescribed syllabus was permitted, as part of the agreement with the Ministry of Education and school management. This inevitably rendered the written D2 tasks less spontaneous compared to the other assessment tasks (which involved no previous exposure to similar content).

For the purposes of the D2 pre- and post- writing assessment, students were asked to write an article on the following topics (see Appendix 3):

- Pre-test: Last year you spent an unforgettable day/ afternoon with family or friends. Write about the day/afternoon, explaining where you went, what you did, who you were with and what made the day/afternoon so special. Your article will be published in the monthly school newspaper.
- Post-test: The next issue of your school newspaper will focus on family and friendship. Describe your favourite family member or best friend and write about something exciting you did with them.

Writing narratives and descriptions as a text-type are typical of primary school years. The language variety was not specified in the task, as students are trained to render written discourse at school in the standard variety. At the same time, other contextual features embedded in the task point to the D2, as well: this particular task involves writing a newspaper article, which automatically assigns it a higher degree of formality.

5.5.2 Oral D2

Oral testing in the standard took the form of an individual interview. Pupils were drawn from their routine for a one-to-one conversation with an SMG-speaking interviewer who administered the tasks. Interviews were discretely audio-recorded for later transcription. To increase the formality of the event and trigger the development of standard speech, oral D2 interviews were held at the headteacher's office, while the tasks were administered by a near-native SMG interviewer who had no previous contact with the children. The origin of the interviewer was decided based on prior studies, which have shown greater style-shifting in conversation with Greek addressees (Christodoulidou, 2013), as subjects shift their speech to imitate the speech of their interlocutor.

Finally, as shown below, the context used in D2 oral assessment imitated real-life language situations that call specifically for the use of the SMG.

In particular, students were asked to bring in their favourite book and their favourite school creation and imagine they would have to present them to SMG speakers in Greece.

- Pre-test: Students had to present their favourite novel to an imaginary audience of a TV show for children in Greece. In this task, they had to discuss the plot and the characters and explain why they liked it.
- Post-test: Students had to bring in an assignment or drawing they completed at school and present them in a TV show for children in Greece. In this task, they had to describe the project, and explain what they attempted to convey through it, what materials they used and whether or not it was challenging.

5.5.3 Written D1

The students' written D1 performance was assessed via written texts which they were expected to produce in their native CG. The tasks were administered to the sampled classes by their normal teachers and were allocated 80 minutes. The task was based on the assumption that, because written production is less spontaneous than speech, it better reflects pupils' conscious awareness. In this way, the task aimed to elicit information on the students' perceptions about what is distinctively CG, thereby providing a richer insight into the nature of their language and register awareness. For this task, the students were required to tap into their repertoire and retrieve salient structural features of contemporary CG.

When designing the D1 written tasks, I considered it essential to replicate the essentials of naturalistic language use in the assessment situation (through simulation) (Luoma, 2004). In particular, I opted for realistic contexts that would naturally encourage the use of written D1. My intention was, first, to enable children to establish on their own which variety would be more appropriate and second, to make the task as familiar as possible so as to prompt naturally occurring written D1 in a real-life context. At the same time, as the task was also looking to assess students' sociolinguistic awareness of the stylistic variation that exists within their D1, the scenario(s) were carefully selected so as to prompt middle register levels of the contemporary CG koine, which are normally free of basilectal or acrolectal variants and largely overlap with the language students naturally use in their everyday exchanges. To achieve this, a dialogue between peers was chosen as the basis and the following scenario was presented to the students:

- Pre-test: ‘You are Koullis, a Cypriot student who lives in Limassol. Your friend Pambos lives with his family in Nicosia but they are soon relocating to Limassol, where you live. Pambos is apprehensive about the relocation and worries he will be lonely in Limassol, so he calls to ask for your advice. Write your dialogue with Pambos.’
- Post-test: ‘It’s your best friend’s birthday in a few days. You’re wondering what you could plan so you call another friend to discuss possible ideas. One of you suggests throwing a surprise party. Write your dialogue, in which you detail how you are thinking of organising the surprise party.’

Although the task might, at first glance, appear straightforward, the fact that it involves written contemporary CG (which is almost exclusively associated with oral speech) renders the task quite demanding. To fulfil this task, students had to depart from their linguistic habitus (Bourdieu, 1991), which strictly requires the use of the standard for all formal writing purposes. In addition, orthography issues relevant to how to render the CG through the Greek alphabet inevitably imposed additional obstacles, as most students are accustomed to the use of the Roman alphabet when using CG in extracurricular literacy practices (see section 4.4.1.2.3) (Themistocleous, 2010, 2014, 2015). Indeed, students were often rather baffled when asked to write in their home variety (D1).

At this point, it should be clarified that the students’ options in relation to the writing of the dialect were intentionally restricted as to which script they could employ (Greek or Latin). This was deemed necessary in order to prevent the appearance of either Latin letters embedded in Greek words or words entirely transcribed in the Latin alphabet, although it could have potentially affected the spontaneity of the students’ writing. The decision was taken after personally discussing such a possibility with educational representatives at the CERE who had expressed strong objections. While it compromised the aspirations of the study to evaluate students’ spontaneous production of (written) speech and its principles to exploit linguistic variation, it secured the smooth application of the programme, guaranteed the consent of both parents and education representatives and increased the possibility of this programme being accessible and acceptable by the community.

As noted in earlier chapters (see section 4.4.1.2.3), the use of the Latin alphabet in the written representation of the dialect is a convention highly associated with the language of youth and is by default reserved for specific contexts of CMC or internet media in general. Considering the

sociolinguistic and political conditions in modern-day Cyprus, accommodating such orthographic practices in the school context would be seen as highly irrelevant and consequently stigmatise the proposed language programme as inappropriate for the context of Cypriot education, a development that would be unfortunate for the present study.

Considering the demands of this task, it was deemed appropriate to slightly deviate from the principles set for this study and provide explicit instructions regarding the linguistic variety students were expected to produce. The instructions were as follows: students had to (i) write in the way they normally speak every day, outside of school, with family members and friends and (ii) use the Standard Greek alphabet to represent their pronunciation. In addition, the first three sentences were provided as part of the task description, offering students a sample of what they were expected to produce: ‘Γεια σου Κούλλη, ο Πάμπος είμαι! Ίναμπου κάμνεις; Έπιασα σε τηλέφωνο να σου πω κάτι... (Hello Koulli, it’s Pambos! How are you? Have you got a minute? ...)’.

It should be noted that the rubric was provided in SMG to conform to usual classroom practice and, as the request to write in the home variety was unusual, students were also told orally what was requested of them. The oral instructions were also provided in CG.

Although the students, similarly to what is reported in the literature, were expected to code-switch for stylisation purposes (Ioannidou, 2017), what the task aimed to check was whether they were able to attune to the informality of the event of communication and reproduce in writing everyday casual talk, keeping it fairly distinct from standard writing. In practice, this would entail avoiding standard forms when a dialectal feature was available, while, equally importantly, students were expected to avoid the use of CG items that vastly deviate from mesolectal CG use, which characterises their natural talk, and approach basilectal CG registers.

5.5.4 Oral D1

As with oral tests in the standard variety, the students’ interviews in the dialect were audio-recorded and each lasted approximately three to five minutes. Seeking to increase the students’ sensitivity to the appropriate variety they should employ, interviews this time were conducted by myself, a native CG speaker, who students had already established a friendly relationship with. Throughout the task, my speech style was consistent with the contemporary Cypriot koine that students use in all their informal exchanges. As for the place where interviews were held, despite attempts to use an informal setting outside the school, the educational nature of the study

dictated that students should remain on school premises, so interviews were held in a quiet corner in the playground, aiming to set the formality of the event as low as possible. This was reiterated by the informality of the scenarios, based on which the tasks were designed:

- Pre-test: In this task, the students were asked to describe their favourite game/toy to a friend, explaining its rules/ its use, why they like it, who they play it with and talking about the last time they played this game/with this toy.
- Post-test: In this task, the students were asked to bring in two photos and imagine that they are showing them to a new friend. The task involved describing the photos, explaining why they chose those particular ones and telling the story behind them.

5.5.5 Supplementary collection tools: the interviews

To supplement the data obtained through the main data-collection tools, that is, the oral and written assessment tests, I conducted one-to-one interviews with four experimental students. This supplementary source of information cast further light on the pre-intervention findings on the students' language use and performance and facilitated the interpretation of the results emerging from the main data collection-tools. The interviews had a semi-structured format to ensure the coverage of important topics roughly in the same order yet allow for flexibility in the development of a casual, informal conversation which made participants feel comfortable so as to talk about their views about language (Mertens, 2010). Interviews were audio recorded and the duration of each interview was roughly 20 minutes for each individual.

The content and structure of the interviews focused on the students' perceptions and personal feelings about the SMG and CG as well as language choices / language use in their everyday lives; lastly, students were also asked to self-reflect on their language performance in the two varieties (comprehension and production).

5.6 Data analysis

The oral and written texts the participants produced in response to the assessment tasks were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Oral data collected from the students' interviews

in the SMG and CG were transcribed and then textual data from all tests (oral and written) were converted into a form which would enable their quantification. Since quantitative data-analysis software handles data in a numerical rather than a textual form, it was essential to segment the students' textual responses and assign to them numeric values. This was accomplished by means of 'coding procedures' (Dörnyei, 2007; Plough, Briggs and Van Bonn, 2010). In what follows, the assessment criteria are laid out, followed by a description of the coding scheme and how code frequencies were calculated.

5.6.1 Assessment criteria and unit of analysis

A major element of the coding phase was to define the variables, the evaluation criteria and the unit of analysis which ensured that each oral transcript or text was coded uniformly. The corpus of *standard production* was tagged for CG elements (intact CG items - direct dialect transfers - or dialect-influenced items), while improvement was defined as reduction of CG uses in SMG speech. A reduction in nonstandard occurrences in the standard speech (oral and written) of the students from an assessment point of view would lead to the production of more accurate written and oral texts based on SMG grammar. Considering that the language model aimed to enhance the students' understanding of the boundaries between the two codes, from a language acquisition point of view, a reduction of the errors caused from negative transfer would indicate enhanced ability to distinguish between the two systems and keep them apart. Importantly, in the context of this study, dialectal interference had no negative connotations. It simply referred to dialectal occurrences in Cypriot students' production of the standard variety.

The corpus of *dialect production* was again coded based on the occurrence of CG-specific items. On this occasion, however, D1 occurrences were treated as instances of appropriate stylistic use and thus were positively scored. The decision to adopt the same measurement unit in processing production in the two varieties was driven by two objectives. First, to confront the lack of established measurement criteria and standards for evaluating performance in the CG due to its still understudied character and, second, to make the analyses comparable across the two varieties. In sum, successful students were primarily expected to demonstrate the ability to converse or write in the dialect by displaying speech comparable to that of a native CG speaker. Next and equally important, the students should be able to demonstrate a certain level of sociolinguistic awareness so as to distinguish between the different register levels of the CG and shift into the appropriate one after correctly processing the given sociolinguistic variables.

In both varieties, all errors in spelling and punctuation (e.g. <ίμε> corresponding to <είμαι> ‘I am’ as well as different orthographic representations of the dialect <ένι> or <ένει> ‘it is’) were ignored, since this study did not focus on intra-lingual errors.

5.6.2 Data codification

Each assessment task yielded 238 texts and each one composed a distinct dataset. In total, 952 texts were collected after both testing phases. Half of them came from oral texts which were later transcribed. These were typed and subsequently imported to NVivo10, whereas, for practical reasons, written texts were scanned and imported in the same software. The corpus was manually tagged for distinctive dialectal grammatical and lexical features (occurrences) as well as dialectal expressions, as these formed the unit of analysis.

In relation to the protocol that was followed for consistent coding of CG occurrences across the datasets, it should be clarified that, as the analysis was strictly oriented towards the differences between the two varieties, instances of overlap between the two varieties were classified as ‘SMG’ and not taken into account. For example, in cases where the morphology and the lexicon of an item was SMG but the syntax CG, the item was coded only once for the syntactic CG feature (e.g. <είπα το> [ípa to] say_{1sg.past.perf} it_{cl.acc}. ‘I said it’ → 1 CG item/ syntax/ post-verbal clitics). In cases where there was CG phonology, morphology and lexicon in a single item, all instances were coded separately, except when a CG-specific lexical item was involved. In such cases, the item was coded only once, irrespective of whether or not other CG-specific morphophonological features were present in the word (e.g. <μαστούα> maʃúa] hair clip_{fem.acc.sg}. ‘hair clip’ → 1 CG item/ lexicon/ CG-specific nouns. In this case, the word was not coded for the presence of the CG palato-alveolar sound [tʃ]).

Dialectal forms were identified according to the main and most marked characteristics of CG based on previous research. Specifically, to compose a list of features, both descriptive as well as empirical studies on CG that focus on individual CG phenomena were taken into account (e.g. Newton, 1972; Arvaniti, 1999; Hadjioannou, 1999; Symeonidis, 2006; Tsiplakou, 2006; Varella, 2006). However, to address issues emerging due to the lack of an accurate grammatical description of contemporary CG as well the difficulty in establishing registers and register boundaries within CG, additional measures were taken to cross-check the coding of dialectal forms. In particular, three linguists who are native speakers of CG acted as independent raters

and provided comments on the nature of a variety of features. This included assigning the features to the four linguistic levels (phonology/phonetics, morphology, syntax, lexicon) as well to CG register levels (e.g. mesolect or basilect).

For reasons of clarity, I decided to exclude from the investigation items or structures whose dialectal nature was not confirmed by at least two of my resources and, respectively, change their classification in terms of linguistic level and register based on the same criterion. Also, the analysis did not take into consideration subtle phonetic/phonological differences between the two varieties that, according to the literature (Katsoyiannou *et al.*, 2006), are not perceived by CG speakers and thus the standard equivalent pronunciation cannot possibly be achieved. Appendix 1 gives a brief description of the targeted grammatical CG features.

Each dataset was imported into the software as a distinctive project, but the same coding procedures were applied across all four projects. The aim of the coding analysis was to proceed from a macro-level analysis, which concentrated on tracing all CG uses (i.e. the overall performance) and categorising them into the four linguistic levels, to a micro-level one, which helped to investigate those items that occurred more frequently in the students' texts and saw if they relate in any way (i.e. linguistic level, saliency and distinctiveness). The macro-level analysis addressed the quantitative effects of the intervention programme and the micro-level, item-by-item analysis the corresponding qualitative ones. The codification, therefore, proceeded from tagging the general CG occurrences to their specific labelling and categorisation in individual codes. A set of additional codes were added to the code scheme to enlighten the analysis. These involved instances of hypercorrection, instances of self-correction and instances of mixed CG-SMG uses.

Parallel to this analysis, an Excel file was prepared in which unconventional CG uses were kept. These described deviation from the register that the students were expected to choose based on the situational characteristics of the scenarios they were given. Such cases were found exclusively in students' D1 writing and consisted of practically obsolete features that are representative of an older stage of CG and hyperdialectism, that is, constructed dialectal forms that are not actually existent. In the same file, the students' decisions on how to orthographically represent particular idiosyncratic CG sounds (i.e. palato-alveolars) were again recorded. The aim was to see how the students would intuitively render these dialectal sounds and subsequently to investigate whether the experimental students were successful in adapting their writing to the CG orthographic conventions they had been taught.

5.6.3 Calculating code frequencies: calculating CG frequencies

Following the development and application of the coding framework, the frequency of each code was calculated to provide an indication of its prevalence in pupils' oral and written production in pre- and post-tests. Only the linguistic features whose appearance in the students' language production was deemed as frequent and systematic made their way into the final coding scheme on which the micro-level, qualitative analysis was based. The categories defined here as systematic were the first *ten* most frequent categories in each of the four datasets. The rationale behind this decision lay in the hypothesis that highly recurrent forms would be more likely to represent structures which the pupils had either fully acquired (when the D1 was assessed) or not yet acquired and were responsible for inter-lingual errors (when the D2 was assessed). In addition, when the numerical data denoted a very rare or low-frequency appearance of a feature, there was no sufficient evidence to confirm its importance and thus it was disregarded as random and/or unimportant.

For the ten most frequent codes of every dataset, in addition to performing a vertical analysis by counting the total number of times each code appeared in the texts, the total number of students whose texts included each of these codes was also calculated either manually (for written texts) or via the functions offered by the NVivo software (for oral texts). This additional type of calculation served the purposes of validity and minimised the likelihood of non-representative observations. This would refer to cases, for example, in which the high frequency of a code was attributed to its extensive use by only a small sample of students in the study, or cases in which the changes in the amount of certain types of forms concentrated on the texts of particular students.

5.6.4 Statistical analysis

Having decided on the evaluation criteria and applied the coding protocol to the textual data, the first stage of the data analysis gave its place to the examination of the now numeric (as opposed to textual) databases to address the quantitative research questions and hypotheses (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2017). The overarching aim of the statistical analysis was to provide an answer to the first research question of this study, which was concerned with the quantitative effects of the bidialectal treatment on students. The aim was therefore to compare the D1, D2

productive performance of the control and the experimental group over each set of tests so as to identify any differences within and between the groups. This analysis was carried out via the statistical package SPSS (version 22) and involved both descriptive and inferential statistics. Statistical tests were run on percentages rather than on raw counts, as it was understood that differences in text length might influence the production of the targeted features. Raw counts were converted into percentages, to warrant proportionality in the measurement.

Prior to applying any statistical analysis, all datasets were explored to ensure that they met the criteria for the parametric procedures the researcher intended to use. For all datasets, the same procedures were applied. In particular, as the students' scores were to be tested for between-group differences, the general assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variance had to be first confirmed (Pallant, 2013). Before determining this, data from each group were first tested for the presence of outliers. Outliers were visually inspected for the variables using boxplots, for values greater than 1.5 box-lengths from the edge of the box. Considering that statistical inferential tests can be quite sensitive to outliers, it was decided to recode these values into the lowest (or highest) value that is not determined to be an outlier by SPSS.

The distribution of the data for each time point (pre- and post-tests) and type of group (control-experimental) was assessed first graphically and then numerically via the Kormokorov-Smirnov test (K-S test). When assumptions for parametric tests were not met, the between-group differences were explored by employing both non-parametric techniques and their equivalent parametric ones; in case of similar results, parametric tests were preferred over non-parametric ones for further analyses. This was decided mainly because parametric tests are deemed to be more robust and, most importantly, allow the investigation of any causes of interaction.

Next, the investigation of the bidialectal treatment effects was carried out through a statistical model and, specifically, by means of a repeated-measures General Linear Model (GLM) test (Mixed-Between-Within Anova test). This test was considered as the most suitable, as it examines any interaction effects between the independent variables of group x time on the dependent variable(s), that is, the students' performance. Its use was further validated by the fact that there was no need to control for any initial differences in the performance of the two groups. Furthermore, statistical analyses exclusively involving the performance of the experimental group in the four tasks were subsequently conducted to identify any significant changes attributed to the type of dialectal interference or school location.

5.6.5 Analysing supplementary data resources: the interviews

The interviews with the four students were transcribed. The format of the transcription was adapted to fit the purposes of the study and the principles guiding the transcription system were as follows: discourses were transcribed in the linguistic code in which they occurred; cases of code-switching were also marked. When it was deemed necessary, verbal and nonverbal cues were provided, such as hesitations, emotional intonation, facial expressions, gestures and eye-movements, which could provide extra information or be crucial in understanding the real content of what was said. The attitudinal information obtained from the interviews was used to contextualise and further inform the performance profile of the students before the intervention, while also assisting the interpretation of the findings from the two phases of the study.

5.7 Validity and reliability issues

A number of procedures were followed in this study in order to establish trustworthiness in all stages of research:

Rigorous and transparent research design: Pre- post- non-equivalent groups design:

Quasi-experiments are subject to a host of complexities and are vulnerable to many threats to validity, including history, namely other variables apart from the treatment influencing the result and maturation, such as extraneous developments in the participants' performance (Robson, 2002). It was therefore important to control factors that could potentially interfere with the true effects of the independent variable (i.e. the instructional treatment) upon the dependent variables. The pre- and post-test non-equivalent group design of the study was a tactic employed precisely to effectively control these biases and strengthen the quasi-experimental design of the study. Since the study did not involve a random assignment of participants in the research design, there was a need to lessen the threat of the selection variable to internal validity. To this end, a pre-test was administered prior to the commencement of the intervention programme to confirm whether or not the experimental and control groups displayed equivalent performance at the outset. Scores of pre-tests revealed that the two groups were of a similar ability (that is, no statistical significance was detected). This was a positive indication of internal validity, thereby allowing for a valid comparison between the experimental and control groups.

Data and methodological triangulation:

The study addressed the aims guiding this inquiry by employing mixed methods which involve blending both qualitative and quantitative strands. This enhanced the integrity and quality of the research design and enabled triangulation of the findings so as to be mutually corroborated (Kirk and Miller, 1986). Specifically, the quantitative evaluation of the bidialectal programme was complemented by an in-depth, micro-level observation of the students' language use and performance which aimed to understand the nature of changes that the intervention study effectuated. The analysis proceeded beyond a simple numerical evaluation of the students' overall performance to a more rigorous, detailed and focused investigation of the four performance indicators (four linguistic levels) and then of the actual lexical and grammatical CG instances that appeared to reside in the students' written and oral standard language scripts. This three-level investigation of the students' language use allowed the emergence of complementary perspectives and provided a more holistic viewpoint of the issues under investigation. At the same time, considering that what is CG-specific is not completely straightforward or definable in terms of linguistic level due to the absence of a contemporary CG grammar, the detailed qualitative description of the students' language provided verification and validity to the quantitative findings regarding overall performance and performance in terms of linguistic categories.

Consistent and repeated measurements:

Aiming to avoid the production of misleading and non-comparable data, the measurement unit was well-exemplified to ensure that it is reliably identified and consistently applied in the tests. Specifically, to ensure that the D1 forms occurring in the participants' D2 production would be identified and correctly classified in the four linguistic levels, I consulted not only the literature documenting the structural differences between CG and SMG but also recent empirical studies on the function of individual CG elements (e.g. Arvaniti, 1999; Terkourafi, 2001; Tsiplakou, 2006; Grohmann *et al.*, 2010; Armosti, 2011; Pavlou, Leivada and Papadopoulou, 2012). In addition, three GC linguists, all with PhD degrees in linguistics and having worked on the CG dialect, were recruited as independent raters to comment on my coding scheme and help identify non-CG specific forms or to trace camouflaged forms and items which were miscategorised in any of the four linguistic levels.

Appropriate treatment and tasks:

Given that the participants were children, the tasks as well as the textbook on which the administration of the treatment was based were designed with particular care. Specifically, the texts and activities included in the textbook were drawn from age-appropriate books or were tailored to match the students' age. Visual materials in the form of coloured pictures accompanied the tasks, which made the resources more engaging, while the assessment tasks were carefully chosen in terms of genre, topics and language to match the particular age group.

In addition, some of the assessment tests which were developed to measure the children's oral and written performance in their D1 and D2 were slightly modified after being piloted. The reason for this was twofold: on the one hand, further modifications were deemed necessary to render the tests appropriate for the students' age and educational level, and, on the other hand, when modified, the content of the tests was aligned with that of the fifth-grade coursebooks currently in use for the language lesson.

Also, as the study aimed to decrease errors related to differences in the instruments that measured performance in the same variety, comparable pre- and post- assessment tasks were employed. In particular, pre- and post-tests of each assessment task were based on the same genre and had the same in-built level of formality (for example, same addressee and similar underlying theme). Finally, to counter heightened sensitivity on the part of the students as a result of the testing process, the post-test was scheduled about a month and a half after the pre-test and featured different topics compared to the first one.

Shallow blind experiment and observation:

The objective and content of the research were not disclosed to the students, in order to prevent or reduce the Hawthorne Effect to the smallest possible degree (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002). As a strict blind experiment was not feasible due to the nature of the study, a shallow blind experiment was applied by not providing the students with details about the precise research focus and teaching method. In addition, the tests which measured the students' D2 performance were administered by the schools' Greek language teachers and resembled the standard tasks routinely assigned to the students throughout their schooling. Also, the video equipment which was used during the experimental instruction was placed at the back of the classroom, while the audio-recorder which was central to the data-collection process and the

students' oral assessment was always placed discretely behind the examiner to avoid distracting the students and causing possible elicitations of non-ordinary behaviours.

Detailed description of the research design and methods:

The criteria on which the study's methods were selected were explicitly presented and sufficient details have been provided to the reader about the procedures and equipment that were employed in the intervention study. The process of detailing the methodological steps and procedures which were followed to the research community – from the research design to the administration of the intervention and then to the interpretation of the results – increase the credibility of the study and enable the replication of the experiment by other researchers who might implement a similar (possibly larger-scale) study to assess whether conclusions would remain stable over time (Thomas, 2003).

5.8 Role of the researcher

Throughout my engagement with the project, I negotiated many roles, some of which were in a complementary relation, while others in a more antagonistic relation. The former refers to my roles as an insider in the research setting. I consider myself as an 'insider' in my role as a researcher because I was born, raised and educated in the GC community, and as such, I was already familiar with the sociocultural and institutional practices in Cyprus; I am also a competent user of both the D1 and D2 varieties under examination. However, at the same time, I was the external researcher who undertook the roles of the observer, interviewer and educator who administered the bidialectal treatment and ultimately the person who evaluated the effects of the intervention study, analysed the findings and interpreted the results.

While my familiarity with the setting of my study provided me with an advantage, at the same time, my dual role as a bidialectal community member and researcher entailed potentially multiple risks. It is well-recognised in academic circles that researcher bias might well threaten the validity and reliability of scientific research. When researchers embark on a research project, they are continually affected and governed by their beliefs or by the values imposed by the wider research community within which they operate (Greenbank, 2003). Presumably, the threat of the researchers constructing knowledge according to their personal ideologies becomes even more prominent when the researcher is part of the community under investigation, as they might

filter findings through the lens of their own experiences, insights and beliefs about that particular community. This can be also associated with what Lincoln and Guba (1985, p.39) call the ‘human instrument’, where the researcher acts as an instrument of collecting data, which might affect the trustworthiness of the findings.

Throughout the study, I have acknowledged that my status as a bidialectal CG speaker, my experiences and understanding of how the two varieties operate in the wider community and in the educational system in particular, as well as my expectations of the outcomes of this study might increase the likelihood of the observer’s error/bias effect. My aim was to constantly attempt to bracket the negative influences of my personal values and ideologies by using rigorous methodological techniques for constructing and analysing my data and detailed justification and interpretation of my methodological choices. What is more, I strove for objectivity by being self-reflexive, critical and sceptical with regard to the values I hold and inevitably apply to the research (Carr, 2000). In addition to all the aforementioned tactics that were taken to ensure validity and reliability, the following measures added to the trustworthiness of the study:

Researcher’s protocol:

Given that I was exclusively responsible for ensuring that the conditions in the experimental classes were carefully implemented, in addition to the textbook, I designed a protocol which was followed in every lesson of every experimental class. This protocol formed a step-by-step guide to the lesson, including grammatical or other objectives.

Limitations pertaining to my linguistic background:

Being a bidialectal speaker myself, I have my own understanding of what is dialectal and what is standard Greek; nonetheless, I acknowledge that I am to some extent subject to the limitations bidialectal speakers typically face, namely the lack of awareness of some of the more subtle differences between D1 and D2. To address this limitation and avoid either the over-identification or under-identification of dialectal items occurring in participants’ production, I did not rely on my own language background and linguistic intuitions, but, as noted earlier, I consulted the relevant literature and recruited independent raters to provide feedback on my coding. Furthermore, as SMG is not my native variety, I asked two native speakers of SMG to

validate my transcription and translation of some CG words/phrases. In this way, consistent intersubjectivity of interpretation was ensured throughout. The two speakers come from my family environment and showed willingness to undertake this task.

Blind assessment:

This study adopted a blind assessment method. This meant that assessment tasks were anonymous (each child was assigned a serial code number) which ensured that the researcher was not aware of whose test was being assessed each time. This eliminated potential projections of the researcher's expectations of what the outcome should be, which might consciously or subconsciously influence the results.

5.9 Ethical issues

Comprehensive measures were taken to ensure that the ethical rules and principles of educational research were followed.

First, I gained ethical approval from the Oxford Brookes University Research Ethics Committee. This involved submitting an application which explained the proposed research design with consent forms intended for the participants, teachers and parents or guardians of the children and the headteachers of the sampling schools (see Appendix 6). Permission was then requested from the Ministry of Education and Culture in Cyprus. After examining the proposed research design, the ministry granted permission to conduct the research, while emphasising that everything should be done in co-operation with the sampling school, so as to ensure that the learning progress of the students in the prescribed curriculum would not be hindered in any way. I then approached the headteachers of several primary schools in Limassol and informed them about the aims of the study and its requirements in detail. The headteachers who showed willingness to participate had to sign a relevant consent form and inform their staff about the study in which their school would participate. Subsequently, I scheduled meetings with the teachers of the fifth-grade classes of each school and detailed the purpose of the study and the main aspects I was hoping to investigate. This contributed to enhancing the participants' engagement and informed consent and established rapport and trust. These meetings formed the basis of my co-operation with the teachers. A step towards this aim involved adapting my lesson plans to the content of the mainstream books, at least as far as this was feasible.

I often had to negotiate my first intentions and make amendments to the design of the study in order to prevent any discontentment on behalf of the school educators and keep my participants willing to be involved in the study. My intention was to ensure that all the actions undertaken during the study would meet the interests primarily of the children and subsequently of everyone else involved in the project. To avoid compromising the pupils' learning and interfering with the children's school routine and academic progress, I decided to shorten the duration of the intervention from a 40-minute bidialectal teaching twice a week over a 10-week span to a daily 40- or 80-minute instruction for a period of 2 weeks. Also, despite my initial intention to sample sixth-grade primary students in their final school year, in order to comply with the instructions of the Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, in the end I only sampled fifth-grade primary students. The rationale underpinning this was that Year 6 is by default more exam-focused, making senior-year students less fitting for an intervention study. However, these modifications did not undermine the purpose of the study: Year 5 students were deemed equally suitable candidates for this study, as the focus of the language lessons and the types of grammatical structures taught in both Year 5 and Year 6 are highly comparable – in fact, the sixth grade is largely considered to be a repetition of the fifth grade as regards grammar. Furthermore, the cognitive development of students between the ages of 10 and 12 is regarded as relatively the same.

Informed consent was then requested from the students' parents or legal guardians. The participants were provided with the essential information about the research, and details were given about why they were chosen as participants and how the data were to be used. Parents were reminded that their children's participation in the research was voluntary and that they could withdraw at any time even if they had signed the consent form. Finally, in recognition of the participants' right to privacy, the research was strictly confidential and anonymous. The collected data were treated with integrity and solely used for academic purposes, such as international conferences and publications arising from the study. Lastly, everyone who participated in this research was thanked for their contribution to the project while I also returned to the setting of my research and informed the involved parties of the study's findings.

5.10 Conclusion

The chapter began by presenting the two research questions for the present inquiry. These research questions inquired about the quantitative and qualitative effects of bidialectal education on the students' performance in their first and second dialects. The investigation of the two

research questions driving this inquiry was carried out by means of a mixed methods design. The study employed a quasi-experimental design to frame the quantitative strand of the study which was concurrently and sequentially supplemented by a qualitative one. The quantitative component of the inquiry addressed the quantitative effects of the bidialectal intervention by juxtaposing the performance of students who received teaching under different experimental or controlled conditions. Conversely, the qualitative component of the study addressed the qualitative effects of the intervention by illuminating the nature of these changes and providing an insight into how the experimental students' performance altered after the intervention.

The chapter continued with a description of the intervention's three stages: the pre-assessment phase, the administration of the bidialectal treatment and the post-assessment phase. A detailed account of the bidialectal language model was given with reference to the textbook on which the treatment was based. The chapter also discussed the data-collection tools for each variety as well as the procedures followed for the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data yielded. The chapter concluded by addressing issues relevant to the validity and reliability of the study as well as ethical issues relating to this inquiry.

Chapter 6 Quantitative analysis of students' D2 and D1 performance

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the quantitative analysis that was conducted in accordance with the mixed methods design and its main goal is to provide a response to the overarching research question (Research Question 1) of the study, which relates to the main quantitative effects of the bidialectal intervention programme. In essence, the chapter aims to investigate whether the programme affected CG bidialectal students' overall D2 and D1 communicative performance, and, assuming there was an impact, discuss its nature and extent. The data of this analysis have come from the unstructured oral and written production tasks (pre- & post-intervention tests), while the research question is addressed via direct measurements and comparisons.

The chapter consists of two main parts. In the first one, the analysis focuses on the *differences* in D2 and D1 written and oral performance *between* the experimental and control groups who took part in the study. In particular, this part comprises the statistical analysis of D2 and D1 oral and written performance across the pre- & post-tests. In the second part of the chapter, the analysis is tailored to provide a more extensive investigation of the *within-group* differences, focusing exclusively on the experimental group. At the same time, this part attempts to shed light on the factors that may have synergised towards the emergence of the reported effect. Experimental students' D2 and D1 linguistic performance is therefore analysed with respect to level of dialectal use (performance indicators) and the possible impact of school location on the effectiveness of the new type of instruction. By monitoring emergent changes, this chapter helps shed light on the full dynamics of bidialectal education as a teaching method, which may or may not successfully support bidialectal students in overcoming linguistic handicaps and interlanguage difficulties.

6.2 Quantitative assessment of D2 and D1 performance between the experimental and control group

In this section, analyses are restricted to the differences in performance *between* the experimental and control groups. It presents how the two groups *developed* their oral and written standard and dialectal speech *over the period of the two tests* (pre- and post-tests) based on the degree of dialect use in their scripts. As noted earlier, students' success in the language tasks was defined, first, as the ability to distinguish between the two varieties in written and oral speech and demonstrate knowledge of the specific language features of each variety; second, it was based on evidence of sociolinguistic awareness of the contextual information which signals the appropriateness of the one or the other variety and on the use of this knowledge to address the assessment tasks. As discussed in the Methodology chapter, the same segmental unit of analysis was adopted to process both D1 and D2 data production but improvement was conceptualised differently in each variety: whereas CG uses in standard production were seen as instances of cross-linguistic transfer and thus deemed inappropriate, in dialect production they were the expected forms.

Next, the results from the descriptive and inferential statistics are presented so as to yield meaningful conclusions regarding a possible association between the type of instruction and D2 and D1 performance. In this section, the presentation of the results concentrates on students' *overall scores*, which refer to the total sum of CG occurrences spotted in each dataset – irrespective of the domain of linguistic analysis (phonology/phonetics-morphology-syntax-lexicon) to which these items belong and touches only briefly on what happens with the four domains of grammar. An in-depth analysis on whether students' performance was influenced by the linguistic domain under investigation follows in the second part of this chapter.

6.2.1 Oral D2 performance: the interview in the standard variety

As the students' scores were tested for *between-group differences*, the general assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variance were first and foremost checked. The Kormokorov-Smirnov test (K-S) test indicated that the data from the students' speaking in the standard were homogeneous at both times (Pre-test, $F(1, 117) = 1.48, p = .23$; Post-test, $F(1, 117) = .25, p = .62$), however the distributions were not always normal (Pre-test, Control group: $D(60) = .10, p = .19$; Pre-test, Experimental group: $D(59) = .10, p = .19$; Post-test, Control group: $D(60) = .07, p = .20$;

Post-test, Experimental group: $D(59)=.12$, $p=.03$). Due to the violation of the assumption of equal variances, the between-group differences were explored with both the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U Test and its equivalent parametric, the independent samples t-test.

As Table (i) in Appendix 5 shows, the results of the two types of tests came out the same, establishing that the overall performance of both groups was similar before the study (Mann-Whitney U test, $p<.001$; Independent samples t-test, $p<.001$) and different after the intervention (Mann-Whitney U test, $p<.001$; Independent samples t-test, $p<.001$), with the experimental students exhibiting enhanced performance. As presented in Figure 6.1 below, the students' mean rate of dialect use in pre-tests was a striking 38.4% for both groups (39.6% control students, 37.2% experimental students), whereas in post-tests, the figure plummeted to 15.64% for the experimental students, as the control students' score remained relatively steady at 40.45%.

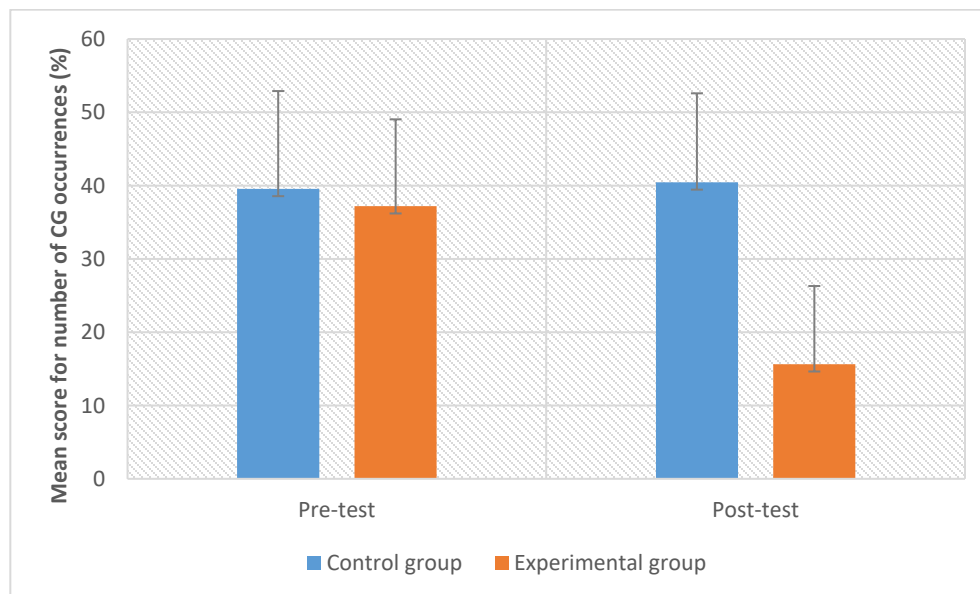


Figure 6.1 Performance of the control and experimental groups during the two oral D2 interviews, measured as the number of CG occurrences per 100 words.

Overall scores were then broken down into the four linguistic categories and additional independent t-tests were conducted separately on each area so as to validate the aforementioned findings. Indeed, the students' pre-test performance across the four linguistic categories was again comparable (Phonology, $p=.42$, Morphology, $p=.45$, Syntax, $p=.85$, Lexicon, $p=.27$), while post-tests indicated noticeable differences across all linguistic categories ($p<.001$).

Next, a General Linear Model (GLM) (Between-Within Anova test, thereafter Mixed Anova) was conducted to investigate whether there is an interaction between the two independent variables (type of instruction, time) and the dependent variable (scores on D2 writing). The suitability of this model was validated after taking into consideration the following three conditions: first, that there is no equivalent non-parametric test to mixed Anova, second, that the results of the non-parametric and parametric tests came out without any significant differences and, third, that it was deemed unnecessary to consider any initial differences of proficiency between the two groups.

The results revealed significant main effects of *time*, $F(1, 117) = 83.57, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .42$) and *group*, $F(1, 117) = 51.29, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .31$), with a lower mean score found in post-testing by the experimental group. However, the most notable finding was the significant *interaction effect* between *time* and *group* ($F(1, 117) = 98.39, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .45$) which suggested a difference in the effectiveness of the two teaching approaches captured in time.

As Figure 6.1 demonstrates, the experimental group followed a downward trend in terms of dialectal interference in SMG speech from pre- to post-test, which translates into a significant improvement in their performance; on the other hand, the control group slightly increased the degree of CG interference across the two time periods. Paired samples T-testing conducted on students' scores confirmed the significant improvement in the experimental group ($p < .001$) and the absence of any change in the control group's performance ($p = .61$). While the experimental students reduced CG use in their standard speech by 21.6% from pre-test (37.2%) to post-test (15.6%), the performance of the control students in the first (39.6%) and second (40.5%) round of interviews in the standard variety remained relatively steady. It can therefore be safely deduced that, after being bidialectally instructed, the experimental students outperformed those in the control group.

6.2.2 Written D2 performance: writing a composition in the standard variety

The K-S test indicated that the scores were significantly normal only for the experimental group in pre-test: Pre-test, Control group: $D(60) = .14, p = .01$; Pre-test, Experimental group: $D(59) = .10, p = .20$; Post-test, Control group: $D(60) = .14, p = .01$; Post-test, Experimental group: $D(59) = .14, p = .01$. As for the homogeneity of variance, the Levene's test indicated that the variances were equal only at pre-test: Pre-test, $F(1, 117) = 3.11, p = .08$; Post-test, $F(1, 117) = 59.73, p < .001$. For this reason, differences between the groups were again tested by means of the Mann-Whitney U Test and its equivalent parametric, the Independent samples t-test. As

Table (ii) in Appendix 5 shows, both types of statistical analysis conducted on the data before and after the commencement of the intervention programme revealed similar results.

Essentially, prior to the intervention programme, the experimental and control students displayed comparable proficiency in written production, and no statistically significant difference was detected in the students' overall performance (Mann-Whitney U test, $p=.30$; Independent samples T test, $p=.13$), with the mean percentage/rate of transferred CG items in all students' standard writing found to be around 3.64%. The results differ greatly in the post-test scores, with both types of scores showing significant differences between the experimental and control groups (Mann-Whitney U test, $p<.001$; Independent samples T test, $p<.001$). In particular, after the intervention, the experimental students scored 0.90% while the control students scored 3.98%. The two groups' mean scores at the two time points are graphically depicted in Figure 6.2 below.

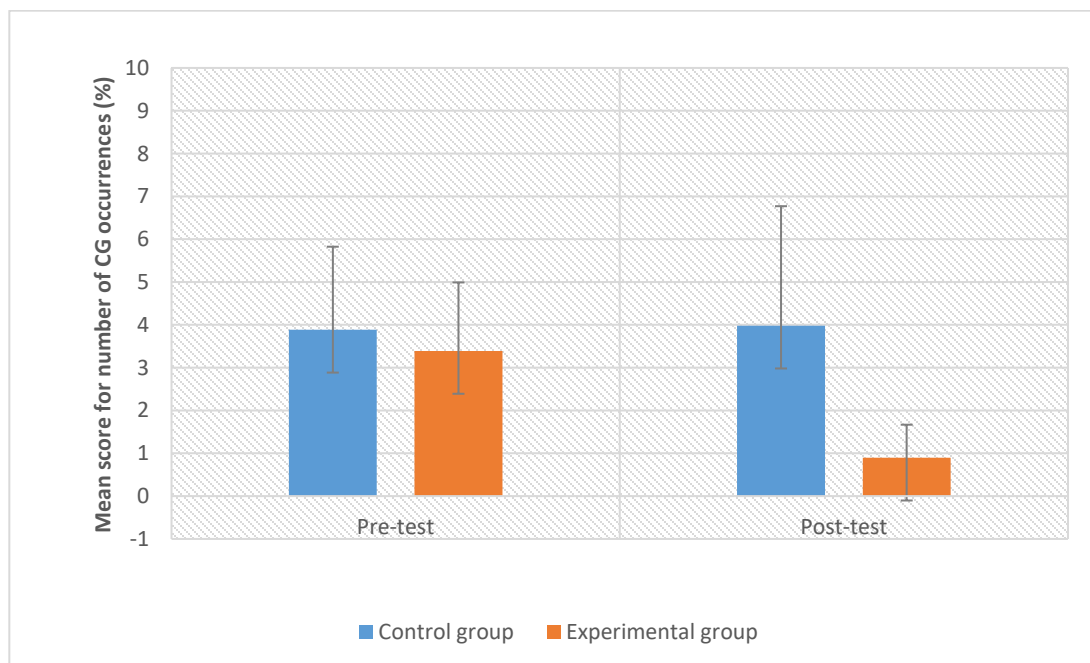


Figure 6.2 Performance of the control and experimental groups at the two written D2 tests, measured as the number of CG occurrences per 100 words.

Similarly, independent t-tests that were conducted separately on the students' scores in each linguistic category before and after the intervention demonstrated comparable performance by the control and experimental students in pre-tests pertaining to all four performance domains of grammar (Phonology, $p=.37$, Morphology, $p=.52$, Syntax, $p=.10$, Lexicon, $p=.08$). Although the percentages were rather low, the results showed significant differences between the two groups

in all four linguistic categories in post-testing ($p < .001$ for all domains), with the experimental students displaying consistently reduced rates of transferred CG items in all four domains.

The results from the Mixed Anova test revealed significant main effects for *time* ($F(1, 117) = 30.83, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = .21$), with post-tests showing reduced rate of dialectal interference as well as for *group (instruction type)* indicating that if the time variable is ignored, there is a significant difference in the overall mean scores of the two groups, with the experimental students performing better than the control students ($F(1, 117) = 41.27, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .26$). Most importantly, the interaction between language teaching approach and testing time was also found significant $F(1, 117) = 35.97, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .24$ which verifies that experimental and control students progressed/developed differently through time. Looking at Figure 6.2 it follows that the two groups differ not only in terms of the direction of the scores, but also of the magnitude of change.

Paired samples T-tests carried out on each group's scores revealed that the noted decrease in the number of CG occurrences in the experimental groups' compositions after the intervention was statistically significant ($p < .001$). On the other hand, the control students' performance across the two tests followed a different, non-statistically significant change ($p = .80$), with the use of CG items slightly increasing in their writing at post-test. In particular, after the intervention, the experimental students used an average of less than 1 CG occurrence per 100 words (0.90%) in the written test as opposed to the control students, who used an average of almost 4 CG occurrences per 100 words (3.98%). Hence at post-tests the experimental students avoided the use of approximately 2 CG items in every 100 words in their written production in the standard variety. While as already noted, the numbers of CG use in this test reveal a fairly minimal and negligible dialect influence, the effectuated changes in the experimental group speak in favour of the proposed instruction model.

6.2.3 Oral D1 performance: the interview in the dialect

The corpus of oral D1 data was explored to ensure it meets the criteria for the parametric procedures intended to be used. According to the results, normality was met in all cases: Pre-test, Control group: $D(60) = .07, p = .20$; Pre-test, Experimental group: $D(59) = .11, p = .07$; Post-test, Control group: $D(60) = .06, p = .20$; Post-test, Experimental group: $D(59) = .08, p = .20$ as well as homogeneity of variances: Pre-test, $F(1, 117) = 2.40, p = .12$; Post-test, $F(1, 117) = .23, p$

=.63. The between-group differences were therefore further investigated by employing only parametric techniques. The Independent samples t-tests conducted on the overall scores of the interview data prior to the intervention programme confirmed that the proficiency of the experimental and control groups was similar ($p= 0.36$). The experimental and control group appeared to perform comparably even after the course of the intervention ($p=0.98$).

Figure 6.3 below presents the mean scores of each group. As displayed, before the commencement of the intervention, the students' mean percentage of dialect use in oral D1 production was 43.89%. Post-test rates were almost identical, namely 48.3% and 48.26% for the experimental students and control students respectively.

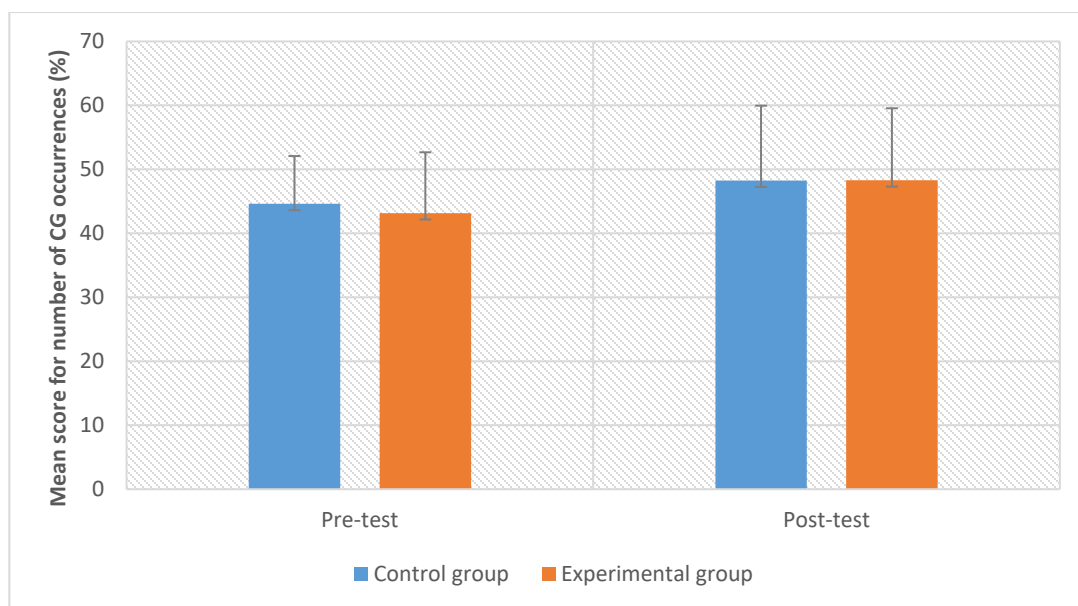


Figure 6.3 Performance of the control and experimental groups in the two oral D1 tasks, measured as the number of CG occurrences per 100 words.

The equality that was anticipated across the two groups in their pre- and post- overall scores was also found when these were broken down into the four linguistic categories, as evidenced by additional independent t-tests that were conducted (Pre-test: Phonology, $p=.44$, Morphology, $p=.76$, Syntax, $p=.53$, Lexicon, $p=.71$, Post-test: Phonology, $p=.63$, Morphology, $p=.51$, Syntax, $p=.85$, Lexicon, $p=.31$).

In the next stage, the oral D1 performance of the experimental and control group in the two tests was compared using the Mixed Anova test. A main effect of time was found to be significant, $F(1, 117) = 12.96$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .10$. As shown in Figure 6.3, both groups showed an increase in their scores across the two time periods. On the contrary, a non-significant main

effect of the variable group was found, $F(1, 117) = .26, p = .61$, which indicates that the students' oral performance in the dialect did not differ across groups. Similarly, a non-significant interaction effect between the time of the test and the group was found, $F(1, 117) = .38, p = .54$. This indicates that, although scores were affected by time, numbers moved in the same direction and the magnitude of change was similar: an increase was recorded for both groups. In more detail, paired t-tests on the CG oral data revealed a significant increase ($p = .01$) of 5.14% in the use of CG-specific items from pre-test (43.16%) to post-test (48.30%) by the experimental group. Following the same trend, the control group increased the use of dialect items by 3.64% from pre-test (44.62%) to post-test (48.26%), a marked improvement which was also judged to be statistically significant ($p = .03$).

6.2.4 Written D1 performance: dialogue writing in the dialect

Following standard procedure, the assumptions of normally distributed data and homogeneous variances were considered for written D1 data. The K-S test showed that the data from the experimental students' pre-testing was not normally distributed: Pre-test, Control group: $D(60) = .10, p = .17$; Pre-test, Experimental group: $D(59) = .12, p = .03$; Post-test, Control group: $D(60) = .10, p = .19$; Post-test, Experimental group: $D(59) = .07, p = .20$. As for homogeneity of variance, the Levene's test showed that variances are homogeneous for all levels of the repeated measures variable: Pre-test, $F(1, 117) = .58, p = .23$; Post-test, $F(1, 117) = .01, p = .93$. Parametric tests and non-parametric tests similarly indicated equal performance across groups in pre-tests and significant differences in post-tests (Table (iii) Appendix 5), which ensured the appropriateness of forthcoming parametric measurements.

Figure 6.4 below presents the results of the D1 writing assessment of the two groups at pre- and post-testing phases. Initially, the mean rate of dialectal discourse for all students from both groups was 26.6%, much lower compared to the one found in oral D1. As noted in the Methodology chapter, due to the lack of established criteria (reference values) to measure performance in D1, any judgements made for the students' initial performance should be made with caution and treated as preliminary. In post-tests, the experimental students scored 31.41% and the control students 23.37%.

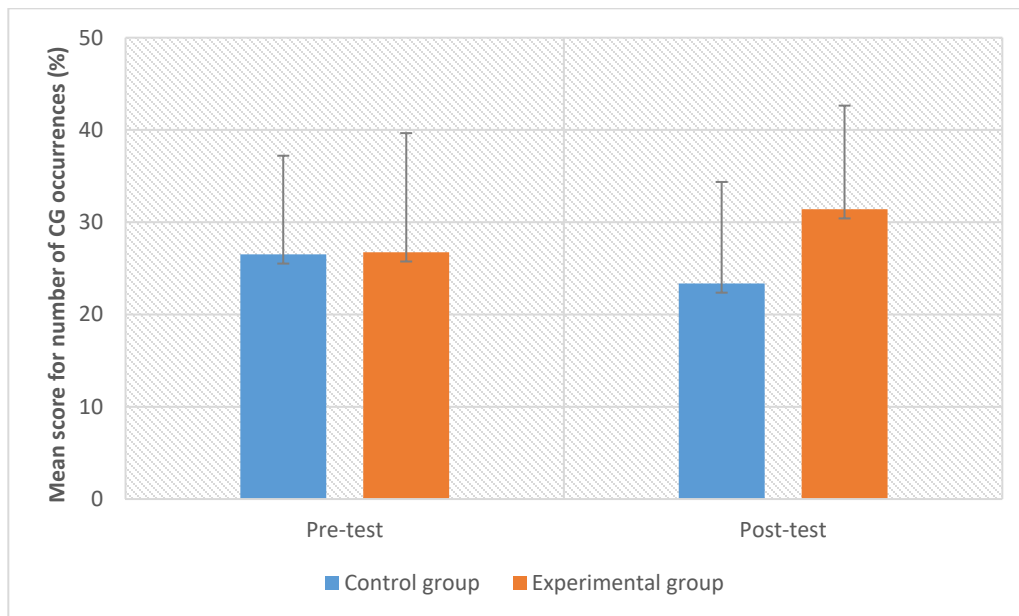


Figure 6.4 Performance of students from the control and experimental groups in the two written D1 tasks, measured as the number of CG occurrences per 100 words.

Accordingly, independent t-tests performed separately on each linguistic category attested to comparable competence between the experimental and control students in pre-tests (Phonology, $p=.78$, Morphology, $p=.71$, Syntax, $p=.15$, Lexicon, $p=.15$) and differences in three out of the four performance indicators in post-tests (Phonology, $p<.001$, Morphology, $p=.04$, Syntax, $p=.62$, Lexicon, $p=.02$). In syntax, the same number of CG occurrences was observed in both groups even after the exposure of the experimental students to the dialectal treatment.

Next, a Mixed Anova was performed and results indicated that the main effect of time was not significant ($F(1, 117) = .51$, $p=.48$), as the mean scores of the students were directly comparable in both testing phases. However, the main effect of group was found to be significant, $F(1, 117) = 6.007$, $p=.02$, partial $\eta^2 = .049$. This means that the type of instruction that the students were exposed to had a direct bearing on their scores, irrespective of the time the test took place. As for the interaction effect between time and group, a significant effect was also found, $F(1, 117) = 13.53$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .104$. This indicates that the students' performance across time differed between the two groups. In more detail, as revealed by paired t-tests, the experimental students showed a statistically significant increase of about 4.67% ($t(-2.73)$, $p=.01$) in the use of dialect items in their written production from pre-test (26.98%) to post-test (31.41%), while, during the same period, the control students exhibited a significant reduction of dialect use by 3.16% ($t(2.41)$, $p=.02$).

6.3 Quantitative assessment of the experimental students' D2 and D1 performance

The purpose of this section is to present in more detail how and to what extent the performance of the experimental group was affected by the bidialectal treatment. External factors other than the type of teaching are investigated in order to explore whether they impacted on the learners' development and can be classified as effect modifiers. While the previous half of the chapter concentrated mostly on the students' overall scores, section 6.3.1. provides an elaborate analysis of the *four performance indicators* to gain an insight into whether the students' performance was influenced by the linguistic domain and how each linguistic area was affected by the bidialectal treatment.

In the second part of this section, data are analysed with respect to *school location*. The aim is to determine whether the degree to which the intervention programme affected students depended on whether they came from urban or rural schools as well as whether school location accounted for the change which was observed in the performance of the experimental students after the intervention programme. It should be noted that, due to space limitations, an overwhelming amount of control data were not used in this section. Nevertheless, the changes reflected in these data were either statistically insignificant or of low significance.

6.3.1 Assessing performance in terms of type of CG use

6.3.1.1 Oral D2 performance

Aiming to establish whether the frequency of CG occurrences in D2 written samples depended on linguistic category, a one-way repeated measures Anova test was conducted. The test revealed a significant effect of linguistic area on the students' pre-test scores (Wilks' Lambda = 0.09, $F(5, 56) = 196.40$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .91$). This evidence was reinforced by similar significant results to those of the control group (Wilks' Lambda = 0.11, $F(5, 57) = 152.48$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .89$). As Figure 6.5 below shows, the distribution of CG items in the experimental students' D2 speech before the intervention followed a different pattern from that of their written standard production. Morphology and Phonology ranked first in rates of dialectal interference, with percentages as high as 17.75% and 15.49% respectively, while Syntax and Lexicon followed with starkly lower percentages in the vicinity of 2%. Contrary to the relatively

homogeneous findings in the written D2 samples, the prevalence of the first two most common types of D1 transfer (phonological and morphological occurrences) in the students' standard speech was much more pronounced compared to the following two. Bonferroni post-hoc tests indicated that the significant differences lay between the pairs of Phonology-Syntax, Phonology-Lexicon, Morphology-Syntax, Morphology-Lexicon ($p < .001$). No significant differences existed between the last two pairs: Phonology-Morphology (Bonferroni, $p = .09$) and Syntax-Lexicon (Bonferroni, $p = 1.00$).

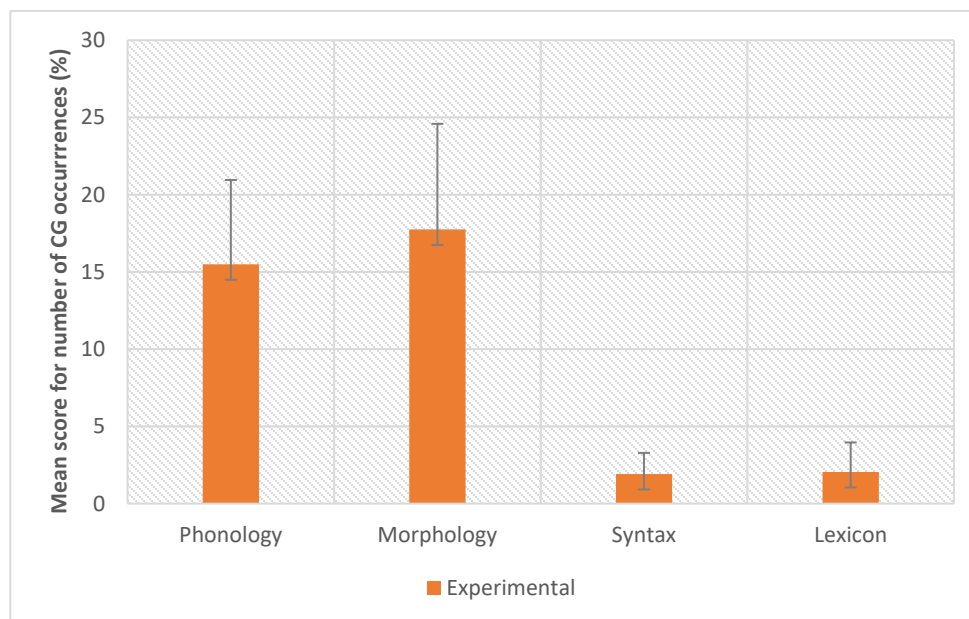


Figure 6.5 Performance of the control and experimental students in the D2 oral pre-test by linguistic category.

A significant interaction with a large effect between dialectal interference and linguistic category was similarly revealed when the post-experimental samples were investigated ($F(3, 17) = 90.81$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .61$). Figure 6.6 illustrates how CG occurrences were allocated across the four linguistic areas in the experimental students' speech after the intervention.

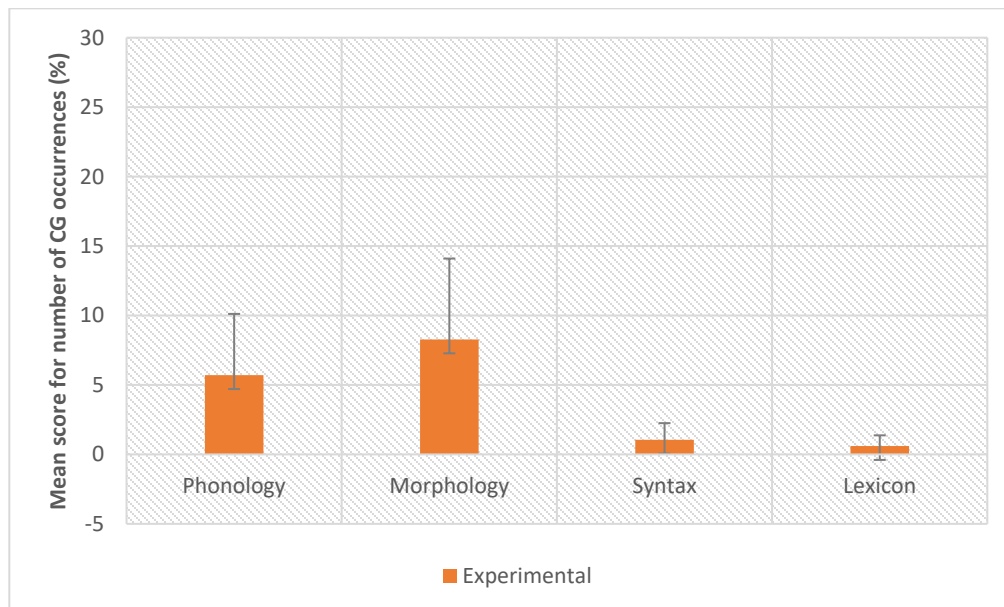


Figure 6.6 Performance of the experimental students in the D2 oral post-test by linguistic category.

The majority of dialectal occurrences in post-test samples were recorded in the area of Morphology, amounting to around 8 CG items per 100 words. The second most problematic area was Phonology with a percentage of 5.70% followed by Syntax, in which the rate was around 1 CG item per 100 words. Lastly, Lexicon featured under 1 CG item (0.6%) per 100 words. Comparing pre-test with post-test results, it is obvious that morphological and phonological occurrences maintained the same ranking as in the pre-test data, while the order of lexical and syntactical CG items is reverted in the post-assessment test, with the lexical items being now the least common. Contrary to what was the case in the pre-test results, all pairs of areas varied greatly: Phonology-Morphology, Phonology-Syntax, Phonology-Lexicon, Morphology-Syntax, Morphology-Lexicon (all $p < .001$) and Syntax-Lexicon ($p < .01$).

Pairwise comparisons in each linguistic category verified that the experimental students significantly reduced CG occurrences from pre-test to post-test in all areas ($p < .001$ in all cases). What is more, a slightly greater improvement in Phonology (mean dif. 9.79), compared to Morphology (mean dif. 9.47) was recorded. Overall in oral speech, Phonology and Morphology marked the larger reduction in dialectal occurrences followed by Lexicon (mean dif. 1.45) and Syntax (mean dif. 0.86). Interestingly, the greatest improvement was again noted in the most problematic areas. It is worth noting that the control students recorded no statistically worthwhile change in any category (Phonology: n.s. decrease, Morphology: n.s. increase,

Syntax: n.s. increase, Lexicon: n.s. decrease), which is indicative of the direct impact of the treatment on the experimental group.

The bar chart in Figure 6.7 presents dialectal interference in the speech of the experimental students with respect to the four linguistic areas, before and after the intervention programme.

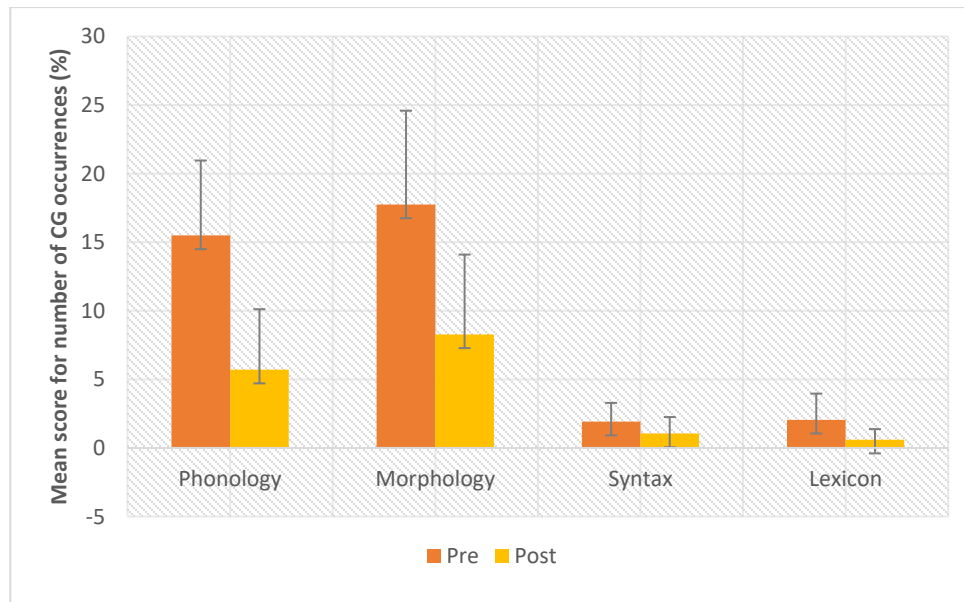


Figure 6.7 Experimental students' oral D2 performance across the two tests by linguistic category.

6.3.1.2 Written D2 performance

The one-way repeated measures Anova test was then conducted on written D2 data. The following figure depicts how CG occurrences in written texts were distributed across the four linguistic areas prior to the intervention.

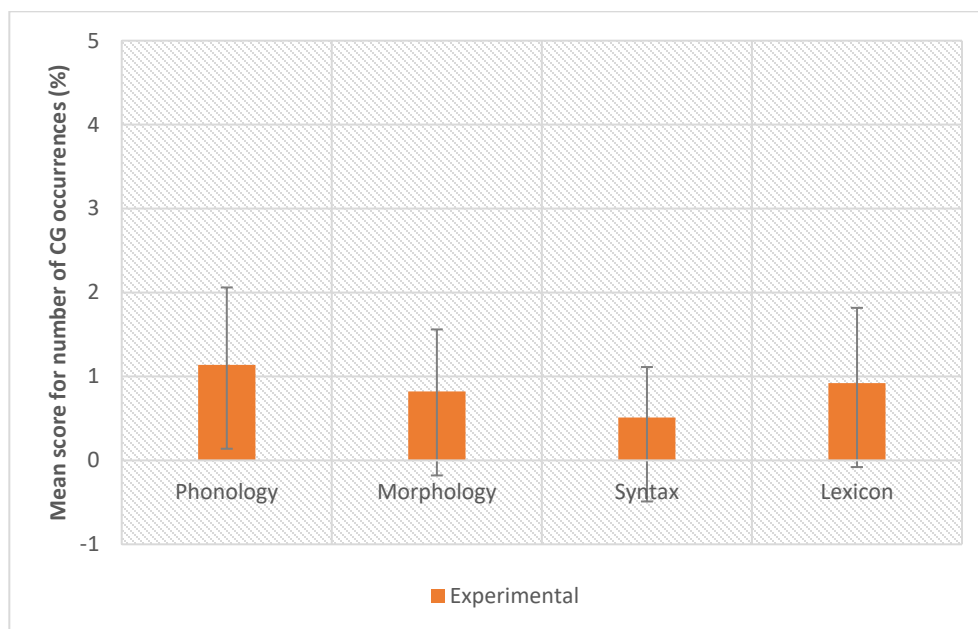


Figure 6.8 Performance of the experimental students in the D2 writing pre-test by linguistic category.

Although the distributions look fairly even, the results indicated that the differences in the experimental students' mean scores across the four areas were statistically significant ($F(3, 17) = 6.28, p < .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .10$). As illustrated in Figure 6.8, the most common CG occurrences in the experimental students' D2 written samples were phonological (1.14%), with their frequency being just slightly higher than that of their lexical counterpart (0.92%), which followed in hierarchy. Morphological occurrences came third with around 0.82 occurrences per 100 words, and syntactic occurrences amounted to just over 0.5 occurrences per 100 words. In support of this data, it should be noted that the distribution of CG occurrences in the four areas was roughly the same in the control group as well.

Aiming to examine further where exactly statistical significance lay, the pairwise comparisons given in the Anova output were explored so as to identify discrepancies. The findings verified initial speculation by showing that there were no statistically significant differences between the first three areas with the most common CG occurrences, phonology, lexicon and morphology (Bonferroni, $p = 1.00$). The reported significance of the variable area was related only to the comparatively lower frequency rate of the syntactical occurrences in the students' compositions which, as will be elaborated in following chapters, could be directly linked to the fact that CG syntactic phenomena are naturally fewer (Phonology-Syntax, $p = .03$, Morphology-Syntax, $p < .001$, Syntax-Lexicon, $p < .01$).

Next, the analysis focused on the experimental students' written performance after the intervention. The one-way repeated measures Anova test indicated that the children's performance after the intervention programme was, as in the case of the pre-test, significantly defined by the levels of linguistic analysis, (Wilks' Lambda = 0.67, $F(3, 56) = 9.13$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .33$). The following figure (Figure 6.9) presents the distribution of CG occurrences across the four linguistic areas in the experimental students' written texts after the intervention.

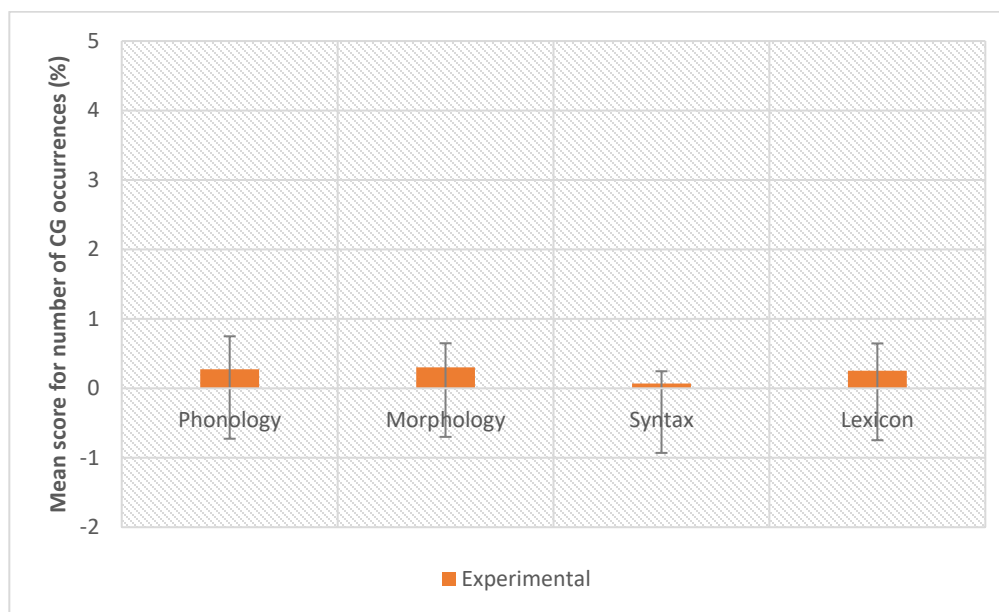


Figure 6.9 Performance of the experimental students in the D2 writing post-test by linguistic category.

Morphological CG items are now the most frequent ones (0.30%), followed by Phonological (0.27%) and Lexical items (0.25%). Nevertheless, as the numbers reveal, the differences in frequency among the first three areas are again negligible: all three types of errors are almost equally infrequent, namely at around 0.3 CG items per 100 words. Syntactic occurrences are the least frequent, with less than 0.1 CG occurrence in every 100 words (0.07%). Similarly to the pre-test results, which featured homogeneous results for Phonology, Morphology and Lexicon (Bonferroni, $p = 1.00$), the Bonferroni post hoc analysis also revealed statistically significant differences only between syntax and each one of the three areas (Phonology-Syntax, $p < .01$, Morphology-Syntax, $p < .001$, Syntax-Lexicon, $p < .01$).

The following step involves paired t-tests, conducted to evaluate the impact of the intervention separately on each linguistic category. The results proved that the experimental students

significantly reduced CG occurrences from pre-test to post-test with respect to all linguistic areas ($p < .001$ in all cases). It is worth mentioning that the categories which showed a slightly larger improvement in values after the programme, namely Phonology (mean difference: 0.86) and Lexicon (mean difference: 0.67) were the most common sources of transfer in pre-experimental samples. These were followed by Morphology (mean difference: 0.52) and Syntax (mean dif: 0.44). Drawing on this data, it can be deduced that the proposed treatment was especially beneficial, as it helped enhance the students' phonological and lexical awareness, two key areas that proved to be particularly problematic. It is worth noting that the control students' written D2 work displayed a significant increase of morphological CG items ($p = .01$) and a significant decrease in syntactic CG items ($p = .02$) (Phonology: n.s. increase, Lexicon: n.s. decrease). In light of these results, we might expect that in the absence of the treatment, phonological and mainly morphological CG features would increase over time in standard writing, while the students' lexical awareness in the second variety would remain relatively low.

Figure 6.10 illustrates, via the use of a bar chart, the experimental students' written performance across the four linguistic areas comparatively before and after the intervention.

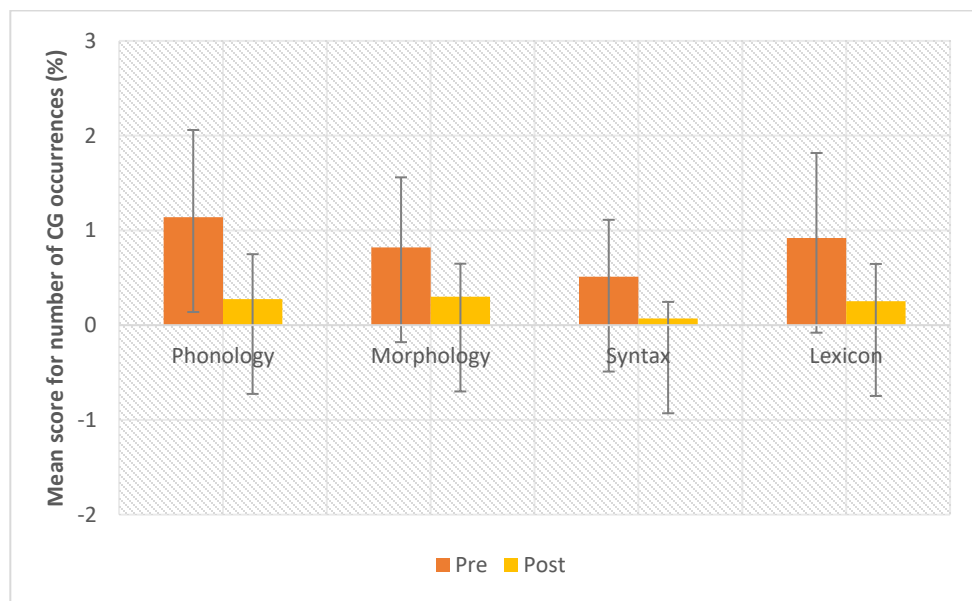


Figure 6.10 Experimental students' written D2 performance across the two tests by linguistic area.

6.3.1.3 Oral D1 performance

As with the written test, the one-way repeated measures Anova test indicated a highly significant association between the frequency of CG items and linguistic category (Wilks' Lambda= .06, $F(5, 56) = 271.89$, $p < .001$). Similar results were yielded from the control students' data analysis (Wilks' Lambda=.062, $F(5, 56) = 289.01$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .94$). The distribution of the CG items in the four categories is graphically represented in Figure 6.11.

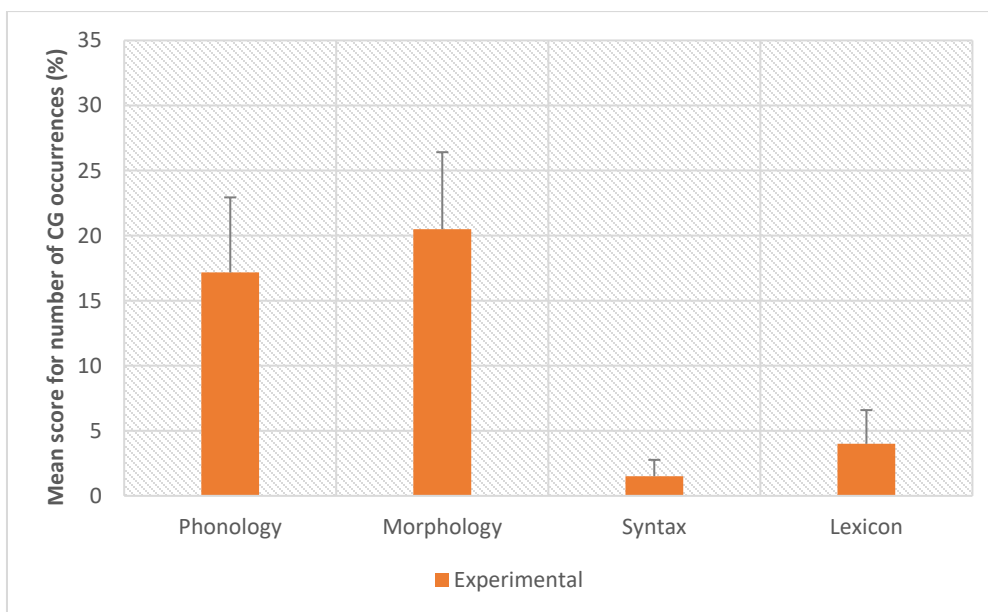


Figure 6.11 Performance of the experimental students in the D1 oral pre-test by linguistic category.

Morphological and phonological items ranked first and second, with around 20 and 17 occurrences per 100 words respectively. These were followed by lexical and syntactical CG items with much lower numbers, namely 4 and 1.5 occurrences per 100 words. Bonferroni post hoc analysis revealed that statistically significant differences lay among all pairs of areas at the following p values: Phonology-Morphology, $p = .01$, Phonology-Syntax, $p < .001$, Phonology-Lexicon, $p < .001$, Morphology-Syntax, $p < .001$, Morphology-Lexicon, $p < .001$, Syntax-Lexicon, $p < .001$.

The students' D1 oral performance after the intervention varied widely once again across the four areas (Wilks' Lambda= .07, $F(5, 56) = 256.40$, $p < .001$). What we may note is that the effect of the linguistic area factor remains decisive even after the end of the intervention programme.

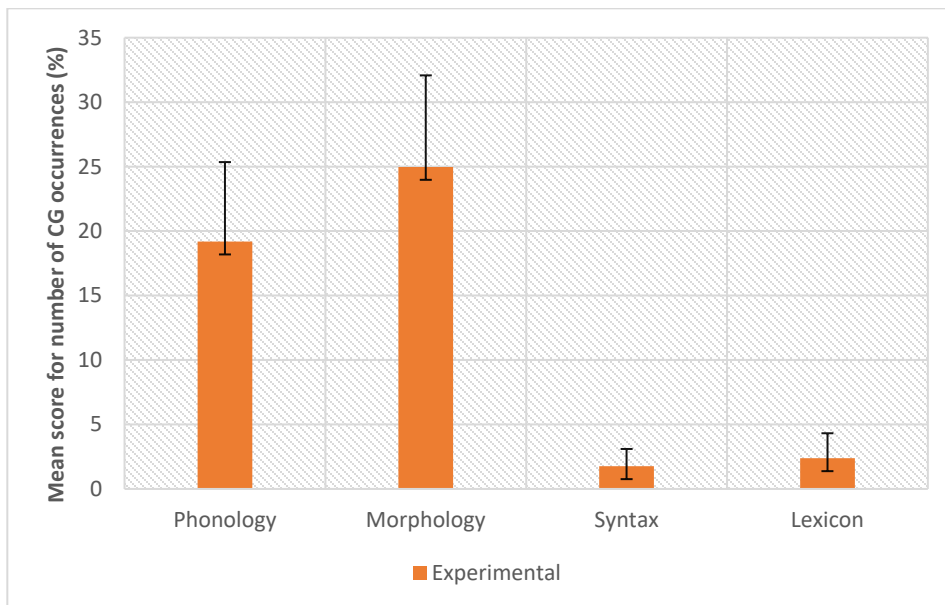


Figure 6.12 Performance of the experimental students in the D1 oral post-test by linguistic category.

As shown in Figure 6.12, the distribution of the CG occurrences in the four areas followed the same pattern seen in the majority of the assessment tests so far; Morphological CG items ranked first with a mean score of almost 25 items per 100 words. Phonological CG items demonstrated a lower but still high mean score of almost 20% while Lexical (2.38%) and Syntactic (1.76%) CG items were much fewer in students' D1 speech. Pairwise comparison among the four areas showed statistical significance at all levels (Bonferroni, $p < .001$ in all cases).

The results from the paired t-tests which investigated within-group differences showed that the experimental students increased the use of morphological items in their speech ($p < .01$) as well as that of phonological items ($p = .04$). A non-significant increase was also observed in the use of syntactical items ($p = .33$), while a significant decrease was reported in the use of lexical items ($p < .001$). Similarly to the written D1, the greater increase of CG items was noted in Morphology (mean dif. +4.48), this time followed by Phonology (mean dif. +2.02). On the other hand, the use of CG specific lexical items in speech reported a significant reduction (mean dif. -1.62). It is worth noting that the control students reported a significant increase in the use of morphological CG items ($p < .001$) and a significant decrease of lexical CG items ($p < .001$) which was greater than the one noted in the experimental group (mean dif. -2.16).

The bar chart in Figure 6.13 below illustrates the experimental students' oral D1 performance across the four linguistic areas comparatively before and after the intervention.

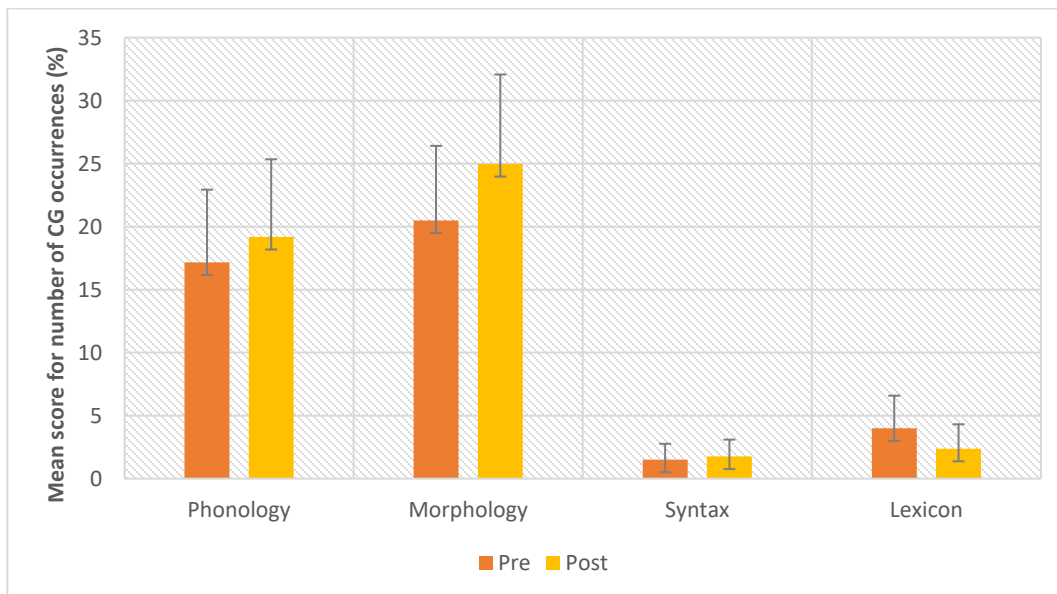


Figure 6.13 Experimental students' oral D1 performance across the two tests by linguistic area.

6.3.1.4 Written D1 performance

In this section, the focus turns on students' D1 written performance. Figure 6.14 below presents how each linguistic area was affected by dialectal interference while a one-way repeated measures Anova test confirmed what was graphically inspected: the difference in the frequency of CG items in the four areas was statistically significant (Wilks' Lambda=.18, $F(5, 56) = 85.22$, $p < .001$). It is worth noting that the same disparity in the scores across the linguistic areas was also found in the control students' data (Wilks' Lambda=.17, $F(5, 57) = 93.17$, $p < .001$).

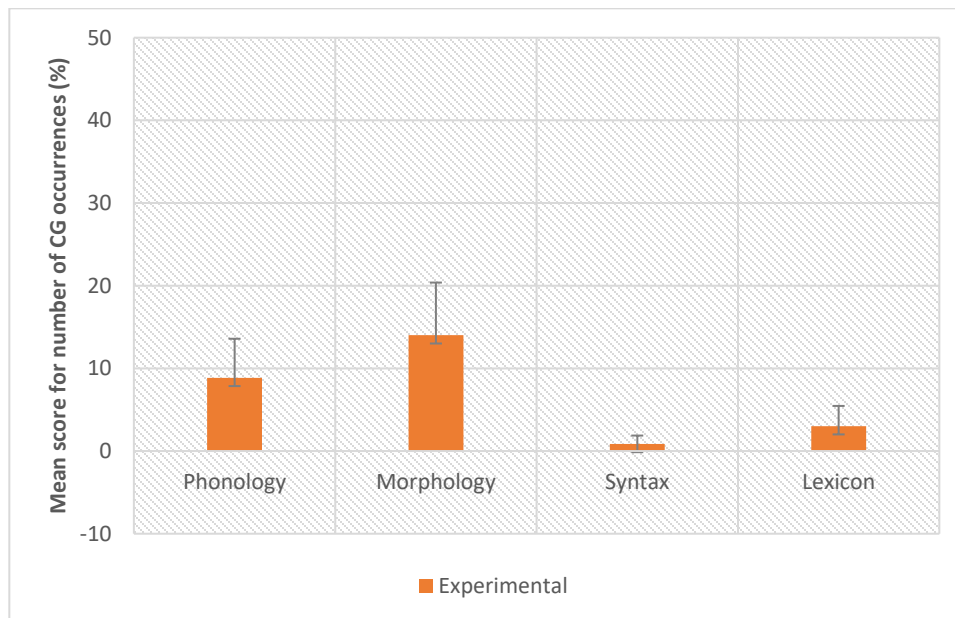


Figure 6.14 Performance of the experimental students in the D1 written pre-test in terms of four linguistic categories.

In their attempt to produce written speech in the dialect, the experimental students appeared mostly keen to render morphological and phonological CG items at a frequency of 14 occurrences and almost 9 occurrences per 100 words respectively. Lexical instances were the next most frequent, with a mean score of 3% followed by the very rarely featured syntactical occurrences (less than 1 instance per 100 words). The distribution of CG occurrences in the four categories followed the same trend as in oral D1 production. According to the pairwise comparisons, there was statistically significant difference among all pairs (Bonferroni, $p < .001$ in all cases).

In the post-experimental samples, there was still a strong relationship between CG occurrences and linguistic category in the students' dialogue-writing samples (Wilks' Lambda = .12, $F(5, 56) = 140.46$, partial $\eta^2 = .88$). The association between dialectal occurrences in D1 writing and linguistic category is graphically investigated in Figure 6.15 below.

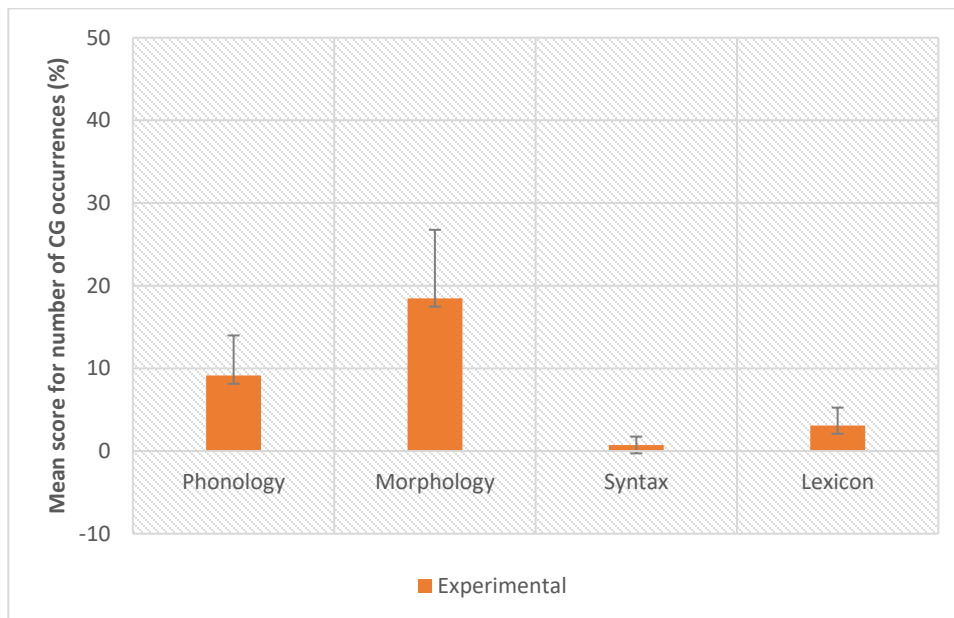


Figure 6.15 Performance of the experimental students in the D1 written post-test by linguistic category.

Morphological items were by far the most common, with around 18.5 instances per 100 words. Phonological items followed, with an average of just over 9 items per 100 words. The least frequent items were the lexical and syntactical occurrences, with an average frequency of 3 and less than 1 item per 100 words respectively. Post hoc tests revealed statistical differences among all pairs of areas (Bonferroni, $p < .001$ in all cases).

In relation to the progress within each performance indicator, paired t-tests showed that experimental students significantly increased morphological occurrences from 14 items to 18 items per 100 words on average ($p < .001$), while no significant change was seen in the other three categories (Phonology, $p = .76$, Syntax, $p = .45$, Lexicon, $p = .87$). The noteworthy improvement pertained only to the area of Morphology (mean dif. +4.46) while, despite upward trends, the changes in Phonology (mean dif. +0.28) and Lexicon (mean dif. +0.07) were negligible. Syntax, on the other hand, noted a similarly negligible but downward trend (mean dif. -0.14). Still, the control students made a considerably low use of phonological ($p < .001$) and syntactical features ($p = .01$), while there was a non-significant increase of morphological items ($p = .07$) and an imperceptible decrease of lexical CG features ($p = .51$). In light of this data, one could anticipate that, gradually, the students' use of CG-specific phonological and syntactic items would have reduced in the absence of the treatment pointing possibly to a lessening of students' awareness of these items.

Figure 6.16 presents the experimental students' written D1 performance across the four linguistic areas comparatively before and after the intervention.

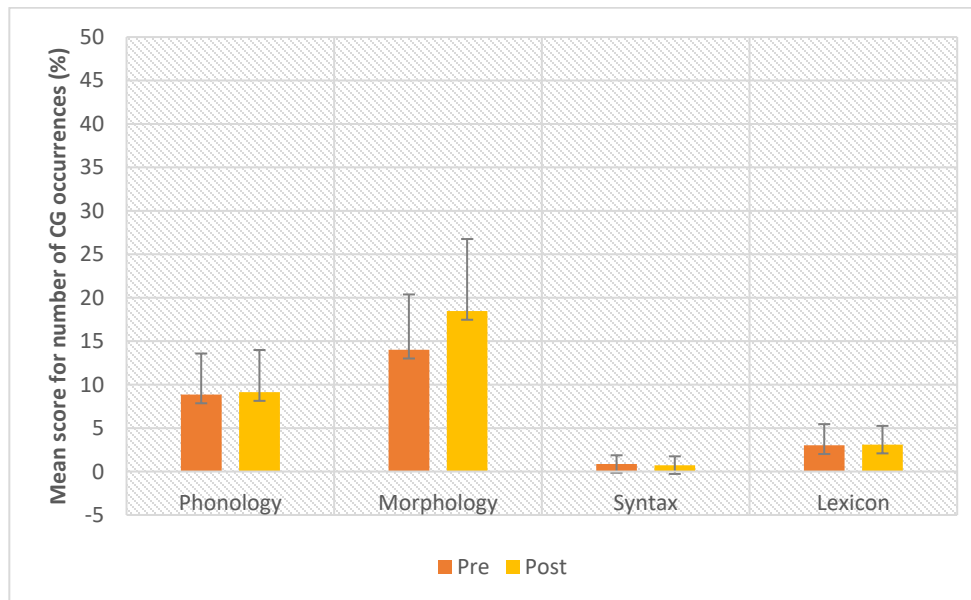


Figure 6.16 Experimental students' written D1 performance across the two tests by linguistic area.

6.3.2 The impact of school location

6.3.2.1 Oral D2 performance

The experimental students' SMG speaking was analysed with respect to school location. Independent t-tests which compared urban and rural students' performance showed significant differences between the groups before the commencement of the intervention ($t(57) = -2.88$, $p = .01$), with rural students exhibiting increased transference from their mother tongue to the standard speech. However, the significant difference in the rates of negative transfer between the two groups in pre-test was gradually lost by the post-test ($t(57) = -1.302$, $p = .198$). Figure 6.17 below presents the performance of the experimental students from urban and rural schools in the two tests.

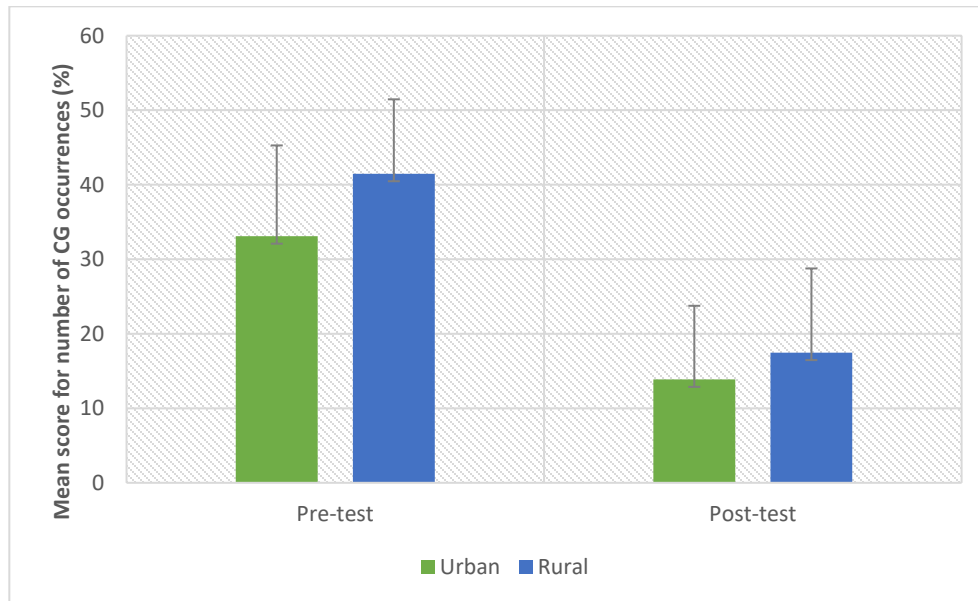


Figure 6.17 Performance of the urban and rural experimental groups in the two oral D2 tasks.

Paired t-tests conducted subsequently showed that both groups significantly improved their standard speech (urban students ($t(29) = 10.80, p < .001$), rural students ($t(28) = 10.33, p < .001$), while they also revealed that the rate of improvement was disproportionate for the rural students, who showed a larger discrepancy in their mean scores from pre-test to post-test (urban, mean change = 19.22; rural, mean change = 24.00). Interestingly, by the end of the programme, the rural students managed to perform as well as the urban students by exhibiting more extensive improvement in their standard production. This may indicate that the proposed treatment accomplished something noteworthy: to assist with the correct usage and production of the standard variety the students who needed it the most.

6.3.2.2 Written D2 performance

As regards standard writing, independent t-tests reported no significant differences between the two groups before the commencement of the intervention ($t(57) = -1.48, p = .14$). On the other hand, the same test suggested significant differences between the two groups in post-test ($t(57) = -2.48, p = .02$), with the rural students performing less well. The results are presented graphically in the bar chart below (Figure 6.18).

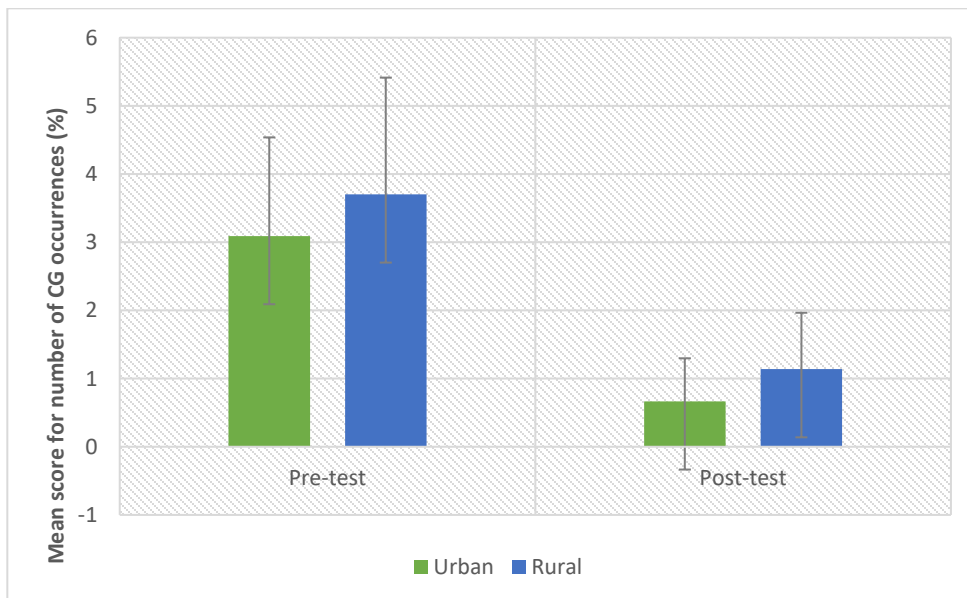


Figure 6.18 Performance of the urban and rural experimental groups in the two written D2 tasks.

Paired t-tests conducted subsequently to investigate within-group differences revealed a significant improvement in the scores of both groups across the two time points (Urban, $t(29) = 8.01$, $p < .001$; Rural, $t(28) = 9.08$, $p < .001$). Their rates of improvement placed them on a roughly similar level (Urban, mean change = 2.4; Rural, mean change = 2.6) indicating that school place, at least for this task, was not a significant factor of performance change.

6.3.2.3 Oral D1 performance

The effect of school location was explored in relation to the students' D1 speech. The results are graphically presented in Figure 6.19 below. Independent t-tests revealed that the urban and rural students exhibited similar competence in dialect speaking, both before ($t(57) = -1.40$, $p = .17$) as well as after the intervention ($t(57) = -1.60$, $p = .12$).

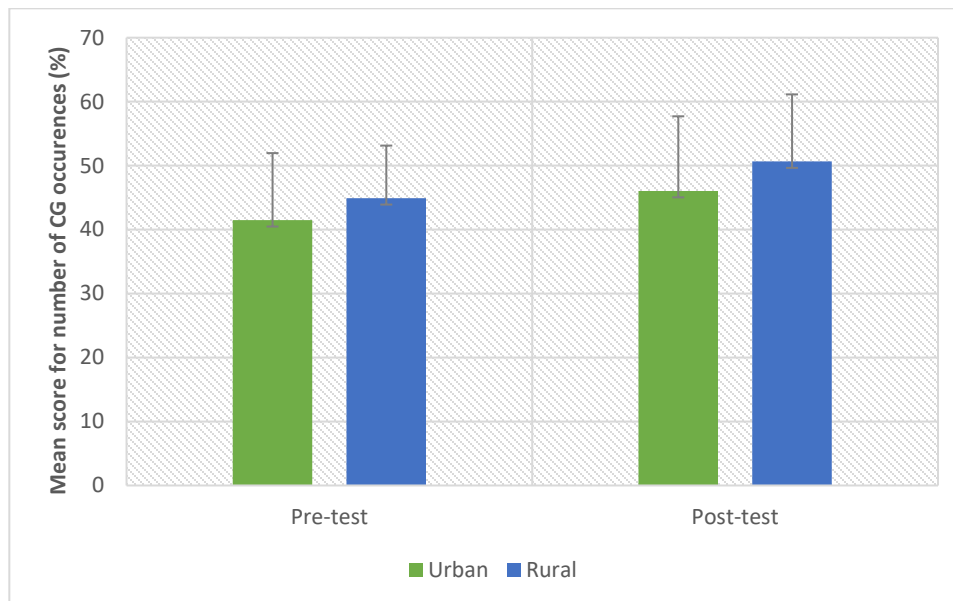


Figure 6.19 Performance of the urban and rural experimental groups in the two oral D1 tasks.

Paired t-tests on urban and rural students' scores across the two time points revealed different rates of improvement between the two groups. While both groups accomplished an improved use of the dialect in D1 speech, the numerical data showed that the increase in the rural students' scores was statistically significant ($t(28) = -2.40, p = .02$), contrary to the increase in scores by the urban students ($t(29) = -1.67, p = .11$). This suggests that, rural students were overall more likely to score better – that is to use more dialectal items in their dialect speech.

6.3.2.4 Written D1 performance

Finally, the performance of rural and urban experimental students in D1 writing is illustrated in Figure 6.20 below for pre- and post- test. Independent t-tests revealed that, before the administration of the intervention, the performance of urban and rural students was significantly different ($t(57) = 2.10, p < .01$), with the rural students underperforming compared to their urban peers. This is in line with what most analyses revealed so far regarding the performance of the two groups: the urban students were almost consistently better at achieving the aim of the tasks. Interestingly, the *urban* students were found in this task to use more CG variants in CG dialogue writing compared to rural students. However, by the end of the bidialectal programme, the rural students' scores were on a par with those of the urban students, as indicated by the statistically non-significant results in the post-assessment test ($t(57) = 1.59, p = .12$).

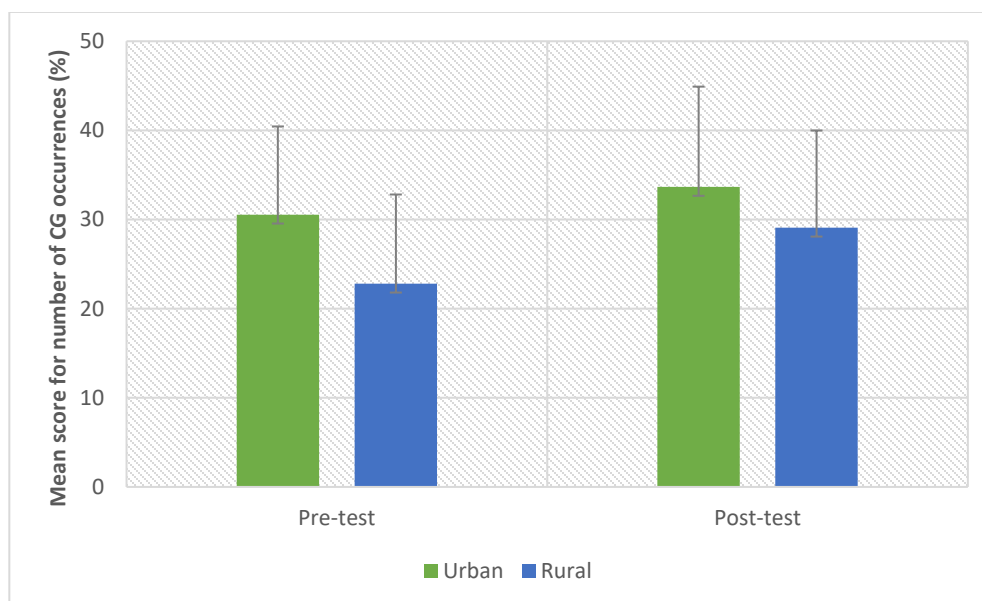


Figure 6.20 Performance of the experimental urban and rural groups in the two written D1 tasks.

The fact that the initial differences between groups faded away by the end of the programme was due to different rates of improvement between the rural and urban students. As shown by the investigation of the within-group differences, the *rural* students displayed a statistically significant mean increase in D1 writing after the intervention ($t(28) = -2.87, p = .01$), which was greater compared to the non-significant increase that was achieved by *urban* students ($t(29) = -1.23, p = .23$). Similar to the oral D2 test, the proposed model of instruction appeared to work to the benefit of students of lower initial ability.

6.4 Conclusion

The statistical results in this chapter indicate that students of the same initial ability progressed in different ways and at different rates depending on the type of teaching they received. The bidialectal teaching approach was found to have a positive impact on the students' D2 oral and written skills, while the students' D1 written rather than oral skills also showed signs of improvement. In particular, in post-test samples, the experimental students were more able to produce standard oral and written speech uninterrupted by D1 instances and with a greater awareness towards D1-D2 differences. Meanwhile, the control group's performance remained

stable in both written and oral domains, reinforcing arguments in favour of the beneficial effects of the proposed bidialectal teaching method on experimental students.

As for the D1 variety, after being systematically exposed to oral and written dialectal speech, the experimental students showed advanced ability to write in CG and use a higher quantity of D1-targeted features which they already extensively use in their daily oral exchanges. This starkly contrasts with the performance of the control students, who appeared to use more standard features in their dialect writing in post-testing samples. As for oral D1 speech, although data showed increased use of dialect features in the experimental students' oral production after the intervention, the bidialectal treatment appeared to have no significant impact in this change as a similar increase was also observed in the control group.

The analysis of the experimental students' repertoire revealed that the type of interference (domain of grammar) under which CG items fall was in most cases a significant indicator of performance. Phonological and morphological occurrences were the most common types of CG use in three out of four datasets. Only in standard writing did lexical occurrences rank as high as second in frequency. Most importantly, the assessment tasks indicated that these were the linguistic areas which saw the most remarkable improvement after the intervention (i.e. decrease in standard speech and increase in dialect speech).

Finally, as regards the school location factor, despite not rising as a highly significant performance indicator, rural students appeared to generally display slightly worse results in almost all tests except for oral D1. Also, they seemed to be consistently more frequent CG users irrespective of the context of communication. At the same time, however, the findings showed that rural students were subject to great improvement in all tests except for written D2, in which all students showed comparable improvement.

Chapter 7 Item-by-item structural and contextual analysis of students' D2 and D1 speech production

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the first part of the item-by-item analysis that was conducted to serve the aims of the second research question. It concentrates on pre-intervention test samples and attempts to determine the most salient CG forms that appeared consistently in the students' initial SMG and CG production. Having already established the extent of CG use in the students' production and their generic nature (phonological-morphological-syntactic-lexical), in this chapter the analysis proceeds to a more holistic exploration of the students' linguistic profiles to elucidate the actual lexical and grammatical CG instances that they extensively employed in their language production. This micro-level analysis of individual cases ultimately aims to pave the way for the second part of the qualitative analysis which is presented in the next chapter and concentrates on possible changes in the use of these items by the students after the intervention.

Analysing individual items as opposed to analysing them based on the linguistic level they belong to is meant to prevent wrong conclusions regarding prevalent trends in students' production, as linguistic levels might often overlap (e.g. a morpheme may come with associated phonological features). Such an analysis also demonstrates the diversity of different types of CG forms each area involves and finally investigates the students' level of awareness concerning the internal variation and appropriate use of CG by closely investigating their linguistic choices when speaking and writing in their native language. To this aim, the chapter also summarises data on students' language attitudes, perceptions, preferences and use derived from semi-structured interviews.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section provides details of the ten most recurrent CG items in each dataset, and attempts to explain their ranking in terms of their differential salience, distinctiveness and noticeability. The second section discusses whether urban and rural students exhibited differences in the specific CG forms they tended to use. The third section provides a summary of findings from the semi-structured interviews.

7.2 Students' D2 and D1 production before the intervention

The results of this section are portrayed in the form of a list of observations, separately for each dataset. In relation to D2 production, the study listed the most common dialect-specific items

which occurred as a result of transfer from the D1. In relation to D1 production, the study tagged CG items that featured more in the students' oral and written texts. The frequency of each targeted element was calculated (per words) to provide an indication of its prevalence in the students' production. To this end, two types of computations were performed: the total number of times each item occurred in all scripts and the total number of pupils whose scripts contained each of these elements at least once.

The analysis was associated with a number of assumptions: A key linguistic assumption made at the onset of the investigation is that students would be capable of employing or avoiding specific markers and stereotypes of CG speech in D1 or D2 tasks respectively (e.g. CG specific vocabulary items, the suffix [-sin] in verbs ending, CG future particle [en:a], CG palato-alveolar phones), because of their contrastive salience and frequency in CG speech. Other elements that formally resemble their D2 counterparts were assumed by the researcher to be less discernible and thus more likely to interfere with students' SMG speech or to be absent from their dialect production respectively, especially the written one (e.g. false friends, verbs with different thematic requirements like [ponó], accentuation differences [áθropi-aθrópi], morphological accusative [to faín dus aθrópus], use of accusative instead of nominative with [ópos]). These expectations align with observations made in earlier chapters: the less markedly different certain D2 forms are from their D1 equivalents, the less likely it is for them to be noticed and therefore acquired (Siegel, 2010). In addition, in terms of CG register use, it was expected that the students would use in their D1 speaking and writing mesolectal CG elements which are frequently encountered in their casual, natural talk rather than items falling close to more basilectal or acrolectal CG registers. Finally, as written tests encourage a high degree of awareness and are deliberate, they were predicted to tap into pupils' conscious awareness of linguistic norms.

In this section, the results are not presented separately for control and experimental students but rather for the total number of the 119 sampled students. This is due to the homogeneity that characterised the pre-test results: the outcomes of the statistical analyses conducted on the written and oral pre-tests indicated that the experimental and control group of students shared the same level of proficiency (see chapter 6) as well as the same distribution of scores in the four linguistic levels. The observations are illustrated with examples of scripts and oral transcripts. It should be noted that, full morphological glossing is provided only for targeted phenomena as well for all the verbs for the reader's ease. To be ethically correct and protect the

identity of the participants, anonymity was preserved and all names have been replaced by a code.

7.2.1 Oral D2

The data corpus on which the current analysis of oral speech was based measured 20,000 words and a total of 8,775 CG items were spotted. The mean number of CG items a student included in his/her interview talk was 17.3. A list with the ten most recurrent CG items is provided below.

1. Word-final [n]

The most frequently interfered feature in the students' standard oral speech was morphological in nature: the use of word-final [n]. According to CG grammar, word-final [n] is retained where it appears in Medieval/Ancient Greek, as well as in new positions. It also tends to assimilate with the following consonant in speech. In the sample it was encountered in 3rd person singular and 1st person plural verb suffixes and, less frequently, in the accusative singular in all genders as well as in the nominative singular in the neuter gender. According to the numerical data, all students had made this error at least once when speaking, which in sum occurred 1,647 times in a corpus of 20,000 words. Examples like the following abound in the data corpus:

No.	Student code	Form as used	Targeted SMG form
1	AC19f	ῥῆ ekámamen to tirí me ta sçímata and make_{past.perf.1sg.} the cheese with the shapes ‘and we used shapes to make the cheese’	káname
2	AC20f	i mpa ífen éna m:átin the one have_{past.perf.3sg.} one eye_{neut.acc.pl.} ‘she had only one eye’	íce, máti

It should be noted that word-final [n] is a marker (indicator) of CG speech and assigns the impression of ‘nasality’, as it was termed by Kontosopoulos (2001), to the dialect. The salience of phonological features in the recognition of elements as distinctively CG is also supported by the work of Karyolemou and Pavlou (2001), in which the researchers elucidated young Cypriots’ perceptions as regards salient characteristics of the CG. By retaining this item in their speech, students demonstrated low levels of awareness of its dialect-specific nature.

2. Geminates

Geminate consonants (aspirated stops, fricatives, nasals and liquids) were the next most commonly transferred CG items in students’ standard speech. Their prevalence is illustrated by

the numerical data: all 119 students had pronounced a word with a geminate consonant at least once and the data elicited a total of 1,509 instances of comparable unconventional germination.

As noted earlier in this thesis, contrary to SMG, CG has retained the historical pronunciation of geminates, e.g. *θάλασσα* [θálas:a] ‘sea’, *κόκκινος* [kóc^h:inos] ‘red’, and has also developed a tendency to double consonants in other environments, e.g. between two vowels, e.g. [pot^h:é] instead of SMG [poté] ‘never’, [kal:ít^h:era] instead of SMG [kalítera] ‘better’. Also gemination can appear, word-initially as a result of the assimilation of a word-initial consonant with a preceding final [n] (e.g. after all accusative articles and the negative particle [en]) (Arvaniti and Tserdanelis, 2000; Malikouti-Drachman, 2003; Armosti, 2011). The tendency of the dialect to retain word-final [n] consequently leads to multiple consonant geminations.

Examples 1-2 illustrate geminates that can be predicted from the historical orthography of the words, however their pronunciation in the standard variety is lost. The geminates in examples 3-4 are not predicted by the historical orthography of the words. Specifically, in example 4 the geminate occurred word-initially, when the initial consonant [θ] was assimilated with the preceding final [n], generating a geminate.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Targeted SMG form
1	AC15f	éxo pol:és afíjes have_{pres.1sg.} many_{fem.acc.pl.} posters ‘Í have many posters’	poles
2	AC20f	apo tom bap^h:ú m:u from the grandfather_{masc.acc.sg.} my ‘from my grandfather’	papú
3	AC14f	th:énis ‘tennis’	ténis
4	AC10m	ímu θ:imoménos be_{past.1sg.} angry_{masc.nom.sg.} ‘Í was angry’	ímun θimoménos

Gemination is quite pervasive in CG and is classified among the strongest phonological indexes of dialectal production accompanied by high awareness on the part of adult CG speakers (Karyolemou and Pavlou, 2001): Cypriot speakers are aware that gemination is not an option in Standard Greek (Tsiplakou, 2009). Despite its saliency, the sampled students presented a low awareness level of this item.

3. Palato-alveolar fricatives/ affricates

Belonging to CG phonetics/phonology, the palato-alveolar fricatives and affricates, namely [tʃ], [ʃ] and [ʒ] do not appear in the consonant system of SMG. As noted in chapter 3, palato-alveolar sounds are the result of palatalisation of /k/, /x/ and /z/ before a front vowel or glide. Thus the equivalents of SMG [ce] ‘and’, [çéri] ‘hand’ and [trapézja] ‘tables’ in CG are [tʃe], [ʃérin] and [trapéz:a]. 1362 palato-alveolars pervaded the speech of 114 students. In examples 1-3, the most frequently found examples in students’ speech are listed:

No.	Student code	Form as used	Targeted SMG form
1	TC04m	tʃini those _{masc.nom.} ‘those’	ecini
2	TC02m	tʃe ‘and’	ce
3	TC05m	éʃi have _{pres.3sg.} ‘It has’	éçi

In the above examples, palato-alveolar sounds are found embedded in highly frequent CG words. Among the three, the co-ordinating conjunction [tʃe], a very frequently used word, was selected for further investigation in the students’ samples. Numerical data revealed that this item was present **811 times** in the speech of the *control students* and **834 times** in the speech of the *experimental students*. These numbers are crucial and will be used to carry out comparisons with the post-test data later on (see next chapter).

It should be borne in mind that, perhaps more than other elements, palato-alveolars are the component that makes CG sound unconventional and dialectal; CG speakers themselves categorise these sounds as highly typical of the dialect (Papapavlou and Yiakoumetti, 2003; Karyolemou and Pavlou, 2001). As Tsiplakou, Armostis and Evripidou (2016, p.5) note, ‘[t]he palatoalveolars are perceived as trademarks of the Cypriot accent; [milúme m:e to tʃe] ‘we speak with the [tʃe]’ is a typical statement describing CG’. Being salient indexicals of dialect speech, they were expected to be easily noticed by the students and thus avoided on occasions which demanded the use of the standard. The data, however, did not confirm this hypothesis.

4. ‘Augment’ [e] in all past tense forms

The next group of items points to a feature that deviates morphologically from the target SMG variety and refers to the syllabic augment [e], a past tense prefix. The augment is added to verbs beginning with a consonant to denote past tense. In SMG, it is added only when the verb stem and inflectional ending are a bisyllabic form; the addition of the augment creates the required three-syllable window, as an antepenultimate syllable is required to carry the stress. When the verb stem and inflectional ending consists of three or more syllables, the augment is not required. By contrast, in CG (as in other dialects), the three-syllable rule does not apply and augmentation is always present, as illustrated in examples 1-3. This item featured 596 times in the oral transcripts of 97 students.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Targeted SMG form
1	AC1m	eθcávasa read _{past.perf.1sg.} ‘I read’	ðjávasa
2	AC20f	eskotósan kill _{past.perf.3pl.} ‘They killed’	skótosan
3	AC20f	efítrosen sprout _{past.perf.3sg} ‘It sprouted’	fítrose

The three items above are augmented despite the fact that they feature a trisyllabic form (stem and inflectional ending). The retention of the augment in past tenses is considered another core dialectal item and Cypriot speakers rank it high in terms of salience (Karyolemou and Pavlou, 2001).

5. CG-specific stems in verbs

The next item that is listed here involves the use of verbs that differ between the two varieties in the formation of their stem. The number of instances located in the oral corpus was 396 and it was tracked in the production of 103 students.

Example 1 illustrates a high-frequency verb, namely the verb [káno]/ [kámno] ‘do’, used here in the past 1st person singular.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Targeted SMG form
1	AC19f	ekámamen <i>ijjínóm</i> <i>brójevma</i> make _{past.perf.1pl.} healthy breakfast 'we prepared a healthy breakfast'	káname
2	AC1m	arésci <i>mu</i> <i>aftó</i> like _{pres.3sg.} me this 'I like this one'	arési
3	GC15m	<i>ðjeváz:o</i> read _{pres.1sg.} 'I read'	ðjavázo

6. Post-verbal clitics

The following item is syntactical in nature and concerns object clitic pronouns. While both varieties share the same clitic inflectional paradigm, they differ with respect to the position of the pronominal clitic and the verb, when the former functions as the object, either in the accusative or in the genitive case. CG is mostly associated with enclisis (post-verbal pronominal object clitics) as in example 1 below, unless found in specific proclisis-triggering environments (Tsiplakou, 2006):

- (1) [lali tu o ál:os]
 say_{pres.3sg.} him_{cl.gen.} the other
 'the other one says to him' (Agouraki, 1997)

This is in contrast to what is the case in SMG, where clitics occupy the pre-verbal position (example 2) and appear post-verbally only in imperatives and gerunds (example 3 and 4) (Ralli, 2006).

- (2) [su to ðíno]
 you_{cl.gen.} it_{cl.acc.} give_{pres.1sg.}
 'I give it to you'
- (3) ðos/dóse mu to
 give_{imp.2sg.} me_{cl.gen.} it_{cl.acc.}
 'give it to me'

- (4) óinondás mu to /to mu
 give_{ger.} me_{cl.gen.} it_{cl.acc/} it_{cl.acc} me_{cl.gen}
 ‘giving it to me’

In their attempt to speak in the standard variety, it was found that as many as 99 students had used 374 clitics incorrectly in their standard speech. In particular, the students had placed the verb before the pronominal object clitic, as exemplified below:

No.	Student code	Form as used	Targeted SMG form
1	AC13f	léi tis say _{pres.3sg.} her _{cl.gen.} ‘he says to her’	tis léi
2	AC19f	l:en me eleána say _{pres.3pl.} me _{cl.acc.} eleana ‘my name is <i>Eleana</i> ’	me léne
3	AC5m	émaθe m:u to teach _{pres.3sg.} me _{cl.gen} it _{cl.acc} ‘she taught this to me’	mu to émaθe

This element differs from other cases of distinctively CG features, as it may involve words which are identical in form in the two varieties and vary only in relation to the placement (order) of its parts. This is assumed to minimise its markedness and noticeability, while it can escape the speakers’ attention albeit being highly marked as a feature.

7. [e]/ [en] / [éni] instead of [íne]

Next comes the unconventional form [é{n{i}}], which represents the dialectal equivalent of the 3rd person singular form [íne] ‘it is’ of the copula [íme] ‘I am’ verb. This item appeared 267 times and was used by 93 students.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Targeted SMG form
1	AC14f	en aglicí sirá be _{pres.3sg.} English show ‘it is an English show’	íne
2	AC19f	e m:pa kúkla be _{pres.3sg.} a dolly ‘it is a dolly’	íne

Interestingly, in example 2, the unconventional form [en] features simply as [e]. The absence of the word final [n] can be explained by a corresponding phonological process of assimilation, according to which the final [n] of the CG 3rd person singular verb <ε(v)> [en] ‘it is’ is assimilated with the following [m] consonant and gemination occurs across word boundaries.

8. [en] / [e] instead of [ðen]

The same [e{n}] form serves another grammatical function; it also represents the dialectal form of the standard negative particle [ðe{n}] ‘not’. The results revealed 259 uses of the form functioning as a negative particle in the discourse of 92 students.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Targeted SMG form
1	AC15f	en ipárçi káti not exist _{pres.3sg.} anything ‘there isn’t anything’	ðen
2	AC18f	ói en éxo no not have _{pres.1sg.} ‘no, I don’t have’	ðen

9. CG-specific verb suffixes

The following examples concern CG-specific verb suffixes. In their preliminary testing, the students displayed a tendency towards attaching dialect-specific inflectional endings to verbs that otherwise (apart from their ending) would be classified as standard. 245 CG-specific ending suffixes were erroneously used in the speech of 83 students while they attempted to produce a standard verb.

The most recurrent patterns are listed below with typical examples:

- i. Use of the 3rd person plural ending morpheme [usi{n}] in the present, future and subjunctive as well as the corresponding morpheme [asi{n}] in the past (perfective and imperfective). These morphemes originate from Ancient Greek and are not part of SMG which uses instead the equivalent morphemes [un] and [an] accordingly.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Targeted SMG form
1	GC16m	péz:usin play _{pres.3pl.} ‘they play’	pézun
2	AC9m	emínasin stay _{past.perf.3pl.} ‘they stayed’	éminan

- ii. Use of the 1st person singular, 1st person plural and 3rd person plural ending morphemes: [ume], [umaste{n}], [unde] in the present tense in free allomorphic relation with the SMG corresponding ones: [ome], [omaste], [onte].

3	AE6m	scéftume na kseciníso think _{pres.1sg.} to begin _{pres.1sg.} ‘I am thinking of beginning’	sceftome
4	AC2m	ksekuráz:unde rest _{pres.3pl.} ‘they are getting some rest’	ksekurázode

- iii. Use of the 3rd person singular ending suffix [etun] in the past continuous tense of passive verbs. The corresponding SMG is [otan].

5	AC9m	ejínetun gáti happen _{past.impf.3sg.} something ‘something was happening’	jínótan
6	GC18m	ets ^h :ak ^h :ónetun fight _{past.impf.3sg.} ‘he was fighting’	tsakonótan

Examples 5, 6 apart from the dialect suffix, also incorporate another dialectal item already discussed above, the prefix [e], which signals the past tense.

In example 6, the verb <ετσακκώνετον> [et^h:ak^h:ón:etun] deviates from the SMG equivalent, <τσακωνόταν> [tsakonótan] ‘he was fighting’, in that it is spelled with a geminate [k]. This spelling is the result of the aspirated pronunciation of the plosive in that particular environment in the dialect.

- iv. While the dialect favours contracted verbal forms (<αγαπώ> [aɣapó] instead of <αγαπάω> [aɣapáo] ‘I love’), in the case below, the uncontracted form of the verb is used. The SMG equivalent is <λες> [les].

7	TE14f	léis say _{pres.2sg.} ‘you say’	les

- v. 3rd person verbs φορεί and χωρεί (examples 8 and 9) end in <-ει> [i], while their SMG equivalent ones end in <-α> [a]. The reverse phenomenon is even more very frequently observable between the two varieties. 2nd declension verbs, which in the dialect take the ending suffixes <-ας> [as], <-α> [a], end in <-εις> [is], <-ει> [i] in the 2nd and 3rd person singular in the present tense in SMG.

8	YE8m	forí wear _{pres.3sg.} ‘she wears’	forái/ forá
9	YE9f	ἔν δὲς xorí to spítin and not them fit _{pres.3sg.} the house ‘and they don’t fit in the house’	xorái / xorá

In all the aforementioned cases, adding a distinctive CG ending suffix to a verb changes its standard form. However, the degree of markedness of this deviation varies and accordingly this renders the word more or less marked as CG. For example, items like [emínasin] ‘they stayed’ or [péz:usin] ‘they play’ are perceived as more dialectal compared to [forá] ‘he/she wears’, ‘he/she fits’ which can easily pass unnoticed by a dialect speaker, as they involve an ending that already exists in SMG. As such, while the appearance of the last category of distinctive verb suffixes was expected, the first two may actually indicate a skewed level of awareness.

10. Elision of intervocalic fricatives and sibilant [s]

The last unconventional standard item that is listed here has been modified under the influence of another CG phonological process, according to which fricatives and the sibilant [s] are elided intervocalically. 222 instances were spotted in the speech of 80 students. The unconventionality of the forms below (1) <να φύει> [na fii] (to leave_{impf.3sg.}) ‘to go’ and (2) <ανοίεις> [an:íis]

(open_{pres.2sg.}) ‘you open’ lies in the omission of the fricative /ɣ/ which violates the historical spelling of the words φύγει [fiji] ‘to go’ and ανοίγεις [aníjis] ‘you open’.

Interestingly, in examples 3, 4, the same student uses two versions of the same word interchangeably, with the [ɣ] being omitted in the first case and retained in the second. It is likely that the student realised the phonological discrepancy of the word compared to the SMG one and attempted to correct himself. Despite this, he still failed to eliminate two other dialect-specific elements in the word, namely the past tense prefix [e], which in this particular case is not needed according to the SMG grammar, and the dialect ending suffix [asi{n}].

No.	Student code	Form as used	Targeted SMG form
1	AC10m	na fii to leave _{impf.3sg.} ‘to go’	fiji
2	AE8m	an:fiis prámata open _{pres.2sg.} things ‘you open things’	aníjis
3	GC15m	metá epíasi afterwards go _{past.perf.3pl.} ‘afterwards, they went’	píyane
4	GC15m	epiyásin go _{past.perf.3pl.} ‘they went’	píyane
6	AC15f	arésku l:íon diz mɲaz mu aðerfis tútes like _{pres.3pl.} a bit the one my sister these ‘one of my sister likes these a bit’	líyo

Based on the degree of frequency, the above items were categorised as the ten most recurrent ones in the students’ speech. The Table 7.1 below illustrates which of the four linguistic levels the majority of the transferred items belongs to.

Feature	Linguistic Level	No. of times	No. of scripts
1 Word-final [n]	Morphology	1647	119
2 Geminates	Phonetics/Phonology	1509	119

3	Palato-alveolar fricatives/ affricates	Phonetics/Phonology	1362	114
4	‘Augment’ [e] in all past tense forms	Morphology	596	97
5	CG-specific stems in verbs	Morphology	396	103
6	Post-verbal clitics	Syntax	376	99
7	[e]/ [en] / [éni] instead of [íne]	Morphology	267	93
8	[en] / [e] instead of [ðen]	Morphology	259	92
9	CG-specific verb suffixes	Morphology	245	83
10	Elision of intervocalic fricatives and sibilant [s]	Phonetics/Phonology	222	80

Table 7.1 The ten most frequently used CG items in students’ oral D2 pre-test.

The repertoire of the ten most frequently used features involved six morphological, three phonetic/phonological and one syntactic element. High morphological interference appeared to be related to the use of a *wide range of morphologically* distinctive CG items by the students. This is not surprising if one considers, first, the large numbers of phonological and morphological differences between the two varieties contrary to syntactic, for example, phenomena that are naturally fewer (Papapavlou and Yiakoumetti, 2003); and, second, the high spontaneity and lack of planning that characterises oral production and allows for more phonological and morphological instances to lapse into speech (Papapavlou and Yiakoumetti, 2003).

At the same time however, the fact that most instances of dialect interference involve strong markers of dialect speech rendered these findings noteworthy, as one would expect learners to display a greater command over their use (see Chambers and Trudgill, 1980, who indicated the importance of phonological differences). In fact, the three most frequently occurring items, namely the use of final [n] in verbs and nouns, the use of geminates and the use of palato-alveolars, are classified as stereotypical (markers) of Cypriot speech and are regularly used as examples of Cypriot speech by linguists and non-linguists alike. According to Karyolemou and Pavlou (2001), CG speakers classify these high in ranking of differential saliency. Consequently, students’ SMG awareness of these items seems to be inadequate: they either do not have the sufficient grammatical proficiency compared to their Greek counterparts, or they are unable to access it as easily. So far the analysis of the students’ oral D2 samples according to individual CG features corroborated the previous quantitative findings of the study and verified prior relevant studies that indicated that students display a gap in their linguistic

awareness, at least as far as particular levels and elements in it are concerned (Yiakoumetti, 2006, 2007a).

In addition to the aforementioned dialect forms spotted in the students' production, interestingly, the analysis brought to the forefront i) instances of self-repair and ii) instances of mixed/hybrid forms and structures.

In more detail, an instance of *self-repair* is defined as error detection and immediate correction by the speaker without external help (Field, 2011). In this particular case, the sampled students displayed attempts to self-repair dialectal items that seeped into their speech and to reproduce that utterance by replacing it with its standard equivalent. In pre-tests, a total of 250 cases of self-repair were produced by 61 students (27 experimental and 34 control ones). Some examples of self-repair are as follows. The underlined items represent the CG forms and those in bold correspond to the equivalent standard ones.

No.	Student Code	Form as used
1	GC23m	éna m:óron pu tus <u>evurúsen</u> tus étreçen a baby that them run-after_{past.impf.3sg.} them run-after_{past.impf.3sg.} 'a baby that was running after them'
2	AE12f	<u>poth:é</u> ðen <u>epíyan</u> poté ðen píyan spítin tis never . not go_{past.impf.3pl.} never . not go_{past.impf.3pl.} house her 'they never went to her house'
3	GC24m	<u>tóra</u> torá to peðí z:itá voíθja now now the child ask_{pres.3sg.} help 'it's now that the child asks for help'
4	GE15m	na <u>θcevaz:o</u> na ðiaváz:o éna vivlíon to read_{impf.1sg.} to read_{impf.1sg.} a book 'to read a book'
5	YC10f	metá ta <u>pírasi</u> píyasi óla sto spíti ke ta later them take_{past.perf.3pl.} take_{past.perf.3pl.} everything to the house and them melétisan study_{past.perf.3pl.} 'later they took everything to the house and studied them'
6	TC14f	na <u>ts^h:ilísi</u> patísi ta próvata tu to step on_{perf.3sg.} step on_{3sg. perf.} the sheep his 'to run over his sheep'

The importance of the above cases is twofold: a) they attest to the students' awareness that the formality of the situation requires the use of the standard and b) they exemplify an attempt to produce standard speech by a typical CG primary school student. Here, the students seem to be aware of the context-specific nature of language use in Cyprus and try to move towards the acrolectal ends of the dialectal continuum. For instance, in example 1, a student from the control group self-corrected the use of the CG-specific verb [vuró] with its SMG equivalent [tréxo] 'I run after'. Similarly, in her standard speech, the experimental student in example 2 corrected the interference of an aspirated consonant [tʰ:] in the words [potʰ:é] 'never' and an unstressed past syllabic augment in the verb [epíyan] 'they went'. In addition, example 3 illustrates self-repair in the stress pattern of the place adverb [tóra] 'now'. The student GC24m oscillated between [tóra] and [torá], when clearly the former was more desirable than the latter. It seemed that the spontaneity and free-flowing nature of oral speech had caused him to eventually opt for [torá] and then corrected himself by providing the standard form of [tóra].

It is interesting to note that students appear to selectively self-correct their nonstandard forms, while ignoring several other CG features within the same utterance or even the same word. For instance, in example 1, the long pronunciation of the sound [m] in the word [morón] 'baby' as well as the final [n] and the dialectal [tʃe] instead of [ce] continued to persist despite an obvious attempt at self-repair (<εβουρούσεν> [evurúsen]– <έτρεχεν> [étreçen] (run-after_{past.impf.3sg.}) 'she was running after them'). This is an example of the use of mixed/hybrid forms and structures which are frequently encountered at the acrolectal levels of contemporary CG.

Such *hybrid speech forms* involve words, constituents or utterances which combine CG and SMG features within the same words, constituents or utterances. 305 instances were found in the pre-data corpus and were produced by 92 students (43 experimental, 49 control). Most noticeable was the frequent use of the SMG coordinating conjunction [ce] 'and', as opposed to its dialectal version [tʃe], which constitutes a distinctive dialectal marker, followed or preceded by a CG item, as exemplified in the extract below:

No.	Student code	Form as used	Targeted SMG production	CG production
1	AC14f	ce túti en gó ^h :ini and this be _{3sg.pres.} red _{fem.nom.sg.} 'and this one is red'	ce aftí íne kócini and this be _{pres.3sg.} red _{fem.nom.sg.}	tʃe túti en and this be _{pres.3sg.} gótʃ ^h :ini/ gó ^h :ini red _{fem.nom.sg.}

2	AC13f	en énaŋ goríts ^h :in be _{pres.3sg.} a girl _{neut.acc.sg.} 'it's a girl'	íne éna korítsĩ be _{pres.3sg.} a girl _{neut.acc.sg.}	e mpa korúa be _{pres.3sg.} a girl _{fem.acc.sg.}

The above example (1), found in the interview extract of a control student, is compelling in that it exhibits a self-imposed oscillation between the CG and SMG varieties. The student used the SMG standard form of the conjunction [ce], yet, at the same time, chose the dialectal form [túti] of the female pronoun [afti] 'this, she', which indicates code-switching into the dialectal variety. She also opted for the dialectal verb [en] 'is', which, however, is supplemented with a hybrid predicative [kóc^h:ini] 'red', within which phonetic elements of CG and SMG are combined. While CG allows for a palatal affricate [tʃ] in the environment before the front vowel [i], as in the word [kótʃ^h:ini], the student selected the corresponding SMG variant [c] instead. Meanwhile, she concurrently articulates a geminate [c^h:], which signals crossing of the boundaries of the standard phonetic system. The word is pronounced as [kóc^h:ini] and can be placed towards the formal, acrolectal ends of the CG continuum. In example 2, the standard word [korítsĩ] (dialectal [korúa]), 'girl' is combined in the same utterance, with the dialectal negative particle [en] and the use of the final [n] in the noun [korítsĩ] and the article [éna] 'a'.

Interestingly, hybrid items combining SMG-CG variants within the borders of the same word were very frequently recorded in the students' standard speech production, as in the following typical examples:

No.	Student code	Form as used	Targeted SMG production	CG production
1	AC3m	eðjávasa read _{past.perf.1sg.} 'I read'	ðjávasa	eθcávasa
2	GC16m	ðjaléis choose _{pres.2sg.} 'you choose'	ðjaléjis	θcaléis
3	GE18m	ez:íleven be jealous _{past.impf.3sg.} 'he was jealous'	zíleve	ez:ilefcen

4	AE12f	epíyan gO _{past.perf.3pl.} 'they went'	píyan	epían

In sum, while the CG koine involves a high degree of mixing, especially in its acrolectal levels, the use of the aforementioned structures in this context may actually indicate that students were unable to fully switch to the standard variety and adhere to the grammatical rules of SMG. These instances may attest to a low standard proficiency among the students and, at the same time, they may also indicate limited linguistic awareness regarding what is dialectal and what is standard. Overall, the results reinforce the hypothesis that students have a blurred idea of what the salient features of their standard variety as well of their mother tongue are (Leivada and Grohmann, 2017; Leivada, Papadopoulou, *et al.*, 2017).

7.2.2 Written D2

The data corpus on which the current analysis of written speech was based measured 20,000 words and the total number of errors was 856. The mean number of CG items a student used in his/her D2 text was 4.9. The ten most frequent CG uses were as follows:

1. CG-specific verb suffixes

As far as standard written production is concerned, the analysis revealed that differences in the inflection of the verbs in the CG and SMG were the most common sources of transfer, as instances of different verb endings ranked first in terms of frequency of occurrence among other identified CG-features. This data include also the use of contracted forms of verbs as in example 7: <μιλά> [milá] instead of <μιλάει> [milái] 'he/she talks'. While such cases are acceptable in the standard, they are much less frequent. Numerical data revealed 72 such occurrences. Almost half of the students (52/119) used at least one CG-specific inflectional ending in their scripts. Typical examples of CG-specific suffixes, as they emerged from the data corpus of the 119 sampled students, are presented below:

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Targeted SMG form
1	TC05m	ο ένας κουντούσε και η μια ομάδα διαμαρτύρετον₇, ο ένας kundúseŋ je i m̥ɥa omáða ðiamartíretun the one push_{past.impf.3sg.} and the one team complain_{past.impf.3sg.} περάσαμε οραία γιατί δεν τσακωνόμασταν perásamen oréa jatí ðe ts^h:ak^h:on:úmastan spend_{past.perf.1pl.} nice because not fight_{past.impf.1pl.} ‘one of them was pushing and the team was complaining, we had a good time because we were not fighting’	διαμαρτυρόταν ðjamartirótan τσακωνόμασταν tsakonómastan
2	YC1m	δεν γήνετον ðe j:ínetun not be possible_{past.impf.3sg.} ‘it wasn’t possible’	δεν γινόταν ðe jinótan
3	TC14f	σκαρφαλόνομε skarfal:ón:omen climb_{pres.1pl.} ‘we climb’	σκαρφαλώνουμε skarfalónume
4	GC4f	ένα αυτοκίνητο να κινείται και καθώς κινηταν énan aftocínito n:a ciníte ce kaθós cinítan a car to .move_{impf.3sg.} and while move_{past.impf.3sg.} ‘a car to be moving and while being in motion’	κινούνταν cinúdan
5	GE10m	και το βοηθό του που κράταν δύο άγκυρες ce to v:oiθón du pu kráta ð:ío áŋjires and the assistant his who hold_{past.impf.3sg.} two anchors ‘and his assistant who was holding two anchors’	κρατούσε kratúse
6	YE2m	ο Ραφαήλ φορεί πάντα σκούρα χρώματα o rafaíl forí pánda skúra xrómata the rafail wear_{pres.3sg.} always dark colours ‘Rafail always wears clothes in dark colours’	φορά forá

⁷ It should be reminded again that any grammatical and/or lexical inaccuracies have not been edited, with the aim of preserving the originality of the students’ input.

7	TE14f	μιλά	συχνά άσχημα	μιλάει	
		milá	sixná ásçima		milái
		spea _k pres.3sg.	often badly		
		‘he often speaks badly’			

Examples 4 and 5 are hybrid past progressive forms (<κινήταν> [cinítan] ‘it was moving’, <κράταν> [krátan] ‘he was holding’) which contain a non-augmented standard past tense verb form (<-κιν->, <-κράτ->), while dialectal inflectional suffixes are present. Specifically, example 5 combines the standard verb form <-κρατ-> [krát] with the dialect 3rd person singular ending <-αν> [an]. Similarly, example 4 contains a hybrid verb-ending form which combines elements from the Cypriot 3rd person singular inflectional ending <-ήτουν> [ítun] and the corresponding standard ending <-ούνταν> [úntan].

The resulting two forms (examples 4 and 5 that appeared in the text are ungrammatical in both CG and SMG, as they involve overgeneralisation of grammar rules of both varieties. Such examples also point to indirect interference of CG morphology, in contrast to the other examples provided above which form intact dialect transfers. The students, being perhaps unable to fully produce the targeted standard forms, resorted to their existing knowledge of SMG, in an attempt to make their discourse production as standard-sounding as possible.

As discussed in the previous section, the markedness of these items varied according to the type of CG suffix. Comparing instances found in CG students’ speech and writing, it becomes obvious that in the latter case students actually avoided dialectal suffixes that are highly stereotypical of CG (e.g. <-άσιν> [ásin], <-ούσιν> [úsin].

2. CG-specific stress patterns

The second most frequent source of interlingual errors in the students’ essays is related to the suprasegmental differences between CG and SMG, and, more specifically, to stress. A number of lexical items which did not follow the standard stress were spotted in the students’ essays. As exemplified below, these items carried the stress on a different syllable compared to their SMG equivalents, while the dialect and standard forms of these items did not display any other phonological differences. As many as 45 out of the 119 students used the CG version of these lexical items in their scripts, while 63 occurrences in total were identified in the whole data corpus.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Targeted SMG form
1	TE8m	οι ανθρώποι i anθrópi the person _{masc.nom.pl.} 'the persons'	άνθρωποι ánθropi
2	TE16f	οι δασκάλοι μας i ðaskáli mas the teacher _{masc.nom.pl.} our 'our teachers'	δάσκαλοι ðáskali
3	TE11f	επισκευτήκαν episceftíkan visit _{past.perf.3pl.} 'they visited'	επισκέφτηκαν episcéftikan
4	AE9m	φωνάζαν fonáz:an shout _{past.impf.3pl.} 'they were shouting'	φώναζαν fónazan
5	TE10f	δεντρό ðendró tree _{neut.nom.sg.} 'tree'	δέντρο ðédro
6	AC1m	Σαββατοκυρίακο savvatokiríako weekend _{neut.nom.sg.} 'weekend'	Σαββατοκύριακο savvatocírjako
7	AE17f	ξάδελφη ksáðelfi cousin _{fem.nom.sg.} 'cousin'	ξαδέλφη ksaðélfí
8	AC20f	η μάμα της i máma tis the mother _{fem.nom.sg.} her 'her mother'	μαμά mama

Comparing the CG with the corresponding SMG forms, it becomes obvious that, such suprasegmental differences involve only minor, almost imperceptible deviations from the targeted standard words, which may explain why they might have easily escaped the students' attention.

3. CG-specific nouns (Lexical doublets)

This category consists of lexical items, in particular nominal items that do not exist in the standard variety. As noted in chapter 4, while there is considerable lexical overlapping between CG and Standard Greek vocabulary (Arvaniti, 2002; Tsiplakou *et al.*, 2006), a subset of today's CG lexicon is perceived as exclusively Cypriot. The quantification of the items found in the students' scripts revealed that CG-specific nouns occurred 57 times and were used at least once by 35 students. Four examples are illustrated below.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Targeted SMG form
1	AE2m	σίκλα síkla bucket _{fem.nom.sg.} 'bucket'	κουβάς kuvás bucket _{sg.nom.masc.}
2	YE12f	πήγαμε στο πάρκο που είχαι σούσες ρίγαμε sto párko pu íce súses go _{past.perf.1pl.} to the park which have _{past.3sg.} swing _{fem.acc.pl.} 'we went to the park with the swings'	κούνιες kúnies swing _{pl.acc.fem}
3	GC19m	ετήμασε σίταρους , γλικά etímase sítarus γliká prepare _{past.perf.3sg.} corn _{masc.acc.pl.} sweets 'he prepared popcorn, sweets'	καλαμπόκι kalabóci popcorn _{neu.acc.sg.}
4	GC25m	μοτόρα motóra motorcycle _{fem.nom.sg.} 'motorcycle'	μοτοσυκλέτα motosikléta motorcycle _{sg.nom.fem}

As noted earlier in this chapter, lexical items (alongside phonological features) are categorised as strong dialectal indicators and thus are mostly recognisable as distinctively CG. In their study, Karyolemou and Pavlou (2001) showed that lexical items hold a prevalent position in speakers' awareness. In addition to this, being highly stigmatised within the GC society, CG-specific vocabulary is strictly avoided by teachers in Cypriot schools who have also reported themselves to reprimand students when they make use of such items in their speech or writing (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009b). Despite such suppressive practices and the markedness which accompanies such items, still a low number of them was encountered in the students' standard writing.

4. **False friends (FF)**

This category consists of lexical items that function as FF. False friends exist in the two varieties; they are morpho-phonologically identical, but denote a different concept in each variety (Terkourafi, 2005a). False friends were encountered 43 times in the scripts of 31 students. A typical case is illustrated in example 1 below, in which the word <φανάρι> [fanári]-<φανάρια> [fanárja] is used in CG to denote a lamp, lantern, flashlight or searchlight, while in SMG the same word is commonly used to refer to traffic lights, which in Cypriot is rendered as <φώτα> [fóta].

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Targeted SMG form
1	AE1m	φώτα fóta traffic-light _{neut.nom.pl.} 'traffic-lights'	φανάρια fanárja

Interestingly, the majority of the FF items found in students' essays involved the use of the two Greek verbs [pérno] and [pçáno]. While in SMG the verb [pérno] + object means 'receive', 'bring' or, in the case of the object idiom [pérno tiléfono], 'to make a phone call', in CG it means 'take/transfer something/somebody somewhere', which, conversely, in SMG is denoted by the verb [páo]/ [pijéno]. Similarly, in SMG, the verb [pçáno] means 'to catch/touch something', whereas in CG, it can also mean 'receive', 'take', which in SMG is only expressed by the verb [pérno].

Relevant mistakes committed by the students are given in examples 2-3 below.

2	GE23m	πήγαμε jumbo για να πιάσει κάτι η μαμα μου ρίγαμε ndʒámbo ja na pčási káti i mam:a mu go_{past.perf.1pl.} jumbo in order to get_{perf.3sg.} something the mother my ‘we went to <i>Jumbo</i> for my mother to buy something’	πάρει πάρι take
3	GC17m	πήγα στο σπίτι του φίλου μου του Κωνσταντίνου ρίγα sto spítin du filu mu tu kostandínu go_{1sg.past.perf.} to the house of the friend my of the konstantinou για να τον πάρω σπίτι μου ja na tom báro spíti m:u in order to him_{cl.acc.} take_{perf.1sg.} house my ‘I went to my friend Konstantinos’ house to pick him up and bring him to my house’	πάω πάο

The divergence between CG and SMG that is observed in relation to the second verb, [pčáno], is not so much a matter of structural difference but a matter of preference, which perpetuates itself. In other words, the verb [pčáno] is part of the lexicon of both varieties, however through extensive use in two different language communities, the verb acquired stronger associations with distinct meanings in each variety. What is actually observed is a difference in the frequency of use of the one over the other possible meaning of the verb, which consequently renders one of them common and the other rare in the two varieties.

In terms of distinctiveness and markedness, FFs which involve no salient formal differences are hard to be noticed and acquired by CG speakers. Based on this premise, their occurrence in the students’ standard production was anticipated.

5. Absence of enclitic stress (Absence of tri-syllabic stress pattern)

Another commonly detected error in the students’ essays caused by transfer was again related to the suprasegmental level and, as in the previous case, is associated with very low D1:D2 differential salience. According to the standard grammar, when a word is stressed on the antepenultimate syllable and is followed by a monosyllabic clitic, it requires secondary stress on the last syllable:

- (1) to **kóteró** mu
the yacht_{neut.nom.sg.} my

‘my yacht’

On the other hand, the phenomenon of clitic stressing does not constitute part of the CG grammar (example 2). CG allows for a stress further than the third syllable from the end of an intonational group (Arvaniti, 1999; Terkourafi, 2005b).

- (2) tis **taftótítas** tu
the identity-card_{fem.gen.sg.} his
‘of his identity card’ (Arvaniti, 2002).

Forty-two constituents which lacked enclitic stress produced by 30 students were recorded in the data corpus, as exemplified below.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Targeted SMG form
1	TE18f	στες σημαθήτριες μου stes simaθítries mu to classmate _{fem.acc.pl.} my ‘to my classmates’	συμμαθήτριές μου simaθítjrés mu
2	AC3m	στο ξάδερφο μου sto ksáðerfo mu to cousin _{masc.acc.sg.} my ‘to my cousin’	ξάδερφό μου ksáðerfó mu
3	AC3m	στα ποδήλατα μας sta poðílata mas to bicycle _{neut.acc.pl.} our ‘to our bicycles’	ποδήλατά μας poðílatá mas

6. Geminates

In relation to the CG dialect’s tendency to geminate consonants, it is repeated here that the phenomenon typically occurs either in environments where the geminate was there in older periods of the language (as is also indicated by the historical spelling), or in new environments where no spelling indication exists. Obviously, only deviations from the latter case could be identified in the analysis of written texts.

For example, the spelling of the items in examples 1-7 is unconventional in that a geminate is used where the standard spelling calls for a single consonant. The spelling of these items is apparently influenced by CG pronunciation, as it follows the dialect’s tendency to geminate consonants intervocally (Varella, 2006). Examples 1-2, for instance, include a long [l] while

the items in examples 3 and 4 feature a long [m] and [n] respectively. 41 similar examples resulting from this CG phonetic rule were found in 23 pupils' texts.

Although gemination is a core dialectal item which is very frequently encountered in CG oral production, it still found its way into the students' standard essays. What may account for this is the degree to which the resulting written forms, after consonantal doubling, deviate from the D2 ones. Consonant doubling resulted in the generation of words that, while they are not standard, deviate minimally in form from the acceptable grammatical standard word.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Targeted SMG form
1	AC19f	γουλιά της πορτοκαλλάδας yu:á tis poɾtok ^h :al:áðas sip of the orange-juice _{fem.gen.sg.} 'sip of orange-juice'	πορτοκαλάδα portokaláða
2	GE2f	το καλλήτερο πράγμα to kal:íterom bráɣman the best _{neut.nom.sg.} thing 'the best thing'	καλύτερο kalítero
3	GE19m	την μάμμα του αντρεα ti m:ám:an du andréa the mother _{fem.acc.sg.} of andreas 'Andreas' mother'	μαμά mamá
4	GC14m	εδώ και πολλά χρόννια eðó ce pol:á xróɲ:a now and many year _{neut.acc.pl.} 'for many years now'	χρόνια xróɲa

A notable observation emerged in relation to the use of geminates in the D2 essays of a number of students: words historically written with a geminate were misspelled and written with a single consonant, as shown in examples 5-9 below.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Targeted SMG form
5	TE6m_smg	πολ-ές φωτογραφίες polés fotoɣrafíes many _{fem.nom.pl.} photos 'many photos'	πολλές poles

6	TE7m_cg	έπεξαν καπου αλού épeksan kapu alú play _{past.perf.3pl.} somewhere else 'they played somewhere else'	αλλού alú
7	TE12f_cg	συμμαθητές simaθités classmate _{masc.nom.pl.} 'classmates'	συμμαθητές simaθités
8	AC9m_cg	τέσερα χρόνια tésera xróɾi:a four _{neut.acc.} years 'four years'	τέσερα tésera
9	AE6m_smg	περισσότερο perisótero more 'more'	περισσότερο perisótero

This particular type of error appeared 97 times in the essays of 48 students. While this phenomenon could be construed as an isolated incidence of intra-language error, its systematic occurrence suggested that it may well be rule-governed and thus an instance of *hypercorrection*. It is likely that these instances have resulted from the students' tendency to over apply or encode in writing the perceived oral standard processes or grammatical rules in relation to the standard pronunciation of geminates. Such hypercorrection resulted in the generation of words that do not comply with the grammar of any of the two varieties in question. At the same time, it may also suggest that students are either unaware of the phonological process that governs gemination in CG or they are unable to apply it correctly.

The following instances add further to the previous claim and evidence the students' efforts to make their texts read as standard as possible by choosing to use items that sound highly standard, such as verbal suffixes ending in an open syllable [e], which are highly preferred by Greeks in their speech. Examples 1 and 2 below are indicative. Interestingly, in the second example, despite employing an open syllable which marks the work as standard-like, the student retained the past-test augment [e] despite not being allowed by the standard grammar in the particular case.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Targeted SMG form	Form in CG
1	TE16f	επίνανε epín:ane drink _{past.impf.3pl.} ‘they were drinking’	έπιναν épinan	επίννασιν epín:asin
2	GC14m	έτρωγανε étrøyane eat _{past.impf.3pl.} ‘they were eating’	τρώγανε tróγane	ετρώασιν etróasin

7. Dissimilation of stop + stop clusters into fricative + stop (Continuancy dissimilation in stop clusters)

The examples 1-2 below refer to the CG phonological system’s tendency to dissimilate sequences of fricatives or stops into fricative + stop clusters, a phenomenon that has been preserved from Katharevusa. In particular, 38 occurrences of fricative-stop clusters, possibly the result of manner dissimilation, were identified in the texts of 29 pupils. Hence the following words, in which SMG has stop clusters, have been modified in CG by converting the first stop consonant into a fricative.

In the following examples, the stop cluster [kt] turns into a fricative-stop cluster [xt].

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Targeted SMG form
1	TC12f	η εκδρομή ήταν καταπληχτική i ekðromí ítaη gataplixticí the excursion be _{past.3sg.} amazing _{fem.nom.sg.} ‘the excursion was amazing’	καταπληκτική kataplikticí
2	AC21f	είδαμε ένα τεράστιο καταρράχτη íðamen énan derástioη gatar:áxtin see _{past.perf.1pl.} a huge waterfall _{masc.acc.sg.} ‘we saw a huge waterfall’	καταρράκτη katarákti

8. CG-specific verbs

The next group of nonstandard items is lexical in nature and refers to the use of CG-specific verbs. In examples 1-4, the most prevalent idiosyncratic CG verbs are listed. In general, 37

occurrences, found in the texts of 20 students, were recorded in the whole data corpus. CG-specific verbs carry a heavy indexical load and are stereotypical of CG.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Targeted SMG form
1	TC05m	ο ένας κουντούσε ο ένας kundúsen the one push _{past.impf.3sg.} 'one of them was pushing'	έσπρωχνε ésproxne
2	AE8m	προσπαθίσαμε να το σάσουμε prospaθísame n:a to sàsumen try _{past.perf.1pl.} to it _{cl.acc.} fix _{perf.1pl.} 'we tried to fix it'	φτιάξουμε-επιδιορθώσουμε ftçáksume-epidiorthósume
3	YE2m	σύρνει ένα ποτίρι sírni énam botírin throw _{pres.3sg.} a glass 'he throws a glass'	ρίχνει ríxni
4	YE13f	εγώ και ο ξάδελφος μου χοστίκαμε εγώ ce o ksáðelfoz mu xostíkamen I and the cousin my hide _{past.perf.1pl.} μέσα στο συρτάρι mésa sto sírtárin inside at the drawer 'my cousin and I hid inside the drawer'	κρυφτήκαμε kriftíkame

9. Absence of voiced stops

The next CG characteristic which was frequently found to interfere with pupil's standard writing refers to the replacement of the voiced stops [b], [d], [g/j] by their voiceless equivalents [p], [t], [k/c]. Thirty-four occurrences were spotted in the essays of 18 students. In examples 1-2, the voiced [b] that appears in the equivalent standard form of the words is replaced by the voiceless [p] both word-initially and intervocalically. Similarly, as illustrated in examples 3-4, [d] appears devoiced as [t]. The resulting words are obviously ungrammatical lexical items in SMG.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Targeted SMG form
1	TC04m	ταπέλα tapél:a sign _{fem.acc.sg.} ‘sign’	ταμπέλα tabéla
2	YE9f	ο παπάς μου ο papáz mu the father _{masc.nom.sg.} my ‘my father’	μπαμπάς babás
3	TC10f	μια κατίνα όπου είχε ποτά μηνα kat^h:ína όπου ίζε potá a canteen which have _{past.3sg.} drinks ‘a canteen with drinks’	καντίνα kadína
4	AE19f	κασκατέρ kaskatér stuntman _{masc.nom.sg.} ‘stuntman’	κασκαντέρ kaskadér

10. CG-specific stems in verbs

The last item that is listed here again concerns verbal morphology and refers to the use of verbs with distinctive CG formation. This feature ranked lower in frequency in this dataset compared to oral D2. Numerical data revealed 31 occurrences in the scripts of 22 students.

Typical examples are given below. In example 1, the CG present verb stem <βαλλ-> [vál:] instead of its SMG counterpart <βαζ-> [váz] is used. It should be noted that this verb in Greek has a perfective stem <βαλ-> [vál], which adds to the confusion for the CG user. This becomes more obvious in example 2 of the same case, in which the student combines the standard present ending <-ουν> [un] with the standard non-present perfective stem <βαλ-> [vál] influenced by the CG present stem <βάλλ-> [vál:]. Presumably, the student was aware that the stem <-βαλλ-> [vál:] is dialectal and modified it in an effort to make it sound as standard as possible. As the retention of geminates is one of the most easily perceivable characteristics of the Cypriot dialect, the single <λ> [l] spelling is taken to be more representative of the standard pronunciation and was selected to serve this purpose.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Targeted SMG form
1	AC1m	να αγοράζεις όσα πιο πολλά οικόπεδα na agoráz:is ósa pco polá ikópeða to buy_{impf.2sg.} as more many plots ‘to buy as many plots (as possible)’ και να βάλλεις σπίτια και πολυκατοικίες ce na vál:is spitça ke polikaticίες and to put_{impf.2sg.} houses and apartment-blocks and to build houses and apartment-blocks’	βάζεις (κτίζεις) vázis (ktízis)
2	YE6m	δύο παιδιά βάλουν τη μπάλα μέσα ðío peðjá válun ti bála mesa two kids put_{pres.3pl.} the ball inside ‘two kids put the ball inside’	βάζουν vázun

The dialectal non-present perfective stem <άρκεψ-> [árceps] is used in example 3 instead of the standard non-present perfective stem <άρχισ-> [árçis].

3	GC17m	άρκεψα árcepsa start_{past.perf.1sg.} ‘I started’	άρχισα árçisa

In example 4, the non-present perfective CG stem of the verb <κάμνω> [kámno], <καμ-> [kám] is used instead of the standard equivalent <καν-> [kán].

4	YC2m	μου έκαμε πάσες mu ékamem bases me_{cl.gen.} do_{past.perf.3sg.} ball-shots ‘he threw me the ball ’	έκανε ékane

Similarly, the simple past form <ήβρ-> of the verb <βρίσκω> [vrísko] was chosen instead of the standard <βρήκ-> [vrík].

5	YC2m	ήμε τυχερος που τον ήβρα íme tiçerós pu ton ívra be_{pres.1sg.} lucky that the find_{past.perf.1sg.} ‘I’m lucky I found him’	βρήκα vríka

The present form of the Greek verb <βρίσκ-ομαι> [vrískome] was found in its CG variant <βρέθ-ομαι> [vréθome].

6	YC8m	βρεθόμαστε και παίζουμε vreθómaste je péz:umen meet _{pres.1pl.} and play _{pres.1pl.} ‘we meet and we play’	βρισκόμαστε vriskómaste

The past form <ήθελ-> [íθel] of the verb <θέλω> [thélo] appeared in its CG version <έθελ-> [éθel].

7	YC15f	η κορούες έθελαν να κοιμειθούν i korúes éthelan na cimiθún the girls want _{past.3pl.} to sleep _{perf.3pl.} ‘the girls wanted to sleep’	ήθελαν íthelan

The Table 7.2 below summarises the findings and classifies them according to linguistic category. As illustrated, similarly to what the frequency data revealed earlier, the linguistic category with the largest range of types of inferred CG items was Phonology, followed by Lexicon and Morphology.

Feature		Linguistic Level	No. of times	No. of scripts
1	CG-specific verb suffixes	Morphology	72	52
2	CG-specific stress patterns	Phonetics/Phonology	63	45
3	CG-specific nouns (Lexical doublets)	Lexicon/Semantics	57	35
4	False friends (FF)	Lexicon/Semantics	43	31
5	Absence of enclitic stress (Absence of tri-syllabic intonation pattern)	Phonetics/Phonology	42	30
6	Geminates	Phonetics/Phonology	41	23
7	Dissimilation of stop + stop clusters into fricative + stop (Continuancy dissimilation in stop clusters)	Phonetics/Phonology	38	29
8	CG-specific verbs	Lexicon/Semantics	37	20
9	Absence of voiced stops	Phonetics/Phonology	34	18
10	CG-specific stems in verbs	Morphology	31	22

Table 7.2 The ten most frequently used CG items in students’ written D2 pre-test.

The low D1:D2 differential saliency accompanying most listed items could provide an explanation for their hierarchical prevalence. As noted earlier, the application of the aforementioned phonological/phonetic CG rules led to the generation of a number of words which departed in form from the targeted SMG word only minimally and, as such, this can compensate for the students' inability to avoid them. This can also account for the retention of the morphological CG elements from the particular list, albeit to a lesser extent, as the impact of these differences on the form of the words was greater, rendering them more easily noticed. Also, the use of FFs in some students' texts was expected as they only differ in usage rather than in form, which increases their semantic opaqueness.

On the contrary, the remaining differences in the lexicon – CG-specific nouns and verbs – constitute characteristic CG items (strong dialectal indicators), some of which are even markedly different in form compared to their standard equivalents and their appearance in the students' texts clearly indicated very low awareness levels.

The fact that no self-corrections were recorded in the written tasks may be largely attributed to the fact that written speech is less spontaneous and more premeditated. As such, it is hypothesised that, as students were afforded the opportunity to plan their wording in advance, even if they did need to go back and self-edit, the researcher might never be aware of this mental proofreading, which could be carried out surreptitiously without leaving any trace.

7.2.3 Oral D1

15,000 words of oral D1 speech were analysed and 6,902 dialectal items were spotted. Morphological instances were the most common types of dialect use, with 3,212 occurrences. Phonology came next with 2,768 occurrences, followed by Lexicon and Syntax, with significantly lower numbers, that is, 668 and 254 items respectively. The mean number of CG items a student used in his/her text was 15.8. In what follows, the ten most frequent items are presented.

1. Word-final [n]

The qualitative analysis revealed that students' CG speech production, most expectedly, involved multiple instances of final [n] retention. In particular, all sampled students retained the word final [n] at least once, which occurred 1,828 times in total. Examples are given below.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Standard form
1	AC10m	péz:umen éts ^h :i me ta léko tu play _{pres.1pl.} this way with the lego his 'we play this way with his lego'	pézume
2	AC15f	írten i non:á mu come _{past.perf.3sg.} the godmother my 'my godmother came'	írθe

2. Geminates

The item-by-item analysis indicated 1,146 uses of geminates in the productions of all students. In examples 1-5, instances from the use of geminates in the students' CG interviews are displayed.

Consonantal gemination in example 3 is indicated by the historical orthography of the word, whereas in the remaining examples, geminates resulted from the assimilation of the final [n] into the following consonant (examples 1) or from the aspiration of the word-initial plosive [p] (examples 2, 3) and only occur in the CG pronunciation of the word, but not in its standard written form.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Standard form
1	AC10m	e θ:imúme pol:á práymata not remember _{pres.1sg.} many _{neut.acc.pl.} things 'I don't remember many things'	polá
2	AC10m	to p^h:áplik the public 'the <i>Public</i> '	to páblik
3	AC15f	p ^h :iðá jump _{pres.3sg.} 'he jumps'	piðái

3. Palato-alveolars

1,064 uses of palato-alveolars were noted in the transcriptions of 118 students. Typical examples are given below.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Standard form
1	AC10m	éʃis have _{pres.2sg.} 'you have'	éçis
2	GC11m	korítʃ ^h :a girl _{neut.acc.pl.} 'girls'	korítsça
3	AC15f	kóstʃ ^h :inon red _{neut.acc.pl.} 'red'	kócino

In example 1, the CG sound [ʃ] features in the 2nd person singular of the auxiliary verb [éxo]. In example 2, the CG sound [tʃ] appears in the nominative plural form of the noun [koríts^h:in] and in example 3, in the nominative singular of the neuter form of the adjective [kótʃ^h:inos].

4. CG-specific stems in verbs

The analysis recorded 259 uses of CG-specific stems in verbs, as shown in examples 1-6.

97 out of the 119 students used this item in their speech.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Standard form
1	AC13f	arésci mu like _{pres.3sg.} me _{cl.acc} 'I like it'	arési
2	AC2m	éðoce m:as ta ðóra give _{past.perf.3sg.} uScl.gen the presents 'he gave us the presents'	éðose
4	AC3m	kámnumen do _{pres.1pl.} 'we are doing'	kánume
5	AC14f	ðak ^h :án:o bite _{pres.1sg.} 'I am biting'	ðagóno

6	GE13m	θa plerósis pa _y fut.perf.2sg. ‘you will pay’	plirósis

5. [e]/ [en] / [éni] instead of [íne]

Similarly, the CG form [e{n{i}}] of the copula verb [íne] occurred 223 times in the speech of 94 students. The following are two characteristic examples.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Standard form
1	AC13f	en arnáca be _{pres.3pl.} lambs ‘they are lambs’	íne
2	AC3m	kápci en i líci some be _{pres.3pl.} the wolves ‘some are the wolves’	íne

6. Post-verbal object clitics

As it is highlighted in examples 1-3 below, students used post-verbal object clitics in syntactic environments that would require pre-verbal placement in SMG. Enclisis patterns appeared 193 times in the dialogues of 86 students. In terms of frequency of this characteristic within the area of syntax exclusively, post-verbal clitics covered 75% of the total usage of syntactic items.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Standard form
1	GE19m	patás to túton do kumbín push _{pres.2sg.} it _{cl.acc.} this the button ‘you push it, this button’	to patás
2	AC13f	miráz:is ta split _{pres.2sg.} them _{cl.acc.} ‘you split them’	ta mirázis
3	AE11f	arésci mu na péz:o úno like _{pres.3sg.} me _{cl.gen.} to play _{impf.1sg.} uno ‘I like playing <i>UNO</i> ’	mu arési

7. ‘Augment’ [e] in all past tense forms

Augmented verbal forms were the next CG-specific grammatical features that appeared relatively often in students’ CG speech production. Students appeared to be familiar with the CG-specific morphological rule that dictates the use of the syllabic prefix –e to mark past tense. Unstressed past tense augment appeared 171 times in the scripts of 49 students, as shown in examples 1-3 below.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Standard form
1	AC19f	ez:oyrafisan draw _{past.perf.3pl.} ‘they drew’	zoyráfisan
2	AE8m	ekatálaven understand _{past.perf.3sg.} ‘he understood’	katálave
3	GC17m	efoíθicen oti en:a páθi ópos t̃ĩnon be afraid _{past.perf.3sg.} that suffer _{fut.perf.3sg.} like him ‘he was afraid that the same would happen to him’	fovíθice

8. CG-specific verbs

Next, students used in their interviews a number of CG-specific verbs that do not belong to the shared lexicon of the two varieties. Specifically, the analysis revealed 170 uses of dialectal verbs by 66 students. Examples of the most frequently used CG verbs are listed below. It should be noted that this feature covered 25% of the use of CG lexico-semantic items.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Standard form
1	AC14f	xón:ete hide _{pres.3sg.} ‘he is hiding’	krívete
2	AC20f	vurá tus ál:us chase _{pres.3sg.} the others ‘he is chasing the others’	tréçi-ciniyá
3	AE7m	na síri ston áeran di mbálan to throw _{pres.3sg.} in the air the ball ‘to throw the ball in the air’	ríksi

4	AE8m	ekundúsen don push _{past.impf.3sg.} him _{cl.acc.} 'he was pushing him'	ésproxne
5	AC4m	en prépi na ðernúmaste:n not should to fight _{refl.imperf.1pl.} 'we should not fight'	xtipçómaste-malónume

9. Elision of intervocalic fricatives and sibilant [s]

The CG nature of the items in examples 1-5 below lies in the omission of the intervocalic fricatives and sibilant [s]. Similar items appeared 160 times in the speech of 75 students. The numerical data showed that, considering the number of students whose speech included this item (as opposed to frequency-degree of occurrence), fricative elision occurred more frequently compared to the two previously mentioned CG features.

No.	Student code	Form as used	Standard form
1	AC15f	éla ylíora come quickly 'come quickly'	yríyora
2	AC18f	extós an don bjái pále except if him get _{pres.3sg.} again 'unless he catches him again'	pçási
3	AE13f	θcaléis choose _{pres.2sg.} 'you choose'	ðjaléjis
4	AC14f	eksíasa pú ðuléfci forget _{past.perf.1sg.} where work _{3sg.pres.} 'I forgot where he works'	kséxasa
5	AC10m	pien:o ékso sta xómata go _{pres.1sg.} out to the soil 'I go out to the field'	pijéno

10. CG-specific verb suffixes

The last category of items involved the use of dialectal verb endings. 140 instances of this type of usage were detected in the speech of 71 students. Examples of the most frequently used inflectional suffixes are given below:

No.	Student code	Form as used	Standard form
1	AC13f	mbén:usin enter _{pres.3pl.} ‘they enter’	bénun
2	YE2m	esinðíáz:etun combine _{past.impf.3sg.} ‘it was combining well’	sinðiazótan
3	AC1m	jínunde become _{pres.3pl.} ‘they are becoming’	jínode
4	AC1m	xoriz:úmasten be split _{pres.1pl.} ‘we split’	xorizómaste

In sum, the most characteristic features of CG speech in the students’ dialect speech are given in Table 7.3 below and are separated by linguistic area.

No.	Feature	Linguistic Level	No. of times	No. of scripts
1	Word-final [n]	Morphology	1828	119
2	Geminates	Phonetics/Phonology	1146	119
3	Palato-alveolars	Phonetics/Phonology	1064	118
4	CG-specific stems in verbs	Morphology	259	97
5	[e]/ [en]/ [éni] instead of [ine]	Morphology	223	94
6	Post-verbal object clitics	Syntax	193	86
7	‘Augment’ [e] in all past tense forms	Morphology	171	49
8	CG-specific verbs	Lexicon/Semantics	170	66
9	Elision of intervocalic fricatives and sibilant [s]	Phonetics/Phonology	160	75
10	CG-specific verb suffixes	Morphology	140	71

Table 7.3 The ten most frequently used CG items in students’ oral D1 pre-test.

To sum up, the ranking of the four performance indicators, grammar domains, based on frequency of occurrences was the same as that based on the range of types of CG elements. The most salient features in the students' free production of dialectal speech were, as expected due to the orality of the mode, morphophonological in nature. In particular, the use of final [n], geminates and palato-alveolars dominated their oral output. The analysis indicated that these three CG items were used in their speech far more extensively compared to the remaining 7 items – that is, more than 5,000 instances in total. This was most expected as these elements feature high in terms of frequency of use and saliency and actually constitute prominent characteristics of contemporary urban CG.

The most rarely used items came from the areas of syntax and lexicon. What can account for this is the paucity of syntactic differences between the two varieties and/or the fact that the changes they effectuate on the form of words are nearly imperceptible. The same reasoning, however, cannot account for the low use of CG-specific lexical items. If we assume that this task prompted naturally occurring D1 speech, then the observation of low use of CG-lexis in the students' dialect speech may reinforce what was suggested in previous sections about the possibility of insufficient vocabulary awareness (and in turn explain the students' partial inability to notice them and keep them out of their standard production).

7.2.4 Written D1

The corpus of written D1 speech that was analysed totalled approximately 12,000 words, of which 3,243 were CG items. Morphological instances totalled 1,697 occurrences. Phonology was next with 1,092 occurrences, followed by Lexicon and Syntax with significantly lower numbers, namely 329 and 125 items respectively. The mean number of CG items a student used in each text was 13.4.

Data from the students' attempts to produce dialogues written in CG highlighted two types of findings: (i) expected mesolectal CG uses and (ii) unexpected non-mesolectal CG uses. The former constituted conventional language use, specifically, linguistic variants/structures from the students' active linguistic repertoire associated with appropriate register. The latter fell out of the remit of this use: these were examples of non-mainstream/non-urban/dated or obsolete dialect use and were classified (register-wise, stylistically) as inappropriate for the context of the particular task.

Both types are presented below.

- (i) **Mesolectal features of contemporary CG:** This section presents the 10 most common CG items found in the students' D1 written dialogue in order of frequency.

1. Palato-alveolars

In their attempt to render their writing as CG as possible, 98 out of the 119 students used [ʃ], [tʃ] and [ʒ] (palatal fricatives and affricates) 451 times. Examples are given below:

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Standard form
1	TE13f	έσσει καμιά μπαράκα να τες βάλω μέσα; έʃi kamjá mbaráka n:a tez válo mesa? have_{pres.3sg.} any shack to them put_{perf.1sg.} inside ‘is there a shack where I could put them in?’	έχει, (υπάρχει) έʃi, [ipárçi]
2	TE13f	φέρε τες κότεες τζιαι τες τσούρες μου fére tes kótes tʃe tes ts̺ú:rez mu bring_{imp.2sg.} the chickens and the goats my ‘bring my chickens and my goats’	και ce
3	TE14f	όπως τζιαμέ που ζούσες ópos tʃamé pu z:úses like there that live_{past.impf.2sg.} ‘like where you used to live’	εκεί eci

2. Future particle [en:a] and conditional [íta n:a] + subjunctive

Next on the list are two salient morphological CG items which are habitually used in CG daily oral discourse: the use of the future particle [en:a] instead of the SMG [θa], as shown in examples 1-2, and the use of the conditional/irrealis [íta n:a] + subjunctive in the place of the SMG equivalent [θa] + past imperfective, as displayed in example 3 below. The two items occurred 386 times and were used by 97 students.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Standard form
1	TE6m	ενά μετακομίω στη Λεμεσό en:a metakomío sti l:emesón will relocate_{perf.1sg.} to Limassol	θα μετακομίσω θα metakomíso

		‘I will relocate to Limassol’	
2	TE6m	ενά ξεκινώ τοράτεν en:a ksecinío toráten will start_{perf.1sg.} now ‘I will start now’	θα ξεκινήσω θα kseciníso
3	TE7m	ήταν να σου πω ότι íta n:a su po oti be_{past.3sg.} to you_{cl.gen.} say_{perf.1sg.} that εννά μετακομήσω στη γητωνιά σου en:a metakomíso sti j:iton:á s:u will relocate_{perf.1sg.} to neighbourhood your ‘I was going to tell you that I will move to your neighbourhood’	θα σου έλεγα θα su έλεγα will you_{cl.gen.} say_{impf.1sg.}

3. Final [n]

The tendency to add a [n] sound at the end of a number of words was another strong CG phonological indicator that 70 students used in 204 instances, as exemplified below.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Standard form
1	GE8f	μεν έσιεις την ένιαν κόρη men éʃis tin éɲ:aɲ góri not have_{pres.2sg.} the worry_{fem.acc.} ‘friend’ ‘don’t worry, my friend’	έννοια ένα
2	AC17m	εν να ρτω την παρασκευήν en:á ɣto tim barascevíɲ will come_{perf.1sg.} the Friday ‘I will come on Friday’	Παρασκευή parasceví
3	YE12f	είμαι σίγουρη πως εννα περάσουμεν τέλεια íme síuri pos en:a perásumen délia be_{pres.1sg.} sure that will pass_{perf.1pl.} amazingly ‘I’m sure that we’re going to have a great time’	περάσουμε perásume

4. Consonant devoicing

87 students produced 202 instances of sequences of obstruents that followed the CG phonological process of voice assimilation. During this process, the first voiced consonant in

sequences <δκ> [ðk], <βκ> [vk] changes into a voiceless consonant (<θκ> [θk], <φκ> [fk] as a result of voicing assimilation with the adjacent voiceless [k]/[c] sound. It is worth noting that the appearance of [k]/[c] is the result of another CG-specific phonological/phonetic process, that of hardening: In the CG dialect, consonant hardening occurs when a plosive [c] or [k] occurs unexpectedly after the disyllabification of [i] when followed by another stressed vowel (Newton, 1972; Kaisse, 1992).

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Standard form
1	TE2m	ενά παίζουμεν διάφορα παιχνίθκια en:a Pérez:ume ð:í:fo:ra pexníθca will play _{impf.1pl.} various game _{neut.acc.pl.} 'we will be playing various games'	παιχνίδια pexníðja
2	YC13m	δύο δωμάτια με τέσσερα κρεβάθκια ðío ðomátia me té:s:era kreváθca two rooms with four bed _{neut.acc.pl.} 'two rooms with four beds'	κρεβάτια krevátça
3	TE18f	παιθκια peθcá kid _{neut.acc.pl.} 'kids'	παιδιά peðjá
4	GC3m	α θέλεις έχω αφκά σπίτι a θ:élis éxo afká spítin if want _{pres.2sg.} have _{pres.1sg.} egg _{neut.acc.pl.} house 'if you want, I have eggs at home'	αυγά avjá

The <θκ> [θk], <φκ> [fk] clusters are encountered very frequently in CG oral speech and any attempts to represent them textually alter the standard orthography of the words significantly. The resultant orthographic mismatch between this and the standard form were expected to make such cases rather conspicuous.

5. CG-specific stems in verbs

The analysis also revealed in the scripts of 79 students 159 verbs which differed morphologically from SMG, as they involved CG-specific stems. Examples are given below.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Standard form
1	TE16f	τη δραστηριότητες κάμνετε τζιαμέ ti ðrastiriótites kámnete tʃamé? what activities do _{pres.2pl.} there ‘what kind of activities do you do there?’	κάνετε kánete
2	TE18f	αρέσκει μου πολλά δαμέ arésci mu pol:á ðamé like _{pres.3sg.} me _{cl.gen.} a lot here ‘I like it a lot here’	αρέσει arési
3	TE14f	μπορούμεν να βρεθούμεαστε mborúme n:a vrethúmasten can _{pres.1pl.} to meet _{impf.1pl.} ‘we can meet up’	βρισκόμαστε vriskómaste

6. Elision of intervocalic fricatives and sibilant [ʝ]

The dialectal forms in examples 1-3 relate to the elision of the fricative consonant [ʝ]. Similar forms were encountered 152 times in the scripts of 59 out of the 119 students. While this feature can pass unnoticed when speaking, in writing it generates words that deviate substantially from the corresponding standard ones.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Standard form
1	TC18f	εννά πηαίνουμε τζαι στα φροντιστήρια μαζί; en:a pién:ume tʃe sta frondistíria maz:ín? will go _{impf.1pl.} and to the classes together ‘Will we go to private classes together, too?’	πηγαίνουμε pijénume
2	TC18f	σίγουρα síura certainly ‘certainly’	σίγουρα síyura
3	TE8m	εσύ τη πρώτη μέρα που επήες πως αντέδρασες; esí tim bróti m:éram bu epíes pos andédhrases you the first day that go _{past.perf.2sg.} how react _{past.perf.2sg.} ‘how did you react the first day that you went?’	πήγες pijes

7. [e]/ [en]/[éni] instead of [íne]

The table below lists examples of the use of the CG form [e{n{i}}] to express the 3rd person singular of the copula verb [íme]. This item was used by 67 students and occurred 150 times in total.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Standard form
1	TC4f	ε πελλαμός em bel:amós be _{pres.3sg.} awesome 'it's awesome!'	είναι íne
2	AC8m	ώστε εν τόσο ωραία; óste en dóson oréa? so be _{pres.3sg.} that nice 'so it is that nice?'	είναι íne
3	AE10m	εν τίποτε σοβαρό; en dípote sovarón? be _{pres.3sg.} anything serious 'is it something serious?'	είναι íne

8. [en]/ [e] instead of [ðen]

The use of the form [e{n}] was also used in the place of the SMG [ðen] to express negation and occurred 118 times in 63 students' scripts.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Standard form
1	AC3m	εν πάω μόνον άμαν είμαι άρρωστη em báο mónon áman íme árosti not go _{pres.1sg.} only when be _{pres.1sg.} sick 'I only miss (class) when I'm ill'	δεν ðen
2	GE5f	εν τζιαι μιλάς σοβαρά en dʒe milás sovará not and speak _{pres.2sg.} seriously	δεν ðen

		‘you can’t be serious!’			
3	TE2m	η γειτονιά	μου εννεν	πολλά μεγάλη	δεν είναι
		i jiton:á	mu ‘ en:en	pol:á meγáli	ðen íne
		the neighbourhood	my not be _{pres.3sg.}	very big	
		‘my neighbourhood is not very big’			

The form <εννεν> [en: en] in example 3 is a compound of the negation particle [en] and the 3rd person singular copula verb [en]. When pronounced at a natural pace, it may give the impression of one word and perhaps this is why the student opted for this spelling. Both items are distinctive of CG speech.

9. CG-specific verb suffixes

The analysis also indicated a frequent use of CG-specific ending suffixes. As noted earlier, depending on the type of ending, this feature varies from more to less salient. The analysis revealed 117 occurrences such as the ones below in 64 scripts.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Standard form
1	TE6m	ετοιμαζούμαστε etimaz:úmasten get ready _{pres.1pl.} ‘we are getting ready’	ετοιμαζόμαστε etimazómaste
2	TE6m	να πάεις σχολείο na páis sxolíon to _{sub.} go _{perf.2sg.} school ‘to go to school’	πας pas

10. CG-specific adverbs

At the bottom of the list of the 10 most frequently used items in students’ scripts are CG-specific adverbs: a lexico-semantic feature found 95 times in the scripts of 55 students. Being entirely different from the corresponding standard ones, CG-specific adverbs carry a high degree of saliency (D1:D2 contrastiveness) and can be easily recognised as stereotypically CG. Examples are provided below.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Standard form
1	TE16f	ενά σου αρέσει πολλά δαμέ en:a su arési pol:á ðamé	εδώ edó

		will you _{cl.gen.} like _{impf.3sg.} very here 'you will like it a lot here'	
2	TE16f	εν ωραία τζιαμέ en oréa tʃamé be _{pres.3sg.} nice there 'it's nice there'	εκεί ecí

Table 7.4 below presents the ten most salient *mesolectal dialectal features* in the students' CG written production. The results revealed that the areas with the greatest variety of items were those with the highest frequency rates.

No.	Feature	Linguistic Level	No. times	No. of scripts
1	Palato-alveolars	Phonetics/Phonology	451	98
2	Future particle [en:a] and conditional [íta n:a] + subjunctive	Morphology	386	97
3	Final [n]	Morphology	204	70
4	Consonant devoicing	Phonetics/Phonology	202	87
5	CG-specific stems in verbs	Morphology	159	79
6	Elision of intervocalic fricatives and sibilant [s]	Phonetics/Phonology	152	59
7	[e]/ [en] / [éni] instead of [íne]	Morphology	150	67
8	[en] / [e] instead of [ðen]	Morphology	118	63
9	CG-specific verb suffixes	Morphology	117	64
10	CG-specific adverbs	Lexicon/Semantics	95	55

Table 7.4 The ten most frequently used CG items in students' written D1 pre-test.

In what follows, reference is made to the second group of items encountered very frequently in the scripts of more than half of the students (55.5% of scripts).

(ii) Non-mesolectal CG use realised as:

a) Basilectal uses: CG items found in this category were dated or obsolete and not representative of contemporary CG. Some are restricted to isolated rural areas and others are almost entirely extinct. They deviate markedly from contemporary CG and by extension from the expected speech forms used by the students. Examples are given in items 1-10 below.

b) Hyperdialectisms: the students showed a propensity to construct regional or pseudo-regional words mostly in terms of morphophonology by over-applying, re-introducing and mis-adapting obsolete phonological and morphological features, as in examples 1-6 below. Students' hyperdialectism is not part of the contemporary koine or older stages of CG.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Expected CG form	Standard Form
1	TE1m	σκολείο skolíon school _{neut.nom.sg.} 'school'	σχολείο(ν) sxolío(n)	σχολείο sxolío
2	TE6m	χέλω ζέλο want _{pres.1sg.} 'I want'	θέλω thélo	θέλω thélo
3	TE6m	εγιώ ejó 'I'	εγώ egó	εγώ egó
4	TE11f	εγίνικε ejínicen happen _{past.perf.3sg.} 'it happened'	έγινεν éjinen	έγινε éjine
5	AC9m	γρόνια γρόη:a year _{masc.acc.pl.} 'years'	χρόνια xróη:a	χρόνια xróηa
6	AE2m	ευχαριστόσε efkaristó se thank _{pres.1sg. youcl.gen} 'thank you'	ευχαριστώ σε efxaristó se	σε ευχαριστώ se efxaristó
7	AE17f	Εσούνι esúni you _{cl.gen} 'you'	εσύ esí	εσύ esí
8	GC3f	Τσίρης tʃíris father _{masc.nom.sg.} 'father'	παπάς papas	μπαμπάς babás
9	GC4f	Ρα ra 'girl' (term of address)	Ρε	ρε
10	YC2m	Ποά poá from here 'here is [...]'	ποδά podá	αποδώ apodó

Table 7.5 Basilectal CG features in students' written D1 pre-test.

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in text	Expected CG form	Standard Form
1	YC1m	Τηλεχωνο tiléxonon phone _{eut.acc.sg.} ‘phone’	τηλεφωνο(ν) tiléfono(n)	τηλεφωνο tiléfono
2	YC4m	τους γικούς μου φίλους tus jikúz mu filus the mine _{masc.acc.pl.} my friends ‘my own friends’	δικούς dikús	δικούς dikús
3	GC14m	ζωολογικός τζίπος z:olójikós tǵipos animals courtyard _{masc.nom.sg.} ‘zoo’	κήπος cípos	κήπος cípos
4	TE1m	ποχω σε pocho se desire _{pres.1sg. youcl.acc.} ‘I want you’	θέλω σε/ποθώ σε thélo se/pothó se	σε θέλω/ σε ποθώ se thélo / se pothó
5	TE6m	Λεμεόν lemeón limassol _{fem.acc.} ‘Limassol’	Λεμεσό(ν) lemesón	Λεμεσό lemesó
6	TE6m	τοράτεν toráten now ‘now’	Τωρά torá	τόρα tóra

Table 7.6 Hyperdialectisms in students’ written D1 pre-test.

All in all, the students successfully retrieved mesolectal CG-specific items in accordance with the task, in an attempt to create dialectal texts. The most common mesolectal CG items recorded in the students’ writing were morphological, followed by phonological items marked with high frequency and markedness/saliency. The micro-level analysis of individual CG items confirmed that students indeed employed strong dialectal indexes in their texts. Among the ten mostly used CG items, the use of palato-alveolars, CG future particle [en:a] and the final [n], which were the most consistently used ones, display high differential saliency and are marked as stereotypical of dialectal speech. As already explained, the frequent, salient and even stigmatised dialectal

character of these items afforded them a degree of discernibility, making them easier to notice and acquire by CG speakers (Karyolemou and Pavlou, 2001).

Geminates were surprisingly absent from the list of the most recurrent CG elements in students' D1 writing students' despite their frequent use in CG's natural speech and their markedness. Even the data from oral D1 production in this study revealed that geminates ranked second on the list of the most commonly used CG items. Meanwhile, a closer look at the linguistic practices in the students' standard production shows that geminates showed high interference. At the same time, students were found to use, in the same context, singletons erroneously in the place of historical geminates in SMG words. In this respect, the absence of geminates in D1 writing could be attributed to the pupils' limited awareness of how gemination surfaces in the two varieties and how it differs in each case. However, other issues relevant to the orthographic representation of geminates may also play a significant role. The fact that the representation of CG geminates requires them occasionally to deviate orthographically from standard Greek orthographic conventions may have imposed an additional challenge.

Among the 10 most recurrently used items, the analysis revealed no CG-specific nouns or verbs. Only CG-specific adverbs were spotted and these unexpectedly ranked last on the list. Despite the plethora of CG-specific lexical items and their conspicuous nature, contrary to expectations, the students did not use them extensively in an attempt to make their production read as dialectal as possible. This raised questions regarding the students' lexical inventory, which was also the case for D1 speaking. Students appeared to be either unaware of the bulk of D1-exclusive vocabulary or unable to access it. The observation that, in D2 production, lexical interference was also relatively low in degree (both in oral and written tasks) suggests that, although students are generally aware of CG-specific lexis (and are capable of avoiding it when reverting to the standard), they are not always able to retrieve and use it. Finally, no syntactic items were included in the list; however, similar to explanations given previously for the scarcity of syntactic items, this was not surprising considering that, syntactically, SMG and CG differ to a lesser degree.

However, in addition to mesolectal CG items, the language choices of more than half of the students (55.5% of scripts) were characterised by the use of an unexpected, extremely stylised basilectal register. In particular, students used obsolete basilectal forms, together with constructed CG forms which sounded extremely basilectal but are, in fact, non-existent. This linguistic behaviour, known as hyperdialectism, was also observed by Tsiplakou and Ioannidou

(2012) in *Aigia Fuxia* ('The Fuchsia Goat'), a highly popular Greek Cypriot sitcom which typically and purposefully employs such lexis and grammar; hyperdialectism is usually employed by speakers wishing to overstate the distance between their own language and that of other groups. The reintroduction and re-appropriation of older dialectal forms was also evidenced in informal CG speech employed by youngsters as an in-group marker of solidarity (Tsiplakou, 2003); however, this is the first time that such a use was actively employed in the (textual) production of primary school pupils. It is argued that this peasant-like, 'χωρκάτικα' register rendered texts inappropriate for the targeted context and led to a clash between context and style.

7.2.4.1 An insight into how students orthographically represented CG prior to the intervention

As one of the aims of the written D1 task has been to explore the students' orthographic representation of the CG dialect, the analysis now shifts to investigating how students overcame the obstacle of writing in a non-codified variety using the Greek alphabet, which does not involve a one-to-one correspondence between letters and CG sounds. It should be noted that the orthography was evaluated only in relation to the representation of the *palato-alveolar phones* of the CG: the post-alveolar fricative [ʃ] and the palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ] sounds.

The analysis showed that, in pre-testing samples, control and experimental students intuitively devised highly creative and genuine mechanisms (orthographic conventions) to adequately represent idiosyncratic CG sounds in writing. Interestingly, most of these combinations overlapped with existent orthography conventions traditionally used by CG authors and lexicographers (Hadjioannou, 1999; Papaggelou, 2001; Symeonidis, 2006). For example, the analysis revealed that for the representation of the postalveolar fricative [ʃ], the students used 7 different combinations of the Greek letters <σ> [s], <ι> [i] and <χ> [x] to render the CG sound. The resulting combinations, including cases of consonant graphemes doubling, were the following:

No.	Representation of the sound [ʃ]	Students' code	Examples from students' scripts
1	<σ>	TE11f	έσι έʃι have _{pres.3sg.} 'it has'
2	<σι>	TE4m	είσιτε

			ίfen have _{past.3sg.} ‘it had’
3	<σσ>	AE11f	σσέρεσε ǰérese be glad _{pres.2sg.} ‘you are glad’
4	<σσι>	TE6m	έσσιει έǰi have _{pres.3sg.} ‘it has’
5	<σχ>	TE1m	έσχει έǰi have _{pres.3sg.} ‘it has’
6	<σσχ>	TE4m	έσσχι έǰi have _{pres.3sg.} ‘it has’
7	<σχι>	TE16f	έσχιει έǰi have _{pres.3sg.} ‘it has’

Table 7.7 Orthographic representations of the sound [ǰ] in students’ dialectal scripts in pre-test.

As expected, to represent the palato-alveolar sound [ǰ], students used the Greek grapheme <σ> [s], the only letter that approximates the CG sound. Interestingly though, a number of students included in their improvised orthography conventions the Greek letter <χ> [x], which corresponds to an entirely different sound but is not altogether irrational: the dialectal sound [ǰ] is either an allophone of the palatal [ç] (e.g. SMG [çéri], CG [ǰérin] ‘hand’), of the alveolar [s] when followed by [i] or of the consonantal cluster [sc] (e.g. /isia/ > SMG [ísça], CG [ífa] ‘straight’, SMG [scívo], CG [ǰífkɔ] ‘bend over’), which are represented in the standard orthography by the graphemes <χ>, <σ> and <σκ> respectively.

The fact that the students geminated these consonants in some cases suggests that they considered the use of the single graphemes <σ> and <χ> inadequate to render the actual pronunciation of the CG [ǰ] sound. Other students resorted to the addition of the letter <ι> [i] after the aforementioned graphemes. As shown in the literature (Coutsougera and Georgiou, 2006; Papadima, Ayiomamitou and Kyriacou, 2014), the Greek letter <ι>, combined with other

Greek letters that correspond to the dialectal sound in question, is extensively employed in existing orthography models (conventions of the CG), as it is perceived by the users to realise more transparently the palato-alveolars.

In representing the sound [tʃ], some students used similar methods involving combinations of Greek letters. As a result, 5 slightly different combinations of Greek graphemes emerged from the data analysis, as exemplified below.

No.	Representation of the sound [tʃ]	Students' code	Examples from students' scripts
1	<κ>	TE6m	Κενούγκον tʃ:enúŋkon new _{neut.acc.sg.} 'new one'
2	<τζ>	TE9m	τζαι tʃe and 'and'
3	<τζι>	TE13f	τζιαί tʃe and 'and'
4	<τσ>	TC10f	τσε tʃe and 'and'
5	<τσι>	TC10f	τσιερό tʃerón weather _{neut.acc.sg.} 'weather'

Table 7.8 Orthographic representations of the sound [tʃ] in students' dialectal scripts in pre-test.

As in the case of the palato-alveolar affricate sound [ʃ], most students selected those Greek graphemes that represent the standard sounds which the dialectal sound corresponds to, that is the sound [k] was written as <κ> and the sound [tʃ] was written as <τζ> or <τσ>. As previously, few students were reluctant to deviate from the standard orthography and kept the standard Greek character <κ> (see example 1), which, however, corresponds to a totally different sound. To compensate for this discrepancy, a student who used this orthographic convention chose to capitalise the letter <κ>, possibly in an attempt to mark its distinctive pronunciation.

It should be noted that the most frequent orthographic convention employed by the majority of the students was the Greek letter <ι> combined either with the grapheme <σ> for the representation of the sound [ʃ] or with the graphemes <τζ> for the corresponding sound [tʃ]. Interestingly, the students used no diacritic marks, despite the fact that their formal schooling by that time involved some exposure to literary CG documents that indeed rendered the CG dialect via orthographic models with diacritic marks.

Finally, the orthographic conventions that the students opted for in their CG scripts followed largely systematic orthographic models and orthography conventions introduced by writers and authors in Cypriot literature, which nevertheless exploited the Greek alphabet without any modifications (such as diacritics). For example, the capitalisation of letters as an orthographic convention is highly reminiscent of the use of boldface characters or capitalisation by Menardos, a Greek writer and scholar (1884). Likewise, mechanisms such as the combination of Greek characters and the addition of the letter <ι> to render the palato-alveolars appear in CG literature (Armosti et al., 2015).

7.3 Experimental urban vs rural students: an item-by-item comparison

This short section aims to investigate whether the variable ‘school location’ was responsible for any micro-level differences in the initial linguistic performance of the experimental students, focusing on the ten most salient CG items of each dataset. In particular, it is investigated whether the observations already delineated in the previous sections were more prevalent or discernible in urban or rural (experimental) students. Independent samples and paired samples t-tests supplemented and validated item-by-item observations.

7.3.1 Oral D2

The statistical analysis that was conducted on the initial D2 oral performance of the experimental students (see chapter 6, section 6.3.2) revealed *statistical* differences between urban and rural groups, with the latter demonstrating a greater tendency to superimpose D1 features into their D2 speech. In this section, the analysis carried out through the software NVivo10 shed more light on these findings. Interestingly, the analysis revealed that the two groups displayed inconsistent results in two out of the ten targeted features, namely, in the *use of the CG unstressed past test augment* (Urban: 125, Rural: 207) and the *CG verb suffixes* (Urban: 38, Rural: 97). To validate the observed discrepancies in the yielded sums, independent

samples t-tests were conducted on the two groups' mean scores for each item. The statistics confirmed the presence of significant differences related to students of schools from different locations (Past test augment: *Urban: 4.17, Rural: 7.14, $p=.02$* , CG verb suffixes: *Urban: 2.83, Rural: 3.90, $p=.01$*). The students from *rural* schools appeared to have more chances to transfer at least these two CG-specific items in their standard speech.

7.3.2 Written D2

Statistics on standard writing samples indicated *no significant* differences in the total scores of students coming from different school locations before the intervention (see chapter 6, section 6.3.2). A closer look into the students' written outputs via the use of an item-by-item analysis revealed a number of differences between urban and rural students with respect to the degree to which the ten targeted CG features were used. In particular, before the commencement of the intervention, the analysis revealed a difference in the degree to which urban and rural students used in their scripts 4 out of the 10 targeted features, namely *Lack of clitic stress* (*Urban: 15, Rural: 3*), *CG-specific stress* (*Urban: 8, Rural: 28*), *CG-specific nouns* (*Urban: 4, Rural: 20*) and *False Friends* (*Urban: 3, Rural: 17*). As these numbers indicate, *rural students* appeared to be more frequent users of the majority of the aforementioned CG items compared to their urban counterparts, with the exception of clitic stress, which appeared to be absent more frequently from the scripts of urban students. The results were confirmed statistically by Paired t-tests (*Lack of clitic stress: Urban:.50, Rural:.10, $p=.01$* , *CG-specific stress/suprasegmental patterns: Urban:.27, Rural:.97, $p=.01$* , *CG-specific nouns: Urban:.13, Rural:.69, $p=.01$* , *False Friends: Urban:.10, Rural:.59, $p=.02$*). Having delineated these differences, one should keep in mind that the overall low numbers of interfered items in D2 writing compromises the strength of these observations, which by no means should be considered conclusive. Due to practical constraints, this thesis cannot provide exhaustive statistics and acknowledges that further data should be sought in future research.

7.3.3 Oral D1

The statistical analysis that was carried out on the students' interview data in their mother tongue revealed *no statistically significant* differences between experimental urban and rural students in the initial testing. Similarly the item-by-item analysis that was conducted on the pre-test data, revealed negligible differences in 3 out of the 10 targeted items: *CG elision of intervocalic fricatives*, *use of the CG [en] instead of [ine]* and *use of the unstressed past-tense augment*, which were shown by the independent samples t-tests as non statistically significant.

7.3.4 Written D1

The statistics on the students' overall D1 written performance indicated that, in pre-test, the competence of the urban and rural experimental students was *not comparable*, with the rural students appearing more reluctant to write in the dialect. The pre-test results revealed differences between the two groups (urban-rural) in 2 out of the 10 targeted features, the CG elision of intervocalic fricatives (*Urban: 75, Rural: 30*) and the use of the CG future particle [enna] (*Urban: 141, Rural: 65*). Statistics validated observations: *CG elision of intervocalic fricatives: Urban: 2.50, Rural: 1.03, $p=.01$, CG future particle [enna] (Urban: 4.70, Rural: 2.24, $p<.01$)*. As also shown by overall statistics (see chapter 6, section 6.3.2), the group with the lowest degree of CG use was that of the rural students. As far as unexpected *non-mesolectal production* is concerned, it is worth noting that *urban students* were more frequent users of basilectal items and hyperdialectisms (*Rural: 119, Urban: 185*), indicating a lower capacity to distinguish amongst the different CG registers and select the appropriate one according to the situation.

7.4 Findings from interviews

This section briefly presents information gathered from the examination of the students' language attitudes before the start of the intervention. The aim is to complement this section by offering a more profound understanding of possible contextual factors that may have influenced the students' language practices and speaking choices. Due to space limitations, extensive interview data had to be deselected. Let it be reminded that the number of students who participated in the interviews were four, two boys and two girls, and were drawn purposefully (see chapter 5, section 5.3.4), from the experimental classrooms of two schools, that of Tsireiou and Athanasiou (School 1 and School 2).

The section is divided into three sub-sections: the first deals with the students' language perceptions; the second with their reports on their language use and language preferences; the third concerns the use of the dialect in schools and the students' self-evaluations of their linguistic performances.

7.4.1 Language perceptions and attitudes

At the onset of the interview, students were prompted via an imaginary *scenario* to express their language feelings and beliefs. In this task, the students were asked to imagine that a close friend

who lived abroad was planning to move to Cyprus. The students had to refer to the language/s used in Cyprus and advise the friend which language he/she should learn in order to be able to interact with locals and study at a public Cypriot school.

Interestingly, only one student out of four participants, Marinos, acknowledged the linguistic diversity that exists in the setting of Cyprus and noted the importance of being able to understand CG for anyone who intends to live in the CG community. He also admitted that CG is the most widely used language in the community.

Marinos:	<i>Εγώ θα του έλεα να ξέρει (.) να συνηθίσει (.) να ακούει τζιαι να μιλά τζιαι ελληνικά τζιαι κυπριακά επειδή ας πούμε άμα φκεις έξω εν θα μιλήσεις κυπριακά τζιαι σπίτι σου εννα μιλήσεις κυπριακά</i>	I'd say this person should get used to both SMG and CG because when you go out, say, you won't speak CG, whereas at home, you will.
Researcher:	<i>Ποια εν η βασική;</i>	Which is the main language?
Marinos:	<i>Εγώ νομίζω τα Κυπριακά</i>	CG, I think.

The other three participants, on the other hand, held that the person should learn what they generically called *Greek*, without clarifying the term or acknowledging linguistic diversity. When urged to elaborate on their answers through follow-up questions ('Is Greek the only language spoken?', 'Should this person learn the Greek spoken in mainland Greece?'), the students slightly modified their answers, as shown in the excerpts below, while still emphasising the need to learn *Greek*, implying SMG.

Researcher:	<i>Ελληνικά όπως στην Ελλάδα;</i>	Greek, as it's spoken in Greece?
Maria:	<i>Οι όπως μιλούν τέλεια στην Ελλάδα (.) να μιλά τζιαι λίγο ας πούμε κυπριακά (.) να μεν μιλά όμως μόνο κυπριακά</i>	Well, not exactly as they speak in Greece... He should also speak some CG, but not only CG.

Researcher:	<i>Τζιαι μόνο ελληνικά μιλούμε;</i>	And, do we only speak Greek?
Lefteris:	<i>Ε όι παραπάνω μιλούμε ελληνικά αλλά κάποιες λέξεις προφέρουμεν τεσ στα κυπριακά</i>	Well, no. We mostly speak Greek, but we pronounce some words in CG

This discrepancy in the students' responses might indicate that some children perhaps lack awareness, not only of the degree to which the dialect is used in Cyprus, but also of the extent to which it differs from the standard Greek language.

In specific, the students' unrealistic reports of the present-day linguistic situation in the CG community may be linked to two factors: a) restricted D1-D2 awareness and inability to self-reflect on their own speech and how this differs from the version used in the coursebooks or b) conscious, intentional modification of their responses so as to conform to the expectations of the interviewer (Hawthorne effect).

To investigate which factor had the most impact, the researcher asked follow-up questions, listed below, regarding the linguistic relationship between CG and SMG, which suggested that the effect of the observer was rather minimal. The responses are quite compelling from a sociolinguistic point of view and provide insight into how the students conceptualise both their mother tongue and its relationship with the SMG.

Maria:	<i>Ε ας πούμε εν διάλεκτος τα κυπριακά αλλά σουμε ας πούμε κάποιες λέξεις που τα ελληνικά (.) εν ελληνικά απλώς με άλλη διάλεκτο</i>	So I guess CG is a dialect. We use Greek words but we change them a bit. So it's Greek but it's just a different pronunciation.
Researcher:	<i>Διαφέρουν μόνο σε κάποιες λέξεις; Δηλαδή πόσο διαφορετικές είναι;</i>	So only some words are different? How different are they?

Maria:	<i>Παλιά ήταν πιο διαφορετικές τωρά απλοποιήσαμε τες (.) παλιά ας πούμε ήταν πιο δύσκολα τα κυπριακά τωρά ας πούμε αλλάσσουμε κάποιες λέξεις που τα ελληνικά (.) ας πούμε το και (.) τζιαι.</i> <i>Ας πούμε τότε που ήταν η γιαγιά μου εν ελαλούσαν η καρέκλα ελαλούσαν η τσαέρα (.) μιλούσαν διαφορετικά τωρά ας πουμε μιλούμε τζιαι λίο ελληνικά παλιά μιλούσαν μονο κυπριακά</i>	In the past, they used to be a lot more different. Now, we've simplified the words. In the past, CG was more difficult, but now we just change some Greek words, for instance we use <τζιαι>, [tʃe] instead of <και> [ce] 'and'. For example, my grandmother didn't use to say <καρέκλα> [karékla] 'chair'. Rather, they'd say <τσαέρα> [tsaéra], 'chair'. So back then, people spoke differently. Now we speak a bit of Greek too, whereas in the past people only spoke CG.
Niki:	<i>Τα ελληνικά ε λλίο πιο επίσημα- καταλαβαίνεις ενώ τα κυπριακά ε δδύσκολο να καταλάβεις γιατί κανονικά τις παραπάνω λέξεις στα κυπριακά χρησιμοποιούν τες στα χωριά</i>	Greek is a bit more formal, it's easy to understand, whereas CG is more difficult because a lot of words are only used in villages.
Researcher:	<i>Δηλαδή εμείς εδώ στις πόλεις τι μιλούμε;</i>	So, in the cities, what language do we speak?
Niki:	<i>Μιλούμε λιο κυπριακά αλλά εν μιλούμε τις ίδιες λέξεις που μιλούν στο χωριό</i>	We speak a bit of CG but we don't use the same words they use in villages.
Researcher:	<i>Αυτοί οι 2 τρόποι ομιλίας είναι ίδιοι διαφορετικοί πως το βλέπεις;</i>	Are these two languages different you think?

Niki:	<i>Εχουν λίες διαφορές εννεν πολλές</i>	They're only slightly different.
Marinos:	<i>Ήταν να του πω ότι ενεν έτσι ευγενικά τα κυπριακά εν πιο::: για τσακωμό έτσι ενώ τα ελληνικά εν πιο ευγενικά</i>	I would tell him that CG is not that polite... I guess you can use it when you're having a fight, whereas Greek is more polite.
Lefteris:	<i>Θκυο πράματα που μοιαζουν (.) πολλές λέξεις είναι ίδιες αλλά έσκει τζιαι πολλές λέξεις που εν διαφορετικές που ας πούμεν αμαν πεις μιαν κυπριακή λέξη σε κάποιον ελληνα τζιείνος μπορεί να μεν καταλάβει καθόλου</i>	(They are) two similar things. Many words are the same but there are also words that are different; for instance if you use a CG word when you're talking to a Greek person, he might not understand it at all.

Three observations are worth discussing here: first, the students' common *belief that CG is nothing but a variant form of SMG from which it differs 'very little'* ('λλίο') and only with respect to two factors, pronunciation and lexicon, as indicated by Maria and Lefteris. While this is not entirely wrong, it is only half the truth: the two language varieties are in fact linguistically distinct, while the students' mother tongue is a fully-fledged language system with its own grammar which can stand on its own in the absence of the standard language. This possibly echoes the general tendency of GC speakers to downgrade the differences that separate their dialect from the standard Greek and equally their reluctance to recognise the linguistic situation for what it is (Arvaniti, 2002). According to Arvaniti (2002), this has contributed to the maintenance of 'diglossia' on the island against what the current socio-political conditions would predict. It is also suggested here that this tendency may have actually contributed to the students' *low standard performance*. Accepting that the dialect is superficially different from the SMG could have actually made students less sensitive to perceived D1:D2 differences and thus to have increased their proclivity to transfer from their D1.

Second, Niki and Marinos appeared to *downgrade their local variety* when compared to the standard in relation to competence/status-related traits (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009a); they used pejorative terms to describe the former, while the latter variety was described as a more polite, more formal way of speech. Marinos even went as far as to describe the dialect as more fitting for arguments.

The attitudes students seemed to hold towards their two varieties reflect broader societal attitudes as reported by earlier studies (Papapavlou, 1998; Tsiplakou, 2004; Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009a; Sophocleous, 2009), with attitudes towards the two varieties remaining by and large prescriptive. As expected, prescriptive attitudes in favour of Standard Greek abound while the Cypriot dialect is frequently described in pejorative terms. On the whole, if the results of this section are put against those of previous attitudinal studies, which clearly point towards a society that highly regards the standard variety, little change can be noted in the way students perceive and evaluate the two linguistic entities today. Presumably, students, as members of a society, are being highly influenced by established societal perceptions and notions of linguistic correctness as well as communicative appropriateness. Such ideologies are clearly preserved and perpetuated by anachronistic language policies of the Cypriot government, which remain vastly unchanged since the inception of the state (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou and Kappler, 2011).

As Sophocleous (2009) remarks, the attitudes that predominate in a society contribute significantly to the individual attitudes of its members as well as to the official language policy of the State and vice versa. Consequently, one should always bear in mind that the language attitudes the Cypriot speakers hold, and their speaking choices, are largely influenced by the way social identity is constructed in the Cypriot society and by other political motivations.

Third, the above excerpts were also very illuminating in relation to *how students conceptualise the CG dialect and its variation* (different forms and register levels, subvarieties) and how they *evaluate their own linguistic production*. Maria clearly states that today CG is simplified compared to older Cypriot, while Niki clarifies that the version used in urban areas today is different from the regional varieties used in rural areas. They both refer to CG forms that are incomprehensible and which they define either (chronologically) as dated/ obsolete CG forms or (geographically) as marked regional variants that are only used in isolated rural areas.

Interestingly, these data seem to suggest that, although the school as an institution takes no provisions for helping students to learn how to distinguish between the different levels of CG, through social interactions, children are capable of recognising, to some extent, variation within

their native dialect, similar to what previous research has shown about adult GC speakers (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009b). However, this variation is still perceived by the sampled students in a very abstract and unsystematic way, which might explain why it is expressed as something external and distant that is not affecting their own speech. Students seem to have a twofold understanding of their native variety which indicates their limited access to the spectrum of register levels (or subvarieties) of which the contemporary CG consists. The absence of formal explicit teaching of the students' mother tongue, its origins and development through the years, and its internal variation prevents students from acquiring their D1 to the maximum, and inevitably leads them to erroneous evaluations of a) their own speech and b) the degree to which the CG and SMG converge/diverge.

For example, Maria claims that today, Cypriots use SMG more, whereas her grandparents' generation would only use CG. Similarly, Niki believes that the dialect is mainly spoken in the rural areas of the island. These misconceptions are presumably products of an arbitrary comparison between the language used by older generations in rural areas of the island – as projected through CG TV sitcoms – and the one that the students themselves regularly use in their daily interactions. It is possible that the considerable discrepancies between the two versions may lead young students to erroneously believe, first, that original CG is the version they are exposed to through CG sitcoms, which often employ hyperdialectism, and, second, that this pure form of CG is only used in rural contexts today. It might therefore appear reasonable to conclude that their own speech is not CG.

What is more, as noted above, they find no important differences between their own speech and standard speech, again misdirected by the exclusive association of CG with extreme basilectal regional varieties. These students seem unable to recognise the fact that CG is not a single entity but rather that it consists of a hierarchy of registers, with some being closer to the dialect and some to the standard variety. These data are in line with speculations made earlier in this chapter about CG students displaying a linguistic awareness gap and a rather blurred idea about the language they speak, while they might also explain their extremely stylised language choices in D1 writing tasks.

7.4.2 Language preferences, language choices

The next set of questions aimed to elicit information about the students' linguistic preferences and practices and how they justify these. In relation to their linguistic behaviour, all the students reported that their daily interactions with family members and friends are marked by the use of

CG, while three of the students noted that, under specific circumstances, they might revert to SMG. For example, in her response, Niki stated that she uses SMG when she interacts with a native Greek colleague, while Lefteris mentioned that he uses less Cypriot when speaking to friends/acquaintances than when he interacts with family members. Maria's comment, on the other hand, was also of interest: she claimed that, when role-playing at home, she always pretends she is from Greece and therefore uses SMG. Not surprisingly, the roles she chooses to play reflect high social status and prestige, such as teachers, headmasters, journalists, etc. Her response is quoted below:

Researcher:	<i>Δηλαδή παραπανω τι μιλάς;</i>	So which language do you use the most?
Maria:	<i>Μιλώ κάτι ενδιάμεσο (.) όταν παίζω μιλώ ελληνικά ελληνικά ε άμα (.) κανονικά μιλώ κυπριακά</i>	Something in between, I guess. When I play, it's 'Greek Greek', but normally, CG.
Researcher:	<i>Όταν παίζεις εννοείς άμα παίζεις κούκλες;</i>	Do you mean when you play with your dolls?
Maria:	<i>Ναι τζιαι ποτσει που έχω τον πίνακα δασκάλες (.) διευθύντρια (.) παρουσιάστρια</i>	Yes, and when I use my whiteboard, and I'm a teacher, a director or a presenter.
Researcher:	<i>Γιατί;</i>	Why?
Maria:	<i>Εν ξέρω πάντα άμα παίζω κάμνω ότι είμαι που την Ελλάδα εν μου φαίνεται</i>	I don't know... when I play I always pretend I'm from Greece, I can't help it.

Again, at this point it should be clarified that whilst students report they use SMG, what they actually do, as shown by their recorded linguistic behaviour in class and during school breaks, is divert to the maximum of their ability from the Cypriot koine. In essence, they abolish their speech specific variants and in doing so, they end up utilising a mixture of CG and SMG which can be placed within the CG continuum but closer to its acrolectal levels. Obviously, this is not

always perceived by the students/speakers themselves, who believe they speak proper standard Greek or that the form of speech they use is only different from the language used by mainland Greeks in terms of pronunciation. As already said, this may work against a potential full acquisition of the SMG (Arvaniti, 2002).

In relation to their *linguistic preferences*, the students appeared positive towards CG. When asked directly what their preferred way of speaking is or if they dislike the way Cypriots speak, they all responded negatively and expressed their preference in using CG instead of SMG despite the fact that their earlier responses reflected negative feelings and attitudes towards the dialect. The excerpts below provide extra information regarding the explanations they provided to justify their preference:

Researcher:	<i>Τι προτιμάς να χρησιμοποιάς;</i>	Which language do you prefer to use?
Lefteris:	<i>Εγώ προτιμώ κυπριακά (.) ας πούμε όταν είμαι στο σπίτι μιλώ κυπριακά παραπάνω αλλά όταν μιλώ με κάποιον ας πούμε ακόμα τζιαι φίλο μου ε θα μιλώ τόσο πολλά κυπριακά</i>	I prefer CG. For instance, when I'm home I speak CG but when I'm talking to someone, even if it's a friend, well, I don't use CG that much.
Researcher:	<i>Τι σου αρέσκει στα κυπριακά;</i>	What do you like about CG?
Lefteris:	<i>Ε θεωρώ ότι ας πούμε τα κυπριακά εν σαν να τζιαι είσαι στην κύπρο (.) ενώ άμα μιλάς ας πούμε ελληνικά εν πιο διαφορετικά</i>	Well, I think that (speaking) CG makes you feel you're in Cyprus, whereas speaking Greek is different.
Researcher:	<i>Εσύ τι προτιμάς να μιλάς</i>	Which language do you prefer to use?
Marinos:	<i>Κυπριακά</i>	Cypriot Greek
Later in his interview		
Researcher:	<i>Για πιο λόγο εν σου αρέσκουν τα ελληνικά</i>	Why don't you like Greek?

Marinos:	<i>Εν ξέρω θεωρώ τα δύσκολα (.) οι καταλήξεις τα <ι> τα <ο></i>	I don't know... I think it's difficult. The word endings, /i/ and /o/ for example...
Researcher:	<i>Αν ένα παιδάκι κυπραίος στην τάξη σήκωνε το χέρι και μιλούσε ελληνικά πως θα σου φαινόταν; Θα σου άρεσκε;</i>	If, during a lesson, a Cypriot classmate spoke in Greek, would you like it?
Marinos:	<i>Οι νευριάζουν με τα ελληνικά</i>	No, Greek is annoying.
Researcher:	<i>Από τις εμπειρίες σου μέχρι τώρα εσύ τι προτιμάς να χρησιμοποιείς;</i>	In your experience so far, which language do you prefer to use?
Niki:	<i>Κυπριακά (.) βασικά τζι ελληνικά τζιαι κυπριακα</i>	Cypriot. Well, both Greek and Cypriot.
Researcher:	<i>Νιώθεις άνετα και με τις δύο;</i>	Do you feel more comfortable with both?
Niki:	<i>όι (.) με τα Κυπριακά παραπάνω</i>	No. I feel more comfortable with Cypriot.
Researcher:	<i>Αρέσκει σου το γεγονός ότι μιλούμε κάτι διαφορετικό από την Ελλάδα;</i>	Do you like the fact that we speak differently from the way they speak in Greece?
Maria:	<i>Αρέσκει μου γιατί τζιόλας τα ελληνικά ενεν τόσο (.) τα δικά μας εν πιο ενδιαφέρον νομίζω</i>	Yes, I do, because Greek isn't that... our language is more interesting I think.

Maria's language choices were driven by her conviction that CG is a more interesting language and Lefteris' by his unfamiliarity with SMG. The other two students associated their choice with a feeling of eloquence. It might be possible, therefore, to suggest the presence of a latent association between language preference and language competence. For example, in the case of Marinos, one would expect that, if he identified CG as given to arguing, he would prefer SMG as a language. However, Marinos still reported that he prefers to speak in CG because he feels more comfortable with it. It therefore seems that the association between competence/skills and linguistic preferences is stronger than beliefs/attitudes and linguistic preferences.

In previous responses, Niki had labelled CG as less polite compared to SMG, and Maria had underestimated her mother tongue when compared with SMG. This was in fact one of the observations that emerged through the interviews: students hold ambivalent, conflicting beliefs or feelings towards the two varieties. Findings from previous research studies also reported conflicting feelings characterising the GCs. In particular, while a strong association between SMG and competence or status traits was found in most prior attitudinal studies, the same was not evident for traits related to solidarity, sincerity, directness and naturalness (Papapavlou, 1998; Tsiplakou, 2003, 2004; Themistocleous, 2007). Recently, Papapavlou and Sophocleous (2009a) showed that GCs have negative feelings towards the heavy registers of CG and they try to socially differentiate themselves from the speakers using it through the use of ‘them’ and ‘us’. However, they did not seem to be in favour of using SMG, since they thought it felt pretentious. Similarly, in this study the students’ initial responses mirrored parental and societal norms and stereotypes while later, when asked about their linguistic preferences, they avoided discriminating against their mother tongue and were even found to embrace its use in a greater range of contexts.

7.4.3 The dialect at school and self-evaluation of linguistic competence

Students were interrogated about the content and structure of the Greek language lesson and whether it involved any kind of teaching and/or reference to the CG dialect. All four students reported that their schooling had so far involved no special reference to the dialect except for the teaching of a few literary documents drawn from Anthologies of Cypriot Literature. As expected, the students noted that the teaching was tailored to offer only content analysis; by no means was any reference to the linguistic characteristics of the dialect attempted. The fragment from Lefteris’ interview below, apart from providing evidence for the structure, contents and delivery of the language lesson, also raises awareness of an issue that has not been discussed so far; the students’ self-reflections on their D1 proficiency.

Researcher:	<i>Έτυχε ποτέ να κάμετε κείμενα στη κυπριακή (στην τάξη);</i>	(In class,) did you ever work on any texts written in CG?
Lefteris:	<i>Στο βιβλίο όί αλλά στο ανθολόγιο εκάμαμε θκυο τρεις φορές (.) ποιήματα βασικά</i>	There aren’t any in the coursebook, but we did work on two or three poems from the Anthology book.

Researcher:	<i>Που δίνετε βάση στο περιεχόμενο ή στη γλώσσα;</i>	Where was the focus: on content or language?
Lefteris:	<i>Εν αναφερόμασταν στη γλώσσα (.) είσιεν μόνον εξηγήσεις στο βιβλίο για κάμποσες λέξεις γιατί ήταν κυπριακές τζι εν εκαταλάβαιναμεν</i>	We didn't talk about the language. The book provided definitions for a lot of words because they were CG and we didn't understand them.
Researcher:	<i>Δηλαδή σε σχέση με τα κείμενα στα ελληνικά που δυσκολεύκεσαι παραπάνω;</i>	So, comparing this with Greek texts, which is more difficult for you?
Lefteris:	<i>Εν λίο πιο δύσκολα τα κυπριακά αλλά παλε μπορώ να τα θκιαβάσω</i>	CG texts are a bit more difficult, but I can still read them.

According to Lefteris, he and his colleagues face comprehension problems when they come across CG literary texts or poems. Indeed, in most cases, the anthologies of Cypriot literature for schools involve texts written in older forms of the dialect which are nowadays obsolete, hence obscure. Consequently, students, having not acquired these CG forms, either naturally or through schooling, come up against serious intelligibility issues. The fact that GC students are unable to comprehend CG texts is indicative, first, of the fact that the dialect or specific forms of the dialect (subvarieties) go through a phase of attrition⁸ (Tsiplakou, 2009). Second, it shows that the acquisition of D1 by young GC students is incomplete, at least as regards specific register levels of the dialect that remained absent from the children's resources due to lack of opportunities (or motivation). Third, it reveals that schooling takes no provision for hindering this process and enlightening students on the history, structure and vocabulary of their own mother tongue. This is in line with circulars distributed from the Cypriot Ministry of Education, according to which the teaching of CG texts should be limited to content analysis.

Lefteris hinted comprehension problems in relation to specific forms of the dialect at a different point of his interview, in particular when asked about CG TV sitcoms:

Researcher:	<i>Θέλω να σκεφτείς την τηλεόραση τις κυπριακές σειρές, αρέσκουν σου;</i>	What about CG TV sitcoms, do you like them?

⁸ The term 'language attrition' is used here to refer to 'the linguistic processes in the gradual loss of forms and structures of the language itself (as a system) due to language contact and processes of shift' (Crystal, 2000, p. 21-23).

Lefteris:	<i>Εν έχουμε τηλεόραση αλλά καμιά φορά βλέπω στη γιαγιά μου</i>	We don't own a TV, but sometimes I watch a bit at my grandmother's.
Researcher:	<i>Αρέσκει σου που βλέπεις κυπριακά;</i>	Do you like watching CG productions?
Lefteris:	<i>Ναι αλλά βαρκούμαι λίγο γιατί εν πολλά άγνωστες λέξεις</i>	Sure, but it's a bit boring because there's lots of words I don't know.

Conversely, when students were later asked to *express their perceptions regarding their competence in standard Greek*, all four of them reported they have no difficulty in comprehending standard texts. With respect to self-evaluating their proficiency in spoken D2, again all students claimed to be able to effortlessly revert to the SMG. Yet there is a mismatch between this professed confidence regarding competence in oral D2 and the actual results from the experimental evaluation of oral D2 production, which revealed serious oral deficiencies in the D2. This corroborates claims made earlier in this chapter about the students' inability to judge what rules apply to the standard or recognise what is not standard and interferes with their D2 production, which gives them the false impression that they are proficient users of SMG. However, proficiency in D2 simultaneously presupposes awareness of D1:D2 differences and ability to keep the two apart (Siegel, 2010).

Marinos on the other hand made a compelling observation: he admitted that speaking in SMG involves a greater effort for him compared to when he speaks CG. This agrees with an earlier statement he made about disliking SMG because he does not feel comfortable when using it and could point to low levels of self-confidence stemming from his own weakness in D2. This ultimately reinforces claims made earlier about a strong association between competence/skills and linguistic preferences. This finding is comparable to cases reported in the literature regarding the consequences of standard-only education, one of which is the cultivation of negative feelings towards the standard language and its culture (Siegel, 1999; Siegel, 2010).

Finally, when asked to self-evaluate their proficiency in *written D2*, students appeared less confident and ranked their written proficiency lower than their oral proficiency, which is the opposite of what the assessment tests suggested. In particular, Marinos, Lefteris and Niki

reported that writing in SMG is a challenging task, and in fact Marinos and Niki attributed their hesitant, non-fluent writing to *content difficulties* such as dull or cognitively demanding topics. However, their D2 written work contained a host of D1 transference errors. Lefteris, on the other hand, blamed his poor D2 written performance on the different way Cypriots speak and write (extract inserted below). Interestingly, his D2 essay output in pre-test revealed less dialect errors compared to Marinos and Niki, which might again be indicative of the students' low D1-D2 awareness and their inability to evaluate their language production.

Researcher:	<i>Σε σχέση με τις εκθέσεις που γράφετε, ένιωσες ποτέ δυσκολία στο να εκφραστείς γραπτώς στα ελληνικά;</i>	When writing compositions, have you ever found it difficult to express yourself in SMG?
Lefteris:	<i>Ε όι αλλά κάποιες λέξεις ας πούμε εν μπορώ να τες γράφω εν: (.) σκέφτονται κάποιες λέξεις που μέσα μου αλλά:: κάποιες λέξεις ξέρω τες μόνο στα κυπριακά τζ εν ηξέρω πώς να τες γράψω στα κυπριακά (.) αλλά εν μπορείς να τες γράψεις στα κυπριακά</i>	Well, not really, although some words, for example, are difficult for me to write. I think about a word (I want to use), but I only know how to express it in CG. But I don't know how to write it.
Researcher:	<i>Έτυχε ποτέ σε έκθεση να σου διορθώσει η δασκάλα κυπριακά;</i>	Has your teacher ever corrected words you wrote in CG?
Lefteris:	<i>Ναι (.) κάποιες φορές έβαλλα μπροστά το <ε> ας πούμε</i>	Yes. Sometimes I'd write 'e' (syllabic augment [e], marker of past tense), for example (and my teacher would correct it).

In closing this section, an extract from the last minute of Marios' interview is quoted below. Here he admits that the overarching, unspoken rule of using the standard in oral interactions in class sometimes prevents him from active participation in class activities. Marios' confession aligns with findings of studies on the repercussions of prescriptive standard-only education policies imposed in bidialectal setting worldwide and reiterate the need for a change in the language-in-education policies in these contexts (Malcolm, 2010).

Researcher:	<i>Νομίζεις θα σου άρεσκε να μαθαίνεις στα κυπριακά και για τα ελληνικά;</i>	Do you think you'd like it if the lessons were in CG and if you learnt more about the dialect?
Marios:	<i>Ναι</i>	Yes.
Researcher:	<i>Γιατί;</i>	Why?
Marios:	<i>Ήταν να ήμουν πιο ελεύθερος μες την τάξη (.) να εκφράζομαι πιο εύκολα ενώ στα ελληνικά: (.) εν ηζέρω εν ημπορώ</i>	I'd feel freer in class, I'd express myself more easily, whereas in Greek I don't know... I can't.
Researcher:	<i>Έτυχε δηλαδή να μεν ψηλώσεις το χέρι σου γιατί ούφου ήνταλως εννα τα πω</i>	So in class, have you ever decided not to answer a question because you didn't know how to express yourself (in Greek)?
Marios:	<i>Ναι κάποιες φορές</i>	Yes, a few times.

7.5 Conclusion

This analysis offered a thorough description of the linguistic properties of the students' D1 and D2 speech production before the intervention. The following two tables, Table 7.9 and Table 7.10 present collectively and comparatively the yielded findings concerning CG use across all four datasets in terms of four linguistic levels or individual cases of CG elements.

	D2 written		D2 oral	D1 oral	D1 written
PHONOLOGY/ PHONETICS	104.7	MORPHOLOGY	1795.5	2014.8	1448.1
LEXICON	102.1	PHONOLOGY/ PHONETICS	1597.0	1736.3	931.8
MORPHOLOGY	84.4	LEXICON	215.8	419.0	280.7
SYNTAX	70.1	SYNTAX	194.6	159.3	106.7

Table 7.9 Number of CG occurrences across the four linguistic areas tailored per 10, 000 words for all datasets.

The most notable observations are the following: first, students' D2 oral speech appeared to be heavily influenced by their dialect speech. Numerically, CG interferences in standard speech approached the regular CG use of the students when they were expected to interact in their mother tongue. Second, the students failed to transfer their natural dialectal speech in writing:

a) there was a lower rate of CG use in written D1 tasks compared to the corresponding oral D1 tasks, which points to a degree of difficulty in transferring speech on paper and b) students used items that fell out of the remit of contemporary CG (unconventional, stylistically inappropriate CG items).

The micro-level analysis of individual CG uses presented in the next table reinforces these observations.

Written D2	Oral D2	Oral D1	Written D1
CG-specific verb suffixes	Word-final [n]	Word-final [n]	Palato-alveolars
CG-specific stress patterns	Geminates	Geminates	Future particle [en:a] and conditional [íta n:a] + subjunctive
CG-specific nouns	Palato-alveolars	Palato-alveolars	Word-final [n]
False friends (FF)	‘Augment’ [e] in all past tense forms	CG-specific stems in verbs	Consonant devoicing
Absence of enclitic stress	CG-specific stems in verbs	[en] / [éni] instead of [íne]	CG-specific stems in verbs
Geminates	Post-verbal clitics	Post-verbal clitics	Elision of intervocalic fricatives and sibilant [s]
Dissimilation of stop + stop clusters into fricative + stop	[e] / [en] / [éni] instead of [íne]	‘Augment’ -e in all past tense forms	[en] / [éni] instead of [íne]
CG-specific verbs	[en] / [e] instead of [ðen]	CG-specific verbs	[en] / [e] instead of [ðen]
Absence of voiced stops	CG-specific verb suffixes	Elision of intervocalic fricatives and sibilant [s]	CG-specific verb suffixes
CG-specific stems in verbs	Elision of intervocalic fricatives and sibilant [s]	CG-specific verb suffixes	CG-specific adverbs

Table 7.10 The ten most recurring CG elements in the four datasets.

Interestingly, the ten CG items that were most frequent in students’ oral and written D1 production and the ones that caused interference with their oral D2 production overlapped to a great extent, which is confirmed by the extent of D1 influence in the students’ standard speech. In detail, nine out of the ten D1 items that the students failed to exclude from their oral D2 speech featured amongst the most commonly used ones in their D1 oral production, while six of these also overlapped with items in the students’ D1 written production. These items came almost exclusively from the areas of Morphology and Phonology, with five and three examples from each level respectively, while the last common item came from Lexicon. Among these, the most prevalent ones in all three datasets were palato-alveolars and the retention of final-word [n].

The data did not meet the researcher's initial hypotheses according to which the students were expected to avoid highly frequent and salient CG items from their standard *oral* production, although there was evidence suggesting they were well conscious of their dialectal nature. Framed in this context, a possible explanation might be that, although they are aware of which features are dialectal, they lack the facility to promptly retrieve the standard equivalents. An equally important factor could be the fact that the students may have constructed SMG as solely 'written' Greek due to this being the only aspect of true SMG they are exposed to at school (Leivada, Papadopoulou, *et al.*, 2017).

Written D2 speech, however, yielded entirely different conclusions. The quality of the students' written and oral D2 performance differed significantly as regards the ten main sources of negative transfer. Arguably, the spontaneous and unplanned nature of oral speech led students to lapse with the passing of time and code-switch much more into D1 speech. On the other hand, written speech is more deliberate and premeditated, which may have given students the time and opportunity to plan, edit and eliminate marked dialect items from their work. Another parameter which may have influenced the rates of dialectal interference in standard writing could be testing conditions (see Discussion chapter for further analysis).

In relation to *written* D1 performance, the students demonstrated some inability to select the appropriate CG variants in terms of style and register, making the quality of their outputs sufficiently lower compared to their oral CG outputs and pointing toward a skewed sociolinguistic awareness. One of the most important conclusions which can be drawn from the writing task in the dialect is that, while socialisation and interaction is generally expected to equip speakers with the capacity to acquire and learn to distinguish between the different levels of their mother tongue (Papapavlou, 2004), this is not enough, as their failure to tackle this task suggests.

The findings from the four students' interviews reinforced these speculations. The students' contradictory responses on the evaluation of their own speech and in turn of other Cypriots reveal their confusion and ignorance about what SMG and Cypriot actually is, the idioms it involves and what variants are considered as salient features of each one: in essence, how Cypriot and non-Cypriot is defined.

Through their interviews, students appeared unable to locate the variation they identify in their linguistic surrounding within the spectrum of the Cypriot dialect they also speak or to delimit regional varieties and the metropolitan urban Cypriot. At the same time, their recent, systematic

exposure through the media to basilectal, rather marked or even obsolete CG features appear to have led them to erroneously categorise these as ‘Cypriot’, and everything else, including urban CG varieties, as ‘non-Cypriot (enough)’ due to their stark divergence from the latter. This collective characterisation of Cypriot as *horkatika* ‘peasantry’ or *vareta* ‘heavy’ Cypriot, consequently leads students to a very blurred and non-realistic notion of where the boundaries between SMG and CG lie.

Finally, the analysis of the experimental students’ performance with respect to school location corroborated the quantitative pre-test data, according to which the rural students underperformed in most tests. Interestingly, however, in the case of the D1 written pre-test task, the analysis indicated that the urban students were more frequent users of non-mesolectal CG use.

Chapter 8 A micro-level analysis of the effects of the intervention on students' D2 and D1 production

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the second part of the micro-level analysis applied on the students' pre- and post- data and seeks to provide an answer to the second research question which aims to gauge what particular changes were effectuated through time by the intervention teaching in the students' oral and written D1 and D2 production. The chapter capitalises on those linguistic features whose appearance in the students' language production was shown in the previous chapter to be frequent and systematic and explores how the variables of time and bidialectal instruction have affected their use in the students' scripts and oral transcripts. The chapter is organised into two sections. In the first section, the experimental students' spoken production and writing in D1 and D2 is set against the control students' corresponding performances in order to account for the *nature* and *extent* of *linguistic changes* effectuated by the bidialectal treatment. Finally, the second section of this chapter compares the D1 and D2 speech of experimental urban and rural students after the intervention and investigates how initial differences in their outputs manifested themselves in post-testing.

8.2 Comparing the production of experimental and control groups in D2 and D1 in terms of targeted, individual CG items

This section focuses on exploring how the quality of the linguistic production of the students who were exposed to different types of learning – the new language model and the traditional learning model – fared through time, with special emphasis on the experimental group. In the previous chapter, the results of pre-tests for the experimental and control groups were presented collectively, as the statistical analyses showed comparable performance. Conversely, in this section, the results of the control and experimental students are juxtaposed and compared, as the statistics revealed significant differences between the two groups in most cases (see chapter 6).

To analyse the performance of the two groups, this study used NVivo 10 software to estimate the frequency at which the ten targeted linguistic CG features appeared in the experimental and control students' scripts and oral transcripts as well as the number of students whose scripts and transcripts contained each item. Including both types of calculations increased the validity of the analysis, which might be compromised, for example, in cases in which the large rate of use

of certain forms concerned only the texts of specific pupils. Finally, in order to draw valid comparisons between the two groups, minor adjustments were made to *normalise the length of the data corpora* of the two groups in the two time points in each case. In particular, the length of the pre-post-data of each group in each test was adjusted to the closest common number. Further details will be given below, separately for each variety and language mode.

8.2.1 Oral D2 speech

The statistics on post-test oral data showed significant reduction in the degree of dialectal interference across all areas that was observed in the speech of the experimental group of students. Conversely, the number of dialectal forms in the speech of the control group showed no statistically significant decrease with respect to overall performance and individual performance in the four linguistic areas. In this section, the students' standard speech is investigated with respect to individual CG elements in order to anticipate exactly what kind of changes were effectuated through time by the bidialectal treatment in relation to the ten targeted elements. The results revealed that the D2 speech performance in the two groups of students post-intervention differed in relation to the following aspects: i) degree of D1 influence, ii) instances of self-repair and iii) instances of mixed/hybrid forms and structures.

With regard to the first factor (i.e. *degree of D1 influence*), the results are presented collectively for both times and both groups in the table below. The numbers refer to the total number of occurrences recorded throughout the assessments and should be seen against the adjusted 10,000 word length of each corpus (pre- and post, experimental and control).

		Pre-test		Post-test		Pre-test		Post-test	
		Experimental		Experimental		Control		Control	
		Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.
1	Word-final [n]	680	59	270	59	753	46	818	60
2	Geminates	608	59	242	55	707	60	799	59
3	Palato-alveolar fricatives/ affricates	596	56	182	39	584	58	595	59
4	'Augment' [e] in all past tense forms	269	51	129	44	246	46	255	53

5	CG-specific stems in verbs	186	52	67	39	155	51	184	57
6	Post-verbal clitics	160	50	84	34	166	49	173	53
7	[e]/ [en] / [éni] instead of [íne]	105	45	65	28	128	48	132	47
8	[en] / [e] instead of [ðen]	114	44	66	31	110	48	145	57
9	CG-specific verb suffixes	109	43	41	21	110	40	107	46
10	Elision of intervocalic fricatives and sibilant [s]	96	42	40	26	97	38	96	45

Table 8.1 Item-specific occurrences in experimental and control groups' pre- and post-D2 oral datasets. Measured against 10,000 words.

The post-experimental data indicated a significant improvement of more than 50% in the rate at which students incorporated three dialectal markers in their standard speech – one *morphological* and three *phonological/phonetic* – that in the pre-test displayed frequent use: **word final [n] (-60.3%), palato-alveolars (-69.5%), geminates (-60.2%) and omission of fricatives (-58.3%)**. In relation to the use of the word final [n], although it was not altogether eliminated from the students' speech, its use was substantially reduced when not appropriate according to the rules of SMG grammar and the correct production of this targeted feature gradually became obvious in the scripts of all experimental students. A similar improvement was observed in the use of **palato-alveolars**, which plunged to 182 items post-intervention, as opposed to 596 prior to the intervention. Most importantly, 17 students managed by the post-testing to eliminate these distinctive dialectal sounds when interacting with a standard-speaking interlocutor. Following the procedures implemented in the analysis of the pre-test samples, the presence of the conjunction < τζιαι >, [tʃe], 'and' as a key representative dialectal marker was further explored in the students' post-interviews. Interestingly, the results revealed that the use of the word [tʃe] was reduced from 834 to 277 times in the experimental group, while the use of the same item in the control group showed an almost imperceptible change, namely from 811 to 786 instances. These data confirm claims of improvement in the experimental group.

It should be noted that CG dialectal phones and allophones, which form part of the CG-specific phonetic/phonological inventory, are the most difficult ones for dialect speakers to control when they code-switch to their second variety in oral production. A constant and conscious effort is needed by the speakers to adapt their speech and accent to the standard one. This is because oral production is unplanned and spontaneous and leaves little room for self-repair or premeditation. In addition, it should be borne in mind that accent is a linguistic characteristic that becomes

consolidated in childhood and cannot usually change thereafter (Flege, 1987). In this respect, the above changes in the three phonological variants observed in the students' post-interviews were rather impressive.

The bidialectal treatment appeared also to have benefited the students' awareness of cross-linguistic differences with respect to the (verbal) morphology of the two varieties. Experimental students reduced their oral production of **verbs with CG-specific stems (verbal stem allomorphs) or endings** by about 60%. As many as 13 students entirely abandoned their initial tendency to retain CG verbal morphology, while an even bigger sample of 22 students stopped using the dialectal verb endings altogether. The quality of the experimental students' standard speech had arguably improved after they became more aware of the standard grammatical rule that dictates when **past-tense augment** is used (-52%). Even though only 7 students managed to omit the past suffix [e] when not needed in SMG, the number of overall instances was reduced from 269 to 129, raising the percentage of improvement to over 50%.

Next, the experimental students became gradually more adept at producing the SMG forms [ðen] 'not' and [ine] 'it is' of the CG **negative particle [en] (-42.1%) and the 3rd person singular [é{n{i}}] respectively (-38.1%)**. Finally, the results revealed an increased awareness regarding the canonical word order for object clitic pronouns in Standard Greek (-45.5%). Sixteen students always used proclisis during their post-tests, while the number of instances of enclitic placement, once 160, now stood at 84 in post-test.

When it comes to the control students, however, the picture is very different; these students displayed no improvement in any targeted feature in their speech. The frequency at which they used them in oral post-interviews increased significantly almost in all cases, with the exception of three features which displayed negligible changes (improvement or deterioration) or continued at levels similar to those initially observed: use of CG verb endings, palato-alveolars and elision of intervocalic fricatives.

With respect to the remaining factors (i.e. *instances of self-repair, instances of mixed/hybrid forms and structures*), the numerical data revealed that experimental students progressively showed more instances of self-correction and fewer SMG-CG blends compared to their control counterparts, and to their own pre-test results.

		Pre-test		Post-test		Pre-test		Post-test	
		Experimental		Experimental		Control		Control	
		Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.
1	Self-repair	123	27	210	45	117	34	120	32
2	Hybrid forms/structures	152	43	86	17	148	49	230	55

Table 8.2 Occurrences of self-repair and hybrid forms in experimental and control groups' pre- and post-datasets. Measured against 10,000 words.

As shown in Table 8.2, numerical evidence recorded 210 instances of **self-repair** (i.e. backtracking) in the transcripts of 45 experimental students, which indicates a trebling of the initial numbers. Such a result indicates that, after receiving the experimental treatment, the experimental-group students became more capable of identifying and correcting the forms in their speech that deviated from the standard norms of D2. The increased propensity of the experimental students to correct themselves shows that they progressively gained awareness of interlingual contrasts. Interference mistakes aside, *self-corrections* are still a promising indication that improved proficiency in both varieties was under process. Although they interfered with the spontaneity and naturalness of oral speech, these attempts were evidences of heightened language awareness.

On the other hand, students in the control group displayed no substantial increase in their attempts at self-repair, indicating that they were probably not gaining awareness that their oral production was punctuated with nonstandard features. Compared with the students in the experimental group who self-repaired, their oral speech seemed more 'natural'; nevertheless, when assessed in terms of the ten targeted linguistic features, this group's speech was of a lower level in terms of quality and accuracy.

Equally enlightening were the results on the investigation of the **mixed/hybrid forms and structures**. While data from the post-testing revealed a non-negligible decrease in the occurrence of such cases in the *experimental* group of students (from 152 in 43 scripts in pre-tests to 86 in 17 scripts in post-tests), a sharper increase was observed in their control counterparts (from 148 in 49 scripts in pre-tests to 230 in 55 scripts in post-tests). Arguably, this might be a positive indication regarding the beneficial effect of the bidialectal treatment on the experimental students' awareness of D1-D2 differences and ability to adhere to the one or the

other variety. Possibly, in the absence of the treatment, a generic increase in the use of mixed structures by all students would have been observed.

8.2.2 Written D2 speech

In relation to written D2 performance, the statistics revealed that the experimental students showed significant reduction in the degree to which they were influenced by their D1 and transferred its linguistic properties in their standard writing. On the other hand, the control students showed no statistically important change in their performance: they appeared to still rely heavily on their D1 and a high degree of D1 interference permeated their scripts. These results were consistent across the four performance indicators. In what follows, these results will be screened on a micro-level to explore what particular changes were effectuated through time by the intervention treatment in relation to the most problematic CG items, as identified in pre-test.

The analysis conducted on post-intervention data revealed that the lower degree of D1 influence in the experimental students' post-scripts was consistent across the four performance indicators and all ten targeted CG features. The students' performance was also different with respect to their use of hypercorrected items. The table displays numerical data reflecting the frequency of occurrence of each tagged CG variant as well as the number of students who used it in their speech, before and after the intervention.

		Pre-test		Post-test		Pre-test		Post-test	
		Experimental		Experimental		Control		Control	
		Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.
1	CG-specific verb suffixes	34	26	15	17	27	26	44	27
2	CG-specific stress patterns	31	21	2	2	24	21	11	11
3	CG-specific nouns (Lexical doublets)	21	15	9	9	33	20	30	21
4	False friends (FF)	17	13	4	4	18	18	13	12
5	Absence of enclitic stress	16	15	7	7	21	15	23	15
6	Geminates	23	14	14	10	12	9	23	12

7	Dissimilation of stop + stop clusters into fricative + stop	15	12	4	4	17	17	11	11
8	CG specific verbs	15	8	10	10	16	12	20	12
9	Absence of voiced stops	15	10	7	7	14	3	13	7
10	CG specific stems in verbs	10	9	4	4	16	13	13	10

Table 8.3 Item-specific occurrences in experimental and control groups' pre and post-D2 written datasets. Measured against 10,000 words.

Improvement was not only reflected in the reduced occurrence of each item but also in the reduced number of scripts that contained these items. This is highly important, as it indicates that improvement was not due to a low number of students whose behaviour changed radically after the intervention but, rather, that changes concerned multiple sampled subjects. This supports the claim for the effectiveness of the proposed model in the learning of the D2.

With regard to the use of **specific dialectal verb endings**, which in pre-test was the most recurring error, in post-tests the experimental students appeared more capable of attaching the appropriate SMG verb suffixes to verbs. In particular, in the post-test scripts of 9 out of the 26 students who had used this item in pre-tests, no dialectal suffix was spotted and thus the overall degree of occurrence of this item fell below 50% in post-testing (rate of change -55.9%). The use of **specific verb-stems** was also contained (-60%) as the scripts of 5 out of the 9 students who had used this item initially now displayed no such example. The experimental students also reduced by over 30% the use of salient phonological and lexical CG items such as: **geminales (rate of change -39.1%)**, **CG-specific nouns (rate of change -57.1%)**, and **CG-specific verbs (rate of change -33.3%)**.

Interestingly, the most notable improvement in post-tests concerned the way students dealt with the non-salient differences of the two varieties. This refers to subtle phonological/phonetic discrepancies, that is, CG-specific **stress patterns (-93.6%)**, **altered sequences of stops into fricative and stop (-73.3%)**, SMG **trisyllabic stress (-56.3%)**, **[b],[d],[g] devoicing (-53.3%)** as well as to the use of **false friends (-76%)**, an element of very low saliency, as it exhibits differences at the semantic level (level of usage) only. A big sample of the students who had included instances of the aforementioned elements in pre-test managed to exclude them from their post-test scripts. Such findings seem to suggest that bidialectal education has an equal effect on improving the students' ability to distinguish between features of the two varieties that differ in *form* as well as in *usage*, that is, highly salient features and features of low saliency.

Conversely, in the control group, the degree to which the students relied on the linguistic properties of their mother tongue remained more or less the same and their performance displayed only minimal improvement in a few targeted features. In particular, post-test data revealed an upward trend in the use of the following items by more students: CG-specific verb suffixes (increase rate 63%) and geminates (91.7%), CG-specific verbs (25%) as well as a slight increase in the tendency of the control students to omit the clitic stress (9.5%). Nevertheless, there were also CG items which, in time, were used by the control students more consciously and less frequently. This concerns the CG-specific stress (-54.7%), dissimilation of stop clusters (-35.3%) and the use of false friends (-27.8%). Still, the improvement noted in the control group's performance in relation to these items could not be regarded as comparable to the one observed in the experimental group.

The Table 8.4 below presents examples from the control students' post-test data with respect to the ten targeted features.

	CG feature	Forms as appeared in students' texts	Targeted SMG forms
1	CG-specific verb suffixes	συνήθως φορεί φόρμες siníthos forí fórmes mostly wear _{pres.3sg.} uniforms 'he mostly wears tracksuits'	συνήθως φοράει φόρμες siníthos forái fórmes
		με ακολουθά me akoluθά me follow _{pres.3sg.} 'he follows me'	με ακολουθεί me akoluθί
		φωνάζομαι fonáz:ome shout _{pres.1pl.} 'we shout'	φωνάζουμε fonázume
2	CG-specific stress patterns	Σαββατοκυρίακο savatociríakon weekend _{neut.nom.sg.} 'weekend'	Σαββατοκύριακο savatocírjako
		την μάμα ti m:ám:an the mother _{fem.acc.sg.} 'the mother'	τη μαμά ti mamá
3	CG-specific nouns	φουκού fukú barbeque _{fem.nom.sg.}	ψησταριά psistarjá

		‘barbeque’	
		καλαδερφούς kalaðeɾfús godbrother _{masc.acc.pl.} ‘godbrothers’	πνευματικά αδέρφια pnevmatiká adélfça
4	False friends (FF)	Μιλάμε για ποιο κατοικίδιο mil:áme j:a pɔ́ɔ̃ gaticíðio talk _{pres.1pl.} for which pet θ:a pɔ́asumen óta m:eyalósumen. θα πιάσουμε όταν μεγαλώσουμε. will get _{pres.1pl.} when grow up _{pres.1pl.} ‘we’re talking about which pet we will get when we grow up’	Μιλάμε για ποιο κατοικίδιο θα πάρουμε όταν μεγαλώσουμε. miláme ja pɔ́ɔ̃ katicíðio tha párumε ótan meyalósume.
5	Absence of enclitic stress	συνήθειες της siníθies tis a bit _{fem.acc.pl.} hers ‘her habits’	συνήθειές της siníθiés tis
		προτερήματα του proterímata tu asset _{neut.acc.pl.} his ‘his qualities’	προτερήματά του proterímata tu
6	Geminates	γεννικά περνάμε καλά jen:iká pernámen galá overall pass _{pres.1pl.} good ‘overall we have a good time’	γενικά περνάμε καλά jeniká pernáme kalá
		πολές τρέλλες pol:és trél:es many craziness _{fem.acc.pl.} ‘lots of fun’	πολλές τρέλες polés tréles
7	Dissimilation of stop + stop clusters into fricative + stop	καφέ ανιχτώ kafé an:ixtón brown light _{neut.nom.sg.} ‘light brown’	καφέ ανοικτό kafé aniktó
		εχτος extós ‘except’	εκτός ektós
8	CG-specific verbs	τον περίπαιζε για κάτι tom berípez:e j:a káti him make fun of _{past.impf.3sg.} about something ‘he was making fun of him about something’	τον κορόιδευε για κάτι ton goróideve ja káti

		μερόνουμε merónume make up _{pres.1pl.} ‘we make up’	τα βρίσκουμε ta vrískume
		έχλιασα échlasa slip _{past.perf.1sg.} ‘I slipped’	γλίστρησα ylístrisa
		σάζω sáz:o fix _{pres.1sg.} ‘I fix’	φτιάχνω ftjáxno
9	Absence of voiced stops	πογιατίζει pojatíz:i paint _{pres.3sg.} ‘he is painting’	μπογιατίζει bojatízi
		πεζίνας pez:ínas petrol _{fem.gen.sg.} ‘petrol’	βενζίνης venzínis
10	CG-specific stems in verbs	βρεθούμεαστε vrethúmasten meet up _{pres.1pl.} ‘we meet up’	βρισκόμαστε vriskómaste
		εδόκαν του eðókan du give _{past.perf.3pl. himcl.gen.} ‘they gave him’	του έδωσαν tu édosan
		βάλλει πολλά γκολ vál:i pol:á ηgól put _{pres.3sg.} many goal ‘he scores many goals’	βάζει πολλά γκολ vázi polá gol

Table 8.4 Examples from the control students’ written post-test D2 data with respect to the ten targeted features.

While instances of hypercorrected singletons were found in the post-data of both groups, the experimental students showed a slightly greater increase. In particular, before the intervention, 23 control and 25 experimental students used 50 and 47 hypercorrected singletons in their scripts respectively. In the second round of testing, the analysis yielded similar results: 25 control and 30 experimental students used 49 and 63 hypercorrected singletons respectively. The slightly higher numbers recorded in the experimental group could be construed as an indication of enhanced awareness of how the phenomenon of consonant gemination surfaces in the two

varieties but, due to the overall low numbers, there is insufficient evidence to conclude that the intervention has had a major impact. At the same time, these results may also indicate that more time and practice is needed for the new knowledge to be consolidated and pass from awareness to correct production.

8.2.3 Oral D1 speech

As far as the production of dialectal speech is concerned, the statistical analysis conducted on the numerical data from the oral D1 interview samples led to the conclusion that the alternative bidialectal teaching method had no obvious effect on the students' performance through time. The general picture is one of significant increase in the use of dialectal items in the speech of both groups and no statistically significant differences in the students' scores were found either before or after the intervention in any linguistic category and their overall scores. In this section, a closer look at the students' data is attempted so as to explore any particular differences in the way the two groups progressed with respect to the ten targeted features. Data from the two groups in the two time points are summarised in the table below:

		Pre-test		Post-test		Pre-test		Post-test	
		Experimental		Experimental		Control		Control	
		Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.
1	Word-final [n]	1192	59	1197	59	1102	60	1341	60
2	Geminates	695	59	751	59	743	60	768	60
3	Palato-alveolars	672	58	663	58	578	60	545	60
4	CG-specific stems in verbs	151	49	106	38	174	48	114	42
5	[e]/ [en] / [éni] instead of [íne]	127	43	162	39	153	51	111	38
6	Post-verbal object clitics	116	38	127	43	126	48	105	37
7	'Augment' [e] in all past tense forms	69	18	399	31	144	56	453	55
8	CG-specific verbs	77	21	11	7	79	29	25	13
9	Elision of intervocalic fricatives and sibilant [s]	79	38	173	41	121	37	209	49

10	CG-specific verb suffixes	86	32	121	39	90	39	118	42

Table 8.5 Item-specific occurrences in experimental and control groups' pre- and post-D1 oral datasets measured against 10,000 words.

The item-by-item analysis confirmed statistical speculations. Indeed, for the majority of the items, similar patterns between pre- and post-tests were observed across the two groups. As shown in the table above, the most remarkable increase was noted in the use by both the experimental and control groups of two highly salient morphophonological CG items: the **past tense augment** and the **omission of fricatives intervocalically**. It is worth noting that the rate of increase in the experimental group of students was much higher in both cases. In particular, the rate of increase of the **past tense augment [e]** by the experimental group's speech (478.3%) was twice as high as the one by the control students (214.6%). Similarly, the numbers of **elided fricatives** in the experimental group of students showed a higher degree of increase (119%) compared to the control students (78%).

The notably higher rates at which these items appeared in the students' post-scripts are surprising and may actually be related not only to the impact of the instructional treatment or the time but also to other factors. In particular, these data bring to the forefront the possibility that the students' linguistic behaviour might have been influenced even during pre-tests by extra-linguistic factors imposed by the setting, such as the formality of the school setting and the standard-only behaviour routinely imposed therein, leading the students to have therefore intentionally avoided the use of this type of core CG markers. If true, this would be indicative of the implications and repercussions of standard-only education on the students' linguistic behaviour. Presumably, later on, in post-tests, as the students grew more familiar with the process of interviewing, they were much more spontaneous in their speech production.

Other items which increased from pre- to post- test in both groups at broadly similar rates were: **geminate** (experimental: 8.1%, control: 3.4%) and **CG-specific verb endings** (experimental: 40.7%, control: 31.1%). In both cases, the increase displayed by the experimental students was slightly higher. Interestingly, the experimental students also increased the use of the **CG [e{n{i}}] version of the 3rd person singular of the copula** and **post-verbal clitics**, whereas the control students reduced them.

Nevertheless, there were items which students from both groups used less in post-tests. Among these, the ones with the higher rates of decrease were: the use of **CG-specific verbs**

(experimental: -85.7%, control: -68.4%) and the use of **verbs with specific verb stems** (experimental: -29.8%, control: -34.5%). Oddly, the use of **palato-alveolars** also followed a downward trend by both groups (experimental: -1.3%, control: -5.7%). With the exception of the use of CG-specific verbs in the remaining two items, the reduction was smaller in the experimental students' speech data.

8.2.4 Written D1 speech

As illustrated in Chapter 6, the statistical analysis that was carried out on D1 written post-tests revealed contradictory results for the two groups of students. After the intervention, the experimental group significantly increased the overall use of CG in their dialogues, whereas CG items were significantly reduced in the corresponding samples of their control counterparts. In this section, I focus only on the ten items that occurred most frequently in the students' written D1 production prior to the intervention and I explore how the variables of time and bidialectal instruction have affected their use in the students' scripts.

The results, as delineated in the table below, are indicative of the fact that the treatment served the tasks' ultimate aim: to help students become conscious of the production of dialectal features and be able to retrieve them and represent them on paper.

		Pre-test		Post-test		Pre-test		Post-test	
		Experimental		Experimental		Control		Control	
		Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.	Freq.	No. stud.
1	Palato-alveolars	191	49	190	49	194	51	92	35
2	Future particle [en:a] and conditional [íta n:a] + subjunctive	177	48	120	45	153	49	76	33
3	Final [n]	91	35	188	45	83	35	162	36
4	Consonant devoicing	82	41	25	18	90	46	18	12
5	CG-specific stems in verbs	69	37	181	56	67	39	162	46
6	Elision of intervocalic fricatives and sibilant [s]	90	33	52	30	40	26	35	27
7	[e]/ [en] / [éni] instead of [íne]	58	33	85	48	70	34	82	43

8	[en] / [e] instead of [ðen]	56	35	52	32	44	28	36	20
9	CG-specific verb suffixes	49	31	32	22	51	33	21	14
10	CG-specific adverbs	45	28	46	18	37	27	17	11

Table 8.6 Item-specific occurrences in experimental and control groups' pre- and post-D2 written datasets. Measured against 5,000 words.

The numerical data demonstrated that the written dialogues of the **experimental students** showed more instances of three morphological items in the post-test: **final [n] (increase in percentage: 107%), CG verb stems (increase in percentage: 162%) and CG 3rd person singular verb [é{n{i}}] (increase in percentage: 47%)**. Interestingly, the corresponding items had also recorded an increase in the control group; however the degree of change was lower: final [n] (increase in percentage: 95%), CG verb-stems (increase in percentage: 142%), CG 3rd person singular verb [é{n{i}}] (increase in percentage: 17%).

By the time the post-test was administered, there were items which did not demonstrate observable changes in the experimental group, in the sense that the increase or decrease recorded in their numbers was minimal. In particular, **palato-alveolars and CG-specific adverbs and the negative CG particle [e{n}]** increased or decreased by no more than 3 instances in the experimental group's data corpus. Such a result could be translated as no change, however, this claim could be partially discredited if these data are set against the corresponding ones of the control group. Control students' scripts showed a decrease in the use of these items, significantly larger than the changes observed in their experimental counterparts, especially in the case of the palato-alveolars. More specifically, the occurrences of palato-alveolars decreased in the data corpus of the control students from 194 to 92 in post-test (-54% reduction), the negative particle [e{n}] presented a moderate to small change with 8 tokens fewer (-18% decrease) and the last item, the CG-specific adverbs, occurred 20 times fewer than in pre-test (-54% decrease).

The numbers regarding the occurrence of another two morphological variants, the CG future particle [en:a] and CG-specific verb-endings, as well as of two phonological/phonetic ones, namely the consonant devoicing and the elision of intervocalic fricatives, were reduced in both groups. Nevertheless, as is also illustrated in the table above, the degree of change was seen to be larger in the control group of students. An exception to this is the tendency of the dialect to omit the intervocalic fricatives which were observed to decline more in the production of the experimental group of students.

Concerning the *unexpected, non-mesolectal CG uses* that were frequently encountered in all the students' pre-test dialogues, post-test data served as rich information pools as regards the students' ability to evaluate the contextual information and make appropriate language choices on this basis. When pre- and post-test were compared, the control group's sociolinguistic awareness of the register that would be appropriate in the particular communicative situation had not improved. Control students displayed no attempt to avoid repeating language forms they used in the first round of testing, which involved extensive use of basilectal, regionally defined dialectal variants which today are considered obsolete. Once again, they failed to choose the appropriate style/register of language that corresponded to the formality level dictated by the task. Examples of such use are given below:

No.	Student code	Form as appeared in students' texts	Expected CG form	Standard Form
1	TC16	στράτα stráta street _{fem.nom.sg.} 'street'	δρόμος ðrómos street _{masc.nom.sg.}	δρόμος ðrómos street _{masc.nom.sg.}
2	TC16	χέλω çélo want _{pres.1sg.} 'I want'	θέλω thélo	θέλω thélo
3	TC17f	τότες tótes 'then'	τότε tote	τότε tóte
4	GC4f	εγιώ ejó 'I'	εγώ egó	εγώ egó
5	GC6f	χέλεις çélis want _{pres.2sg.} 'you want'	θέλεις thélis	θες thes
6	GC8f	εσού esú 'you'	εσύ esí	εσύ esí

On the contrary, the assessment of the experimental students' written CG production in terms of these two groups of non-mainstream CG use reflected the impact of the new teaching style. Their written speech in post-tests was more reminiscent of the mainstream CG forms that

actually form part of their personal language style and fall within the remit of the mesolectal uses of the contemporary CG dialect. In essence, the experimental students progressively reduced the use of practically obsolete items as well as instances of hyperdialectism that they had initially used. This figure provided important insights regarding the programme's impact on the students' sociolinguistic awareness. It could be argued that, in time, the students had grown more aware of the internal variability that characterises their mother tongue; instead of exclusively identifying CG with basilectal Cypriot, they seem to have become more able to manipulate language use according to the communicative event.

8.2.4.1 Orthographic representations of CG after the bidialectal programme

Recalling that through the bidialectal programme the experimental students were initiated into how to orthographically represent two palato-alveolar phones of the CG: the post-alveolar fricative [ʃ] and the palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ].

In relation to the palato-alveolar sound [ʃ], the experimental students showed increased ability to consistently employ the taught convention <σ̃>:

No.	Representation of the sound [ʃ]	Student code	Examples from students' scripts
1	<σ̃>	TE8m	έσ̃εις [éʃis] have_{pres.2sg.} 'you have' σ̃οκολατίνα [ʃokolatína] chocolate cake_{fem.nom.sg.} 'chocolate cake' σ̃έρι [ʃérin] hand_{neut.nom.sg.} 'hand' βρασ̃ιόλι [vraʃólin] bracelet_{neut.nom.sg.} 'bracelet'

In all the above words, the [ʃ] sound stemmed from phonemes /x/ or /s/. Divergence from this usage was the doubling of the letter <σ> while still using the diacritic mark, as in example 2 below.

2	<σ̃σ̃>	TE6m	έσ̃σ̃ει, έσ̃σ̃ι [éʃi] have _{pres.3sg.} 'has'

Apart from these cases, the above convention of the double <σ> was found in other environments in which its use was deemed appropriate, such as cases where the sound did not

derive from a single phoneme but, for example, from the consonantal sequence <σκ> as in <σκύλος> [scílos] in SMG, realised as [ʃí:l:os] in CG.

3	<σ̣σ̣>	TE9m	σ̣σ̣λλονιν [ʃ:il:úin] dog _{dim.neut.acc.sg.} ‘doggie’

In relation to the palato-alveolar sound [tʃ], the vast majority of the experimental students successfully employed the following convention <τζ> which in very few examples was accompanied by the Greek letter <ι>, a convention that is unnecessary when the diacritic is used.

No.	Representation of the sound [ʃ]	Student code	Examples from students’ scripts
1	<τζ>	GE8m	τζαμαι [tʃame] ‘there’ τζίνους [tʃínus] those _{masc.acc.pl.} ‘those’ τζαι [tʃe] ‘and’
2	<τζι>	TE17f	τζιαλιος [tʃaλ:ós] another-one _{masc.nom.sg.} ‘another one’ τζιαμέ [tʃamé] ‘there’

Deviations from the taught rules were found in the interchangeable use of the conventions <τζ> and the <τσ> by a very small number of students. In example 3 for instance, the student uses the convention <τσ> while the palato-alveolar sound is derived from the underlying /k/ phoneme, which students were advised to render with the <τζ> graphemes so as to differentiate it from cases when the palato-alveolar sound stemmed from /ts/ (followed by /e, i, j/), in which case they were instructed to use the <τσ> graphemes. Inevitably, this rendering could result in misreading the word as [tsái] ‘tea’, which in CG is pronounced as [tʃái] (expected via the instructions given to the students to be spelled as <τσάι>).

3	<τσ>	AE16f	τσαι [tʃe] ‘and’ ([tʰ:áin] tea _{neut.nom.sg.} ‘tea’)

Concerning the performance of the control students in orthographically representing the aforementioned two post-alveolar sounds, the qualitative analysis in post-tests revealed similar trends to the pre-test. Similarly to the pre-tests, the control students resorted to various combinations of Greek letters while they did not bring in any other symbols, like diacritic marks or non-Greek letters.

Examples of their usage for the palato-alveolar sound [ʃ] are shown in items 1-4 and for the corresponding sound [tʃ] in items 5-8 below.

No.	Representation of the sound [ʃ]	Students' code	Examples from students' scripts
1	<σχ>	TC04m	έσχις [éʃis] have _{pres.2sg.} 'you have'
2	<σ>	YC7m	έσεις [éʃis] have _{pres.2sg.} 'you have'
3	<σι>	GC8f	έσιεις [éʃis] have _{pres.2sg.} 'you have' σιερπατινες [ʃeɾpatínes] streamer _{fem.nom.pl.} 'streamers'
4	<σσ>	YE18f	έσσει [éʃi] have _{pres.3sg.} 'it has'
5	<τζ>	TE4m	τζαμέ [tʃamé] 'there'
6	<τζι>	TC05m	τζιαι [tʃe] 'and'
7	<τσ>	AE8m	τσαι [tʃ ^h :áin] tea _{neut.nom.sg.} 'tea' παππούτσια [papútʃ ^h :a] shoe _{neut.nom.pl.} 'shoes'
8	<τσι>	AE4m	τσιαμέ [tʃamé] 'there'

In sum, it was impressive to notice how promptly and almost flawlessly the experimental students employed a new orthographic system involving graphemes they were familiar with and additional diacritic marks.

8.3 The impact of urban and rural settings on the experimental students' performance

This section intends to explore whether the school location parameter had any effect on the way the experimental students progressed from pre- to post-tests, in relation to 10 targeted linguistic items in each linguistic variety and mode. The focus is on a sub-set of the target items in which urban and rural students displayed differences in pre-tests. To validate the observed discrepancies in the yielded sums, independent samples t-tests and paired sample t-tests were conducted on the two groups' mean scores for each item. It should be noted that the *oral DI*

performance of the urban and rural students is not investigated further since no significant differences in the use of the ten targeted items were found in the initial analysis of individual items, while the statistics on overall post-data indicated no significant differences between the two groups.

8.3.1 Oral D2 performance

Contrary to the pre-test results, the post-test analysis revealed no noteworthy differences between the urban and rural experimental students in any of the ten targeted items, including the *CG unstressed past test augment* (Urban: 69, Rural: 75) and the *CG verb suffixes* (Urban: 14, Rural: 32) in which the two groups displayed significant differences prior to the intervention. (Independent t-tests: Past test augment: Urban: 2.30, Rural: 2.59, $p=.68$, CG verb suffixes: Urban: .50, Rural: 1.10, $p=.09$).

As indicated by the data, while both urban and rural experimental students improved their scores after the intervention, the improvement was disproportionate, with the *rural* students displaying a *greater reduction* in the numbers of eight out of the ten interfering CG items. Exceptions were: the use of CG-specific verb stems, with urban and rural students displaying equal rates of changes (Urban: 80 items less, Rural: 75 items less) and the use of [en] instead of [ðen], with urban students exhibiting a slightly greater change (Urban: 39 items less, Rural: 28 items less).

8.3.2 Written D2 performance

In the pre-tests, urban and rural experimental students exhibited differences in the use of 4 targeted elements, with the rural students appearing to have a greater propensity for dialect use. The post-data showed that, by the second round of testing, these had disappeared: *Lack of clitic stress* (Urban: 3, Rural: 5), *CG-specific stress* (Urban: 0, Rural: 2), *CG-specific nouns* (Urban: 5, Rural: 7), *False Friends* (Urban: 1, Rural: 3). (Independent t-tests: Lack of clitic stress: Urban: .10, Rural: .17, $p=.48$, CG-specific stress: Urban: .00, Rural: .07, $p=.15$, CG-specific nouns: Urban: .17, Rural: .24, $p=.61$, False Friends: Urban: .19, Rural: .24, $p=.30$)

Rural students displayed slightly greater improvement in items 2-4 compared to urban students. This corroborates overall statistical claims made earlier in chapter 5 about the programme benefitting the students who needed it the most. Important differences between the two groups in *post-tests* were only shown to exist in terms of the use of *CG-specific verbs* ($p<.01$), with the rural students being again more frequent users (Urban: 0, Rural: 14).

8.3.3 Written D1 performance

The analysis of post-test samples showed no important differences between urban and rural experimental students in any of the ten targeted categories, including the two items that in pre-test revealed discrepancies between the two groups: CG elision of intervocalic fricatives (*Urban: 28, Rural: 31*) and the use of the CG future particle [en:a] (*Urban: 84, Rural: 73*) (Independent t-tests: CG elision of intervocalic fricatives: *Urban: .93, Rural: 1.07, p=.70*, CG future particle [en:a]: *Urban: .2.80, Rural: 1.83, p=.11*).

The fact that, in post-tests, the two groups reached similar levels of written D1 proficiency is attributed to the rural students, who achieved disproportionately better results through time. As overall statistics showed, the rural students displayed a statistically significant increase in their mesolectal D1 uses after the intervention ($p=.01$), which was greater compared to the non-significant increase that was achieved by urban students ($p=.23$). The analysis of individual targeted items provided further information regarding how the two groups progressed and revealed differences in the following items: *elision of intervocalic fricative* (Urban: sig. decrease, Rural: n.s. increase), *[e]/[en]/[eni] instead of [ine]* (Urban: n.s. increase, Rural: sig. increase), *use of [en:a]* (Urban: sig. decrease, Rural: n.s. decrease) and *CG-specific adverbs* (Urban: sig. decrease, Rural: n.s. decrease).

Considering that, in the beginning, the rural students were more reluctant to write in the dialect, these results reinforce the claim about the effectiveness of the treatment in helping students deal with linguistic insecurities. As regards *non-mesolectal CG uses*, although after the intervention both groups improved the stylistic coherence of their text according to the purported context by minimising their basilectal uses and hyperdialectisms, the urban students demonstrated greater progress, roughly approximating to the performance of rural students in this aspect (*Rural: 20, Urban: 22*).

8.4 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to show which aspects of students' D1 and D2 production were subject to change after the intervention by focusing particularly on the ten targeted CG items that were identified in pre-tests as the most recurrent ones in the students' scripts and transcripts. In essence, the analysis indicated that, overall, the experimental and control group of students differed in relation to the following factors: i) D1 linguistic influence in D2 oral and written

production, ii) instances of self-correction in oral D2 production accordingly, iii) stylistic use of CG items in written CG production and iv) systematicity in the orthographic representation of their native dialect.

The experimental group showed significant decrease in the degree of dialectal transference in their oral and written standard production as indicated by the analysis on individual CG uses. Unlike the control students, who in general had preserved similar rates of D1 influence, the results indicated that the experimental students had progressively gained awareness of D1-D2 differences. In terms of *oral D2 performance*, this awareness was also displayed through self-repairs of their own D1 mistakes while, for a number of experimental students, this awareness might have already transformed into implicit linguistic knowledge, as shown by the correct production of SMG linguistic features in their scripts and oral transcripts towards the final stages of the intervention (grammatical accuracy and/or absence of incorrect attempts).

In relation to *D1 production*, the two groups showed similar progress in their oral D1 production from pre- to post-tests, as indicated by the yielded numerical data on the ten targeted CG features. At the same time, experimental and control students displayed differences in relation to the *quality of their written CG outputs in post-test*. The control students were seen to continue using non-mesolectal CG items in the form of dated or obsolete (basilectal, marked, regional) CG items and hyperdialectisms in the form of constructed pseudo-regional CG items. On the other hand, in post-tests, the experimental students showed greater awareness of the CG registers, their functions and their appropriateness according to the type/style of CG variants that the task demanded them to use. Thus, their written outputs in the second round of testing were more coherent and more contextually relevant.

Urban and rural experimental students used the targeted items at similar rates and followed overall comparable paths from pre- to post-tests. Most of the differences in the use of specific items anticipated in the first round of tests gradually subsided, indicating that the bidialectal programme worked to their benefit by offering them tailored help where they needed it.

All in all, the analysis was invaluable in providing an in-depth description of the kind of linguistic features noted in the students' oral and written D1 and D2 outputs and how these changed after the application of the bidialectal treatment. Future studies may do well to examine which aspects of this programme might have induced these changes and, in general, which factors of bidialectal teaching encourage linguistic separation.

Chapter 9 Discussion

9.1 Introduction

The present chapter aims to provide a discussion of the findings and analyses presented in the three previous chapters. The discussion will also consider the effectiveness of the bidialectal approach and link it to relevant literature. This chapter is composed of three themed sections, with the first one addressing the central research question in this study: What changes did the bidialectal treatment effectuate in students' D1 and D2 oral and written performance? The second section will examine the urban-rural dichotomy, with a brief discussion on its effects. Finally, the third section is concerned with the implication of the findings for future language educational policies and practices in the context of CG and beyond.

9.2 The effects of the bidialectal instruction on students' language production

9.2.1 Standard variety: D2

9.2.1.1 Oral speech

One of the key findings of this study is that there seems to be a causal link between bidialectal teaching and improved oral linguistic performance. In particular, these findings suggest a marked improvement in the *standard oral performance* of the experimental group after the implementation of the intervention which exposed them to bidialectal classes. This improvement manifested itself as a significant reduction of dialect interference (21%), specifically transfer of D1 features into D2 production, which is a clear indication of enhanced acquisition of the D2 linguistic system. In sharp contrast, cross-linguistic patterns persisted in the speech of the control group, who received traditional, D2-dominant language classes at the second stage of assessment, suggesting that the innovative bidialectal teaching method might have had a strong positive effect on the experimental students' language performance.

The data are especially interesting if one considers that the pre-assessment material suggested a very high degree of dialectal transference in all students' standard speech (38.4%), which approached the same students' actual dialect use in the relevant assessment tests (44%). On top of this, the current rate of interference appeared to be even higher compared to reports in earlier studies in the same context (Papapavlou and Yiakoumetti, 2003; Yiakoumetti, 2006).

Yiakoumetti (2006), reported 7CG forms per minute in students' oral D2 tests), which suggests that GC students are chronically underperforming in D2 oral tests. Further evidence of the existence of language insufficiency in the standard comes from the micro-level analysis, according to which the vast majority of dialectal forms in all students' D2 speech (SMG) were similar in nature to the ones recorded in their D1 oral speech.

As noted above, the bidialectal treatment led to significant reduction in the degree to which the experimental group negatively transferred D1 elements, but its significance may also be illustrated by the nature of changes that resulted. In particular, by the end of the programme, a great number of experimental students managed to eliminate entirely or reduce substantially the use of individual phonological and morphological CG elements which, interestingly, were highlighted at the beginning of the programme as the most problematic types of items in students' standard linguistic performance. In fact, the substantial improvement of the three most frequently occurring items, namely the use of final [n] in verbs and nouns, the use of geminates and the use of palato-alveolars, which also happen to be highly characteristic of Cypriot speech, was found to be a crucial factor for the successful development of the experimental students' standard speech. This finding corroborates the ideas of Yiakoumetti (2003, 2006, 2007), Papanicola and Tsiplakou (2008) who suggested that bidialectal teaching via contrastive D1:D2 teaching can offer tailored support to underperforming students by fostering (meta)linguistic and sociolinguistic awareness.

In stark contrast to the experimental group, the control students recorded no statistically noteworthy improvement in any category despite being instructed on relevant structural properties of the SMG by their mainstream teacher. In fact, they continued using not only less noticeable CG features, but also markedly typical CG items with high D1:D2 contrastive salience, such as CG verb suffixes and palato-alveolars, while they kept eliding fricatives intervocally. The unexpectedly low command of such CG elements/structures was consistent with the quantitative data and points to a linguistic gap, highlighting a generalised difficulty on the part of the students to distinguish between items that form their dialect-standard repertoire regardless of levels of analysis and/or markedness. Taken as a whole, the control group's oral performance documented little change, even in such areas as morphosyntax (e.g. in the use of verbal and nominal standard morphemes), which is a focal point in students' mainstream D2 education (MoEC, 2016).

9.2.1.2 Written speech

Consistent with expectations, the written discourse of the experimental group exhibited a degree of improvement, with 2% fewer CG forms compared to written performance prior to the intervention (from approximately 3 to under 1 CG forms per 100 words). The control group once again differs, with fairly minimal changes in terms of dialectal interference (3.88% → 3.98%).

The outperformance of the experimental students in written production was detected on all linguistic levels and in all 10 targeted items identified in pre-tests. The proposed treatment appears to have scaffolded the students' writing performance, as it fostered their ability to distinguish between dialect and standard phonological and lexical items, two key types of elements that, pre-interventionally, proved to be quite problematic in writing. The effectiveness of the treatment was also highlighted by the analysis of individual items, which showed some improvement not only of intrinsically noticeable features, but also of items which are only subtly different from their standard equivalents and thus pose an additional challenge for bidialectal students. As noted in chapter 8, the most notable improvement was recorded in the use of CG suprasegmental peculiarities and false friends, both being non-salient CG elements. On the contrary, the control students' results pointed to a deterioration of their performance in the areas of morphology and phonology. The reverse trends in the performance of the two groups might indicate that possible mistakes were perhaps consciously avoided by the experimental students, which could reflect the treatment's potential to buttress students' cross-linguistic knowledge of interlingual contrasts, ultimately helping them develop into more proficient standard writers.

The impact of the bidialectal treatment on written production is certainly less prominent compared to the dramatic decrease of dialectal interference in oral production, which might argue against the value of the intervention or challenge the claim of a linguistic gap. However, this marked discrepancy, which was obvious from pre-testing findings, might be attributed to other factors, such as the mechanics of spoken as opposed to written language: Halliday and Biber (Halliday and Hasan, 1989; Biber, 1991) ascribe learners' proclivity toward mistakes in spontaneous oral communication to the limited time for deliberation compared to written production. Another factor might be the disproportionately higher degree of the GC students' exposure to written D2 as opposed to oral D2 and the lack of opportunities they have to practise the latter in the context of school as well as in GC society, especially considering how

extensively the Cypriot koine is used nowadays in settings that once demanded communication through the medium of the standard (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009a).

On another note, the (low) rate of dialect use in both pre- and post-tests should be interpreted with caution, as factors such as the testing conditions and task topics might have influenced the results. In other words, had the conditions been different, the students' D2 written production might have included more D1 elements. As noted in the methodology chapter, in order to comply with the instructions of the Ministry of Education of Cyprus, the researcher used a topic from the students' coursebook, ensuring their routine was not disturbed. This, in turn, rendered the tasks less spontaneous, while simultaneously it also might have prompted students to reproduce mechanically SMG lexis and formulaic expressions from a semantic field that became familiar to them through the teaching of the particular book, ultimately doing a disservice to their actual D2 writing skills. Student feedback was linked to underlying insecurity around the use of written SMG: Indirect markers of the students' lack of confidence regarding D2 writing were vividly captured in comments of hesitation and apprehension when asked to undertake the writing task: 'I don't know how to write compositions', 'Do we really have to write a composition?', 'I'm useless at (Standard Modern) Greek' ('εν μπορώ να γράφω εκθέσεις', 'άτε, κυρία, εν ανάγκη να γράψουμε έκθεση, 'εν είμαι καλός στα ελληνικά').

9.2.2 Enhanced linguistic awareness within the experimental group

Initially, the current study provided empirical evidence of the degree of D1 interference in Cypriot pupils' standard production. Overall, the students' performance profiles point to a degree of linguistic weakness in both the oral and written domain in the standard, lending credence to the argument that there indeed exists a language issue among CG learners when it comes to D2 production. These conclusions are consistent with earlier studies which suggest a strong correlation between GC speakers' partial command of spoken/written D2 and misuse of CG features (Papapavlou and Yiakoumetti, 2003; Yiakoumetti, 2006, 2007b) and agree with findings of studies on the linguistic realities of students with proximal varieties who struggle with cross-linguistic differences and often underperform in the standard (Toohey, 1986; Rickford, 1999; Sharifian, Rochecouste and Malcolm, 2004; Siegel, 2007). Importantly, these conclusions are tangible proof of the persistent failure of existing educational policies to cater to bidialectal learners' linguistic needs.

The dialectal interference in the pupils' samples does not seem to derive from an insufficient awareness of which medium should be employed. Rather, it seems that the students were fully aware of what the appropriate medium is in each case: the compositions were predominantly written in the standard variety, while the occasional self-repair attempts in the speaking tasks by over half of them may, at the very least, indicate their attempt to accommodate their speaking to the communicative event which (based on the given contextual information) called for the use of the standard variety. Dialectal interference almost certainly stemmed from the students' insufficient awareness of the linguistic differences between the CG and SMG, which translated into inability to retrieve the standard equivalents of D1 elements and/or inability to do this accurately. This assumption is supported by a large number of relevant prior studies conducted in settings similar to the Cypriot one, which pointed to the inability of dialect speakers to distinguish between their native variety and the school variety (Siegel, 1999c, 2010). In the literature it is well-documented that the linguistic development of bidialectal speakers is influenced by factors inherent to the dialect structure (Leivada and Grohmann, 2017; Leivada, Papadopoulou, *et al.*, 2017). The structural proximity that characterises linguistically related varieties hinders language separation and affects cross-linguistic transfer (Grohmann, 2014; Garraffa, Beveridge and Sorace, 2015). In addition, nonstandardisation and lack of codification allows for greater grammatical fluidity in a way that blurs the boundaries between varieties and affects speakers' perception of whether a specific variant belongs to their native variety or varieties (Milroy and Milroy, 1997; Leivada, Papadopoulou, *et al.*, 2017).

The evidence presented thus far in this study suggests that the bidialectal treatment could lead to enhanced cross-linguistic awareness thereby ultimately improving D2 (grammatical) accuracy. Indeed, as soon as instruction conditions and forcible home language suppression was replaced by a pluralistic language awareness approach which promoted conscious comparative learning via the juxtaposition of the D1 and D2, the meta-cognitive and meta-linguistic abilities of the sampled pupils to notice the differences between their two varieties increased substantially, as indicated by the reduced interference rates. It seems possible that the kind of explicit learning of the grammatical properties of D1 and D2 promoted by the language awareness bidialectal approach might have led to a degree of linguistic salience of the taught items, which drew the experimental group's attention to interlingual differences, thereby making them noticeable. This theory is in line with the *noticing hypothesis* attributed to Schmidt (1990, 1992, 2012), who maintained that for second language learning to be successful, learners must consciously notice the grammatical features of the target language. By extension, the more

linguistically salient a form is, the more enhanced its probability is of being acquired (Siegel, 2010). In this study, the experimental students focused their attention on linguistic similarities and differences between the two varieties, which enabled them to become conscious of linguistic information which they already possessed, perhaps on an intuitive level, but which was never systematically taught or clarified. Noticing these differences subsequently turned D2 input into intake (Van Lier, 1995; Turnbull and Arnett, 2002), which became part of the students' active language production. Unconscious knowledge of the first-dialect (D1) and second-dialect (D2) converted into conscious D1 and D2 knowledge through a process of self-reflection and then conscious knowledge was transferred to D2 performance (Yiakoumetti, 2006). In other words, this heightened (conscious) awareness increased the language resources available to the students and fostered their D2 linguistic mastery (Garrett and James, 1991).

The increased rate of self-repairs and hypercorrections detected after the intervention in the experimental students' speaking and writing production respectively could also be interpreted as evidence of heightened linguistic awareness. Hypercorrections may also hint to the time needed for the impact of the teaching approach to take effect: indeed, extensive formal and functional practice is required for the interlingual contrast to turn from short-term into long-term memory and become a set of internalised linguistic structures (Robinson, 1995). Framed in this context, it seems that the sampled students performed quite well in the written task, given that they had to execute several actions simultaneously: plan a story and consider paragraphing, content, structure, and orthography. Overall, despite the inherent complexities writing tasks carry (MacArthur, Graham and Fitzgerald, 2008), students did manage to incorporate interlingual awareness into their writing while executing a variety of cognitive processes.

All in all, the study provided tangible proof that language awareness has a real impact on language behaviour in language learning. The purposefully designed language material allowed for acquisition to take place within a short treatment period, with clear performance differences among experimental and control groups in relation to target structures. It is worth reiterating here that the fact that both control and experimental students were instructed on relevant structural properties of SMG but progressed differently minimises the possibilities of the effect of the treatment being attributed to explicit grammar teaching and not to the bidialectal method of teaching. The findings clearly indicate a number of educational advantages resulting from the use of the dialectal variety in the classroom and verify the results of international studies in similar contexts (Arkorful and Adger, 2015; Grima, 2015).

9.2.3 Dialect variety: D1

9.2.3.1 Oral speech

Turning now to dialect speaking, according to the findings of this study, the linguistic production of experimental and control students displayed similar trends and rates of change. The overall picture indicated significant increase in the use of dialectal items in the speech of both groups. Given that the students' performance was comparable prior to the intervention, it cannot be assumed that the nature of the instructional approach had a different impact on the way students' D1 oral performance developed through time. It is more likely that, as time passes, all GC students progressively tend to use dialect-specific items and grammatical structures more frequently. This could either be a natural consequence of the predominance of oral CG in the community or it might be partly attributed to the conditions under which the interviews were conducted: the formality of the school setting and the unfamiliarity of the students with the researcher-interviewer may have inevitably labelled the situation of communication as formal, and, at least initially, may well have discouraged students from using a variety that is heavily stigmatised within the GC educational system. This assumption seems to be consistent with a number of studies in the GC setting and beyond, which examined the psychological impact of banning students' mother tongues from education and showed the hesitation caused to dialect speakers in using their mother tongue when it is subject to stigmatisation, criticism and derogation (Rickford and Rickford, 1995; Papapavlou, 2004). It is therefore hypothesised here that the linguistic choices of both groups in the second testing round may have actually been influenced by a degree of gradual familiarity with the researcher, who became a familiar member of their school community, inducing higher rates of CG variants and/ or consistency in using mainly Cypriot variants (Tsiplakou, Armostis and Evripidou, 2016).

Apart from comparable levels of D1 use, the experimental and control groups' data also converged in terms of linguistic level and specific, targeted CG items which further pointed to the accommodation of the same register by the students at both times of testing. This is not surprising considering that spontaneous everyday communication between young GC speakers today is rather complex and characterised by a highly mixed register (Tsiplakou, Armostis and Evripidou, 2016).

The differences were negligible, granting no concrete evidence to claim that they were effectuated by the different modes of teaching. To illustrate, in both groups the dialect uses which saw the greater increase in students' D1 speech pertained foremost to those areas and

individual items which already ranked as highly recurrent in pre-tests, mainly morphological and phonological. Interestingly, the use of D1 lexis by both groups gradually decreased, which is rather unexpected given the high frequency and prominent saliency that characterises CG-specific vocabulary within the community (Karyolemou and Pavlou, 2001; Terkourafi, 2005a). This scarcity of CG items on a lexical level, which was evident as early as in the pre-test, perhaps reflects that CG-specific lexis does not form part of the students' active vocabulary and this can be a further indication of gradual language loss due to incomplete acquisition of specific vocabulary items or of language attrition, with the term referring here to a possible gradual loss of the children's proficiency in D1 (lexicon), as they shift (through schooling) to the use of a dominant language and consequently neglect, at least in the school context, the use of D1 vocabulary. According to other studies, CG lexicon is highly stigmatised in school contexts and therefore purposefully avoided in the classroom (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009a; Papapavlou, 2010). Such tendencies might indeed suppress the development of vocabulary awareness of the students' mother tongue and/or limit students' ability to access and use it.

Despite the fact that every lesson of the proposed programme included a section devoted to specific CG-lexicon, no obvious changes were recorded in CG use, owing perhaps to other factors such as the short length of the programme. This argument is supported by relevant bibliography, according to which the development of proficiency in a second language or a second dialect is not only dependent upon conscious learning (assuming that this is the case in the GC community); rather, progressive advancement through communicative use should also be involved (see Siegel, 2010). This raises thoughts about the necessity of focusing on raising lexical awareness in language teaching, which in turn is likely to improve and develop fluency, both in the dialect and the standard variety.

Returning to the effects of the programme, the similarities in the way the two groups progressed over time call into question the power of bidialectal treatment to enhance spoken D1 performance, at least based on how progress and performance enhancement was conceptualised and defined in this particular study. While this could be construed as failure of the programme, it is actually not so, as the study's data confirms that bidialectal treatment which utilises the dialect with a primary focus on enhancing D2 acquisition does not cause detrimental effects on D1 maintenance and growth.

9.2.3.2 Written speech

The significance of the present bidialectal language awareness teaching approach for the experimental students' written performance in their native variety became quite evident over time. The statistical analysis on overall scores as well as the qualitative analysis performed between the pre- and post-tests suggested positive changes in three aspects of the students' D1 writing, namely, a) in deciding to employ the CG or the SMG when the two did not overlap, b) in picking from a pool of functionally equivalent variants (forms or constructions) the stylistically appropriate ones after assessing the key elements of the context of communication and c) in representing the dialect orthographically.

9.2.3.2.1 Linguistic construction of the texts: choosing between CG and SMG

In pre-intervention tests, the majority of the students showed limited written proficiency in D1, which manifested itself as difficulty in transferring dialect speech on paper. The low rate of dialect use in the students' scripts in pre-tests (26%) compared to the much higher rates recorded in oral tests pre-interventionally (44%) is indicative of this. If we accept that the immediacy of the oral CG test rendered it a relatively good indicator of actual CG use (in pre- and/or post-testing), then the aforementioned discrepancy suggests a difficulty to render the dialect in written form. Various indicators reinforce this assumption, such as the students' overall reluctance and confusion upon the assignment of the task, verbal expressions of uncertainty and a host of technical questions as to the execution of the activity.

Although it was quite predictable that this task would pose an extra challenge for the students, who are inexperienced in writing in D1 in the formal setting of a classroom (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou and Kappler, 2011), it is still remarkable that a large number of participants produced basilectal and hyperdialectal CG forms (discussed in the next section), while their use of CG mesolectal items remained much lower compared to their average use in oral speech. This indicates that the low rate of CG use may be a result of purely linguistic factors (as opposed to their awareness of which medium, CG or SMG, they had to employ), such as the students' insufficient conscious awareness of the specific characteristics of their native language and/or a limited ability to retrieve them. These speculations are reinforced by the analysis of individual items, which revealed highly frequent items in GCs' natural speech which were absent or scarce in all students' pre-test dialogues (i.e. geminates and CG-specific lexical items).

After the intervention, differential development was recorded in the performance of the two groups, with the experimental students demonstrating a significant increase in the use of CG-specific structures in their writing, while the exact opposite was observed in the control group. In particular, in the course of the programme, the production of phonological and syntactic CG items by the control students decreased significantly and similar trends, albeit non statistically significant, were noted in relation to the area of lexicon. Conversely, the experimental students consistently produced more CG-specific morphological items in their D1 texts, while the upward trend recorded in the phonological and lexical items could be seen as promising. CG syntactic items were the only area which displayed a decrease, although it was negligible. As noted earlier, this could be attributed to CG-SMG syntactic differences being naturally fewer than morphological or phonological due to the nature of the syntactic system.

According to the analysis, three items, all morphological in nature, displayed the greatest increase in the experimental students' post- data: the final [n], verb stem morphemes and the CG [eni]. One of the most notable observations pertained to the use of palato-alveolars, which in pre-tests was one of the three most commonly used items. Their degree of occurrence remained stable through time in the experimental students' production while in the control students' it radically decreased, possibly indicating a greater degree of difficulty to render speech on paper. Overall, the control group recorded strikingly poor results across all ten targeted items.

This observation offered further insights into how the experimental students benefited from the bidialectal treatment. Firstly, the data indicate that the experimental students acquired a deeper (meta)linguistic awareness of their native language as well as the means to use it in written form more confidently. Apart from training the experimental students to retrieve and consciously use particular features of their mother tongue in writing, the programme also appeared to have played another important role – this time inhibitory of linguistic extinction with regard to specific CG items. In essence, such bidialectal treatments could be instrumental in preventing or delaying the loss or reduced use of specific dialectal items, as they decisively oppose the marginalisation of certain features of a language (the extreme form of which leads to their extinction, and which can be seen as a form of language killing (linguicide)) (May, 2012; Smith and Durham, 2012).

9.2.3.2.2 Stylistic construction of texts: choosing among the different register levels of CG

Students were not only evaluated on the basis of their linguistic ability to incorporate specific items of their native language into their texts but also based on their sociolinguistic ability to choose from a vast repertoire of available styles and registers within CG. The findings showed that the students' written work in pre-tests was performed unpredictably. In addition to the abundance of mesolectal features that students successfully brought into their scripts, many included a number of basilectal and hyperdialectal forms. Despite being fewer than the mesolectal CG features, these forms radically changed the style of the students' scripts and ascribed a 'peasantry' style to the dialogues, making them register-inappropriate. The independent raters involved in this study unanimously concurred with this conclusion (see methodology chapter).

In looking to understand students' linguistic behaviour, two possible explanations are put forward (Ayiomamitou and Yiakoumetti., 2017). It may be that the students' production stems from a limited linguistic and metalinguistic awareness of what the term 'Cypriot dialect' encompasses. It is argued here that the students' distorted view of their linguistic reality led them to attempt a reproduction of a particular language style that was at the time extensively employed by satirical CG TV shows: the satirical element of such shows relied heavily on the use of aberrant language. The vast discrepancy between the students' CG and the actors' CG perhaps led the former to the erroneous assumption that what they themselves speak is not in fact pure 'Cypriot dialect'. Presumably, the students were largely unaware of the dialectal origin of the items they used. As noted in other CG studies, young CG speakers may not be aware of the extent and precise nature of still extant geographical variation, which is not surprising given the ongoing fast levelling of dialectal varieties (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009b).

Supplementary information drawn from the interview data provided additional evidence to substantiate the claim that the students had a very vague understanding of their linguistic reality or indeed the extent of their linguistic repertoire. Students themselves admitted that they were unable to evaluate their own language in one word and frequently resorted to ambivalent definitions such as the following: 'σχεδόν ελληνικά' (almost Greek), 'περίπου ελληνικά' (more or less Greek), 'όι ακριβώς ελληνικά αλλά ούτε κυπριακά' (not exactly Greek but not Cypriot either). These comments highlight that, while students were aware that their speech diverges sufficiently from the standard variety spoken in Greece, they were nevertheless reluctant to

identify it with the Cypriot dialect. This finding accords with (Tsiplakou, 2004), who suggested that GC students tend to claim that they do not speak CG ‘κυπριακά’, as they implicitly identify it with the basilect.

The second possible explanation sees students’ use of marked dialectal items as an ideologically driven act, an intentional performative act (of stylisation) that served indexical purposes (Tsiplakou and Ioannidou, 2012). This claim emerges as the only logical conclusion based on the fact that the language choices made by the students do not constitute part of their active vocabulary – nor are they part of the contemporary CG they are mostly exposed to. The conscious effort that was needed on the part of the students to retrieve these items makes it rather unlikely that they have been random instances. In particular, it is argued that instances of extremely stylised writing occurred out of a desire to project a certain highly stigmatised social image, namely that of peasantness, which is associated with rural social groups and village lifestyle. In an attempt to distance themselves from prejudices, negative evaluations that accompany the dialect or its speakers and maintain a positive social image, students chose to employ hyperdialectism and highly marked basilectal items in their ‘Cypriot’ scripts whose use immediately signifies their own language use as sufficiently different and does not marginalise or stigmatise them socially.

At the same time, the students’ purposeful choices demonstrated a desire to downplay the divergence between their own language and that of Greeks which in the CG community enjoys high prestige and acceptability. Their choices thus juxtapose two ideological constructs: a Cypriot Other (the ‘peasant’ Cypriot of the past) versus a Cypriot Self (which is, by implication, not peasant). This argument is in line with other studies (Coupland, 2001, 2007; Jaworski, Coupland and Galasinski, 2004; Eckert, 2008; Tsiplakou and Ioannidou, 2012) which claimed that hyperdialectism is used by speakers wishing to overstate the distance between their own language and that of other groups. In addition, these speculations are supported by prior research (Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009a) which illustrated that GC’s negative perceptions regarding their native variety influence their language attitudes and language choices.

In relation to the impact that the bidialectal programme had on the students’ D1 writing, the post-test data were rather promising. The experimental students’ use of stylised items decreased substantially through the course of the intervention. In the second round of tasks, the experimental students produced texts that were more congruent with the given contextual setting. At the same time, their control counterparts showed neither the intention to avoid

basilectal forms nor a tendency to reduce hyperdialectisms, which persisted at quite similar rates. Once again, they failed the test by producing texts which stylistically deviated from the context of the tasks.

9.2.3.2.3 Orthographic representation of the dialect

This study took advantage of the highly creative orthographic mechanisms and conventions students came up with before the intervention to render their non-codified mother tongue and in particular the CG-specific palato-alveolar affricate and fricative sounds. The study also helped them distinguish between each type, while providing them with systematic teaching of one of the existent orthography models (the use of diacritic marks over letters). In fact, in post-testing, the experimental students showed increased ability to use the taught method consistently across their texts. Moreover, the rate at which they rendered the post-alveolar CG sounds remained stable showing no additional difficulty in using these features on paper through the use of a ‘new’ orthographic model.

At the other end of the spectrum, the control group showed different results. In particular, similarly to what was the case for all students pre-interventionally, in post-tests, they were inconsistent in the way they represented the dialect in writing, which led to incoherent, almost illegible texts. As in pre-test, they used no diacritic marks to render the dialectal sounds, despite the fact that they are exposed to such conventions through the Cypriot Anthology book which is part of their mainstream Greek language classes. This speaks in favour of the claim that mainstream teaching offers no actual guidance regarding the way the dialect appears in texts. Most crucially, the control students exhibited a high rate of failure in rendering post-alveolars in their scripts as the occurrences of palato-alveolars decreased in their post-data corpus by 50%. As this concerned high-frequency words such as conjunctions [ce] ‘and’ and the auxiliary verb [éçi] ‘has’, it cannot be claimed that the students did not know the CG equivalents. Rather, it is possible that the students purposefully avoided using these words altogether, as they were unsure of how to represent them orthographically and opted for the SMG version of these words, instead. This observation lends credence to the argument that the formal setting of the classroom and school norms for SMG use (especially in writing) might have strongly influenced the students’ linguistic choices in this task.

The proposed programme provided rich information regarding the pedagogical value of teaching dialect writing and the demands it requires on the part of schools in order to implement it. Opponents of dialect education argue that teaching dialect writing (teaching literacy skills in a dialect) as part of the language lesson module is time-consuming and unaffordable (Elsasser and Irvine, 1985; Elbow, 2002; Bean *et al.*, 2003). For instance, Elsasser and Irvine (1985) say that one reason literacy in Creole is not taught in the Caribbean is the assumption that ‘students’ limited writing ability is due to linguistic interference’ and that ‘time devoted to writing in Creole detracts from students’ ability to learn to write English’. Contrary to such strong claims, the study provided data which demonstrate the ease at which CG students learned to write in their native language, the advantages of which have been widely highlighted by much prior relevant research (Collier, 1992; Dutcher and Tucker, 1996; Klaus, 2003).

9.2.4 Enhanced linguistic and sociolinguistic awareness

A key contribution of this study lies in the fact that it provided empirical data on the performance of GC primary school pupils in their native variety through oral and written language tests. Oral D1 testing provided important numerical and qualitative data regarding actual D1 language use at this age and served as a benchmark whereby students’ written D1 performance was evaluated. The data from the written D1 test are seen as especially valuable, as they reflect how students conceptualise contemporary CG and their level of conscious awareness regarding internal variation and appropriate use of CG. The assumption is that, because written production is less spontaneous than speech, it reflects pupils’ conscious awareness more accurately. Consequently, the quantitative and qualitative pre-data amounted to telling evidence of limited linguistic and sociolinguistic awareness. Before the intervention, the students seemed unaware of the multiplicity of registers of the CG dialect and the variants that are associated with each register. In addition, they were unsuccessful in processing contextual information and appropriately representing mesolectal registers of their mother tongue in writing. The low use of lexical CG items observed in students’ oral D1 speech before the programme compared to the one found at a later stage provide extra support for this argument.

After the intervention, the D1 written performance profile of the experimental students changed radically. Mesolectal CG use increased, while the students’ switches to basilectal or constructed, pseudo-regional CG forms decreased. These results provided evidence to support the claim that bidialectal instruction leads to increased confidence in writing in the dialect while traditional

teaching, by promoting single-standard writing, hinders the ability of young CG speakers to develop (at least written) proficiency in their mother tongue.

It is apparent that, in time, students who received the bidialectal treatment, which capitalised on language and register variation, became more conscious of the distinctive grammatical features of their mother tongue and were more able to distinguish them from their standard equivalents. Through a series of structured language activities which meaningfully introduced structural elements of the CG in oral and written texts, the students gradually achieved a heightened degree of awareness of the differences between Standard and CG, as is also indicated by the data from the post-assessment of the standard variety. At the same time, students displayed heightened register awareness and had grown more aware of the internal variability that characterises their own mother tongue and the stylistic implications of the use of different CG variants. Students were moreover able to capitalise on this awareness when reproducing their own texts, as they became more skilled at evaluating the contextual information and made appropriate language choices on this basis as well as becoming more skilled at relating particular variants to types of communicative functions of language in specific contexts. The results were therefore particularly encouraging, as they pointed to increased metalinguistic awareness, not only of the structural but also of the sociolinguistic and stylistic aspects of variation. Overall, these results confirm relevant findings from similar programmes in the CG community (Papanicola and Tsiplakou, 2008; Papanicola, 2010; Tsiplakou and Hadjioannou, 2010), as well as in other speech communities that exploited language and register variation and showed that the systematic contrastive teaching of variation is a particularly powerful tool for promoting both grammatical and sociolinguistic awareness (Adger, Wolfram and Christian, 2014). The importance of acquiring both types of awareness is well identified. According to Romaine (1984), in addition to knowing what is grammatical, acquiring the knowledge of sociolinguistic variation is necessary to achieve communicative competence in one's language (Hymes, 1972).

It is also suggested that the cultivation of a positive climate towards the CG dialect via the bidialectal programme also played a crucial role, as it is believed to have reinforced the effect of the bidialectal teaching itself, by making the students more tolerant towards the use of the dialect – especially in writing. The current programme introduced students' mother tongue in the classroom and assigned to it a status and role similar to the one that the standard exclusively enjoyed so far. By doing so, it fostered positive attitudes towards the dialect and, in this respect, it deconstructed myths which treat dialects as inferior types of language and dialect-speaking

students as suffering from a language deficit. This is in line with Cummins (1986, p.22) observation, which is still relevant today: '[...]widespread school failure does not occur in minority groups that are positively oriented towards both their own and the dominant culture, that do not perceive themselves as inferior to the dominant group, and that are not alienated from their own cultural values'. This conclusion still holds true today as subsequent educational research consistently attests (Corson, 2001; Cummins, 2001; Nieto and Bode, 2015).

Consequently, the introduction of the dialect in the classroom via a contrastive model seems not only to have helped the experimental students of this study to differentiate between their two varieties and the various sub-varieties of their mother tongue and to learn to negotiate between them, but also, perhaps most crucially, it seems to have promoted the dialect as a prestigious linguistic variety, which helped students gain in self-esteem and led to enhanced linguistic performance. This line of argument is supported by much recent research, which has shown that positive attitudes towards L1 and L2 play a significant role in the academic achievement of bilingual children. Similarly, the positive attitudes that teachers and school representatives hold towards bilingual/bidialectal children's cultural and ethnic background also influence positively the performance of the bilingual children (Cummins, 1996; Siegel, 2010).

9.3 The urban-rural school location dichotomy

This section considers the implications of school location as a potential performance factor and/or an effect modifier. As was described in the methodology chapter, students were purposefully drawn from different catchment areas, both urban and rural, in an attempt to document the scholarly performance of students from distinct backgrounds and detect potential discrepancies between them.

As the GC educational system provides fairly homogeneous policies and syllabi for schools regardless of geographical area, the amount, content and quality of formal education which rural and urban peers receive is perceived to be comparable, therefore there should be no *a priori* reasons to anticipate differences in linguistic production. However, the urban-rural dichotomy has received attention in previous studies, which have in fact pointed to discrepancies between the standard production of urban and rural students (Yiakoumetti, 2006). Indeed, the pre-test data on *standard speaking* and *dialect writing* yielded significantly different rates of dialectal use between urban and rural students with the latter almost consistently underperforming. In

relation to the *oral D2*, rural students recorded higher rates of dialectal interference in their standard speech. This stronger presence of dialectal forms in rural students' oral discourse, as opposed to their urban peers, is in accordance with a linguistic/cultural stereotype, namely that 'horiatika' ('peasantry' speech) is the tongue of people from rural, perhaps humbler and poorer backgrounds. Also, many Cypriot teachers hold the view that children from rural areas include more CG items in their written/oral school language use (Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004), which is consistent with the findings of a series of other studies (Papastavrou, 2000; Papapavlou and Yiakoumetti, 2003; Yiakoumetti, 2003, 2006; Loukaidou, 2004) which highlighted that rural students exhibit increased transference from the mother tongue to the standard.

The performance gap between urban and rural students has been frequently associated with an unequal access to linguistic capital, which in turn is assumed to stem from sociocultural factors such as the lower socio-economic status (SES) of some rural families. Several studies have actually found a strong link between family SES and children's linguistic competence across different ages (Walker *et al.*, 1994; Fernald, Marchman and Weisleder, 2013). In particular, it is suggested that high-SES parents tend to use more complex and supportive speech and more frequently involve their children in literacy activities (see also Bernstein, 1964 on elaborate and restricted codes). Socioeconomic differences are likely to have been a factor in the case of the urban and rural GC students, too. Unlike the urban students, the vast majority of the rural students came from households where the parents were employed in lower-skilled and typically lower-paid jobs.

In the *written D1 test*, the picture was unexpectedly different: while the urban students used more CG mesolectal items in their texts, they also used more basilectal items and hyperdialectisms compared to their rural counterparts, rendering their texts stylistically inappropriate. While these data might appear contradictory to the results of previous tests, they actually show that scholarly performance is a matter of awareness rather than of direct transfer from pre-existing linguistic capital. A plausible explanation for the rural and urban students' differential performance in relation to their awareness of register might be their differential access to resources and experiences that exposed them to multiple CG registers and a range of basilectal forms. The higher sociolinguistic awareness that rural students seemed to exhibit could be a consequence of a comparatively greater exposure to a wider range of CG forms, which encompasses not only mesolectal CG items, as in the case of the urban students, but also

basilectal CG variants. This is likely to have been a result of the even greater range of language styles the CG rural students use at home and at school.

Despite the fact that school location appeared to affect students' performance in a number of tasks, the effect of the tests did not appear to be dependent on school location as there were no radical differences in the extent of improvement between the two groups. What is important, however, is that the analysis of individual cases showed that the treatment contributed to minimising the initial performance differences between the two groups: indeed, in three out of four tests, the rural students, whose initial evaluation suggested poorer linguistic performance, exhibited disproportionately higher improvement levels in comparison to their urban peers. At the same time, in post-testing, the urban experimental students provided stylistically more appropriate dialogues in the CG.

This testified to the value of the programme, as it seemed to support underprivileged groups of students by enhancing language sensitivity and grammatical awareness of the two varieties. A number of studies pointing to the efficacy of bidialectal education to cater to the special needs of particular groups lend support to this argument (Yiakoumetti, Evans and Esch, 2005). In more detail, it has been argued that mother tongue-based education is especially beneficial for linguistically disadvantaged groups, such as children from rural communities or of low SES backgrounds (Hovens, 2002). In particular, within the GC setting, Yiakoumetti, Evans and Esch, (2005) delineated notable differences in how rural and urban students responded to the bidialectal treatment as regards their D2 performance, with the linguistically neediest group (i.e. the rural students based on pre-test results) showing greater improvement.

9.4 Implications for language education

The findings of this study have a number of implications for language education of both a theoretical and a practical nature. The practical implications are linked to a series of guidelines aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of language education policies and practices offered to bidialectal learners. The theoretical implications concern the contribution of this study to the understanding of the construct of bidialectal education.

9.4.1 Implications for language policy and practice

The findings of this investigation have a number of practical implications for the type of language teaching provided to bidialectal learners in Cyprus and other contexts with similar characteristics.

9.4.1.1 Monodialectal education: a failed approach toward D2 and D1 proficiency

As this study has shown, mainstreamed GC primary school pupils who have been formally instructed through a monodialectal language approach – that did not acknowledge or support language variation and treated students as native speakers of SMG – underperformed in both varieties, the targeted standard and the dialectal native variety. In relation to the standard, the study's results are consistent with existing research (e.g. Papastavrou, 2000; Pavlou and Christodoulou, 2001; Papapavlou and Yiakoumetti, 2003; Loukaidou, 2004; Ioannidou, 2007; Yiakoumetti, Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2007) which showed that CG students' standard performance is lacking: there is an obvious susceptibility to interlingual errors, such as inappropriate superimposition of typical D1 constructions into the standard oral and written speech, which is true not only in the early years of children's schooling (when the exposure in the standard is still short in duration) but also in the final years of primary education, as shown in this investigation as well as previous studies (Yiakoumetti, Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2007; Tsiplakou and Hadjioannou, 2010).

Although, in this study, dialectal forms did not have a very strong presence in students' standard texts, the triangulation of the data with the corresponding oral test samples and the data from the analysis of individual items made a strong claim for the existence of a language gap in both mediums. In essence, as showed by the morphological interference that was recorded in both domains, the students' failure concerned areas of the SMG grammar that they had received systematic teaching on and they were expected to master fully.

These data are particularly interesting as they profile performance in the final years of primary schooling. Given that entrance in the (pre-)primary education sector means systematic teaching exclusively through and about SMG (at least according to the Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture circulars), then we should expect native or near-native performance in this variety by Year 5 or 6. Support of the current language-education status quo is thus difficult to justify. It is argued here that the GC educational system unwisely sought to reduce departures from the standard by further tailoring the language of education towards the standard. This situation

mirrors the conceptual premise often reported for second language learners that one should avoid using their first language while acquiring a second (see Koucká, 2007 for a review). This approach is in stark contrast to long-standing research into the importance of the continual use of the first or native language for learning (Cook, 2013).

In this case, by employing a standard-only language education model and in the absence of language-policy support for harnessing and promoting their native varieties, GC students were left alone to identify cross-linguistic differences and similarities between their varieties, and this lack of support reflected badly on their linguistic repertoires. Of course, such detrimental effects from banning students' nonstandard varieties from schools have been reported in other bidialectal settings worldwide (Garrett and James, 1991; Ogbu, 1999; Delpit, 2006). This conclusion is in agreement with Siegel (2007) who argues that monodialectal policies which treat children as native speakers of the standard school variety do not create favourable conditions for raising pupils' linguistic awareness.

The monolingualising and monodialectising policies that have featured in the GC educational community in the last 60 years have not only failed to achieve their overarching objective to support bidialectal learners acquire the targeted standard D2, but, as showed by this study's data, have also had detrimental effects on students' performance in D1. It is argued in this study that students' dialectal scripts may serve as an accurate reflection of the limitations and deficiencies of the current language educational system. In this study, the students' written D1 work did not reflect the type of language they use daily, whether consciously or because of inaccurate understanding of what CG entails, which proved their limited awareness regarding their mother tongue, its levels of use as well as their suitability according to the setting. Ultimately, it proved that students were not in a position to successfully complete the written task in their native dialectal variety and that the prolonged exposure to SMG in school literacy may have contributed to this result.

This finding was somewhat discouraging: if students are incapable of writing in their native variety, how can they be expected to express themselves confidently and accurately in a variety with which they are less familiar, in this case the standard variety? Far from arguing that speakers need to be proficient in writing (indeed, there are languages with oral-only traditions), this finding could be a hint toward *semidialectism*, coined after 'semilingualism' (Baker, 2001) to denote limited competence in two proximal varieties, primarily due to the deficiencies of Cypriot language policies.

9.4.1.2 Need for harnessing and promoting linguistic diversity in education

The GC primary school students' underperformance in D1 and D2 language tasks assessing different aspects of language use and their lack of linguistic and sociolinguistic awareness regarding variation in their repertoire call for changes in the type of language instruction provided to them. In particular, this study suggests that the instructional approach that has been so far employed by the GC educational system should move away from the standard-only rationale currently driving the mainstream language teaching classes (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou and Kappler, 2011) and turn towards a bidialectal LA teaching approach that promotes formal contrastive teaching of variation. Such an approach might not only help students become acquainted with the structural characteristics of the SMG and CG, their internal variation, as well their similarities and differences, but may also make students consciously aware of the functional uses of such structures in various communicative contexts and their semiotic role as indexes of different levels of formality. This is particularly important in bidialectal communities such as that of Cyprus, where language variation and register variation form, to a great extent, overlapping continua.

Of course, such a drastic change in language teaching approaches presupposes that the GC policymakers will accept GC students' bidialectal status and realise that D2 literacy acquisition does not depend on the atrophy of D1. Admitting that Cypriots are not native speakers of SMG but rather second dialect learners is the cornerstone of educational reform in the CG community. Ultimately and ideally, such changes will in time allow Cypriot schools to also change the rationale that underpins language learning, from acquiring literacy in the Greek language to creating biliterate or multiliterate students in the varieties and subvarieties they have at their disposal.

GC students should learn to negotiate their two major varieties as well as the varieties that make up their native language. This is especially important in bidialectal communities where linguistic varieties have powerful associations with empowerment and opportunities (Malcolm, 2011; Sharifian, 2015). When educational policies do not support, maintain, and promote home varieties, how can we expect bilingual advantages to transfer into bidialectal settings? If development in the home variety is suppressed, it may well be unreasonable to demand proficiency in two linguistically-related varieties. This study argues that speakers of proximal varieties ought to be educated in and about these varieties to become better users of all their varieties and develop repertoires that will allow them to leverage language resources within

their communities and beyond (Smith, 2016). In addition, this recommendation accords well with UNESCO's strong commitment to quality education for all and to cultural and linguistic diversity in education. UNESCO is strongly committed to promoting the use of a child's own language as the medium of instruction in the early years of formal schooling (UNESCO, 1953, 2003a, 2003b).

The theoretical justification for the incorporation of the mother tongue in education is well developed and supported in the literature (Cummins, 2000). As noted in the literature review chapter, there is abundant empirical evidence, mainly from bilingual settings but also from experimental interventions in bidialectal settings that demonstrate that utilising the mother tongue in formal education can be extremely beneficial in solving the educational challenges that bidialectal children face (Rickford and Rickford, 1995; Lucas and Yiakoumetti, 2017). Importantly, studies have demonstrated that instruction in the mother tongue is beneficial to literacy in the first language, achievement in other subjects, and learning of a second language (Dutcher and Tucker, 1996), as well as to building the cultural identity and self-esteem of bidialectal students (Sophocleous and Wilks, 2010).

All in all, our findings provide a reminder that, if we wish speakers of proximal varieties to be in a position to benefit fully from advantages associated with linguistic variation, we then ought to start celebrating linguistic diversity. Language policies that ignore bidialectal students' native varieties (on the grounds of lack of standardisation and prestige) are failing fully to serve these students. Many educational language policies need to be unlocked such that they embrace current sociolinguistic realities and facilitate access to the linguistic richness that exists in bidialectal settings.

9.4.1.3 Need for appropriate material and a typology of common linguistic difficulties

Introducing language variation in the classroom and teaching in and about it can only be made possible through appropriately designed material. Such material should be based on cross-dialect literacy techniques that can assist students in dealing with structural and functional conflict between their different varieties. Students should have the chance to be exposed to naturally occurring data of the whole array of language variation existing in the community and formulating the dialectal continuum. At the same time, through a series of structured language activities involving particular oral and written genres, the students should practise using such forms of variation and learn how to manipulate them according to the context and purported

function of each event of communication. Most crucially, students need to receive extra support in areas or domains of language that have been identified by this or previous research as highly problematic.

For example, this study has highlighted a greater lack of proficiency in oral D2 compared to written D2. As noted earlier, this may reflect the disproportionately lower amount and type of literacy experiences pupils receive in oral D2 as well as the limited opportunities they have to practise D2 speech compared to D2 writing. This argument is supported by relevant bibliography, according to which, for a language to become part of a learner's communicative repertoire, they need to be in an environment that affords them opportunities to be exposed to the language and use it. Similarly, the development of proficiency in a second language, or a second dialect (see Siegel, 2010) is not only dependent upon conscious learning (assuming that this takes place in the GC community); rather, progressive advancement through communicative use should also be involved. A new teaching approach should embrace these findings and find ways to bridge the existing gap between oral D2 and written D2 performance.

At the same time, the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute (CPI), in collaboration with the Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, should offer professional development courses mainly to (primary school) teachers informing them of the benefits of a teaching approach that embraces language variation and explicitly training and instructing them on how best to apply such a model during mainstream language classes. This means that teachers should first and foremost be well-equipped themselves with high (meta)linguistic knowledge about the standard language and the students' native dialect (Paradis, 2009). Recent research (Leivada, Kambanaros, *et al.*, 2017) has shown that GC educators' performance in SMG is lacking compared to teachers from mainland Greece, as they are often not fully capable of recognising subtle CG dialectal phenomena in otherwise standard sentences. If teachers are not advanced linguistic and metalinguistic speakers of SMG and CG, then the input students receive in the classroom is inevitably inadequate. Similarly important is the need for educators to acquire professional capacities and linguistic tolerance that counter monolithic policies and entrenched social views towards GC nonstandard-speaking students' linguistic repertoires. These suggestions echo calls made by researchers in relation to other bidialectal settings (Angelo and Carter, 2015; Sharifian, 2015).

In addition, it is suggested here that teachers should be provided with relevant teaching material including a comprehensive list of the most common difficulties identified in CG students' oral

and written speech, accompanied by examples and lay explanations of the various categories. Similarly to earlier research (Yiakoumetti, 2006), this study argues that the nature of linguistic elements is a significant performance predictor. Specific CG items are more frequently used by the students when they attempt to express themselves both in their D2 and in D1, which highlights the necessity for a typology of CG students' common linguistic difficulties classified in a pedagogically appropriate manner. Aimed at educators and language policymakers, the typology will highlight which areas of the standard grammar are mostly problematic and affected by negative transfer, as well as which areas of the Cypriot grammar are mostly in danger of attrition as they are not in active use by GC speakers. It is expected that this typology will provide the teachers with guidelines on where to focus their language instruction; at the same time, it could help enhance their understanding of the sources of SMG-unconventional forms, preventing them from attributing interference to stigmatising factors, such as cognitive deficiency of bidialectal speakers.

9.4.1.4 Need for reform

This study calls on educational policymakers to review and reform the current system. The pupils participating in this study were in their pre-final year of primary schooling and a step away from entering secondary education. As the findings of this study suggest, these pupils will enter secondary school lagging in the school variety which is closely linked to academic success. Given that secondary school has a more demanding language curriculum and, unlike primary school, focuses on context analysis while taking SMG acquisition for granted, this educational transition is likely to prove particularly difficult for GC students. If students cannot catch up with the increasing proficiency requirements of the new language curriculum, they run the risk of developing negative attitudes towards schooling and failing academically (Cummins, 1996). In the absence of immediate action, the educational disadvantage to which bidialectal GC pupils are subject will, in the course of time, translate into a social disadvantage, confirming the role of school as a mechanism of social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1973).

9.4.2 Implications for understanding bidialectal education as an approach

The study has contributed to the understanding of the bidialectal approach and what benefits it can offer to settings similar to the GC by investigating, on the one hand, its effects on supporting second dialect acquisition via fostering language awareness and, on the other hand, by emphasising the potential impact that it has on first dialect learning.

9.4.2.1 A viable approach for D2 learning

As noted in the literature review, it is undeniable that a major aspiration of bidialectal education should be to provide dialect-speaking children with access to the dominant standard. The acquisition of the standard language is an important part of students' educational development as well as a key component of their social empowerment (Trudgill, 1975; Fillmore and Snow, 2000). Through examining the case of GC bidialectal pupils as learners of a second dialect in Cyprus, this study has shown that bidialectal education can serve as a powerful method for fostering the acquisition of the targeted standard variety. The significantly lower degree of dialectal interference detected in the discourse of the experimental students indicates that the targeted population benefitted considerably from the introduction of bidialectal practices into the language classes. Such practices, which involve the use of the dialect as an awareness-raising tool, have the ability to hone and ultimately raise pupils' awareness of the differences between D1 and D2, thereby reducing the amount of negative transfer in standard language production.

In other words, the proposed approach managed to help in downplaying the effect of a series of factors inherent to dialect structure that inevitably influence language development in bidialectal settings (Grohmann, 2014; Grohmann and Kambanaros, 2016). As noted in earlier chapters, such factors include linguistic proximity, lack of standardisation, unclear boundaries between variants and mixed grammars. Meanwhile, bidialectal methods supported students by actually using their home variety in the classroom, recognising it as a distinct entity with its own grammatical rules and offering students the freedom of self-expression in this variety; this helped them overcome linguistic insecurities which were obvious initially in their over-corrections in the standard.

This study's findings provide evidence in favour of capitalising on linguistic diversity in education and align with research in diverse contexts worldwide which demonstrate that an education which is socially inclusive, in the sense that it promotes children's mother tongues and cultural identities, is markedly more beneficial than an education that suppresses home languages and consequently perpetuates social injustice (Tsiplakou, 2018; Yiakoumetti, 2015). In fact, years of research in bidialectal settings have clearly demonstrated that incorporating linguistic diversity into education can lead to social, cultural, pedagogical, cognitive and linguistic advancement (Siegel, 2010). For example, research into the Gozitan dialects in Malta demonstrated that when dialects are highly regarded, they provide their speakers with benefits associated with bilingualism (Grima, 2015). In Australia, Malcolm and Truscott (2012)

provided evidence of positive influences on repertoire building when a bidialectal programme deploying Australian Aboriginal English alongside Standard Australian English was introduced. Similarly, in Canada, improvement in Standard Canadian English reading skills was recorded when Canadian Aboriginal English was used alongside Standard Canadian English in bidialectal programmes (Ball and Bernhardt, 2012). Also, in the Creole setting of Guinea-Bissau, Benson (2004) discovered that more students spoke in class and that they were less reliant on rote learning when bidialectal programmes deploying the native Crioulo alongside Standard Portuguese were introduced.

9.4.2.2 A viable approach for D1 maintenance and growth

In addition to investigating the effects of bidialectal education on the acquisition of the standard variety, which has so far been the aspect exclusively assessed in relevant studies, this study accommodated broader and rather novel foci and addressed possible concomitant changes in students' performance in their first language. One of the main considerations was to make sure that exploiting students' mother tongues for the promotion of D2 acquisition and development involves no detrimental effects for students' D1. Interestingly, the findings of this study clearly showed that students' performance in D1 was by no means negatively affected or suppressed in any way throughout the application of the bidialectal approach in GC primary schools. In fact, the data showed that the students who were exposed to formal conscious learning of the grammatical properties of the two varieties performed better in both varieties. The improvement noted in the students' performance in the standard variety was accompanied by an equally important upgrade in the use of their mother tongue. In essence, while markedly reducing dialect interference in the standard variety, the experimental students recorded an increase in the spontaneous and conscious uses of register-appropriate CG items in their D1 production, as this was reflected mainly in their written samples. Taken together, the findings converge to indicate that the programme enabled students to engage more confidently with linguistic work in their own language. Prior to the programme, the state of the students' conscious knowledge of their mother tongue was somewhat disappointing. They showed a rather limited ability to retrieve and consciously use items specific to their mother tongue as well as to distinguish among its different register levels and use stylistically appropriate CG items according to the situational context.

Bidialectal teaching appears to be highly beneficial in helping speakers of proximal dialectal varieties gain a full perspective of their linguistic repertoire, distinguish between their standard and dialectal forms as well as between dialectal forms of different registers and styles and, crucially, understand that through the manipulation of dialect-standard equivalent variants, they can achieve different communicative results. In other words, as students became competent in switching between the dialect and the standard, they acquired an equally important ability to assess variation within their dialect and associate CG register levels with different communicative purposes.

In this study, first and foremost, the bidialectal approach created favourable conditions for increasing pupils' grammatical awareness of the structural features that differentiate CG and SMG. By doing so, the students became consciously aware of the specific characteristics that mark the use of each variety, some of which they already possessed unconsciously but did not explicitly understand or use. At the same time, the programme fostered sensitivity on sociolinguistic and stylistic aspects of the variation that characterises the range of their repertoire and enhanced their understanding of the attitudes that may underpin Cypriots' linguistic practices.

The empirical data from this study on the effects of bidialectal education on students' native language can only be compared to very few prior relevant studies as, to the best of my knowledge, this area has remained relatively unaddressed in the field of bidialectism and education. Its positive outcomes echo the findings of bilingual programmes involving a creole or a pidgin language. For example, Murtagh (1982) in Australia and Benson (2004) in Africa reported positive results for both creole mother tongues and standard proficiency. A recent example is the two-way bidialectal programme applied in Australian schools (Malcolm *et al.*, 1999; Malcolm and Königsberg, 2007; Malcolm and Truscott, 2012; Malcolm, 2015). After the implementation of the programme, the findings provided strong evidence in support of its contribution to enhancing biliteracy and biculturalism.

9.5 Conclusion

This study provides strong empirical evidence of the effectiveness of bidialectal education as a means to promote biliteracy. As discussed, the quantitative and qualitative data converged to indicate that bidialectal teaching accelerates the fostering of linguistic and sociolinguistic

awareness and thus leads to increased linguistic proficiency both in the targeted standard and in the dialectal native variety of the students. This study's results in the targeted standard (school) variety corroborate a series of bidialectal studies across the globe which conclude that when mother-tongue education is promoted, students flourish in the school variety as well. Trudgill noted as early as in 1975 that through the bidialectal approach, students' native variety can be respected and safeguarded while at the same time [they] become competent in the standard variety. Developing students' understanding of the relationships between the two varieties and their value aids in resolving the conflict between the use of dialect and the necessity to inculcate the standard variety.

This study has also provided original insights into the need to rethink and redesign several aspects of the existing educational system in the setting of the study, as they are ineffective: after receiving five or more years of systematic teaching of the targeted standard, the performance of GC primary school students still falls short of policymakers' expectations. By collecting data on students' D1 production, this study showed that mainstreamed language classes not only fail in their primary goal – proficiency in the standard – but they also limit students' access to the rich repertoire offered to them by their native variety and contribute to a distorted understanding of the language used in their native environment.

The implications of this study for language education are crucial. This study has demonstrated that the language policy that the GC educational system has maintained since its inception is confronting bidialectal CG students' language performance and should change. As for the broader implications of the study in relation to the theoretical understanding of bidialectal education, this research has shed light on the full capacities of this instructional model: it has ascertained its usefulness in fostering second dialect acquisition and has proved its equally beneficial capacity simultaneously to promote first-dialect maintenance and growth.

Chapter 10 Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

The aim of the present chapter is to summarise the main findings of the empirical study in relation to the implementation of bidialectal education in the bidialectal school context of the GC community. The chapter will highlight the way in which the present study contributes to existing literature on the role of the pedagogical approach of bidialectal education, especially with reference to first and second dialect learning and explain why this contribution is significant. A critical reflection on the main limitations of this study and the challenges the setting of the study imposed will also be discussed before listing key recommendations for future research in the field.

10.2 Focus of the study: a summary

Taking into account the sociolinguistic landscape of the GC setting, this empirical investigation adopted a quasi-experimental research design supplemented by a qualitative strand to study the effectiveness of using a language awareness bidialectal model which incorporated a contrastive feature in enhancing the learning of the D2 while simultaneously maintaining and promoting the D1. The experimental and control groups consisted of 119 GC students in their pre-final year of primary education. Located within an educational linguistics paradigm, this inquiry used linguistic insights to inform topical issues in education. Its significance lies in the development of teaching material which was deemed appropriate for the teaching of bidialectal students; the material capitalised on language variation and supported the development of both linguistic varieties by ensuring their equal and parallel teaching in the classroom. At the same time, the development of teaching material was supplemented by the design and implementation of assessments which allowed the monitoring of the students' native language, the evaluation of which has been thus far neglected in many bidialectal programmes, which, despite claims for promoting biliteracy, language inclusion and equality, in fact favoured the standard language. All in all, this study has attempted to close the gap between the school's targeted standard and the students' native nonstandard variety by ensuring their equal representation in the classroom as well as their concurrent assessment and monitoring.

The intervention lasted approximately seven months (including the pilot study as well) and was completed by a statistical analysis of the students' written and oral performance in the two varieties and a qualitative analysis of their corresponding outputs collectively. The results suggested that bidialectal teaching is a potentially effective pedagogy which helps the parallel processes of first dialect maintenance and second dialect acquisition in primary school bidialectals.

10.3 Summary of findings

As discussed in previous chapters, there is evidence that the introduction of students' D1 in formal education as a contrastive and awareness-raising tool could lead to a significant improvement in students' standard performance in both the written and oral domains. This key finding helps to contribute to the existing literature on the facilitative role of a D1 in D2 learning, which is an area of controversy among those who advocate standard-only policies and view dialect maintenance as a hindrance to students' identification with the mainstream language and culture (Baratz, 1969; Fasold, 1972).

With the ultimate aim of improving students' D2 learning outcomes (by reducing interference with standard speech of a number of targeted dialectal items), the implementation of bidialectal methods in this study enhanced the creation of salient input for learners which helped to expedite the process of intake (Van Lier, 1995; Turnbull and Arnett, 2002). Apart from creating salient input, the bidialectal method draws students' attention to cross-linguistic features, helping them to notice and detect the ways in which their D1 differs explicitly from D2. In essence, D1 becomes a resource; the goal is to build on students' first language or dialect knowledge, while juxtaposing it explicitly to the standard, which is required for school and academic work (Rickford, 2005; Adger, Wolfram and Christian, 2014); this is also in line with Schmidt's (1990) 'Noticing Hypothesis'.

In this investigation, the performance of the experimental group displayed increasing attempts at self-repair (in oral performance) and increasing uses of hypercorrected items (in written performance) as the teaching intervention progressed. While these instances interfered with the smooth flow of speech production, in the context of this study they are seen positively, as they indicate enhanced (meta)linguistic awareness of the standard and dialectal grammatical features (Robinson, 1995). It is hypothesised that these statements will be gradually internalised by

learners, so that they are registered in long-term memory and, in this way, pupils will have no need to correct or overcorrect production of linguistic items in the target language, but rather will be able to produce the correct targeted forms from the outset.

The marked contribution of the bidialectal teaching approach to the experimental students' standard performance – primarily reflected in the decrease in dialect interference – was also confirmed by the item-by-item analysis. In oral production, significant improvement was found in all four levels of linguistic analysis in which the two varieties exhibit differences and in all the ten targeted features that extensively interfered with students' standard speech before the intervention. In written production, the changes were less profound but still significant. It is interesting to note that the improvement noted in the experimental group concerned items with both high and low markedness, the latter referring to 'interference traps' (James, 1999), namely items in the two varieties that exhibit low degree of D1:D2 contrastivity, and thus are hard to notice. On the other hand, the written and oral performance of the control group consistently fell behind across all levels and targeted items. Most significantly, the positive gains of the proposed bidialectal approach in fostering second dialect development add further support to other empirical studies which investigated the pedagogical strategy of capitalising on variation in language teaching and using contrastive linguistic instruction to facilitate learning (Kupferborg and Olshtain, 1996; Adger, Wolfram and Christian, 2014; Arkorful and Adger, 2015; Devonish, Daley-Morris and Carpenter, 2015; Grima, 2015; Ricentro, 2015; Vaish, 2015).

Apart from (academic) gains in the standard variety, the proposed method appeared to be beneficial in terms of maintaining and promoting the home variety. A fundamental goal of bidialectal approaches is to safeguard students' D1 and, if possible, promote its development while enhancing students' performance in the standard (Wolfram, Adger and Christian, 1999); to this end, the study incorporated language assessments in both varieties. There is evidence that the use of bidialectal methods had no adverse effects on students' D1, in spite of having their primary focus on elevating D2 performance. The implementation of the bidialectal approach – which introduced the dialectal native variety in the classroom and exploited it both as a resource as well as an object of learning – helped students to activate their implicit knowledge concerning their D1 and convert it into insight and metacognition. That is what (Levelt, Sinclair and Jarvella, 1978) referred to as implicit knowledge that has become explicit. At the same time, this newly acquired language awareness gave the learners an equally important insight into their

knowledge gaps, for instance about internal variation and appropriate use of their D1, which they were trained to bridge, so as to use D1 effectively in the tasks.

One of the intervention's main aims was for students to increase appropriate D1 use, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and overall, the contribution of the bidialectal teaching approach to the experimental students' D1 performance has been marked. While in the oral production the observed increase in CG rates is probably related to other factors and cannot be attributed to the teaching approach, the changes the bidialectal programme brought about in the written production attested to its beneficial impact. The post-data showed that, after having their (linguistic and sociolinguistic) awareness informed regarding variation in the D1 and its sociolinguistic connotations, students successfully processed contextual information and appropriately represented mesolectal registers of their native variety. In particular, students increased CG uses over the standard ones while they managed to select CG items from the mesolectal register that were suited to the targeted context of the task. Consequently, the phenomenon of bundling together Cypriot forms (mesolectal, basilectal, hyperdialectal) from different CG register levels – which before the intervention undermined the coherence between context and style in their scripts – was minimised. Significant improvement was found mostly in morphology and in specific targeted morphological features, while a non-negligible improvement was also noted in the areas of phonology and lexicon. At the same time, students learned how to render the dialect orthographically in a consistent manner within a relatively short time span. On the other hand, the control group recorded overall worse results across all linguistic levels and individual targeted items while their presentation of dialectal sounds remained inconsistent and rendered their scripts largely unintelligible.

These key findings contribute to the existing literature concerning the concomitant impact of bidialectal methods on D1, a crucial area which previous research has failed to explore fully. Most importantly, this study implemented a bidialectal programme which remained faithful to the rationale, principles and aspirations of bidialectal education for promoting biliteracy by proposing a treatment which promotes and assesses learning in both varieties equally. The intervention was successful in providing students with a sense of the different varieties and sub-varieties that comprise their linguistic repertoires, acknowledging the indexical value of each variety and addressing issues of register and stylistic appropriateness (Trudgill, 1975, 1983; Sharifian, 2015). This study's rationale was founded on the idea that, since education aims to provide equal opportunities to all students, children should use both their dialectal native variety

and the norm, learn to appreciate them differently and use them appropriately according to the context (Cook, 2013).

The findings of the current study support the widely held beliefs that bidialectal practices, which foster language awareness have a positive effect on language behaviour – and showed that this is extended to students' home varieties as well. Indeed, the study showed that, once children were made aware of the surface structural differences between the features of the SMG and CG as well as the sociolinguistic conventions of the context that regulate language use, they used this knowledge to linguistically remedy their output.

10.4 Key contributions

In contrast to prior studies, this research explores the effect of bidialectal education on learners' educational and home varieties. Research on bidialectal education has thus far focused exclusively on the effects of such education on standard linguistic varieties used in education in bidialectal settings. This is understandable considering that language policy goes hand in hand with power and prestige and that educational varieties are intimately associated with such value-laden concepts (Bourdieu, 1991; Spolsky, 2004). While some empirical evidence has been offered in support of the benefits of bidialectal/bilingual pedagogy for D1/L1 maintenance and development (Murtagh, 1982; Benson, 2004; Malcolm and Königsberg, 2007), more systematic and targeted research is needed while there are no data about the effects of such a pedagogical intervention on students' D1 within the sociolinguistic context of Cyprus. This intervention study, in addition to investigating the effects of bidialectal education on the acquisition of the standard variety in the GC community, accommodated broader and rather novel foci which addressed possible concomitant changes in GC students' performance in their native variety.

Secondly, through an investigation of the students' spontaneous (dialectal) speech production, this study first explored the main characteristics of the students' natural speech and, second, identified which aspects in the students' dialect speech are more prominent in dialect use or recurrent in standard use. This compilation of salient dialectal items could have pedagogical usefulness – it can guide the creation of appropriate material for the teaching of the standard and the dialect as well as pave the way for change in the instruction's paradigm. In addition, this study offered valuable insights into the grammatical system of a non-codified

nonstandardised variety and laid the foundations for future research on the description of the contemporary CG and its registers.

Thirdly, contrary to most empirical studies conducted in the setting of Cyprus thus far, which measured dialectal transference in standard production and analysed them per linguistic domain, this study added a second, more holistic exploration of the students' performance trajectory initiated by a targeted investigation of the most prominently used CG features (chapter 7). A micro-analysis was deemed preferable, as a feature analysis by level of linguistic analysis would only provide very general information regarding the nature of the most common sources of interference that impedes D2 proficiency. On the other hand, the micro-level analysis of individual items helped the researcher to avoid missing important information on the surface level that would otherwise pass unnoticed. Additionally, adopting a classification by linguistic level is never a simple task (as the boundaries are often blurred) and carries a number of drawbacks. Many of the CG-SMG discrepancies are related to more than one linguistic level, e.g. the difference in the treatment of tenses is related to morphology, syntax and the semantics of CG, some idiosyncratic CG verb endings are related to phonological phenomena, but at the same time influence CG morphology, to mention just a few.

Fourthly, this study, aiming for a more comprehensive outlook, employed the aforementioned rigorous, item-by-item analysis in all the sampled students' scripts and oral transcripts instead of just using a focal group, which would limit the range and potential of the study. This allowed for more data to be analysed and increased the credibility of the findings. Ultimately, the purpose of gathering data on individual items was to investigate the items that occur more frequently in students' texts and draw conclusions about what aspects of the students' production, standard and dialect require attention and establish connections (i.e. in terms of linguistic level, saliency, noticeability).

10.5 Limitations of the study

An important limitation of the study lies at the core of this investigation: the sample of the study involves students from a single city in Greek-speaking Cyprus, which makes it particularly specific and imposes restrictions on the wider applicability of its findings. Given the homogeneity that characterises the Cypriot educational system, no *a priori* differences should be expected between schools from different geographical areas, yet the outcomes of this

investigation could only be seen as reflecting the trends existing within the population of this particular city. The choice of four typical (urban-rural) primary schools in Limassol may indeed have increased the study's relevance but not the generalisability of its findings to the whole educational system in Cyprus. Before the findings could be generalised to the entire population of Year 5 primary school students in Cyprus, replication studies would need to be conducted in multiple locations on the island (Robson, 2002).

The study was also limited by the fact that it did not have access to information associated with factors that might influence the students' performance and affect the study's results in different ways. Such factors involve the students' IQ, overall school performance, the students' and the parents' socioeconomic backgrounds and education profiles. Despite the relevant sociolinguistic homogeneity (all group members were born and raised in Limassol to GC parents), there is always the possibility of the above variables affecting the situation. However, due to restrictions imposed by the educational agenda of the study and by the timeframes of the intervention, these data did not become available for exploration. As such, caution must be exercised when interpreting the results.

Another limitation of the study is that its design did not include a delayed post-test to investigate whether the treatment's outcomes persisted over an extended period of time and to what degree. The end of the intervention coincided with the end of the school year, when formal yearly assessment is scheduled, so the request for a follow-up evaluation approximately six weeks after the intervention was unfortunately declined.

Further limitations of the findings pertain to the conditions under which testing took place. As noted earlier, ideally, D1 assessment should be conducted in low-formality settings outside school, however permission to move students outside school premises was not granted. The students' assessment in their written D1 was limited by the decision to disallow them to use the Latin alphabet, so as to increase the accessibility and acceptability of the proposed language programme in Cypriot schools. Also, the issue of subjectivity during the data analysis stage should not be overlooked, as it may have informed decisions such as deciding which forms in the pupils' samples were dialectal and which linguistic level and register they belong to. In addition, the fact that some occurrences of a phenomenon did not occur or occurred to a lesser degree in specific tasks may have to do with extralinguistic factors such as the open-ended nature of the tasks. However, even though using close tasks might have guaranteed the

elicitation of all relevant phenomena, this type of tests was not opted for, as it would not provide contextualised, dynamic data on students' linguistic production.

10.6 Challenges and contingencies dealt in the course of the study

It should be noted that the design of the study involved other structured types of tasks to supplement the main data collection tools presented in this thesis. In particular, a grammaticality judgement test, a vocabulary test and a clitics test formed the full range of language tests that were administered to assess students' language performance and awareness in their two varieties. In addition, apart from the language attitudes of students, their parents' and teachers' were also assessed (prior to the intervention) via an attitudinal questionnaire followed up by semi-structured interviews with a subset of people from each group. Due to space limitations, the results of these tests do not form part of this thesis; however, the demands of administering nine tests before and after the intervention were high for both the researcher and the school teachers, whose schedule had to be interrupted for the needs of the study. Inevitably, the researcher was frequently confronted with complaints from the schools, which sometimes led to mandatory changes in the initial concept and design of the intervention in order to ensure that the study would be allowed to run smoothly.

In addition to this, the ideologically burdened topic of the thesis for the GC community also created controversy and led to a number of challenges. Despite securing the parents' consent for the participation of their children in the intervention, there were cases of parents who, retrospectively, strongly objected to the proposed teaching approach and argued for its termination. In an extreme case, the conflict led to individuals threatening to press charges against the headteacher of one of the schools for allowing the researcher to run the (Ministry-approved) implementation of a programme which promotes the use of the dialect in education. In essence, these people saw the introduction of the dialect in the classroom as a threat to CG students' Greek identity while they argued that such attempts are driven by Neo-Cypriot circles and foreign forces which aim to cut Cyprus off from Greece. Others argued that the programme was at odds with the country's constitution, as it treated the CG dialect as equal to SMG. Interestingly, along the same lines were the objections against the 2010 curriculum (MoEC, 2010). Despite the isolated nature of such incidents, they definitely caused disturbance to the school/s and jeopardised the intervention study.

10.7 Suggestions for further research

There are a number of suggestions for future research. First, the current study focused on the effect of bidialectal language approach for 5th grade pupils in public schools (in Limassol city) in Cyprus. In order to enhance the generalisability of the study's findings on a local and supra-local level, there is a need to conduct studies of greater depth and breadth than the one reported in this thesis. This would include research with students in other cities within Cyprus and in other bidialectal settings worldwide. As Lincoln and Guba (1985, p.124) point out, '[l]ocal conditions [...] make it impossible to generalize'. Nevertheless, this research study did not intend to provide generalisable findings but to enhance understanding and inform knowledge about the biliteracy effects of bidialectal primary students in the specific setting. Researchers should be thus encouraged to conduct relevant research in cross-linguistic and cross-cultural contexts and make their publications available to the research community as well as to the general public with regard to various populations of speakers. Wherever possible, studies should be participatory and collaborative, involving school representatives, particularly teachers of bidialectal students, the students themselves, parents and the community.

Secondly, considering the lack of reliable, comprehensive and accurate means of assessing linguistic proficiency of second dialect learners, research should concentrate on producing culturally and linguistically appropriate language assessment strategies. The distinctive linguistic, cultural and political circumstances of nonstandard-speaking populations and their unique history require a multi-layered understanding of their performance (Malcolm, 2011). It is increasingly urgent that an attempt be made to look at what is involved in bidialectal language and literacy teaching and testing and to uncover some of the levels of meaning that need to be taken into account in understanding nonstandard speakers' achievement and, potentially in working towards its improvement.

If through bidialectal education we are to aim at the development of biliteracy, then language tests that will target performance in D1 should be prepared. Acknowledging that in most cases nonstandard varieties are usually oral varieties which lack codification, designing testing materials for these varieties is a demanding enterprise that requires the co-operation of linguists and educators. At the same time, research should not neglect to take steps towards the development of fair assessment conditions for the D2 of the students. Typically, national policies on language and literacy curricula reinforce language approaches to the evaluation of

the standard variety that have been standardised for monodialectal, standard speakers. As elaborated in earlier chapters, testing in the standard that does not cater for the needs of nonstandard speakers of this variety misrepresents the abilities of these students, in that too many nonstandard language users are seen as disordered and too few as gifted (Malcolm, 2011). In the same vein, Sharifian (2015) cautions that Aboriginal students' performance is frequently misinterpreted and calls for the creation of alternative assessments that take into account students' entire linguistic repertoires. Therefore, research should focus on preparing tests that can distinguish what students know from the way in which the standard is used by bidialectal students. Meanwhile, initiatives should be taken toward adapting national language assessment scales to make them more specific to the learning situation/s of bidialectal students. For the setting of Cyprus, in particular, a proposal would be to evaluate CG standard oral production against Cypriot Standard Greek (Arvaniti, 2010) rather than against SMG as used by Greeks.

Most crucially, future studies in the domain of bidialectism and education need to turn their focus toward investigating the effects of bidialectal teaching not only on nonstandard-speaking pupils' language performance but also on their standard-speaking counterparts. In other words, research should aim to show that in a language policy which embraces linguistic diversity and variation by introducing nonstandard varieties in formal education, nonstandard as well as standard speakers might potentially benefit. On the contrary, non-linguistically inclusive approaches portray bidialectal and monodialectal speakers erroneously, by presenting the former as linguistically deficient and the latter as linguistically competent (Smith, 2016). In his research, Smith (2016) claims that research should focus on systematically examining how students' engagement with literacy, language and culture across cultural and linguistic boundaries can result in literacy and language gains for all populations and identify pathways through which parents can be privy to the results of this research (see Naqvi and Pfitscher, 2011). This is an area that, to the best of my knowledge, has not received much attention, although one of the arguments against bidialectal education has been that exposure to nonstandard, non-established forms of speech might potentially harm standardised speakers. Following Malcolm (2011), it is argued here that standard and nonstandard speakers alike might benefit from becoming acquainted with linguistic varieties, as this would allow them to manipulate language effectively regardless of boundaries – be they social, cultural or linguistic. What is more, it is crucial to realise that different language varieties have a distinct communicative power and valuing others' expressions unites rather than separates.

Finally, at the same time that research in the setting of Cyprus should turn its focus to standard-Greek speaking populations and investigate how they are also to be benefited by a bidialectal approach method, it would be equally interesting to see how multilingual non-Greek/CG speakers might benefit from such a novel language teaching approach. Multilingualism in Cyprus has recently witnessed a tremendous increase. The demographic make-up of the island started to change in 1990s due to inward migration waves which saw an increase especially from 2004 onward, when Cyprus joined the European Union and became a host county for a large number of EU nationals (Constantinou, 2014; Nicolaou *et al.*, 2016). The multilingual composition of Cyprus is reflected in the domain of education as well, with immigrant pupils enrolled in public Greek schools steadily following an increasing trend and constituting a large part of the overall student population in Cypriot schools (Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, 2013).

Research has shown that immigrant/multilingual children are confronted with a comparatively greater challenge of operating in the second dialect of a second language (L2:D2) and this can often take the form of dialectal interference in written speech, which is higher in rate compared to what has been reported for Cypriot students (Constantinou, 2014). Therefore, a bidialectal model of teaching could be especially beneficial for immigrant students, as it will offer them tailored support in acquiring the standard version of a language which they are not exposed to outside school. Similar issues with immigrant children are also faced by adults who learn Greek as a second/foreign language in the setting of the dialect-speaking Cyprus. Being myself a Greek teacher of multilingual adults who have been exposed to the language/s used in the GC community, I have witnessed how the dialect can indeed interfere in language learning. The ways in which adult L2 learners of Greek are to be benefited by a novel approach of teaching Greek as a second language which will accommodate aspects of the bidialectal nature of the language practices in the community is a topic which has not yet received attention and therefore constitutes an area for research and investigation.

10.8 Conclusion

This research has sought to examine the effects of bidialectal education on the acquisition of the standard variety, the D2, while observing any concomitant quantitative or qualitative changes

in the home variety. In this study, students were appropriately assessed on what they can do using their entire repertoire of language features, as well as selected linguistic items. In doing so, the classroom became an authentic reflection of the natural interplay between D1 and D2 in the broader GC society.

All the evidence presented thus far in this study has shown bidialectal approach to be a promising pedagogical tool which can be exploited to achieve equally desirable D2 and D1 learning outcomes in the written and oral competence of students. The explicit contrastive instruction of the two varieties appeared to be very effective in accelerating the fostering of language awareness. The outcome was a progression from awareness (linguistic and sociolinguistic) to production. The intervention programme allowed students to familiarise themselves with their complex and expanded D1 repertoire and equipped them to recognise when to use what features and for what purposes.

Moreover, the study has reiterated that eliminating the D1 does not appear to foster better D2 learning. Indeed, no study to date in the fields of bilingualism/ bidialectism has been able to demonstrate a causal relationship between exclusion of the L1 or D1 and improved L2 or D2 learning (Macaro, 2001). Conversely, this study showed that monodialectal/monolingual policies have adverse effects on the acquisition or competence in the standard D2, while it highlighted the detrimental effects it has on D1 maintenance and growth.

While the questions driving this inquiry have been addressed, further questions have been raised. The expectation is that this study will serve as a precursor to a new body of research that will explore in more depth the nature of the effects that bidialectal methods have on students' linguistic repertoires and advance our understanding of the suggested language instruction method for bidialectal communities. It is also considered highly important that this new research should also focus on exploring bidialectal education from the perspective of the standard-speaking students who also form part of bidialectal societies. Monolinguals and monodialectals face social, economic, linguistic and cultural differences as they come across linguistically diverse groups within an increasingly pluralistic world (Jacquemet, 2005; Canagarajah, 2006). In contrast, the linguistically diverse have the opportunity to develop literate repertoires that allow them to access certain domains of the modern societies that demand the use of standard official languages as well those which call for multilingual/multicultural knowledge. In sum, the constantly increasing linguistic diversity of today's world requires individuals to draw on various languages, their varieties and multiple literacies for the purposes of effective

communication but also for social empowerment and social equity. This thesis has shown that bidialectal teaching models which remain true to their principles can maintain as well as promote biliteracy and pave the way for linguistically skilful speakers.

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APPENDIX 1

TARGETED CG FEATURES

CG feature	SMG	CG	Meaning
PHONOLOGY/PHONETICS			
Consonant gemination (including aspiration of plosives)	áli papús pote	ál:i pap ^h :ús pot ^h :e	other grandfather never
Palato-alveolar fricatives/ affricates [tʃ], [ʃ], [ʒ]: before the front vowels [e], [i] or the glide [j]	ce çeri	tʃe ʃeri	and hand
Elision of fricatives and sibilant [s]	aníjis	aníis	you open
CG-specific stress patterns	Ánθropi	anθrópi	humans
Voiced [b], [d] and [g]/[ɟ] replaced by non-voiced [p], [t] and [k]/[c]	Babás	papás	father
Epenthesis of an [i] or [e] word initially in verbs beginning with two consonants or a double consonant [ks],[ps]	kséro boró péfto ksanaérθis	ikséro imboró ip ^h :éfto iksanáftis	I know I can I fall you come again
Hardening of the semi-vowel [j], realised as [k] or [c]	aðérɸa peðjá	aðérɸ ^h :a peθcá	siblings children
Consonant devoicing: Voicing assimilation in consonant clusters	avɣá	afká	eggs
Dissimilation of stop + stop clusters into fricative + stop: Continuancy dissimilation in stop clusters	traktér	traxtér	tractor
Epenthesis of [a] word-initially	drépome θimáme	andrépome aθ:imúme	I am ashamed I remember
Allophony of [l] and [r]	ɣríɣora pénalti	ɣlíora p:énarti	quickly penalty
Lenition of sonorants intervocalically	penída klíni	peínda klíi	fifty it closes
Epenthesis of [ɣ] in the verbs ending [evo]	písteve jíreve	epístefcen ýírefce	he believed he searched
Absence of enclitic stress	simaθítriés mu	simaθítries mu	my classmates
[ʎ] realised as [j]	maʎ:á	majá	hair

Morphologically different conjunctions	e afû mu to léne sinéçia	e afus lalún mu to sinéçia	well, people tell me all the time
MORPHOLOGY			
Word-final [n]	Máti	m:áti	eye
‘Augment’ [e] in all past tense forms	ðjávasa	eθcávasa	I read
CG-specific stems in verbs	mu arési káname	mu arésci ekámamen	I like it we did
3rd person singular present tense copula [é]/ [én]/ [éni] instead of [íne] ‘it is’	íne aglicí	en anglicí sirá	it is an English (series)
Negative particle [en] instead of [ðen] ‘not’	ðen éxo	en éxo	I don’t have
CG-specific verb suffixes	Emenan	minískasin	they stayed
Future particle [en:a] and conditional [íta n:a] + subjunctive instead of [θa]	θa su éleya óti θa metakomíso	ítan na su po óti en:a metakomíso	I was going to tell you that I’m moving
Preposition/Conjunction [pu] instead of [apó] ‘from, than’	metá apó líyo	metá pu ʎ:on	after a while
CG quantifiers [ul:i] [ul:es] [ul:a] instead of SMG [oli] [oles] [ola] ‘all, whole’ respectively	ðen tus xorái ólus	en tus xorí úl:us	they don’t fit
CG demonstrative pronoun (proximal) [tútos] [túti] [túton] instead of [aftós] [aftí] [aftó]	aftí pu ta kánun	túti pu ta kámnun	the people who do this
Nouns with phonologically different stems	práymata aðerfi noná	prámata arfi núna	things sister godmother
adverb [pol:á] instead of [polí] ‘very’	íne pára polí períploko	en pára pol:á períplokón	it’s very complicated
CG negative particle [men] instead of [mi{n}] (with verbs in the subjunctive and imperative mood)	ja na min tis ðíni fayitó	ja na men tis ðiá faín	so he does not give her food
Feminine accusative plural determiner/pronoun [tes] instead of [tis]	ke me tis efevrésis tus	tʃe me tes efevrésis tus	and with their inventions
Morphologically different adverbs	páli akómi	pale akóma	again yet, still, more

	katefθían	katefθías	directly
Diminutive suffixes [ú{ð}a] [ú{ð}i{n}] and [ín]/ [in]	koríts ^h :áci papáci pondikáci	korúa papín pondikúi	little girl duckling little mouse
Gender change (e.g. some SMG feminine nouns are masculine in CG)	stécete páno stin ám:o	stécete páno ston ám:on	he is standing on the sand
CG marking of grammatical aspect	katalavéno	katalávo	I understand
Cypriot accusative morpheme denotes genitive	éna spíti ton nánon	éna spíti tus nanus	a house of dwarf
CG use of Past Simple instead of Perfect tenses	ne éxo fái ðe thélo	ne éfaa en thélo	I have eaten I don't want (food)
Wh-phrase [índa] instead of [ti]	ti pexníðia ti kaséta	índa pexníθca índa kasét ^h :an	what games what cassette
SYNTAX			
Pronominal object clitics in post-verbal position	tis léi	léi tis	says to her
Impersonal [éçi] constructions (preference) instead of [káni]	káni krío	éçi krío	it's cold
Temporal clause with [pu] (initial position) instead of [ótan]	ótan tha éřθo/ afú éřθo apó tin propónisi	pu n:a řto pu tin propónisin	when I return from training
Object in genitive when in SMG accusative or prepositional accusative is preferred	voiθái ti fili tis ja na teliósun	voiθá tis filis tis ja na teliónun	helps her friend so they can finish (earlier)
Focus it-clefts	ímastan óli eceí al:á mónos mu tin évγala ti fotoyrafia	ímastan úl:i třamé al:á en mónos mu pu tin éfkala ti f:otoyrafian	we were all there but I took the photo
Focus particle in CG (embu): clefting in wh-questions	ke pos ékanan to krasí	ke pos en pu kámasin to krasín	and how did they make the wine
Intransitive verbs in SMG can be transitive in CG	tóra to metacínisan aftó apo ðo	torá efian to túto pu ðamé	they now moved this from here

CG focaliser [en tʃe] 'really not'	ðen to iθele kataláθos éjine	en tʃe íθelen to en kataláθos pu ítan	he really didn't meant to, it was an accident
Use of [ópos] 'like' with accusative instead of nominative	ópos ecínos	ópos tʃínon	like him
LEXICON/SEMANTICS			
CG-specific verbs	ésproxne ríxni	kundúse sírni	he pushed he threw
CG-specific adverbs	eðó	ðamé	here
CG-specific nouns: Lexical doublets	Kuvás	síkla	bucket
Verbs with different thematic roles: Dialectal use of [ponó]	me ponái o lemós mu	ponó ʎ:on to l:emó mu	my throat hurts
False friends	na párame tis fotoɣrafíes na ton páo spíti mu	na pcásume tis fotoɣrafíes na ton páro spíti mu	to collect the pictures to drive him to my house
Use of [etsi] 'of this kind/such' instead of [tétɕos] [tétɕa] [tétɕo]	protimáo tétɕa vivlíia	protimó étsi vivlíia	I prefer this type/kind of books
Comparison with [san] 'like' + definite article + accusative instead of [san] + accusative	ítan san aliθinó	ítan san to aliθinó	it was like the real thing
Coordinating conjunction [me]-[me] 'neither-'nor' instead of [úte]-[úte]	ðen íθele úte ton éna úte ton álo	en íθele me ton énan úte ton álon	he didn't want either of them
Use of [ósti na] / [óste na] 'until' + verb instead of [mélixri na]	mélixri na perásun tris mínes	ósti na perásun tris mínes	until three months have passed

APPENDIX 2a

**THE TEXTBOOK: SAMPLE FROM THE LEARNING MATERIAL
FOR THE EXPERIMENTAL GROUP**

Ενότητα 3^η

Τα θετικά και τα αρνητικά της τηλεόρασης...

Μάθημα 2ο

Στόχοι σημερινού μαθήματος:

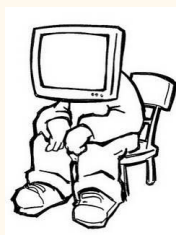
- Εκφράζουμε τη γνώμη μας για την τηλεόραση και την υποστηρίζουμε με επιχειρήματα
- Εντοπίζουμε και περιγράφουμε τα θετικά και αρνητικά χαρακτηριστικά
- Αναγνωρίζουμε το είδος ενός κειμένου, το ύφος του και τον σκοπό που επιτελεί
 - ❖ Ξεχωρίζουμε τους επιπλέον ήχους της Κυπριακής διαλέκτου και μαθαίνουμε πώς τους γράφουμε
 - ❖ Μαθαίνουμε για τις αλλαγές των συμφώνων στην Κυπριακή

Μέρος 1ο

ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ Α

Δραστηριότητα 1. Αφού διαβάσετε το παρακάτω κείμενο, απαντήστε στις ερωτήσεις που ακολουθούν.

Η τηλεόραση ... εξάλισεν μας!



Τον τελευταίον τζαιρόν η τηλεόραση εκατάντησεν αηδία. Πολλές φορές **εχτός** που το να πληροφορεί τον κόσμον, «ζαλίζει» τον με διάφορα θέματα τζαι στο τέλος καταφέρνει τζαι παρασέρνει τον. Τούτες ούλλες οι **εχπομπές** ενημέρωσης τζαι τα δελτία ειδήσεων που συνήθως ενημερώνουν μας για τα αρνητικά θέματα που γίνονται σε μιαν χώραν (π.χ οικονομική κρίση) επηρεάζουν την ψυχολογία μας. Η Ελλάδα εν μια που τούτες τες χώρες τζαι

καθημερινά λαλούν τζαι λαλούν για το ίδιο πρόβλημα. Άμπα τζαι παρακάμαν το; Αφού θέλουν να ενημερώνουν τον κόσμο γιατί εν μας δείχνουσιν τζαι την ζωή των βουλευτών τζια των πολιτικών τζαι να δούμε αν όντως εν τζαι τούτοι σε περίοδο κρίσης;

Επίσης έναν άλλον **μειονέχτημαν** της τηλεόρασης εν τα γνωστά μεσημεριανά που οι δημοσιογράφοι ασχολούνται με κουτσομπολιά τζαι παρουσιάζουν την ζωή των κοσμικών, των πλουσίων της σίουμπιζ (showbiz), ατόμων που εξευτελίζουν την ζωή τους τζαι δείχνουν ότι σε ούλλα εν τέλει. Συνήθως εν πρώτοι στες συνεντεύξεις τζαι απαντούν με «γελοίο τρόπο» στες ερωτήσεις που τους κάμνουν. Δυστυχώς, όμως, τούτες οι **εχπομπές** κάμνουν μεγαλύτερα νούμερα τηλεθέασης που άλλες πιο σημαντικές. Άραγε εινά-μ-που μπορεί να μας βοηθήσει το να θωρούμεν την ζωήν των κοσμικών;

Κατά την γνώμη μου μόνο άμαν αποφασίσουμεν να κλείσουμεν τούτην την κάθαν που την λαλούσιν τηλεόρασην, εννά δούμεν λλίο την θετική πλευρά της ζωής τζαι θα κάμουμε το καλλύττερο για μάς.

από ανάρτηση σε ιστολόγιο-μπλόγκ (διασκευή)

1.1. Τι είδος κειμένου είναι το παραπάνω; Ποιο είναι το θέμα για το οποίο μιλάει; Ποιος μπορεί να είναι ο συγγραφέας και σε ποιον/ποιους απευθύνεται; Ποιος είναι ο σκοπός του κειμένου;

1.2. Υπογραμμίστε στο κείμενο τις φράσεις που υποστηρίζουν τις κακές πλευρές της τηλεόρασης. Μπορείτε να σκεφτείτε μερικές ακόμα κακές πλευρές της τηλεόρασης αλλά και κάποιες καλές της πλευρές;

Μέρος 2ο

Φωνολογία

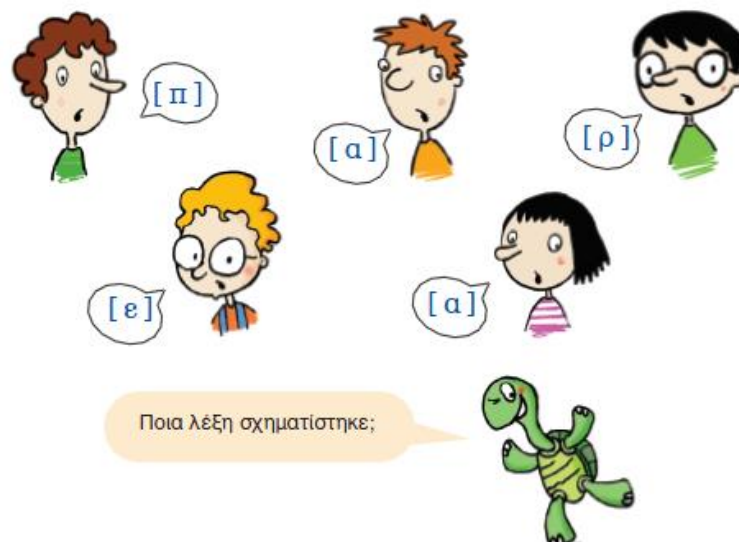
2.1. Φθόγγοι-Γράμματα

Ο λόγος μας αποτελείται από λέξεις. → *πάλι – αφού – Ντίνα*

Στον γραπτό λόγο χρησιμοποιούμε τα **γράμματα** για να παρουσιάσουμε τις λέξεις.

Στον προφορικό λόγο, όμως, που είναι η βασική μορφή της γλώσσας, χρησιμοποιούμε τους **φθόγγους**¹, δηλαδή διαφορετικούς μεταξύ τους ήχους, που συνδυάζονται και σχηματίζουν άλλες λέξεις κάθε φορά.²

[π] - [α] - [λ] - [ι], [α] - [φ] - [ο υ], [ν τ] - [ι] - [ν] - [α]



2.2. Οι φθόγγοι (ήχοι) της Νεοελληνικής και της Κυπριακής και η απόδοσή τους στον γραπτό λόγο.

ΗΧΟΙ (ΦΘΟΓΓΟΙ) Νεοελληνικής και Κυπριακής	ΓΡΑΦΗ
[α]	α
[ε]	ε, αι
[ι]	ι, η, υ, ει, οι
[ο]	ο, ω
[ου]	ου
[β]	β
[γ]	γ
[δ]	δ
[ζ]	ζ
[θ]	θ
[κ]	κ
[λ]	λ
[μ]	μ
[ν]	ν
[π]	π
[ρ]	ρ
[σ]	σ, ς
[τ]	τ
[φ]	φ
[χ]	χ
[κ]+[σ]	ξ
[π]+[σ]	ψ
[γκ]	γ+κ
[μπ]	μ+π
[ντ]	ν+τ



ΟΜΩΣ η Κυπριακή έχει και κάποιους επιπλέον ήχους που η Νεοελληνική δεν έχει..
Ποιοι είναι αυτοί και πώς τους γράφουμε ;

Δραστηριότητα 2. Στο κείμενο θα βρείτε κάποιες λέξεις που είναι υπογραμμισμένες, τι παρατηρείτε όσον αφορά την προφορά των λέξεων αυτών;

ΗΧΟΙ (ΦΘΟΓΓΟΙ) ΜΟΝΟ Κυπριακής	ΓΡΑΦΗ	Παραδείγματα
[σσ]	σ̣, σ̣σ̣	
[τζζ], [τσοσ]	τ̣ζ̣, τ̣σ̣	
[ζζ]	ζ̣	
[ξξ]	ξ̣	
[ψψ]	ψ̣	

Δραστηριότητα 3. Με βάση τον πίνακα, βρείτε μία-δύο λέξεις που να εμφανίζουν τους παραπάνω ήχους και συμπλήρωσε τη στήλη του πίνακα «Παραδείγματα».

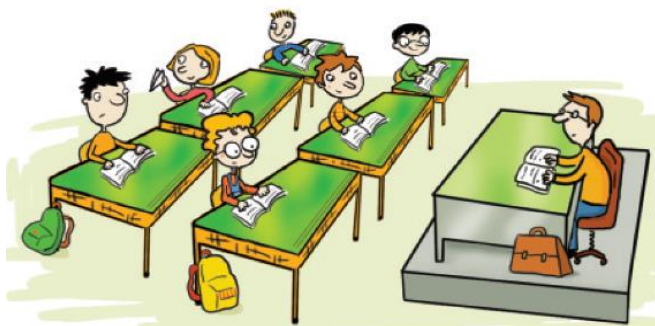


Τους παραπάνω ήχους τους συναντάμε αποκλειστικά στην Κυπριακή διάλεκτο και ονομάζονται ΠΑΧΙΑ ή ΤΡΑΧΕΙΑ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΑ.

Εξαιτίας της ιδιαίτερης προφοράς τους είναι δύσκολο να αποδοθούν με ακρίβεια στον γραπτό λόγο χρησιμοποιώντας μόνο τα γράμματα του ελληνικού αλφαβήτου. Για τον λόγο αυτό βάζουμε ένα σημάδι σε σχήμα κούπας «̣» πάνω από το γράμμα που θέλουμε να δείξουμε ότι προφέρεται πιο παχιά, ώστε να ξέρει ο αναγνώστης πώς πρέπει να το προφέρει.

Δραστηριότητα 4. Γράφω τις πιο κάτω λέξεις στα κυπριακά. Ποιες από αυτές προφέρονται διαφορετικά στα κυπριακά; Χρησιμοποιήστε το σημάδι όποτε θεωρείτε ότι χρειάζεται.

Νεοελληνικά	Κυπριακά
χέρι	ῥέριν
παχύς	παῤύς
χωράφι	Χωράφιν
χαρούμενος	
χαίρομαι	
σύρμα	
φορεσιά	
δροσιά	
σκύλος	
σχοινί	
καιρός	
καπέλο	
κεφάλι	
κοπέλα	
τσάι	
κόκκινος	
αγγίζω	
μαγαζιά	
μαγαζί	
ξαστεριά	
καρπούζια	
ανιψιά	
ψωμί	



Δραστηριότητα 5. Παρατηρήστε προσεκτικά τα πιο πάνω παραδείγματα και σκεφτείτε από πού μπορεί να προκύπτουν αυτοί οι επιπλέον Κυπριακοί ήχοι. Μήπως είναι παραλλαγές ήχων της Νεοελληνικής; Γράψετε κάποιους κανόνες για το πότε το γράμμα/τα γράμματα παίρνουν αυτό το σημάδι.

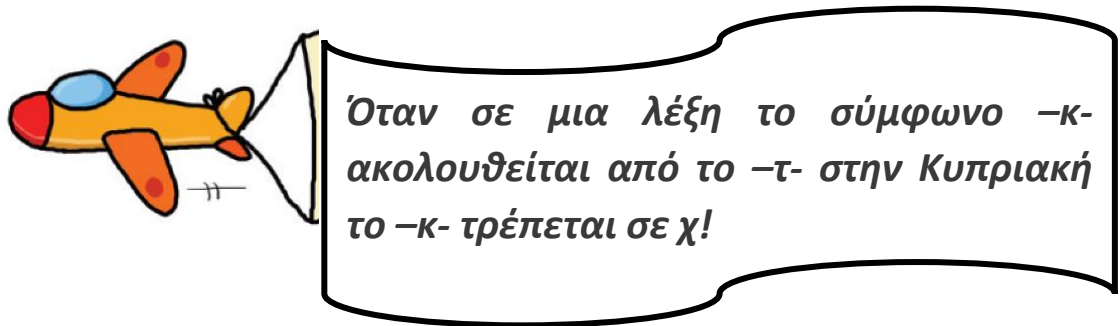
ΓΡΑΦΗ	Κανόνες
ϑ,	
ϑϑ	
τζ,	
τϑ	
ζ	
ξ	
ψ	

2.3. Τροπές συμφώνων και συμφωνικών συμπλεγμάτων

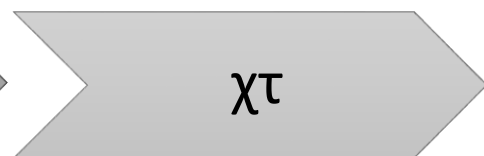


Κάθε συνδυασμός από δύο ή περισσότερα σύμφωνα που βρίσκονται το ένα πλάι στο άλλο σε μια λέξη λέγεται συμφωνικό σύμπλεγμα. Π.χ. **θρόνος, φτάνω, άστρο, έρχομαι**

Δραστηριότητα 6. Στο κείμενο θα βρείτε κάποιες λέξεις γραμμένες με έντονο μαύρο χρώμα. Τρέψετε τις λέξεις αυτές στη Νεοελληνική και γράψετε τι παρατηρείτε.



• Νεοελληνική



• Κυπριακή



Κανόνας ανομοίωσης αλληλουχιών όμοιων συμφώνων. Αυτός ο κανόνας ισχύει όχι μόνο στην Κυπριακή αλλά και στην Νεοελληνική. Σύμφωνα με τον κανόνα αυτό το *πτ γίνεται *φτ π.χ. πταίω > φταίω, πτερό > φτερό, επτά > εφτά και το κτ γίνεται *χτ π.χ. κτένα > χτένα, κτυπώ > χτυπώ.

Δραστηριότητα 7. Τρέψετε τις υπογραμμισμένες λέξεις στα Νεοελληνικά.

1. Ο Αντώνης είναι ιδιοκτήτης ενός διαμερίσματος και ενός αυτοκινήτου.
2. Τα πρωινά του Σαββάτου προβάλλονται στην τηλεόραση πολλές παιδικές εχπομπές.
3. Το αχτινίδιο είναι ένα φρούτο με πολλές βιταμίνες.
4. Οι εχτιμήσεις σας ήταν λανθασμένες.

Δραστηριότητα 8. Τώρα κάνετε το αντίθετο. Τρέψετε τις υπογραμμισμένες λέξεις στα Κυπριακά.

1. Ο καφές του λαϊκού είναι εκλεκτός καφές.
2. Μεγάλες εκτάσεις πρασίνου κάηκαν από τη φωτιά.
3. Ο Αντώνης μετάνιωσε μετά την άσχημη εκτόνωση του θυμού του.

Μέρος 3ο

Λεξιλόγιο

Δραστηριότητα 3.1. Σχηματίστε προτάσεις που να δείχνουν τη σημασία της καθεμιάς από τις παρακάτω λέξεις.

γόμα, πίσσα, πελεκάνος, θάλαμος, κουφή, βαρετός, παπαρούνα, φώτα



Τι να θυμάμαι....

1. Ένα μεγάλο μέρος του λεξιλογίου της Νεοελληνικής και της Κυπριακής είναι κοινό. Δηλαδή μοιράζονται τις ίδιες λέξεις οι οποίες έχουν και την ίδια σημασία.
2. Πολλές φορές όμως, όπως συμβαίνει με τις πιο πάνω λέξεις, οι ίδιες λέξεις **ΧΡΗΣΙΜΟΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΜΕ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΕΤΙΚΗ ΣΗΜΑΣΙΑ ΣΤΗ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗ.**

Ενότητα 4^η

Τηλεόραση και διαφήμιση

Μάθημα 5ο

Στόχοι σημερινού μαθήματος:

- Εκφράζουμε την άποψή μας για τις διαφημίσεις που προβάλλονται στην τηλεόραση.
- Σε ποιο βαθμό οι διαφημίσεις παρασύρουν τους καταναλωτές και πώς μπορούμε να είμαστε προσεκτικοί;
- Αναγνωρίζουμε το είδος ενός κειμένου, το ύφος του και τον σκοπό που επιτελεί

❖ Μαθαίνουμε για τον σχηματισμό των αιτιολογικών προτάσεων στη Νεοελληνική και στην Κυπριακή.

Μέρος 1ο

1. ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ Α

Δείτε τι έγραψαν μερικά παιδιά από την Ελλάδα και την Κύπρο για τις διαφημίσεις....

...Σε κάθε σπίτι σήμερα έχει μπει η τηλεόραση και, όπως γνωρίζουμε, κάθε μέρα βομβαρδιζόμαστε από τις διάφορες διαφημίσεις που προβάλλει. Οι περισσότερες από αυτές προσπαθούν να μας παραπλανήσουν και να μας κάνουν να πάρουμε διάφορα άχρηστα πράγματα. Μερικές διαφημίσεις λένε: «Αν πεις ένα συγκεκριμένο αναψυκτικό, θα γίνεις σούπερ δυνατός σαν αυτόν που το διαφημίζει». Αυτές οι διαφημίσεις σουκάνουν κυριολεκτικά πλύση εγκεφάλου και κυρίως επηρεάζουν τα μικρά παιδιά, που στην ηλικία τους είναι φυσικό να τις πιστεύουν.

Μεθοδίου Σταύρος

...Σε μια διαφήμιση λένε πως με το απορρυπαντικό νέας γενιάς βγαίνουν όλοι οι λεκέδες, ενώ με τα απορρυπαντικά παλιάς γενιάς δεν έβγαιναν. Άρα δείχνουν και μόνοι τους ότι παλιά μας κοροΐδευαν αφού και τότε τα ίδια μας έλεγαν. Μήπως και τώρα δε μας κοροΐδεύουν;

Έλληνα Νάνση

Εγώ πρόσφατα άκουσα ότι η τηλεόραση ακούεις τζαι συ οδηγά στην παχυσαρκία! Διότι κάθεσαι με τες ώρες, τρώεις λιξιιά τζαι ότι άλλο δείχνουν οι διαφημίσεις τζαι εν τω καταλάβεις ότι εκτελάς εντολές της τηλεόρασης. Η **καταναλωτική μανία τους νέους ανθρώπους** προκαλείται σε μεγάλο βαθμό που **την κακή επιρροή** της τηλεόρασης.

Ιωάννου Άντρη

Δραστηριότητα 1. Για ποια πράγματα κατηγορούν ο Σταύρος, η Νάνση και η Άντρη τις διαφημίσεις; Υπογραμμίστε τα ρήματα ή τις εκφράσεις που το δείχνουν.

Δραστηριότητα 2. Συζητήστε στην τάξη εάν συμφωνείτε με την άποψη των παιδιών. Συμπληρώστε με **αιτιολογικές προτάσεις** α) ποιες οι καλές, β) και οι κακές πλευρές των διαφημίσεων.

... οι διαφημίσεις έχουν καλές πλευρές γιατί...	...οι διαφημίσεις έχουν κακές πλευρές γιατί...

Μην ξεχνάτε ότι τα επιχειρήματα συνήθως έχουν τη μορφή μιας αιτιολογικής πρότασης.



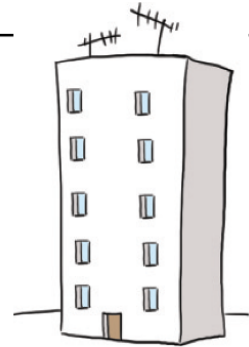
Η. Αιτιολογικές προτάσεις



2.1. Αιτιολογικές προτάσεις

- Εξαρτημένες προτάσεις (δεν εκφράζουν μόνες τους ένα ολοκληρωμένο νόημα, δηλαδή δεν μπορούν να σταθούν μόνες τους στο λόγο, και γι' αυτό χρειάζονται μια κύρια πρόταση)

Άρα, οι κύριες προτάσεις μοιάζουν με το ισόγειο μιας πολυκατοικίας. Μπορεί να σταθεί και μόνο του χωρίς στήριξη από άλλους ορόφους. Οι εξαρτημένες προτάσεις μοιάζουν τα διαμερίσματα των επάνω ορόφων. Πρέπει να στηρίζονται πάνω στο ισόγειο και δεν μπορούν να σταθούν από μόνα τους!



Οι **εξαρτημένες** προτάσεις ξεκινούν (ή –όπως λέμε– εισάγονται) με μερικές ξεχωριστές λέξεις, τους **συνδέσμους** (βλ. ενότητα 14.1 Β). Αυτές οι λέξεις συνδέουν τις εξαρτημένες με τις κύριες προτάσεις. Οι σύνδεσμοι, επίσης, μας δείχνουν τι λογής είναι οι εξαρτημένες προτάσεις.

- Οι αιτιολογικές προτάσεις ξεκινούν με τις λέξεις (συνδέσμους) **γιατί, επειδή, διότι, αφού, καθώς, εφόσον** και με τις φράσεις **μια και, μια που**.

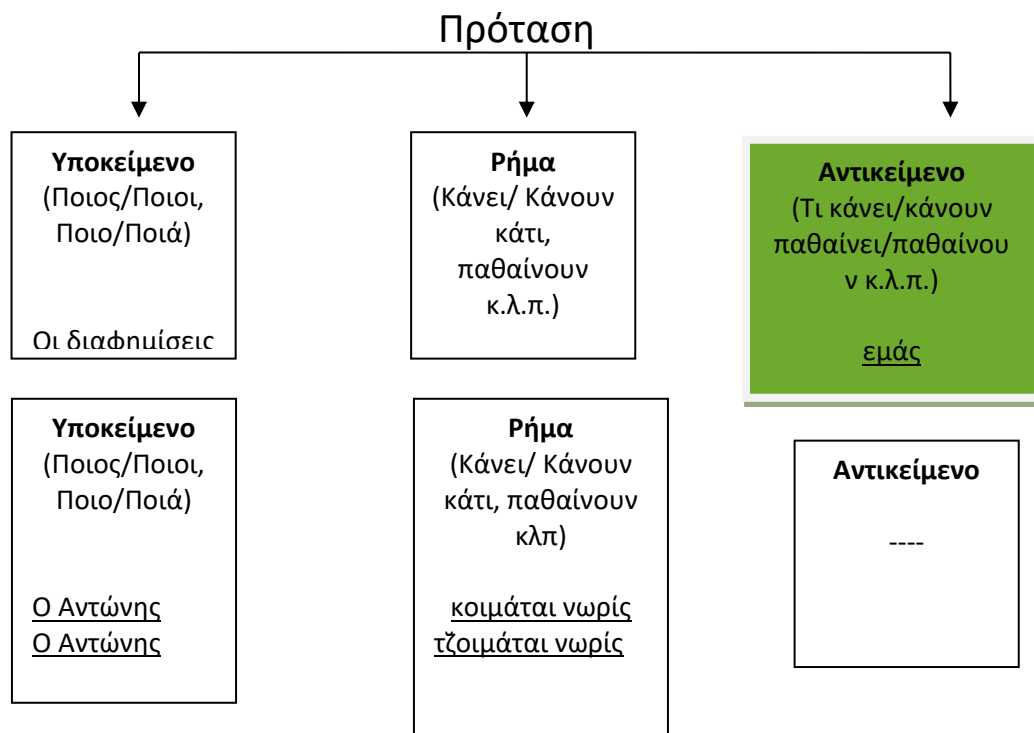
Στα **Κυπριακά** οι αιτιολογικές προτάσεις έχουν τα ίδια χαρακτηριστικά και εισάγονται με τους ίδιους συνδέσμους, «γιατί, επειδή». Κάποιες φορές μπορεί στον προφορικό λόγο να συναντήσουμε το «επειδή» με τη παραλλαγή «**επειδής**»!

Για παράδειγμα: «Επειδής εσού εθ θέλεις να φάεις, πρέπει να μεν φάω ούτε γιώ;»

2.2. Αντικείμενο

Δραστηριότητα 3. Βρείτε τα **αντικείμενα** των υπογραμμισμένων ρημάτων στα λόγια των παιδιών. Έπειτα μεταφέρετε τις φράσεις στα Κυπριακά ακολουθώντας τον κανόνα για τη θέση των αδύνατων τύπων των προσωπικών αντωνυμιών.

	Αντικείμενο	Μεταφορά στην Κυπριακή
• <u>μας παραπλανούν</u>	Εμάς	παραπλανούν μας
• <u>μας κάνουν να πάρουμε διάφορα άχρηστα πράγματα</u>	Εμάς	κάμνουν μας να παίρνουμεν διάφορα άχρηστα πράγματα
• <u>σου κάνουν κυριολεκτικά πλύση εγκεφάλου</u>	Εσένα	κάμνουν σου κυριολεκτικά πλύση εγκεφάλου
• <u>επηρεάζουν τα μικρά παιδιά</u>	Τα μικρά παιδιά	--
• <u>παλιά μας κορόιδευαν [...]</u> <u>Μήπως και τώρα δε μας κοροϊδεύουν</u>	Εμάς	Παλιά επεριπαίζαν μας [...] Μήπως τζαι τωρά εν μας περιπαίζουν



Αντικείμενο είναι η λέξη που δηλώνει το πρόσωπο, το ζώο ή το πράγμα στο οποίο πηγαίνει (μεταβαίνει) η ενέργεια του ρήματος της πρότασης. Έτσι, το αντικείμενο αποτελεί συμπλήρωμα της έννοιας του ρήματος.

Το αντικείμενο ενός ρήματος μπορεί να είναι:

- Ουσιαστικό (Η Μαρία χτενίζει τη γάτα της, Η Μαρία χτενίζει την κάτταν της)
- Αντωνυμία (Η Μαρία τη χτενίζει, Η Μαρία χτενίζει την)
- Εμπρόθετος προσδιορισμός (Η Μαρία μοιάζει στη μαμά της, Η Μαρία μοιάζει με τη μάμμα της)
- Εξαρτημένη πρόταση (Δεν είπτε πού θα πάει, Εν είπεν πού εννα πάει)

*** Υπάρχουν και ρήματα που δεν παίρνουν αντικείμενο (αμετάβατα) π.χ. Η Μαρία διψάει

*** Υπάρχουν ρήματα που κάποτε είναι μεταβατικά και κάποτε αμετάβατα π.χ. Ο πάγος λιώνει (αμετάβατο), Εγώ λιώνω τη σοκολάτα (μεταβατικό)



Υπάρχουν περιπτώσεις που κάποια ρήματα στη Νεοελληνική και την Κυπριακή συμπεριφέρονται διαφορετικά

π.χ. το ρήμα **πονώ** και **φεύγω**

2.3. Ευθύς και πλάγιος λόγος

- Τι σου συνέβη;
- Με έριξαν στη θάλασσα, αλλά ένα δελφίνι, που μαγεύτηκε από το τραγούδι μου, με έβγαλε στη στεριά.

Ευθύς λόγος



Οι ψαράδες ρώτησαν τον Αρίωνα τι του είχε συμβεί κι εκείνος απάντησε ότι τον είχαν ρίξει στη θάλασσα, αλλά ένα δελφίνι, που μαγεύτηκε από το τραγούδι του, τον έβγαλε στη στεριά.

Πλάγιος λόγος



Στον **ευθύ λόγο** ακούμε τα λόγια κάποιου όπως ακριβώς τα λέει, ενώ στον **πλάγιο λόγο** τα λόγια αυτά τα μεταφέρει κάποιος τρίτος πρόσωπο.

Για να μετατρέψω τον ευθύ σε πλάγιο λόγο:

1. Προσθέτω τα ονόματα των προσώπων.
«Πότε θα φύγεις» → **Η Μαρία** ρώτησε τον **Νίκο** πότε θα φύγει.
2. Βάζω συνδέσμους (ότι, πως, να, αν κ.ά.) για να ενώσω τις προτάσεις.
«Φύγε αμέσως» → Του φώναξε **να** φύγει αμέσως.
ή
«Φύγε αμέσως» → Εφώναξε του **να φύγει αμέσως**.
3. Χρησιμοποιώ ρήματα όπως: λέω, υποστηρίζω, αναφέρω, ρωτώ, απαντώ, διατάζω, φωνάζω, ζητώ, παρακαλώ (σε παρελθοντικό χρόνο)
«θα έρθεις» → Τον **ρώτησε** αν θα έρθει.
ή
«Έννα έρτεις» → **Ερώτησεν** τον αν εννα 'ρτει.
4. Αλλάζω το πρόσωπο των ρημάτων από α', β' σε γ' ήθελα → ήθελε
5. Μερικές φορές, αλλάζω και τον χρόνο των ρημάτων ρίχνω → έριξε



«Θέλω φαγητό», είπε ο Αρίωνας.

Τα λόγια του Αρίωνα βρίσκονται μέσα σε εισαγωγικά, «...», άρα... έχουμε **ευθύ λόγο**.

Ο Αρίωνας είπε ότι ήθελε φαγητό.

Εδώ δεν έχουμε εισαγωγικά, άρα... έχουμε **πλάγιο λόγο**.

2. Δραστηριότητα 4. Να μετατρέψετε τον παρακάτω διάλογο σε πλάγιο λόγο

-Θα έπρεπε να ντρέπεσαι, είναι πάρα πολύ αργά, πώς θα ξυπνήσεις το πρωί; του είπε ο πατέρας του.

-Θα έπρεπε να παίρνεις μαθήματα από τη Λουκία που είναι και μεγαλύτερη σου, του είπε στη συνέχεια η μητέρα του.

-Θα την κλειδώσω την τηλεόραση άλλη φορά, είπε ξανά θυμωμένος ο πατέρας.

3. Δραστηριότητα 5. Τώρα μετατρέψτε το παραπάνω απόσπασμα στα Κυπριακά!

Unit 3

Advantages and disadvantages of television

Lesson 2

Objectives:

- to express our opinion about television and support our arguments with reasons and examples
 - to determine and describe advantages and disadvantages of television
 - to recognise text genre, register and purpose
- ❖ We distinguish additional sounds of Cypriot Greek dialect and learn how to render them in writing. We learn about changes in consonant clusters in Cypriot Greek.

Part 1

TEXT A

Activity 1. Read the text below and answer the questions that follow.

TV is driving us mad!



These days, TV programmes are becoming more and more disappointing. With the exception of few informative programmes, we are constantly bombarded by useless information. News programmes usually spread negativity, as they mostly focus on unpleasant topics, which can affect our psychology. One example is recession in Greece, which is on the news daily. Could it be that they've gone too far? If the objective is reliable information, then they should also cover the lives of politicians and MPs, which might help make the news a bit more believable.

Another disadvantage is the quality of various TV programmes such as daily chat shows, which involve gossiping about celebrities, socialites and people who pretend to have perfect lives. Unfortunately, however, these shows, rather than more meaningful ones, are prime-time TV. Hasn't anyone realised it's useless to pry into other people's lives?

The way I see it, the best thing to do is to switch that thing off and focus on the positive aspects of life.

A blog entry extract

1.1. What kind of text is this? What is the topic? Who might have written it and who might read it? What's the purpose of the text?

1.2. Read the text again and underline all the disadvantages of television which are mentioned. Can you think of any other disadvantages as well as any advantages of television?

Part 2

Phonology

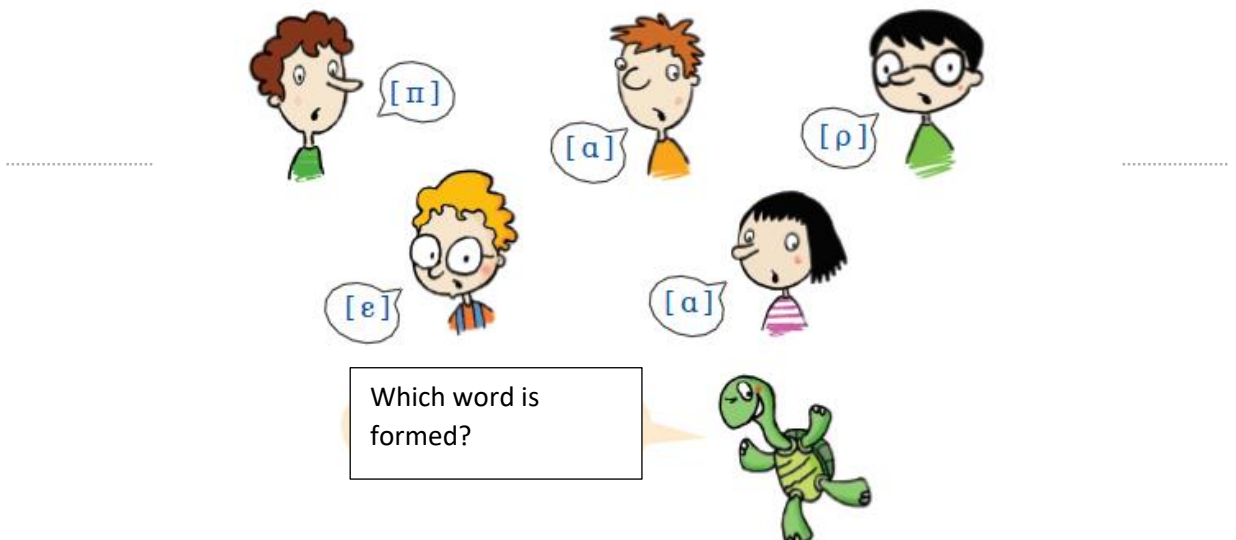
2.1. Sounds/Letters

*Speech is made up of words → **Dina***

*In written language, we use **letters** to render words.*

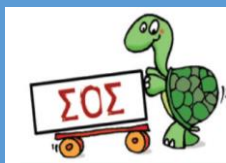
*In oral language, on the other hand, which is the most fundamental form of language, we use distinct **sounds** which combine to form different words.*

[d]-[i]-[n]-[a]



2.2. The sounds of Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek and their transcription in written language.

<i>Sounds of Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek</i>	<i>transcription</i>
[α]	α
[ε]	ε, αι
[ι]	ι, η, υ, ει, οι
[ο]	ο, ω
[ου]	ου
[β]	β
[γ]	γ
[δ]	δ
[ζ]	ζ
[θ]	θ
[κ]	κ
[λ]	λ
[μ]	μ
[ν]	ν
[π]	π
[ρ]	ρ
[σ]	σ, ς
[τ]	τ
[φ]	φ
[χ]	χ
[κ]+[σ]	ξ
[π]+[σ]	ψ
[γκ]	γκ
[μπ]	μπ
[ντ]	ντ



Some sounds in Cypriot Greek do not exist in Standard Modern Greek. Which are they and how can we represent them in writing?

Activity 2. Look at Text A again and notice the underlined words. What can you infer about their pronunciation?

Cypriot Greek-exclusive sounds	Transcription	Examples
[σσ]	σ̣, σ̣σ̣	
[τζζ], [τσσ]	τ̣ζ, τ̣σ̣	
[ζζ]	ζ̣	
[ξξ]	ξ̣	
[ψψ]	ψ̣	

Activity 3. Look at the table and think of relevant examples to complete the boxes.

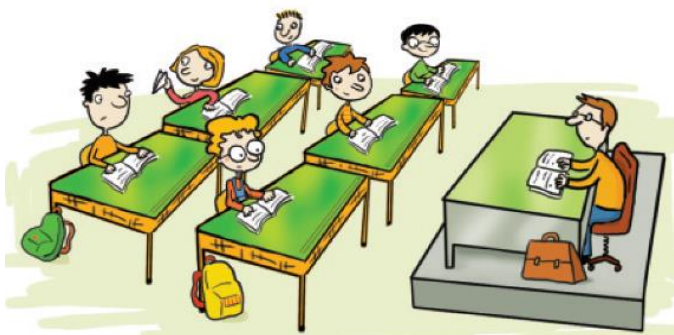


These sounds are exclusive to the Cypriot Greek dialect and are called palato-alveolars.

Because of their unique nature, it is rather difficult to accurately render them in written language by using only letters of the Greek alphabet. For this reason, the symbol [̣] is used over any letter that is pronounced more 'heavily', so that the reader can distinguish it from other similar sounds.

Activity 4. Writing words in Cypriot Greek: Which of these words are pronounced differently? Use the symbol ~ wherever necessary.

<i>Standard Modern Greek</i>	<i>Cypriot Greek</i>
χέρι 'hand'	ᾠέριν
παχύς 'fat'	παᾠύς
χωράφι 'field'	Χωράφιν
χαρούμενος 'happy'	
χαίρομαι 'be glad'	
σύρμα 'wire'	
φορεσιά 'costume'	
δροσιά 'cool breeze'	
σκύλος 'dog'	
σχοινί 'rope'	
καιρός 'weather'	
καπέλο 'hat'	
κεφάλι 'head'	
κοπέλα 'girl'	
τσάι 'tea'	
κόκκινος 'red'	
αγγίζω 'touch'	
μαγαζιά 'shops'	
μαγαζί 'shop'	
ξαστεριά 'clear sky'	
καρπούζια 'watermelons'	
ανιψιά 'niece'	
ψωμί 'bread'	



Activity 5. Notice the examples in the previous activity and consider where these distinctly Cypriot Greek sounds might come from. Could they be variations of Standard Modern Greek sounds? Try to think of some rules about the use of the symbol ʹ.

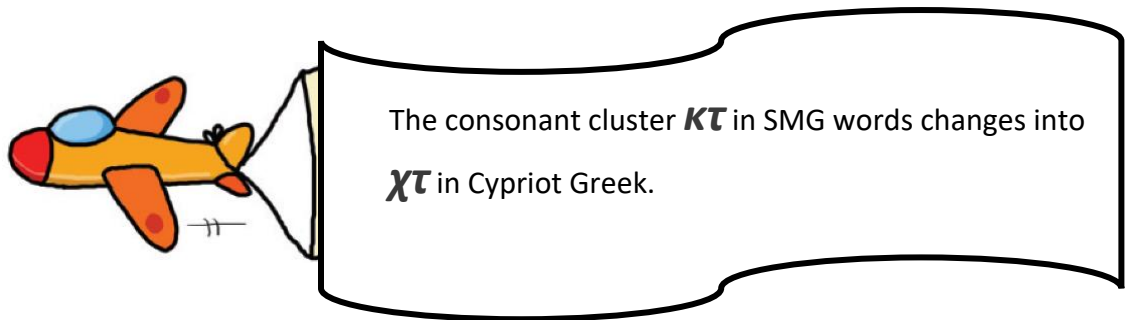
Transcription	Rules
θʹ,	
θθ	
τʹ,	
τθ	
ζʹ	
ξ	
ψ	

2.3. Changes in consonant clusters

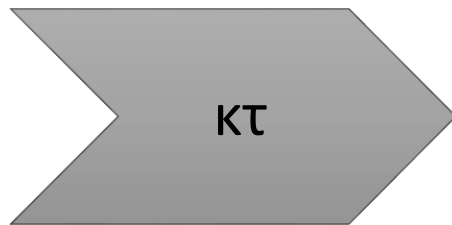


A consonant cluster is a combination of two or more consecutive consonants, e.g. **θρόνος** 'throne', **φτάνω** 'I arrive', **άστρο** 'star', **έρχομαι** 'I come'.

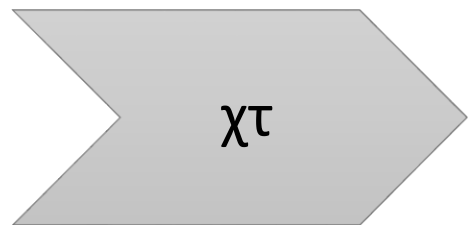
Activity 6. Read the text again and notice the words in bold. Transform them into Standard Modern Greek and write down your observations.



The consonant cluster **κτ** in SMG words changes into **χτ** in Cypriot Greek.



• Standard Modern Greek



• Cypriot Greek



Rule of continuancy dissimilation in stop clusters: This rule applies both in Cypriot Greek and Standard Modern Greek. According to this rule, the consonant cluster *πτ changes into *φτ e.g. πταίω > φταίω 'it's my fault', πτερό > φτερό 'feather', επτά > εφτά 'seven' and *κτ changes into *χτ e.g. κτένα > χτένα 'comb', κτυπώ > χτυπώ 'I hit'.

Activity 7. Transform the underlined words into Standard Modern Greek.

5. Ο Αντώνης είναι ιδιοκτήτης ενός διαμερίσματος και ενός αυτοκινήτου.
'Antonis is the owner of a flat and a car.'
-
6. Τα πρωινά του Σαββάτου προβάλλονται στην τηλεόραση πολλές παιδικές εχπομπές.
'On Saturday mornings there are many children's shows on TV.'
-
7. Το αχτινίδιο είναι ένα φρούτο με πολλές βιταμίνες.
'Kiwi fruit has lots of vitamins.'
-
8. Οι εχτιμήσεις σας ήταν λανθασμένες.
'Your estimates are wrong.'
-

Activity 8. Now do the opposite. Transform the underlined words into Cypriot Greek.

4. Ο καφές του λαϊκού είναι εκληκτός καφές.
'Kafes Laikou coffee is top quality.'
-
5. Μεγάλες εκτάσεις πρασίνου κάηκαν από τη φωτιά.
'Wildfire destroyed vast areas of forestland'.
-
6. Ο Αντώνης μετάνιωσε μετά την άσχημη εκτόνωση του θυμού του.
'Antonis felt bad after venting his anger on us.'
-

Part 3

Vocabulary

Activity 3.1. Write sentences that reflect the meaning of the following words.

	γόμα,	πίσσα,	πελεκάνος,	θάλαμος,	κουφή,	βαρετός,	παπαρούνα,	φώτα
SMG mean	'rubber'	'tar'	'pelican'	'thalamus'	'snake'	'boring'	'poppy'	'lights'
CG mean	'glue'	'chewing gum'	'carpenter'	'freezer'	'deaf woman'	'heavy'	'lady bird'	'traffic lights'



Note to self:

3. Many Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek words are identical in form and meaning.
4. Sometimes, however, as in the case of the words above, although the form is the same, the meaning differs.

Unit 4

Television and Advertising

Lesson 5

Objectives:

- to express our opinion about TV commercials
- to consider the degree to which commercials/advertisements influence consumer behaviour and to discuss ways to increase consumer awareness
- to recognise text genre, register and purpose

❖ We learn how to form clauses of reason in Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek.

Part 1

Text A

Here's what some Greek and Cypriot students wrote about TV commercials.

... Nowadays, most of us have a TV set, so, on a daily basis, we are bombarded with TV commercials. The objective of many commercials is to mislead the viewer and often make us buy unnecessary products.

Commercials are based on images and associations: they give you the impression that if you buy the product, for example a soft drink, you'll be as strong or attractive as the person in the advertisement. This influences viewers, especially young children who are naturally more impressionable and are literally brainwashed.

Stavros Methodiou

A commercial for a new generation detergent claims that the product will remove any stain, unlike earlier detergents which were ineffective. This means that they themselves admit that those commercials were misleading. Doesn't that also mean that today's commercials are probably similarly trying to mislead us?

Nancy Ellina

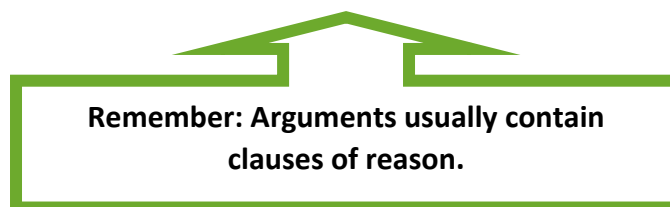
I recently heard that TV leads to obesity, because you sit in a sofa for hours, eat junk food and watch commercials. Meanwhile, you are doing exactly what those commercials tell you to do. Consumerism is, to a great extent, caused by television, especially among young people.

Andri Ioannou

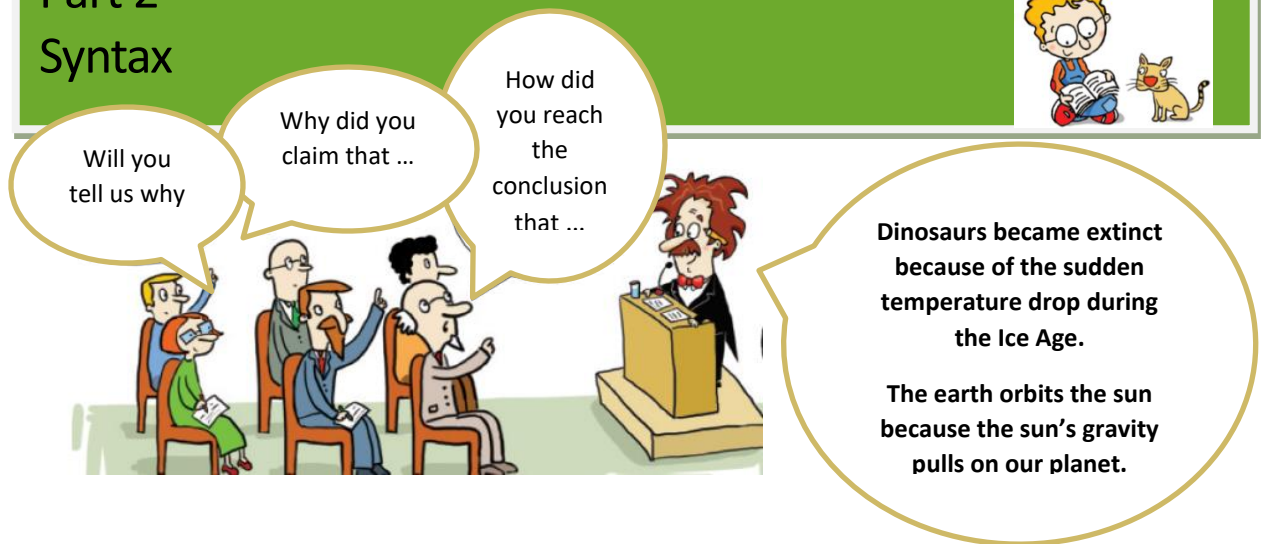
Activity 1. What are Stavros, Nancy and Andri accusing commercials of? Underline the relevant phrases in the texts.

Activity 2. Do you agree with Stavros, Nancy and Andri? Complete the table below using clauses of reason.

Commercials have advantages because...	Commercials have disadvantages because...



Part 2 Syntax



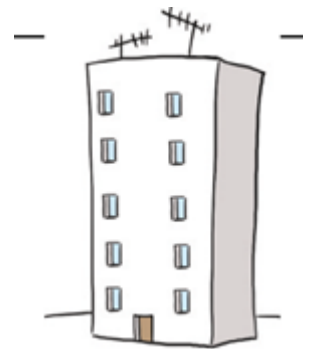
2.1. Clauses of reason

- Clauses of reason are subordinate clauses that form part of and depend on a main clause.

Main clauses can be likened to the ground floor of a block of flats. These clauses can stand alone, like the ground floor that does not depend on other floors for support. Subordinate clauses are like the upper floors, which rest on the ground floor and cannot exist without it. These clauses cannot stand alone, but rather depend on main clauses.

Subordinate clauses are typically introduced by specific words called conjunctions (see unit 14.1 B). These words connect the main clause and the subordinate clause and also determine the type of subordinate clause in each case.

- Clauses of reason are typically introduced by the conjunctions *as*, *because*, and *since*.



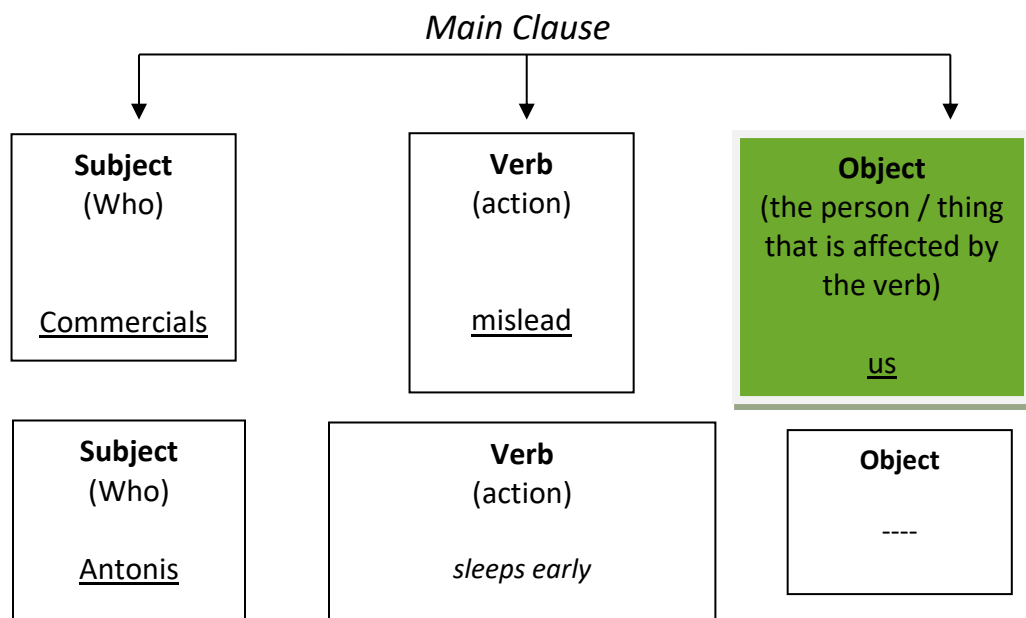
In Cypriot Greek, clauses of result are formed similarly and are introduced by the conjunctions <γιατί> [jatí] ‘because/as’ and <επειδή> [epiðí] ‘because/as’. Sometimes in oral speech, the variant <επειδής> [epiðís] ‘as’ might also be used.

For example: Επειδής εσού εθ θέλεις να φάεις, πρέπει να μεν φάω ούτε γιό;
[epiðís esú eθ thélis na fáis prépi na men fáo úte jió]
‘Just because you don’t want to eat, should I starve?’

2.2. Object

Activity 3. Read the extracts below and find the object in each underlined phrase. Then, rewrite the phrases in Cypriot Greek. Remember the position of the weak forms of personal pronouns.

	Object	Translating in Cypriot Greek
• <u>‘they mislead the viewer’</u>		
• <u>and often make us buy unnecessary products</u>		
• <u>they literally brainwash you</u>		
• <u>young children ... are literally brainwashed.</u>		
• <u>today’s commercials are probably similarly trying to mislead us</u>		



An object is the person/animal/thing that is affected by the action of the main verb. In essence, the object forms part of the meaning of the verb.

An object can be:

- a noun (SMG=H Μαρία χτενίζει τη γάτα της [i maría xtenízi ti γáta tis], CG=H Μαρία χτενίζει την κάτταν της [i maría xtenízi tin kát:an tis] 'Maria is brushing her cat')
- a pronoun (SMG=H Μαρία τη χτενίζει [i maría ti xtenízi], CG=H Μαρία χτενίζει την [i maría xtenízi tin] 'Maria is brushing her')
- a prepositional phrase (SMG=H Μαρία μοιάζει στη μαμά της [i maría mjázi sti mamá tis], CG=H Μαρία μοιάζει με τη μάμμα της [i maría mjáz:i me ti mám:a tis] 'Maria looks like her mum')
- a subordinate clause (SMG=Δεν είπε πού θα πάει [ðen ípe pú tha pái], CG=Ev είπεν πού εννα πάει [en ípen pú en:a pái] 'He didn't say where he was going')

*** **Some verbs, called intransitive verbs, do not require an object**, e.g. They talked on the phone for hours.



Some verbs behave differently in Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek.

E.g. <πονώ> [ponó] 'hurt' and <φεύγω> [féngo] 'leave'

2.3. Direct and indirect speech



Direct Speech

- What happened to you?
- The sailors threw me overboard, but a dolphin that was mesmerised by my song carried me to the shore.



Indirect Speech

The fishermen asked Arion what had happened. He replied that the sailors had thrown him overboard, but a dolphin that had been mesmerised by his song had carried him to the shore.



In direct speech, the speaker's actual words are quoted, but in indirect speech, a third person reports what was said.

To convert direct into indirect speech:

6. add the speakers' names
'When are you leaving?' → **Maria** asked **Niko** when he was leaving.
7. make necessary changes to link sentences
'Go away immediately' → He ordered him **to** go away immediately.
8. use reporting verbs, such as: say, claim, mention, ask, reply, order, shout, request (in the past tense)
'Are you coming?' → He **asked** if he was coming.
9. make relevant changes to pronouns
'Are **you** coming?' → He asked if **he** was coming.
10. change the tenses accordingly
'They **bought** a house.' → He said they **had bought** a house.



- a) 'I want to eat', said Arion.
→ Arion's actual words are in quotation marks ('...'): this is direct speech.
- b) Arion said he wanted to eat.
→ In this case, Arion's words are expressed indirectly by someone else. There are no quotation marks: this is indirect speech.

Activity 4. Rewrite the dialogue below in indirect speech.

- 'You should be ashamed of yourself. It's very late. You need to wake up early tomorrow', his father said.

- 'You should get the class notes from Loukia, who's older than you', his mum said.

- 'Next time I'll lock the TV', his dad said angrily.

Activity 5. Now rewrite the text above in Cypriot Greek.

APPENDIX 2b

THE MAINSTREAM TEXTBOOK (control group): The material is comparable to UNIT 4 of the study's TEXTBOOK (experimental group)

Τηλεόραση και διαφήμιση

Δείτε τι έγραψαν μερικά παιδιά για τις διαφημίσεις:

... Σε κάθε σπίτι σήμερα έχει μπει η τηλεόραση και, όπως γνωρίζουμε, κάθε μέρα βομβαρδιζόμαστε από τις διάφορες διαφημίσεις που προβάλλει. Οι περισσότερες από αυτές προσπαθούν να μας παρα- πλανήσουν και να μας κάνουν να πάρουμε διάφορα άχρηστα πράγματα. Μερικές διαφημίσεις λένε:

«Αν πιεις ένα συγκεκριμένο αναψυκτικό, θα γίνεις σούπερ δυνατός σαν αυτόν που το διαφημίζει». Αυ- τές οι διαφημίσεις σου κάνουν κυριολεκτικά πλύση εγκεφάλου και κυρίως επηρεάζουν τα μικρά παι- διά, που στην ηλικία τους είναι φυσικό να τις πιστεύουν.

Μεθοδίου Σταύρος

... Σε μια διαφήμιση λένε πως με το απορρυπαντικό νέας γενιάς βγαίνουν όλοι οι λεκέδες, ενώ με τα απορρυπαντικά παλιάς γενιάς δεν έβγαιναν. Άρα δείχνουν και μόνοι τους ότι παλιά μας κορόιδευαν, αφού και τότε τα ίδια μας έλεγαν. Μήπως και τώρα δε μας κοροϊδεύουν;

Υπάρχει και κάτι άλλο που εκνευρίζει κάθε τηλεθεατή. Εκεί που βλέπεις μια σειρά και έχεις πάρα πολλή αγωνία να δεις τι θα γίνει, βγαίνει κάποιος εκεί πέρα και σου λέει: «Τι προτιμάει ο πίθηκος; Κόκα κόλα ή Πέψι κόλα;». Φυσικά εμείς ξέρουμε ότι στον πίθηκο αρέσουν μόνο οι μπανάνες. Αλλά, μέχρι να δούμε τι προτιμάει ο πίθηκος, περνάνε 5 λεπτά και μετά έχει κι άλλες διαφημίσεις και, όταν τελειώνουν, βλέπεις τους τίτλους της σειράς και γράφει: «Η συνέχεια την άλλη Τρίτη».

*Έλληνα Νάνση (Από σχέδιο εργασίας: «Παιδί και τηλεόραση» της Ε' και Στ' τάξης
του Δημοτικού Σχολείου της Παναγίας Θάσου)*

1. Για ποια πράγματα κατηγορούν ο Σταύρος και η Νάνση τις διαφημίσεις; Υπογραμμίστε τα ρήματα ή τις εκφράσεις που το δείχνουν.

Ας προσπαθήσουμε να δούμε ποιος είναι ο στόχος τους: Βρείτε τα αντικείμενα των μαυρισμένων ρημάτων:

- προσπαθούν να μας παραπλανήσουν...

δηλαδή να παραπλανήσουν εμάς

- να μας κάνουν να πάρουμε διάφορα άχρηστα πράγματα

-
- σου κάνουν πλύση εγκεφάλου

-
- επηρεάζουν τα μικρά παιδιά

-
- μας κοροϊδεύουν

-
- εκνευρίζει τον τηλεθεατή
-

2. Συζητήστε στην τάξη αν έχουν δίκιο. Έχουν μόνο αρνητικές πλευρές οι διαφημίσεις;

Συγκεντρώστε τις απόψεις σας στον παρακάτω πίνακα προσπαθώντας να βρείτε όχι μόνο τα αρνητικά τους αλλά και τα θετικά τους:

ΘΕΤΙΚΑ	ΑΡΝΗΤΙΚΑ
• μας διασκεδάζουν	• προσπαθούν να μας παραπλανήσουν
•	•
•	•
•	•
•	•

3. Δείτε τώρα τι γράφει η Ελευθερία:

... Τώρα, για να είμαστε δίκαιοι, καλές είναι οι διαφημίσεις αλλά έχουν πάντα καλό σκοπό; Ας πάρου- με, για παράδειγμα, ένα φανταστικό αναψυκτικό κι ας το ονομάσουμε «ΖΑΦ». Στη διαφήμιση λένε:

«Γεια σας. Με λένε Βρασίδα. Η ζωή μου μέχρι τώρα ήταν μονότονη. Δεν είχε κανένα ενδιαφέρον. Όσπου ήρθε το “ΖΑΦ” και η ζωή μου άλλαξε. Ήταν γεμάτο ενέργεια και ζωτικότητα. Το “ΖΑΦ” με έσω- σε. Περιμένει να σώσει και εσάς». Έτσι είναι οι γνωστές διαφημίσεις στην τηλεόραση.

Αλλά, αν το προσέξατε, λέει τι περιέχει αυτό το προϊόν; Λέει αν υπάρχουν βιταμίνες μέσα σε αυτό; Λέ- ει αν έχουν χρησιμοποιηθεί συντηρητικά; Αφού δεν τα λέει αυτά, θα ήταν φυσικό εμείς να μην το προ- τιμήσουμε. Αλλά δυστυχώς εμείς κάνουμε το αντίθετο. Μας εντυπωσιάζει η διαφήμιση, μας υπνωτί- ζουν τα πειστικά λόγια και το προτιμάμε. Δυστυχώς αυτή είναι η σκληρή αλήθεια. Πρέπει όμως να ξυ- πνήσουμε. Να μην αφήνουμε τη διαφήμιση να μας παρασύρει.

Προβά Ελευθερία

- Γιατί αφήνουμε τις διαφημίσεις να μας παρασύρουν;

- Γράψτε τι θα έπρεπε να προσέχουμε όταν βλέπουμε μια διαφήμιση:

Ευθύς και πλάγιος
λόγος

Δείτε ενότητα 6, Οι
φίλοι μου, οι φίλες μου

4. Χωριστείτε σε ζευγάρια. Προετοιμάστε στο τετράδιό σας ερωτήσεις για τον συμμαθητή ή τη συμμαθήτριά σας, ζητώντας να σας πει τις προτιμήσεις ή τη γνώμη του/της για τις διαφημίσεις, όπως:

- Γιατί σου αρέσει μια διαφήμιση;
- Ποια είναι η αγαπημένη σου διαφήμιση;
- Θα ήθελες περισσότερο ή λιγότερο «τηλεοπτικό χρόνο» διαφημίσεων;
- Τι αισθάνεσαι όταν η αγαπημένη σου ταινία διακόπτεται για να προβληθούν διαφημίσεις;

Να καταγράψετε τις απαντήσεις των συμμαθητών σας και να τις μεταφέρετε σε πλάγιο λόγο. Να χρησιμοποιήσετε μερικά από τα παρακάτω ρήματα: είπε, απάντησε, υποστήριξε, θα επιθυμούσε, θέλησε, πιστεύει, νομίζει, ελπίζει.

5. Συμπληρώστε με αιτιολογικές προτάσεις:

α. Μου αρέσουν οι διαφημίσεις που προβάλλουν παιχνίδια

β. Ακούω περισσότερο ραδιόφωνο

γ. Θα σου κάνω τη χάρη να μη δω τηλεόραση

δ. Μην επηρεάζεσαι από τις διαφημίσεις

ε. Θα σταματήσω να αγοράζω άχρηστα προϊόντα

Television and Advertising

Here is what some students wrote about advertising:

... Nowadays, most of us have a TV set, so, on a daily basis, we are bombarded with TV commercials. The objective of many commercials is to mislead the viewer and often make us buy unnecessary products. Commercials are based on images and associations: they give you the impression that if you buy the product, for example a soft drink, you'll be as strong or attractive as the person in the advertisement. Viewers, especially young children who are naturally more impressionable, are literally brainwashed.

Stavros Methodiou

A commercial for a new generation detergent claims that the product will remove any stain, unlike earlier detergents which were ineffective. This means that they themselves admit that those commercials were misleading. Doesn't that also mean that today's commercials are probably similarly trying to mislead us?

Commercial breaks are extremely irritating, because they interrupt the TV show you are trying to watch. The commercials are usually irrelevant, with questions like 'What do monkeys like, Coca Cola or Pepsi?' (everyone knows monkeys like bananas!) and several frustrating minutes later, the closing credits appear and you are told not to miss the next episode on Tuesday.

Nancy Ellina

(Extract from Kids and TV, 5th and 6th grade of Primary, Panayia Thasou)

1. a) What are the disadvantages of commercials, according to Stavros and Nancy?
Underline the relevant phrases in the text.

b) Find the **object** of the verbs in bold, as in the example.

- The objective of many commercials is to **mislead** the viewer...

verb: mislead, object: the viewer

- they **give** you the impression

- they **make** us buy unnecessary products

- monkeys **like** bananas

- the product **will remove** any stain

- they **interrupt** the TV show you are trying to watch

2. Discuss in class. What are the advantages and disadvantages of advertisements?
Complete the table below.

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
• they are entertaining	• they are misleading
•	•
•	•
•	•

3. Here's what Eleftheria wrote. Read the text and answer the questions below.

Let's be honest: advertising is important, but is it always truthful?

For example, let's say you watch a commercial about a soft drink – let's call it ZAF. The man in the commercial might say: 'Hi, I'm Bob. For years, I led a dull life, until one day I started drinking ZAF and everything changed. Suddenly, I was full of energy and life! ZAF saved me and it can save you, too.' Sounds familiar?

The problem is that these commercials offer no information about the ingredients or the nutritional value of the drink, or whether or not it contains preservatives. But consumers, sadly, don't seem to mind. We need to wake up and be more critical toward advertisements.

Eleftheria Prova

- Why are advertisements convincing?

- What should we be careful about when watching a commercial?

**Direct and indirect
speech**

See unit 6, My friends

4. Work in pairs. Ask your partner to share his or her opinion about advertisements, using questions such as the ones below.

- What makes advertisements effective?
- What is your favourite advertisement?
- Do you think commercial breaks should be longer or shorter?
- How do you feel when your favourite film is interrupted by commercial breaks?

Write your partner's answers and transform them into indirect speech.

Use verbs such as: said, answered, claimed, would like, wanted, believes, thinks, hopes.

5. Complete the phrases below using clauses of reason:

- a. I like toy commercials _____
- b. I listen to the radio _____
- c. I won't watch TV _____
- d. Don't be manipulated by commercials _____
- e. I'll stop buying products I don't need _____

APPENDIX 3

**TOPICS AND SCENARIOS ASSIGNED TO THE STUDENTS TO
DEVELOP WRITTEN OR ORAL SPEECH IN THE TWO
VARIETIES**

SMG ORAL

Pre-test

- Ζητήθηκε από τους μαθητές να φέρουν μαζί τους ένα λογοτεχνικό που έχουν διαβάσει.
Φαντάσου ότι σε καλούν σε ένα τηλεοπτικό σόου για παιδιά στην Ελλάδα για να μιλήσεις γι' αυτό το λογοτεχνικό. Τι θα έλεγες;

Πες για την υπόθεση του, τους ήρωες, γιατί επέλεξες να το διαβάσεις, αν σου άρεσε κτλ.

- The students had to bring in a novel they have read.

Imagine you've been invited to a TV show for kids in Greece so you can talk about your novel.

Discuss the plot and the characters, explain why you chose to read it and say whether you liked it, etc.

Post-test

- Ζητήθηκε από τους μαθητές να φέρουν μαζί τους ένα σκίτσο-ζωγραφιά ή εργασία που έκαναν σε κάποιο μάθημα.

Φαντάσου ότι σε καλούν σε ένα τηλεοπτικό σόου για παιδιά στην Ελλάδα για να παρουσιάσεις αυτήν την εργασία. Πες σε πιο μάθημα εντάσσεται, γιατί επέλεξες να κάνεις κάτι τέτοιο, τι δείχνει, πώς το έκανες, τι υλικά χρησιμοποίησες ή για τι θέμα έγραψες, πόσο δύσκολο ήταν κτλ.

- The students had to bring in a drawing or assignment they completed at school.

Imagine you've been invited to a TV show for kids in Greece so you can talk about your work.

Describe the project, saying what subject it falls under, why you chose this particular project, what you attempted to convey through it, how it was done, what materials you used/what your topic was and whether or not it was challenging.

CG ORAL

Pre-test

- Φαντάσου ότι περιγράφεις σε έναν φίλο σου το αγαπημένο σου παιχνίδι. Πες του τα εξής: Πώς παίζεται; Γιατί σου αρέσει; Με ποιους το παίζεις; Πότε ήταν η τελευταία φορά που το έπαιξες; Ποιος είναι συνήθως ο αρχηγός; Εσύ τι ρόλο έχεις; Συνήθως νικάς ή χάνεις;
- Describe your favourite game/toy to a friend. What are the rules? Why do you like it? Who do you play with? When was the last time you played? Who is the leader usually? What is your role? Do you usually lose/win when you play this game/ with this toy?

Post-test

- Ζητήθηκε από τους μαθητές να φέρουν μαζί τους δύο φωτογραφίες.
Φαντάσου ότι περιγράφεις αυτές τις φωτογραφίες σε ένα φίλο σου. Περίγραψε την κάθε φωτογραφία λεπτομερώς ώστε να καταλάβει: ποια είναι τα άτομα στη φωτογραφία, ποια είναι η ιστορία πίσω από τη φωτογραφία, από πότε είναι αυτή η φωτογραφία και γιατί επέλεξες να του μιλήσεις γι' αυτές.
- The students were asked to bring in two photographs.
Describe each photograph to a friend in detail, telling him/her who the people in it are, what the story is behind it, when the photograph was taken and why you chose to bring in these particular photographs.

SMG WRITTEN

Pre-test

- Άρθρο για τη μηνιαία εφημερίδα του σχολείου: Μια αξέχαστη μέρα/ ένα αξέχαστο απόγευμα με την οικογένειά μου ή τους φίλους μου.
Μπορεί να είναι μια πραγματική ιστορία ή και φανταστική. Περίγραψε εκείνη τη μέρα από την αρχή μέχρι το τέλος με λεπτομέρειες και μην ξεχάσεις να αναφέρεις: →
 - Τόπος (Που;)
 - Χρόνος (Πότε;)
 - Πρόσωπα-Ηρωες (Ποιοι;)
 - Σειρά των γεγονότων (Τι κάνατε; Πλοκή: Αρχή, μέση, τέλος)
 - Γιατί ήταν αξέχαστη η μέρα/αξέχαστο το απόγευμα για σένα και την οικογένειά σου/ τους φίλους σου;
 - Εικόνες (Τι είδατε; Τι ακούσατε; Τι παίζατε;)
 - Σκέψεις-Συναισθήματα των ηρώων ή δικές σου (τότε που έγιναν τα γεγονότα και τώρα που τα θυμάσαι)
- Write an article for the school monthly magazine: An unforgettable day/afternoon with family or friends.
Your story can be real or imaginary. Describe that day/afternoon in detail, from beginning to end. Remember to include these points:
 - Place (Where?)
 - Time (When?)
 - Characters (Who?)
 - Order of events (What did you do? Plot? Beginning, middle, end)
 - Why was this an unforgettable day/afternoon for you and your family/ friends?
 - Images (What did you see/hear/play?)
 - Thoughts/Feelings (how did you and the characters feel on that day and how do you feel now?)

Post-test

- Άρθρο σε εφημερίδα του σχολείου: Το αγαπημένο πρόσωπο της οικογένειάς μου ή ο αγαπημένος μου φίλος.

Η περιγραφή μπορεί να είναι πραγματική ή και φανταστική. Μην ξεχάσεις να αναφέρεις:

- Ποιο είναι αυτό το άτομο; Όνομα;
- Εξωτερική εμφάνιση; (με λεπτομέρειες)
- Προτερήματα και ελαττώματα;
- Τι συνήθειες έχει;
- Γιατί είναι το αγαπημένο σου άτομο;
- Τι κάνετε όταν είστε μαζί; Πώς περνάς μαζί του;
- Θυμήσου και αφηγήσου ένα περιστατικό από τη ζωή σου μαζί του που ήταν σημαντικό και θα σου μείνει αξέχαστο.

- Write an article for the school magazine:

My favourite family member / My best friend.

Your description can be based on a real or imaginary person. Remember to include these points:

- Who is this person? What's their name?
- Describe their appearance in detail.
- What are their good and bad qualities?
- What are their habits?
- Why is he/she your favourite?
- What do you do together? Do you have a good time?
- Describe an important incident with this person you'll never forget. How do you feel about what happened?

CG WRITTEN

Pre-test

Ο Πάμπος και ο Κούλλης είναι δύο παιδιά από την Κύπρο. Ο Πάμπος μέχρι πρόσφατα έμενε με την οικογένειά του στη Λευκωσία. Σύντομα όμως θα μετακομίσει στη Λεμεσό και φοβάται ότι θα νιώθει πολύ μόνος. Παίρνει, λοιπόν, τηλέφωνο ένα φίλο του, τον Κούλλη, ο οποίος μένει μόνιμα στη Λεμεσό και του λέει τον προβληματισμό του!

Φαντάσου ότι είσαι ο Κούλλης! Χρησιμοποίησε τη φαντασία σου και γράψε τον διάλογο που νομίζεις ότι θα είχες με τον Πάμπο.

Θυμήσου να γράψεις:

- Πώς αντέδρασες μόλις έμαθες τα νέα;
- Πώς νιώθει ο Πάμπος και τι νομίζεις ότι θα ήθελε να μάθει;
- Καθησύχασέ τον λέγοντας του πόσο όμορφη είναι η πόλη σου και η γειτονιά σου.
- Πες του να έρθει και αυτός στο σχολείο σου και μίλα του για τους συμμαθητές-δασκάλους σου.
- Πες του για τις δραστηριότητες που κάνεις κάθε μέρα και τις οποίες θα μπορούσε και αυτός να ακολουθήσει.

Σκέψου πώς μιλάς αυθόρμητα με τους φίλους σου και γράψε τον διάλογο έτσι ακριβώς! Για να σε βοηθήσω σου δίνω την αρχή του διαλόγου!



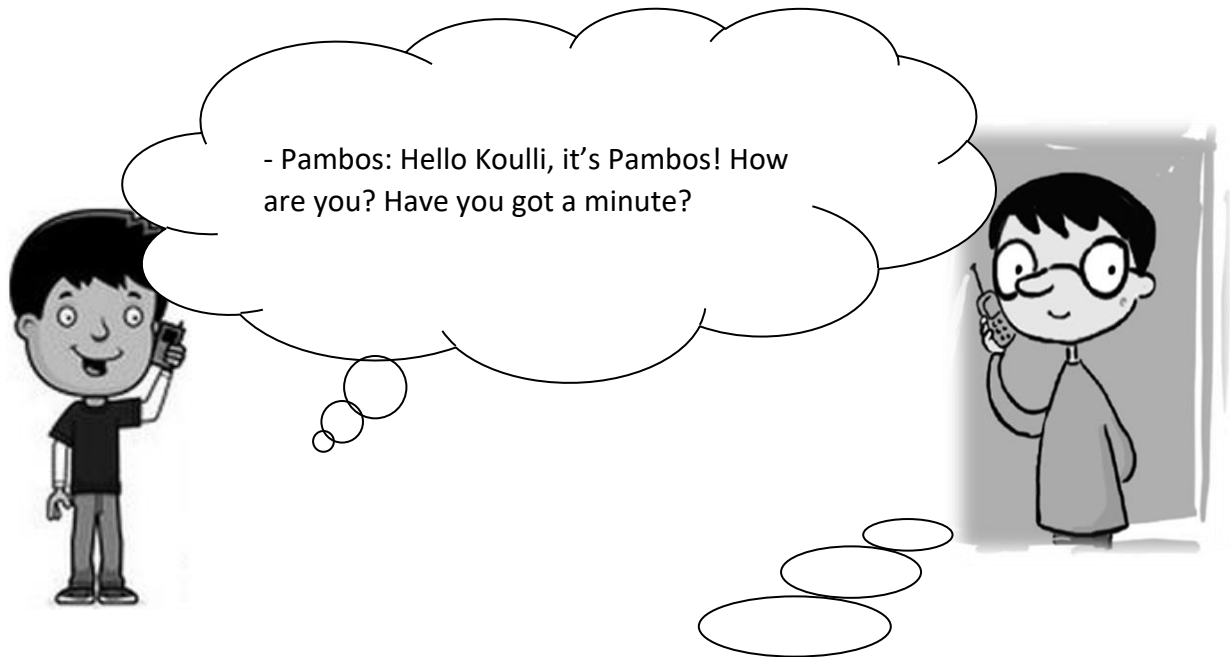
Pambos and Koullis are two Cypriot children. Pambos and his family are living in Nicosia but will soon relocate to Limassol. Pambos is apprehensive about the relocation and worries he will be lonely there, so he calls his friend Koullis, who lives in Limassol, to have a chat.

Imagine you're Koullis! Let your imagination go wild and write your dialogue with Pambos.

Remember to include these points:

- How did you react when you heard the news?
- How does Pambos feel and what can you tell him to make him feel better?
- Cheer him up by telling him how beautiful your city and your neighbourhood are.
- Invite him to your school and tell him about your classmates/teachers.
- Tell him about your daily routine/activities and invite him to join in.

Think about what language you use when you speak with friends and write in the same style. Here's how the dialogue begins:



Post-test

Ο κολλητός σου φίλος σε λίγες μέρες έχει τα γενέθλιά του κι εσύ σκέφτεσαι τι θα μπορούσες να κάνεις εκείνη τη μέρα για να περάσει ο φίλος σου όμορφα. Παίρνεις λοιπόν τηλέφωνο έναν συμμαθητή σου και του θυμίζεις ότι σε λίγες μέρες είναι τα γενέθλια του φίλου σας. Σκέφτεστε διάφορες εναλλακτικές και ένας από τους δύο σας ρίχνει την ιδέα να του οργανώσετε ένα πάρτι έκπληξη!

Χρησιμοποίησε την φαντασία σου και γράψε τον τηλεφωνικό σας διάλογο. Πώς θα οργανώσετε αυτό το πάρτι έκπληξη;

Οι πιο κάτω ερωτήσεις θα σε βοηθήσουν:

- Τι είπες στον συμμαθητή σου μόλις τον πήρες τηλέφωνο; (Ποιος γιορτάζει; Πότε γιορτάζει ακριβώς;)
- Τι άλλες ιδέες πρότεινε ο συμμαθητής σου πριν καταλήξετε στο πάρτι έκπληξη;
- Ποιος είπε τελικά να οργανώσετε πάρτι έκπληξη και γιατί νομίζετε πώς είναι η καλύτερη ιδέα;
- Πώς θα οργανώσετε το πάρτι ώστε να ξαφνιάσετε τον φίλο σας;
- Τι θα αναλάβει ο καθένας; (Ποιος θα ειδοποιήσει τους άλλους συμμαθητές σας; Σκεφτήκατε που θα ήταν πιο ωραία να γίνει το πάρτι; Πρέπει να ειδοποιήσετε τους γονείς του;)
- Θα φέρετε φαγητά; Τούρτα; Κεράκια; Προτείνετε κι άλλα πράγματα που μπορείτε να φέρετε στο πάρτι.
- Δώρο; Τι θα ήθελε για δώρο ο φίλος σας;
- Τι άλλο χρειάζεται να κάνετε για να είστε σίγουροι ότι θα πετύχει το πάρτι;

Σκέψου πώς μιλάς αυθόρμητα με τους φίλους σου και γράψε τον διάλογο έτσι ακριβώς!

It's your best friend's birthday in a few days and you're wondering what you could plan for him/her on the big day. So, you call a classmate, you put your heads together and one of you suggests throwing a surprise party!

Let your imagination go wild and write your dialogue, in which you detail how you are going to organise the surprise party.

These questions will help you:

- What did you tell your classmate when you called him/her? (Whose birthday is it? When is the big day?)
- What other ideas did your classmate have before you agreed to throw a surprise party?
- Who suggested throwing the surprise party and why do you think it's a good idea?
- How are you going to plan everything without your friend knowing?
- What is each of you going to do? Who will call the other guests? Where is the party going to take place? Must you let your friend's parents know?
- Will you bring food, a cake and candles? What other things do you need for the party?
- What about a present? What would your friend like?
- What else should you do to make sure the surprise party will be successful?

Think about what language you use when you speak with friends and write in the same style.

APPENDIX 4

SAMPLES FROM THE STUDENTS' ORAL AND WRITTEN PRODUCTION IN THE TWO VARIETIES

ORAL TESTS

Code of Transcription: The extracts below are taken from the students' oral SMG (D2) and CG (D1) pre- and post- intervention tests (interviews). Any CG occurrences are indicated in bold characters and self-correction incidents are underlined. CG features are described below the students' answers in brackets.

TRANSCRIPTION KEY

(.)	pause
:::	stretched sound
τζ:/τσ:/ζ:	palato-alveolar sounds
:	following a double consonant → consonant gemination
-	sentence interrupted
=	at the end of one sentence and the start of the next. Indicates that there was no pause between them

SMG ORAL

Pre-test

Student TE13f: experimental group, oral SMG pre-intervention test.

Researcher: Ποιο λογοτεχνικό έφερες μαζί σου;

Which novel did you bring in?

Student: Το πιτζ:άμα ππ:άρτι

Pyjama party.

Researcher: Φαντάσου ότι σε καλούν σε ένα τηλεοπτικό σόου για παιδιά στην Ελλάδα για να μιλήσεις γι' αυτό το λογοτεχνικό. Τι θα έλεγες; Πες για την υπόθεσή του, τους ήρωες.

Imagine you've been invited to a TV show for kids in Greece so you can talk about your novel. What would you tell the audience? Talk about the plot and the characters.

Student: Εν κάποια κορίτσια.

There are some girls.

Researcher: Ναι και τι κάνουν;

OK, and what do they do?

Student: Ε ήταν κάποια κορίτσια τζ:ι ήταν να κάμουν ποντζ:άμα ππ:άρτι

Well, there were some girls and they were planning a pyjama party.

Researcher: Καταρχάς αυτό τι είναι;

First of all, what's that?

Student: Εν λογοτεχνικόν έτσι γράφει πάνω ε (.) να πω την ιστορίαν;

It's a novel, that's what it says on the book. Should I tell the story?

Researcher: Ναι ναι.

Yes, yes.

Student: Ήταν τα κορίτσια τζ:ε κάμαν ένα ποντζ:άμα ππ:άρτι όμως είχε ένα- μμ:ια:-

ήταν μια που την ελ- ένα κορίτσι που τη λλ:έγαν Δάφνη κι ήρτεν σε τζ:ιέινο το σχολείο ήτα νν:έα και μια άλλ:η που ήταν εκεί για πολλ:ά χρόνια στο σχολείο που τη λλ:εγαν Καίτη την κοροΐδευε δεν την ήθελε (.) ε:::μ (.) όμως είχεν μιαν που την έλεγαν Έμιλυ όμως ήτα- ήθελε να είναι κολλ:ητή της (.) της Δάφνης (.) αλλά η Έμιλυ είχε κολλ:ητή την Βιολέττ:α εμ η Έμιλυ έκανε πιτζ:άμα ππ:άρτι (.) μετά ήθελαν όλες να κάμουν

There was a group of girls who had a pyjama party. Among them was a girl named Daphne who was new to the school. She was bullied by Kaiti, another girl who had been going to that school for years and didn't like Daphne at all. But then another girl, Emily, who was best friends with Violetta, decided to throw a pyjama party and then all of them wanted to do the same.

- Researcher: Ξέρεις να εξηγήσεις αν σε ρωτήσουν πως γίνεται το πιτζάμα πάρτι;
Can you explain what a pyjama party is?
- Student: Μαζεύονται κάποια κορίτσια σ' ένα σπίτι της φίλης τους (.) ε::μ (.) και τη
νν:ύχταν κοιμούνται όλοι στο ίδιο σπίτιν.
It's when a group of girls spend the night together at a friend's house.
- Researcher: Γιατί το επέλεξες να το διαβάσεις; Εσύ το αγόρασες;
Why did you choose to read this book? Did you buy it?
- Student: Ναι (.) **που ήρτεν** στο σχολείο μας η βιβλιοχώρα (.) ένα βιβλιοπωλείον που
έρκεται κάθε χρόνο **τζ: ' αγορασά το που τζιαμέ**
Yes, I got it from Vivliochoira, a bookshop. They visit our school every year.
- Researcher: Μήπως γνωρίζεις πώς τελειώνει να πεις;
What's the ending like, do you know?
- Student: **Όι εν ηξέρω** (.) **διαβάζουμεν το** στο σχολείον στα ελληνικά:: (.) **διά μας** κάποια
λεπτά η κυρία Νικολλέττ:α **τζ:αι διαβάζουμεν τζ: ' αν** μας αρέσουν **τζ:αι**
κάποιες εκφράσεις **γράφουμεν τες** μες σ' ένα τετράδιον (.) για να **τες**
χρησιμοποιούμεν στες εκθέσεις
Not yet. We're still reading it at school, in Greek class... Ms Nikoletta gives us
some time to read and we copy expressions we like in our notebook so we can
use them in compositions.

(Geminates, Palato-alveolar fricatives/ affricates, Temporal clause with [pu] (initial position) instead of [ótan], final [n], post-verbal clitics, CG-specific stems in verbs, Negative particle [en] instead of [ðen] 'not', Conditional [íta n:a] + subjunctive instead of [θa], 3rd person singular present tense copula [en]/ [éni] instead of [íne], [pu] instead of [apó] 'from, than', CG-specific adverbs, Elision of fricatives and sibilant [s], Epenthesis of an [i] or [e] word initially in verbs, Feminine accusative plural determiner/pronoun [tes] instead of [tis]).

Post-test

Student TE13f _p: experimental group, oral SMG post-intervention test.

- Researcher: Πες μου Ιωάννα τι έφερες μαζί σου;
Tell me, Ioanna, what did you bring in?
- Student: Έφερα βιβλιοπαρουσίαση
I brought a book presentation.
- Researcher: Φαντάσου ότι σε καλούν σε ένα τηλεοπτικό σόου για παιδιά στην Ελλάδα για να μιλήσεις γι' αυτήν. Θέλεις να παρουσιάσεις αυτή την εργασία;
Imagine you've been invited to a TV show for kids in Greece so you can talk about your project. Would you like to present it?
- Student: Κάναμε ένα σχέδιο=
We did a drawing...
- Researcher: =ας ξεκινήσουμε από τον τίτλο=
Let's start with the title.
- Student: =Βάλαμε τον τίτλο τον συγγραφέα και το όνομα μας=
We put the title, the writer's name and our name
- Researcher: = Πες τον τίτλο
What's the title?
- Student: Ένας τεράστιος κερασολουκουμάς ολο γλύκα και μαγεία
A gigantic cherry donut full of sweetness and magic
- Researcher: Ναι
Yes...
- Student: Εδώ κάναμε μια αφίσα βάλαμε από κάτω τον τίτλο τις εκδόσεις το συγγραφέα
εδώ- ε:: που θα το βρούμε και το βιβλίο αυτό ότι θα μας ταξιδέψει
Here we made a poster: at the bottom we wrote the title, the publisher, the writer's name here, where we can find the book and we wrote that this book will transport you to another world
- Researcher: Χμ χμ
Hm...
- Student: Εδώ βάλαμε λίγα λόγια για το συγγραφέα
Here, we wrote a few words about the writer.
- Researcher: Χμ χμ Θυμάσαι κάτι;
Ah, do you remember anything?
- Student: Ε::: ότι είναι η Ιωάννα Προκοπίου (.) γεννήθηκε στη Λευκωσία (.) και κάποια από τα βιβλία της πήραν βραβείο
It's Ioanna Prokopiou, she was born in Nicosia, and some of were books won awards.
- Researcher: Χμ χμ ωραία (.) την περίληψη του βιβλίου (.) θυμάσαι κάτι;

Hm, nice. Do you remember the plot?

Student: Ε:: ήταν ένα αγόρι που ήρθε- που με- ήταν στο Κερασοχώρι το χωρίο του και **ήταν να** γίνει ένας διαγωνισμός για το πιο ωραίο γλυκό (.) και εσκέφτηκαν- σκέφτηκαν να κάνουν ένα κερασολουκκουμα αλλά ένας κύριος ήρθε και ήθελε να πάρει τα χωράφια με τις κερασιές (.) **αλλ:**ά δεν τον άφησαν και στο τέλος κατάλαβε πόση μεγάλη αξία είχαν τα κεράσια για τους κερασοχωρίτες και δεν τους τα πήρε

There was a boy who lived in Cherryville, where a dessert competition was going to take place. So the people wanted to make a cherry donut. Then a man came who wanted to take all the cherry orchards from them. However, the cherryvillagers fought for their orchards and in the end the man realised his mistake.

Researcher: Ήταν πολύ μεγάλο βιβλίο;
Was it a big book?

Student: Ναι ήταν
Yes, it was.

Researcher: Θέλω να μου πεις τι λόγους θα έδινες σε κάποιον για να το διαβάσει.
Why would you tell someone to read this book?

Student: Θα του έλεγα να το διαβάσει γιατί **εν** ωραίο δίνει κάποιο μήνυμα
I'd tell them to read it because it's a nice book with a message.

(Geminates, final [n], [íta n:a] instead of [θa], 'Augment' [e] in all past tense forms)

CG ORAL

Pre-test

Student TE18f: experimental group, oral CG pre-intervention test.

- Researcher: τι παίζετε τζαι τι σου αρέσκει έσεναν να παίζεις στα διάλειμματα τζαι στο σπίτιν (.) ας ξεκινήσουμεν που το διάλειμμα
What do you like playing during recess and at home? Think about school first.
- Student: ε:: μερικες φορές παίζουμεν λύκους και αρνάκια (.) έσ:ει- έχει κάποια παιδάκια που γίν**ουνται** λύκοι:: (.) και κάποια παιδάκια που γίν**ουνται** αρνάκια (.) οι λύκοι **βουρούν** τα αρνάκια (.) **τζ:αι** άμαν τους πιάσουμεν μετά μπαίνουν στη **φφ:υλακήν** (.) **τζ:αι** άμαν μπουν στη **φφ:υλακήν** πρέπει έναν αρνάκιν **άλλ:ον** να τους ελευθερώσει (.) αν τον **πιάμεν τζ:αι τζ:είνον** (.) **έννα** τους ελευθερώσει **άλλ:ον** αρνάκιν ασπούμεν
Sometimes we play lambs and wolves: Some kids will be the wolves and the others the lambs. The wolves chase the lambs and if they catch them, the lambs go to prison. Once that happens, the other lambs try to set them free, but they must be careful not to get caught as well. If that happens, another lamb will try to help.
- Researcher: τζαι ίνταλως τους ελευθερώννει
How does the lamb set the others free?
- Student: το αρνάκιν ελευθερών**ν:ει** το **άλλ:ον** αρνάκιν που **επιάσαμεν** εμείς οι λύκοι (.) ασπούμεν **βουρούμεν** (.) ασπούμεν εγώ **τωρά** είμαι λύκος **τζ:αι** συ έναν αρνάκιν (.) **θκυο** ασπούμεν (.) **τζ:αι** γω **πιάνν:ω** το έναν αρνάκιν (.) το **άλλ:ον** το αρνάκιν (.) **εννά** σώσει το αρνάκι **ντζ:ίξει του τζ:αι** φέφκει
While the wolves chase the other lambs around, one lamb runs to where the prison is. He or she must get there fast without getting caught, and by simply touching the prisoners, they are set free.
- Researcher: έσiei τίποτε άλλον τουντο παιχνίδιν; Κανέναν κανόναν;
Does this game have any rules?
- Student: ε:: **εν** πρέπει να πατούμεν πράματα (.) **εν** πρέπει να **τσιριλλούμεν τζ:αι** έτσι
We mustn't step on things and we mustn't shout.
- Researcher: άλλον παιχνίδιν
Any other games?
- Student: ε μερικές φορές (.) παίζουμεν λύκε σ' αγαπώ (.) μερικά κορίτσια (.) λύκε μου σ' αγαπώ (.) ε:: ασπούμεν στεκο:- στεκούμαστεν (.) **τζ:αι** **λαλούμεν** κάποιου (.) λύκε μου σ' αγαπώ (.) αν μ' αγαπάς χαμογέλασε μου (.) αν γελάσει (.)

έννά μπει στη **μμ:έση** να πει γεια κάποιου **άλλ:ου** (.) αν δεν γελάσει **έννα** το πεις κάποιου **άλλ:ου** (.) ώσπου να καταφέρεις να **κάμεις** κάποιον να γελάσει για να πει κάποιου **άλλ:ου**

Sometimes we play ‘Wolf, I love you’. We stand in rows and one girl tells a boy ‘Wolf, I love you. Smile if you love me too’. If the boy laughs, he has to come in the middle and talk to someone else. If he doesn’t, the girl must try to make someone else laugh in the same way.

(Geminates, Palato-alveolar fricatives/ affricates, final [n], CG-specific stems in verbs, CG verb suffixes, Negative particle [en] instead of [ðen] ‘not’, CG specific verbs, <έννά> [eˈnːa] instead of <θα> [θa], Hardening of the semi-vowel [j], realized as [k] or [c], Voicing assimilation in consonants clusters, CG-specific stress, Object in genitive when in SMG accusative or prepositional accusative is preferred, Post-verbal clitics).

Post-test

Student TE18f_p: experimental group, oral CG post-intervention test.

Researcher: θέλω να μου δώσεις όσες παραπάνω πληροφορίες γίνεται για να καταλάβω ίνταμπου τούτη η φωτογραφία

Can you explain what this photo shows? Give me details.

Student: ε:: εγώ είμαι **τούτη** (.) **τούτη εν** η ξάδερφη μου **δαμέ** (.) **τζ:αι** εγώ είμαι με τις κορούες **τούτες** **τες** ξάδερφες μου **τζ:αι** είμαι **τούτη** (.) ναι εγώ νομίζω= This is me with my cousin. And these girls are my cousins. This is me I think.

Researcher: = πόσων χρονών είσαι;
How old are you?

Student: **δαμέ;** (.) νομίζω **ενν:ιάμιση**; (χμ) **τζ:αι** **τζ:ιαμέ** νομίζω έτσι
I think I’m 9ish in both photos.

Researcher: επειδή φαίνονται τα μαλλιά σου πολλ:ά διαφορετικά **τζιαμέ...**
But your hair looks different here.

Student: **ε έκαμα τα** κότσον
I wore it in a ponytail.

Researcher: **τζαι** ποιοι εν τούτοι ούλλοι;
And who are these people?

Student: **εν** οι **ξάδερφοι** μου (.) **ξάδερφος** **που** την οικογένειαν της **μάμμ:ας** μου **τζ:αι** ήμασταν σπίτιν της **μάμμ:ας** μου (.) ε:: ήθελα να **φκάλω** μια **φφ:ω**τογραφίαν για να τη **ββ:άλω** μες τα άλπουμ για να τη θθ:υμούμαι (.) ναι (.) **είπαμεν τους** να **ρτουν** για να παίζουμεν

These are my cousins. This is my cousin from my mum's side, and we were at my mum's. I wanted to take a picture so I could remember this day. I put it in an album. We invited everyone over and we played together.

Researcher: **μίλα μου λλίον για τον καθέναν που τούτους**
Tell me a bit about them.

Student: **ε:: (.) τούτος εν** ο μικρός μας ο ξάδερφος (.) τότε νομίζω ήτα:ν (.) νηπιαγωγείον (.) κάτι έτσι (.) **ε:: τωρά εν** πρώτην τάξην (.) **τζ:αι εν** του αρέσκει να **θκιεβάζει** (.) **τζ:εινόν** που ξέρω ότι **αρέσκει του εν** το μπόουλινγκ (.) **ε::** εγώ ειμαι **τούτη τζ:αι** τότε **άρεσκε μμ:ου** να **τραουδώ** (.) **τζ:αι** ήμουν **ενν:ιάμιση** χρονών ενώ **τωρά** είμαι δέκα: (.) **τζ:αι εν** μου αρέσκει να τραγουδώ (.) **τούτος εν** ο αρφός μου ο μεγάλος που ήτανε γίγαντας (.) ψηλό:ς (.) αρέσκει του το γούοττ:ερ **ππ:όλο** (.) **τζ:αι εν** δώδεκα χρο- **τζιαμέ** νομίζω ήταν δεκατριών χρονών (.) εν η Μικαέλλ:α που **τζ:αι τζ:είνη** νομίζω **εν** δεκατριών χρονών (.) **τζ:αι** νομίζω **θκιεβάζει ούλλην** την ώραν (.) η Χριστίνα **ε::ν- ασπούμε:ν** (.) **ούλλα αρέσκουν της** της Χριστίνας (.) **εν** κανονική κορούα: (.) **τζ:αι:** τότε ήταν στην ηλικία μου νομίζω (.) δέκα χρονων (.) **ε:: τζ:αι τούτος εν** ο Χρίστος που: **τζ:αι τζ:είνος θκιεβάζει**

This is our youngest cousin. I think he was in kindergarten at the time. Now he's in primary school and he hates doing homework. He likes bowling though! This is me and at the time I liked singing. I was about 9 – now I'm 10 and I don't like singing anymore. This is Mikaela, who I think is 13 and she's always studying. Now this girl, Christina, likes everything. She's a normal girl. I think she was 10 then. And this is Christos, who also likes to study.

Researcher: **τζαι δαμέ ίντα που κάμνετε;**
And what are you doing in this picture?

Student: **όι:** (.) επειδή **εθέλαμεν** να δείξουμεν σε **τούντην** φωτογραφίαν ότι είμαστεν τρεις κορούες μαζίν (.) **όι** τα αγόρια μαζί **μμ:ας** (.) **εφκάλαμεν τζ:αι** οι τρεις κορούες μαζίν

We just wanted a picture with the three of us, just us girls, not the boys.

(CG-specific adverbs, CG demonstrative pronoun (proximal) [tútos]-[túti]-[túton] instead of [aftós]-[afti]-[afto], CG diminutive suffixes, CG Feminine accusative plural determiner/pronoun [tes] instead of [tis], Geminates, Palato-alveolar fricatives/ affricates, CG-specific stems in verbs, CG verb suffixes, Post-verbal clitics, CG-specific stress, [pu] instead of [apó], Hardening of the semi-vowel [j] realized as [k] or [c], Consonant devoicing/ Voicing assimilation in consonants clusters, [en]/ [éni] instead of [íne], Elision of intervocalic fricatives, CG quantifiers [ul:i] [ul:es] [ul:a] instead of SMG [oli] [oles] [ola] respectively, Epenthesis of an [i] or [e] word initially in verbs)

SMG WRITTEN

The extracts below are taken from the students' written SMG (D2) tests. Any CG occurrences are indicated in bold characters and the words including a hypercorrected singleton are in bold characters and underlined. CG features are described below the students' answers in brackets.

Pre-test

Student AE2m: experimental group, written SMG pre-intervention test.

Μια αξέχαστη μέρα

Όπως κάθε χρόνο η οικογένεια του ξαδέλφου μου έρχεται για διακοπές στην Κύπρο. Έτσι έγινε και φέτος. Μια μέρα ο θείος μου συνεννοήθηκε με τον πατέρα μου και με την θεία μου να πάμε στο Γόττερπαρκ. Όταν φτάσαμε εκεί βάλαμε **αντιγιακό** για τον **ήγιο**. Μετά από λίγο στέγνωσε και πήγαμε να παίζουμε στα παιχνίδια. Πρώτα, πήγαμε στο μαύρο κανόνι έξη φορές μετα στο πορτοκαλί μια φορά. Μόλις τελιώσαμε πήγαμε **στη μαύρη σολίνα**, χορής φώς. Μετά **στην μπλέ σολίνα** και ύστερα στην καφέ. Καθώς τρόγαμε κόπικε το ρεύμα όμως πήγαμε στο ποταμάκι με τους τροχούς για να χονέψουμε. Τότε ήρθε η ώρα να φύγουμε και πήγαμε για τελευταία φορά στην μεγάλη **σίκλα** και μας **χιόνωσε** με νερό. Μετά που φεύγαμε πήγαμε να **πιάσουμε** τις φωτογραφίες μας. Εύχομαι να ξαναπάω για να ζίσο αυτή την περιπέτεια ξανά!

([ʎ] realised as [j], Gender change: [o solínas], CG-specific nouns, CG specific verbs, False friends)

An unforgettable day

This year, like every year, my cousin's family came to Cyprus on holiday. One day, my uncle, my dad and my aunt decided to take us to the waterpark. When we got there, we put on some sunscreen and then we went to play games. First, we went to the canon ride, six times in a row! Then we went to the black tube slide that was really dark, then to the blue tube and then the brown one. Later, as we were having lunch, there was a blackout but we went to the river with the floating tyres for a while. Then it was time to go, so we went to the big bucket one last time. Then, as we were leaving, we collected our photographs. I really hope we can go again. It was an amazing adventure.

Post-test

Student AE2m: experimental group, written SMG post-intervention test.

Ο αγαπημένος μου εξάδελφος

Η οικογένεια είναι ιερή. Πρέπει να είμαστε αγαπημένη, χαρούμενη και να σεβόμαστε το κάθε μέλος της. Πιο κάτω θα σας μηλίσω για τον αγαπιμένο μου εξάδελφο τον Φίλιπο. Είναι 11 με 12 χρονον έχει κανονικό ήψος, έχει μέτρια σωματική διάπλαση, η κεφαλή του είναι οβαλ. Έχει καστανόξανθα μαλιά, τα μάτια του είναι καστανά, η μίτι του είναι μικρή. Φοράει μια κοντομάνικη μπλούζα, κονό παντελονάκι και σανδάλια. Γιατί ζει στη Σουηδία και έρχεται κάθε καλοκαίρι. Έχει πολα προτερήματα όπως: ευχάριστος, χαρούμενος, καλός, φρόνιμος, του αρέσει να είναι πάντα δίκεος, δέχεται την ήτα του. Έξυπνος πιστός, μεγαλόψυχος, εργατικός και ευαίσθητος. Δέχεται την ήτα του γιατί όταν πέζουμε τιν δέχεται. Καλός γιατί είναι καλός μαζί μας. Επίσης έχει λίγα ελατόματα όπως, πεισματάρης, μερικές φορές κλέει. Του αρέσει να: παίζει κρυφτό, λέρα, Nintendo, η τηλεόραση, το μπάσκετ, να πιγένει θάλασσα και να ζωγραφίζει. Όταν πηγαίνουμε θάλασσα βάλουμε πρώτα αντιλιακό και περιμένουμε 10 λεπτά. Μετά βουτάμε στη θάλασσα, εκεί μένουμε 1:30 με 2 ώρες. Εύχομαι όταν μεγαλώσει να έρθει να μείνει μόνιμα στην Κύπρο γιατί όταν θέλουμε να βλεπόμαστε να μην χριάζεται να έρχετε η να πηγαίνω εγώ στη Σουηδία.

(CG-specific stems in verbs, hypercorrected singletons)

My favourite cousin

Family is sacred. We must love each other, be happy and respect each member of the family. Today, I'll talk to you about my favourite cousin, Philippos. He's 11-12 years old, he's of medium height and weight and has an oval-shaped head. He's got light brown hair, brown eyes, and his nose is small. He usually wears T-shirts, shorts and sandals. He lives in Sweden but he visits every summer. Philippos has got lots of good qualities: he's fun to be around, he's always happy, well-behaved, he likes being fair and he is a good loser. He's also intelligent, loyal, kind-hearted, hard-working and sensitive. But of course, he has some flaws, too: he's stubborn and sometimes cries. Anyway, he likes to play hide and seek, lera (name of a game), Nintendo, he likes watching TV, playing basketball, swimming and drawing. When we go to the beach, we first put on sunscreen and wait for 10 minutes. Then we jump in the water, and we normally spend 1.30-2 hours there. I hope when he's older he moves to Cyprus permanently, so we can see each other without him having to travel or me having to go to Sweden.

SMG WRITTEN

Pre-test

Student YE9f: experimental group, written SMG pre-intervention test.

Ένα αξέχαστο απόγευμα παίζοντας παιχνίδια με τους φίλους μου

Μια μέρα προς το καλοκαίρι εγώ, η Ζωή, η Παναγιώτα, η Ολίβια, η Ελένη και η Παντελίνα πήγαμε στο MOLL γιατί ήταν τα γεννέθλια της Παναγιώτας. Μου αρέσει πολύ το MOLL γιατί έχει πολλά καταστήματα έχει παγοδρόμια bowling δίπλα από το bowling έχει μια έθουσα που κιτάς θριντί τενία. Νομίζεις ότι έρχονται πάνω σου. Σου **πιτούν** νερό και σου φισούν αέρα. Και έχουν πολλά ηλεκτρονικά παιχνίδια. Όταν πήγαμε να παίξουμε bowling η Ελένη πήγεν να **σίρι** την μπάλα. Αυτή να την **σίρι** μπροστά την **έσιρε** πίσω της. Στο τέλος του πεχνιδιού ο πρώτος που κέρδισε ήταν η Ζωή, δεύτερη εγώ και Τρίτη η Ολίβια. Όταν τελίωσε το παιχνίδι πήγαμε να σβήσουμε την τούρτα. Όταν την σβήσαμε καθήσαμε να φάμε νάκετς, χάμπουρκε, τούρτα, γλυκά, **αρμυρά** κ.α. Μετά από το φαή πήγαμε και πέξαμε ηλεκτρονικά παιχνίδια. Μετά από τα γεννεθλια της Παναγιώτας πήγαμε στην θεία μου και ήπιε η **μάμα** μου και ο **παπάς** μου ένα νέσκαφε. Εγώ η αδελφί μου και τα ξαδέλφια μου πέξαμε σκωτινό δωμάτιο, παίξαμε λέρα, λίκους και αρνάκια. Παίξαμε πολλά παιχνίδια. Όμως το καλύτερο ήταν το σκωτινό δωμάτιο γιατί το κρεβάτι του ξαδέλφου μου είναι πάνω κάτω. Όταν πήγαμε να **χοστούμε** εγώ και ο ξάδελφος μου **χοστίκαμε** μέσα στο σιρτάρι το πάνω όταν πήγαμεν να βγούμε ο ξάδελφος μου έπεσε κάτω.

(Geminates, CG-specific verbs, CG-specific stress, Devoicing of voiced stops [b], [d] and [g]/[j], Final [n], Allophony of [l] and [r])

An unforgettable afternoon with friends

It was a summer's day, and Zoi, Panayiota, Olivia, Eleni, Pantelina and I went to the shopping centre because it was Panayiota's birthday. I love the shopping centre because it has many shops and also an ice-skating rink, a bowling alley and a 3D cinema. In 3D films you think objects will actually attack you. They even throw water at you and blow air in your face. Also there are lots of video games. So, we went to play bowling and Eleni threw the ball backwards instead of forward! Anyway, in the end Zoi won, I came second and Olivia was third. After that, it was time for the birthday cake and some food: we had nuggets, hamburgers and some cake and snacks. Then we played video games. Later, my parents collected me and we all went to my aunt's for coffee. My cousins, my sister and I played *dark room*, *lera* (name of a game) and *lambs and wolves* (hide and seek). We played other games as well but the best one was dark room because my cousin and I hid in the storage drawer above her bed. He even fell down as we were coming out!

Post-test

Student YE9f_p: experimental group, written SMG post-intervention test.

Η καλύτερη μου φίλη είναι η Γιολάντα. Γνωρίζομαστε από την Τετάρτη τάξη. Είναι μικρόσωμη, καστανόξανθη, και έχει καφέ μάτια. Η Γιολάντα είναι πονηρή γιατί κάνει πράγματα που δεν τα ξέρει ο άλλος, είναι φιλόζωη γιατί αν δει ένα κατοικίδιο πηγένοι και το χαοιδεύει, είναι **αστεία** γιατί μας κάνει και γελάμε και είναι ζωνηρή γιατί κάνει ζαβολιές. Η συνήθεια της Γιολάντας είναι να παίζει ατελιστα στο λάπτοπ της και να παίζει ατελιστα στην αυλή της. Η Γιολάντα είναι η καλύτερη μου φίλη γιατί μου συμπαραστέκεται σε όλα. Όταν είμαστε μαζί παίζουμε και **κάνουμε** ζαυολιές, κοροιδεύουμε η μία την άλλη και κάνουμε αστεία και γελάμε. Για την Γιολάντα νιώθω αγάπη που την έχω φίλη μου. Όταν μεγαλώσουμε η σχέση μου με την Γιολάντα θα γίνει ακόμη καλύτερη. Όταν θα μεγαλώσουμε η Γιολάντα θα είναι ακόμη πιο όμορφη απότι τώρα. Και μακάρι να ψηλώση λίγο.

(False friends, CG-specific verb suffixes)

My best friend is Yolanda. I've known her since third-grade. She is tiny, blondish and has brown eyes. Yolanda is sneaky, because she does things without people knowing, and she loves animals and always pets them. She's also funny and makes everyone laugh. When she's not playing on her laptop, she spends hours playing in her garden. Yolanda is my best friend because she's always there for me. When we are together, we play, make fun of each other and have good laughs. I love Yolanda very much because she is my friend. When we grow up, my relationship with Yolanda will grow stronger. When we're older, Yolanda will be even prettier and I hope that she will grow a bit taller as well.

CG WRITTEN

The extracts below are taken from the students' written CG (D1) pre- and post- tests. Mesolectal use is indicated by **bold** characters (CG features are described below the students texts in brackets), basilectal use by a double underline, and hyperdialectal use by a dashed long heavy underline.

Pre-test

Student AE6m: experimental group, written CG pre-intervention test.

- **Ηνταπουνε** το ευκάριστο;
So what's the good news?
- Ένα μετακομίσω στη Λεμεσό.
I'm moving to Limassol.
- **Ινταπουνη**;; εν χέλω να μετακομίεις στη Λεμεσό.
What? I don't want you to.
- **Εναργά τωρά** γιατί ετοιμαζούμαστε για να φίουμεν.
Too late. We're almost ready to leave.
- **Ενά πάεις** σκολείο τωράτεν στη Λεμεσό. Ε ναι βέβεια. **Ενά** σε πεχιμίσω.
So you'll go to school there. Sure. I'll miss you.
- Εγιά να εις πελέ.
Me too.
- Ένα ξεκινίω τωράτεν να πάω στη χώρα στη Λεμεσό.
Anyway, I've got to go.
- Θα σε πιάσω τηλεφωνίω όταν φτάω Λεμερόν.
I'll call you when I get there.
- Εντά φιλούιν μου.
OK then.

Μετά από 3 ώρες.

Three hours later

- Κούλη **εφτάσαμεν** το σπίτι μας εν τέλειο. Έ**τσι**ι ένα μιάλο πάρκο δίπλα που το έσο μου.
Koullis, we arrived. The house is awesome and there's a big park next to it.
- Μακάρι να περνάς καλά τις μέρες σου στο κενούρκον έσο σου.

I'm sure you'll have a good time in your new home.

- Θα περνάω καλά φιλαράκο.
I will, mate.
- Να **μη**λούμεν φίλε μου.
We'll be in touch.
- Μπάι.
Bye.

(Mesolectal CG items: Wh-phrase <ίντα> ['inda] instead of <τι> [ti], Clefting in wh-questions, <εννά> [en:a] instead of <θα> [θa], [en]/ [éni] instead of [íne], Final [n], Elision of intervocalic fricatives, Palato-alveolar fricatives/ affricates, [pu] instead of [apó], 'Augment' [e] in all past tense forms, Hardening of the semi-vowel [j], realized as [k] or [c], CG-specific noun, CG specific stress, False friends, Negative particle [en] instead of [ðen] 'not')

Post-test

Student AE6m_p: experimental group, written CG post-intervention test.

- Πε Χρύση σε 1 ήμερα **εντα** γενέθλια του Νικόλα.
Hey, Chrisis, it's Nicola's birthday tomorrow.
- Σοβαρά **πελέ** πρέπει να τα τον **παρουμε** πραλίνα.
Seriously, mate, we could get him some chocolate.
- όχι ρε **εν** ξενέροτο.
No, mate, that's not cool.
- Έσῳεις δίκεο, να το **πάρουμε** για **μάππα**.
You're right. We could play football together.
- Εν ξέρει **μάππα τζαι να** χάσει **τζαι εν** κρίμα.
He's not good at football, he'll lose the game and it's a pity.
- Ρε έξυπνε γιατί **εν** του **κάμνουμε** ένα πάρτι.
Hey, man, I know. Why don't we throw a party?
- Πάρτι έκπληξη ενοήτε.
A surprise party, you mean.
- Ενοήτε, πρέπει να βάλουμε **δουγές** για πάρτι.
Sure. Let's see what needs to be done.
- Εντά. Εγώ θα στρόσο **τραπέζια** pizza και απαντά.

- Right. I'll get the pizzas and everything.
- Εγώ το δώρο και τη τούρτα.
I'll get the present and the cake.
 - Όχι τη τούρτα να την φτιάξουμε εμείς η δυο.
No, we can make the cake ourselves.
 - Εσύ να τη κάμεις εν έχω όρεξει να **λετζάσω**.
You make it. I'm in no mood to get my hands dirty.
 - Ότι πεις. **τζε** μουσική δεν θα έχει.
Whatever you say. And what about music?
 - Ου η μουσική.
Oh, music.
 - Οι καλεσμένοι οι κολιτοι μας.
And we'll invite our best friends.
 - **Ετηλεφόνισα** τους **τζίνους**.
I called them.
 - **Παιχνίθκια εν θέλουμεν**.
We don't need games.
 - Γιατί; Λατρεύω τα παιχνίδια.
Why? I love games.
 - Σιόπα είσαι 1 χρονόν.
What? How old are you, 1?
 - Ου.
Ugh.
 - Μπάι **τζαι** η Δευτέρα μέρα είναι.
Bye, we'll talk about it on Monday.

([en]/ [éni] instead of [íne], CG- specific nouns, False friends, Palato-alveolar fricatives/ affricates, CG-specific verb stems, [λ] realized as [j], 'Augment' [e] in all past tense forms, Hardening of the semi-vowel [j], Voicing assimilation_ dissimilation in consonants clusters, Final [n], [en]/ [e] instead of [ðen])

APPENDIX 5

A COMPARISON OF THE RESULTS OF THE PARAMETRIC TO NON-PARAMETRIC TESTS

Overall D2 oral performance		
	Non-Parametric (Mann-Whitney U test)	Parametric (Independent samples t-test)
Pre-test	U = 1564, z = -1.10, p = .27, n.s.	T (117) = -1.02, p = .31, two-tailed, n.s.
Post-test	U = 245, z = -8.11, p < .001 (p = .000), sig.	T (117) = -11.83, p < .001 (p = .000), sig.

Table (i) Comparison of results of parametric to non-parametric tests for D2 oral test.

Overall D2 writing performance		
	Non-Parametric (Mann-Whitney U test)	Parametric (Independent samples t-test)
Pre-test	U = 1576, z = -1.031, p = .302, n.s.	T (117) = -1.513, p = .133, two-tailed, n.s.
Post-test	U = 384, z = -7.373, p < .001 (p = .000), sig.	T (67,99) = -8.255, p < .001 (p = .000), sig.

Table (ii) Comparison of results of parametric to non-parametric tests for D2 written test.

Overall D1 written performance		
	Non-Parametric (Mann-Whitney U test)	Parametric (Independent samples t-test)
Pre-test	U = 1769, z = -.005, p = .996, n.s.	T (117) = .115, p = .908, two-tailed, n.s.
Post-test	U = 1062, z = -3.76, p < .001 (p = .000), sig.	T (117) = 3.95, p < .001 (p = .000), sig.

Table (iii) Comparison of results of parametric to non-parametric tests for D1 written test.

APPENDIX 6

A SAMPLE OF THE INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORMS

Research Information Sheet for Parents and Guardians_ experimental group

Ms Ioli Ayiomamitou
Doctoral Student
School of Education
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Oxford Brookes University
Harcourt Hill Campus
Oxford OX2 9AT

Study title: Investigating the language performance and the language attitudes of children and young people who speak nonstandard varieties.

This year the school that your child is attending is taking part in a research project conducted as part of the doctoral studies I pursue in Educational Linguistics at the Oxford Brookes University in the UK. The cohort of your child is being invited to participate in this research study. Before you decide whether or not you would like your child to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done, and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is to support students whose home language is a dialect and differs from the language(s) that are used and/or taught in the school to improve their oral and written language performance. In particular, the study aims at helping Greek-Cypriot (GC) children distinguish between the two language varieties they possess, namely the GC dialect and the standard, official language of the state, the Standard Modern Greek (SMG) language. In doing so the main focus of the study is on making children explicitly aware of the distinctive and similar features of the two varieties which in turn could help them keeping them apart when they talk and write. Enhancing children's oral and written performance could consequently help them achieve better results in the language lesson as well as in all mainstream subjects. Prior research studies have shown that developing specialised curricula which address the prevalent, linguistically-diverse language needs of these members of the community, pave the way towards their overall educational success. The study will run for a period of 10 weeks (February 2013-April 2013).

Why has my child been invited to participate?

For this study I will need eighty sixth-grade primary school students aged 11 or 12 who have the GC dialect as their home language and they are learning the Standard Modern Greek (SMG) language mainly through schooling. Your child, along with other 79 students, has

been invited to take part in the study because s/he meets the above criteria. The students will come from four classes, drawn from two schools, the school of your child and another primary school in Limassol.

I would like to stress that the overall design and purpose of the study has been approved by the Cyprus Ministry of Education. The headmaster of the school and the teacher who is responsible for the classroom of your child are willing to co-operate with me for the implementation of the study. Nevertheless, the participation of your child is still purely voluntary and it is up to you to decide whether or not your child can take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep, and be asked to sign a consent form. Even if you initially give permission for your child to take part in the study, you are still free to interrupt his/her participation at any time without giving a reason. I would also like to clarify that apart from possible language performance benefits that your child could gain by his/ her participation, choosing whether to take part or not in the study will have no impact on their marks, assessments or future studies.

What will happen to my child if s/he takes part?

The students participating in the study will receive language lessons taught by me for 80 minutes per week divided into two 40-minute sessions for a period of 10 weeks. During the language lessons the grammar of both language systems will be taught to the children. The grammatical characteristics of the two varieties will be parallelised to one another to help children become aware of their commonalities and differences. Focus will be placed on those features in the two varieties that children tend to often confuse and find it all the more difficult to keep apart. Subsequently, children will have the opportunity to systematically practise in using these rules through oral and written activities and exercises. The lessons will be video recorded to help the researcher monitor the learning and teaching process. It should be stressed that for reasons of anonymity the video equipment will be placed on the back of the classroom and the children's faces will not be captured. The data that I wish to access from your child's school record will be his/her grades in the language lesson. Additionally, the students along with their educators and you as their parent or guardian will be asked to fill in a questionnaire and report your stances towards the standard and dialectal variety, your feelings towards them and your views on their use in schools. Some of the students together with their parents will also be invited to take part in a 30-minute-long individual interview. In this interview the participants will be asked questions that are similar to the ones in the questionnaire with a possibility of a short discussion. The interviews will take place in the setting of the school and will be audio recorded to aid note taking.

What are the possible benefits or disadvantages of taking part?

The students participating in the study will be benefited in two ways. First, for the first time they will have the opportunity to receive language teaching that is being adapted to meet the special language needs of children who speak two related language varieties, a dialect and a standard variety. The student will be supported to distinguish between their two dialects and further enhance the acquisition of the SMG language. In addition, the children will benefit from their exposure to a curriculum which shows equal appreciation to both linguistic varieties they use and also values their right to be taught in their home language. Finally, the children are expected to develop language sensitivity from learning more about the equality between regional, minority varieties and standardised languages.

The study is designed in such way as to ensure that the students will be disrupted as little as possible from their typical subject lessons and their school daily routine. First and foremost, the language programme that will be applied is in line with the declarations of the GC educational system and mostly operates as a curriculum enrichment approach. The students' progress in the prescribed educational material will not be delayed, since the teaching material on which the study will be based follows the declared curriculum provisions and draws on the content of the sixth-grade books currently in use for the language lesson. Therefore, it should be understood that what mainly changes is the method by which the language lesson is taught, while its content is kept unaltered. With regard to the testing and interview sessions, if possible they will be scheduled beyond school hours, but in case the students have to miss a core lesson, this will only be for one session.

Will what my child say in this study be kept confidential?

All information collected about each student participant (e.g. name, age, school) will be kept strictly confidential (subject to legal limitations). All data collected from the language tests, questionnaire and interviews will be anonymised and the participants' names will not be disclosed in any presentation or publication based on this study. All personal data will be removed and if needed replaced by a pseudonym. Material generated by video or audio recordings (lessons, interviews) will only serve the purposes of the study and as such they will only be accessed by the researcher and the programme directors. After a certain period of time, the video and audio recordings will be destroyed. Moreover, data generated by the study will be retained in accordance with the University's policy on Academic Integrity. All material collected in the course of the study will be kept securely in paper or electronic form for a period of ten years after the completion of a research project as demanded by the University's ethical code. The research has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee of the Oxford Brookes University.

What should I do if I want my child to take part?

If you consent that your child participates in this study please complete the attached consent form and return it to the school's secretary or your child's teacher.

Who is organising and funding the research?

This research study is pursued by me and monitored by a supervisory team which consists of three members specialising in the domain of Educational Linguistics and Psychology. The study is being internally funded by the Oxford Brookes University as part of the interdisciplinary Doctoral Training Programme (DTP) in “Children and Young People: Psychological, Educational and Health Perspectives”.

Contact for Further Information

Should you require any further information or clarifications about the content or layout of the study, do not hesitate to contact me on ioli.ayiomamitou@brookes.ac.uk.

Should you have any concerns about the way in which the study has been conducted, please contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee on ethics@brookes.ac.uk.

Should you wish to contact a member of the supervisory team, please do so at:

Dr Androula Yiakoumetti (Director of Studies)

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Oxford Brookes University

Harcourt Hill Campus

Oxford

OX2 9AT

ayiakoumetti@brookes.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM (parents - experimental group)

Investigating the language performance and the language attitudes of children and young people who speak nonstandard varieties.

Ms Ioli Ayiomamitou
Doctoral Student
School of Education
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Oxford Brookes University
Harcourt Hill Campus
Oxford OX2 9AT

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

I understand that my child's participation in the study is voluntary and he/she may withdraw from the research at any time, without giving a reason.

☐

I agree my child to take part in the above study.

☐

I agree for my child to receive language instruction lessons by the researcher.

☐
☐

I agree for my child's school record to be accessed by the researcher.

Please tick box

Yes

No

I agree to the interview being audio recorded.

☐
☐

I agree to the instruction lessons being video recorded.

☐
☐

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.

☐
☐

Name of Parent

Date

Signature

APPENDIX 7

PUBLISHED WORK BASED ON THE PHD DATA

Skewed Sociolinguistic Awareness of a Native Nonstandard Dialect: Evidence from the Cypriot Greek Writing of Greek Cypriot Students

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Ioli Ayiomamitou & Androula Yiakoumetti*

School of Education, Oxford Brookes University, Oxford, United Kingdom

*Correspondence

Dr Androula Yiakoumetti

androula.yiakoumetti@cantab.net

Abstract

Over the last fifty years, sociolinguistic research in settings in which a regional, social or ethnic nonstandard linguistic variety is used alongside the standard variety of the same language has steadily increased. The educational implications of the concomitant use of such varieties have also received a great deal of research attention. This study deals with regional linguistic variation and its implications for education by focusing on the Greek Cypriot educational context. This context is ideal for investigating the linguistic profiles of speakers of proximal varieties as the majority of Greek Cypriots are primarily educated in just one of their varieties: the standard educational variety. The aim of our study was to understand Greek Cypriot primary school pupils' sociolinguistic awareness via examination of their written production in their home variety (Cypriot Greek dialect). Our assumption was that, because written production is less spontaneous than speech, it better reflects pupils' conscious awareness. Pupils were advised to produce texts that reflected their everyday language with family and friends (beyond school boundaries). As expected, students' texts included an abundance of mesolectal features and the following were the ten most frequent: (1) palato-alveolar consonants, (2) future particle [en:á] and conditional [ítan na] + subjunctive, (3) consonant devoicing, (4) CG-specific verb stems, (5) final [n] retention, (6) [én/ éni] instead of [íne], (7) CG-specific verb endings, (8) [én/ é] instead of [ðen], (9) elision of intervocalic fricative [ɣ], and (10) CG-specific adverbs. Importantly, in addition to the expected mesolectal features that reflect contemporary Cypriot Greek, students included a significant and unexpected number of basilectal features and instances of hyperdialectism (that are not representative of today's linguistic reality) which rendered their texts register-inappropriate. This led us to conclude that Greek Cypriot students have a skewed sociolinguistic awareness of variation within their first dialect and a distorted impression of their own everyday language. We argue that the portrayal of Cypriot Greek in its basilectal form was performed intentionally by students in an effort to distance themselves from a socially-constructed identity of a rural, uneducated, and stigmatised nonstandard-dialect speaker. The study is of

international relevance as it deals with sociolinguistic issues that pertain to all bidialectal speakers.

Keywords: bidialectism, sociolinguistic awareness, written performance, nonstandard varieties, language policy

(i) Introduction

Research in settings where regional, social or ethnic linguistic varieties are used alongside a standard variety of the same language has burgeoned in recent years. Indeed, the issue of bidialectism is increasingly being viewed as a priority. Researchers have particularly aimed to identify whether the bilingual advantage, which has strong empirical support (Bialystok 1988; Bialystok et al. 2012), extends to speakers of proximal dialectal varieties (Antoniou et al. 2014; Antoniou et al. 2016). In pursuit of this aim, a flourishing area of research has grown up around the premise that dialectal diversity may often have favourable outcomes and, in particular, that there is merit in assessing the potential for bidialectal programmes in formal educational settings to produce beneficial learning outcomes. In Cyprus, Yiakoumetti (2006, 2007) demonstrated that the experimental introduction of bidialectal education (deploying the Cypriot Greek dialect alongside Standard Modern Greek) led to improved learning of the targeted standard variety. In Australia, Malcolm and Truscott (2012) provided evidence of positive influences on repertoire building when a bidialectal programme (deploying Australian Aboriginal English alongside Standard Australian English) was introduced. Similarly, in Canada, improvement in Standard Canadian English reading skills was recorded when Canadian Aboriginal English was used alongside Standard Canadian English in bidialectal programmes (Battisti et al. 2011, Ball and Bernhardt 2012). In the Creole setting of Guinea-Bissau, Benson (1994, 2004) discovered that more students spoke in class and that there was less reliance on rote learning when bidialectal programmes (deploying the native Crioulo alongside Standard Portuguese) were introduced. (For a review of studies on the outcomes from expanded use of Pidgins and Creoles in education, see Siegel 2012.)

Research on bidialectal education has thus far focused exclusively on the effects of such education on educational linguistic varieties in bidialectal settings. In other words, bidialectal programmes such as the ones just described targeted performance in students' second variety, the educational standard. This is understandable considering that language policy goes hand in hand with power and prestige and that educational varieties are particularly prone to being associated with such value-laden concepts (Bourdieu 1991; Spolsky 2004).

This study focuses on the first dialect of speakers of proximal varieties. Specifically, it aims to explore bidialectal primary-school students' sociolinguistic awareness as it is reflected in their written performance in their native nonstandard regional dialect. The Greek Cypriot educational context served as vantage point for our exploration. This setting is ideal for investigation as it is representative of most bidialectal settings in which language policy disproportionately focuses on students' educational standard variety. Traditionally, educational settings in which speakers employ the use of proximal varieties have been characterised by the anachronistic ideology that promotes exclusive use of an educational monolingual standard variety (Yiakoumetti 2012). Both directly and indirectly, inclusion of varieties other than the prescribed standard is usually discouraged. In many cases, the very

existence of these varieties is ignored and, in some cases, such varieties are openly banned from the classroom (Ndemanu 2014).

Our research treatment was to encourage students to write in their dialectal native variety. The ultimate aim of this activity was to identify students' sociolinguistic awareness via their written performance in a variety which can only be described as both (a) their most familiar variety but also (b) a variety which has never formed part of their formal education. In other words, students were asked to write in a variety which is their native variety but which they do not consider as being associated with formal writing or for formal use when writing in a school setting (Papapavlou and Pavlou 2005). Our research facilitated an investigation of students' written performance in the absence of any support (as current language policy comprehensively neglects students' first dialect). Importantly, the project reflected students' opinions as to what constitutes their first dialect and the policy's effects on these opinions.

(ii) Material and Methods

a. Setting of the study

1.1.1. Greek Cypriot sociolinguistic landscape

Two linguistically-related varieties are primarily used in Greek-speaking Cyprus: the Cypriot Greek (CG) dialect and Standard Modern Greek (SMG). (Similarly, Cypriot Turkish and Standard Turkish are used in Turkish-speaking Cyprus.) CG is the naturally-acquired mother tongue of virtually all Greek Cypriots who go on to learn SMG via formal education. CG is widespread on the island as it represents the universal medium of everyday informal communication. SMG is the educational language variety.

CG is characterised by internal variability (Tsiplakou et al. 2016). Early descriptive studies (Contosopoulos 1969; Menardos 1969; Newton, 1972, 1983) presented CG as a geographical continuum which consisted of a set of basilects placed in opposition to a geographically-defined acrolect, that of ελληνικά, Greek (Newton 1972; Tsiplakou et al. 2006). Post-1974, these continuum varieties started to exhibit homogenisation. This was primarily due to rapid demographic and social changes (as a result of the Turkish military occupation) and to heightened exposure to metropolitan SMG. Dialect levelling and koineisation processes are still ongoing (Rowe and Grohmann 2013). Today's CG koine is almost entirely free of local variation as infrequent regional variants are fast becoming obsolete at phonological, morphosyntactic and even lexical levels (Terkourafi 2005; Tsiplakou 2014). Some researchers argue that now CG can best be described in terms of a register or a stylistic continuum (rather than a geographically-defined continuum) (Tsiplakou et al. 2016).

Contemporary CG is employed by all Greek Cypriots independently of their socioeconomic backgrounds. Various researchers on the island argue that today's CG has expanded in domains which previously dismissed the dialect as inappropriate: its use has taken over both formal and informal domains replacing the use of SMG in a substantial number of cases (Themistocleous 2009; Papapavlou 2010; Themistocleous 2010; Papapavlou 2017). For example, contemporary CG (or at least its acrolectal levels) are now used in formal or semi-formal domains such as the court, public speeches, university lectures and the media. The dialect is indeed allocated an increasingly larger space in the current Cypriot mediaspace via the broadcasting of Cypriot sitcoms and telenovelas which are enjoying high popularity. We

note that this recent expansion of CG is primarily associated with oral production. The emergence of CG in traditionally SMG domains has naturally granted the dialect more visibility and legitimization (Tsiplakou and Ioannidou 2012).

CG speakers recognise a hierarchy of linguistic varieties which range from ‘heavily peasantry’ to SMG (Tsiplakou et al. 2006; Katsoyannou et al. 2006; Papapavlou and Sophocleous 2009). (We further address this hierarchy in our Methods where we outline the various levels of language use along a continuum.) It must be emphasised here that the sociolinguistic and linguistic realities on the island offer its speakers a varied linguistic repertoire. Greek Cypriots have a wide range of features at their disposal. Their choices are therefore aligned to the context of the event of communication and may vary along the contemporary CG continuum.

In addition to the linguistic varieties already mentioned above (Cypriot Greek, Standard Modern Greek, Cypriot Turkish, and Standard Turkish), English is prominent in various domains such as the civil service and legal system. Western Armenian and Maronite Arabic are minority languages recognised within the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Kurbetcha, a variety of Romani which is not well studied, is present but not recognised in the Charter (Hadjioannou et al. 2011).

In spite of linguistic diversity that is characteristic of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot language policy treats SMG as the sole formal language of the national curriculum. The 2010 curriculum proved to be both an innovative and an abortive document. It was innovative for condoning the use of CG within formal education (Tsiplakou 2015; MoEC 2010). It was abortive in that its acknowledgement of CG led to heated debates which resulted in the rapid production of a replacement document which once again contained no reference to CG.

1.1.2. CG in writing

CG is considered to be a spoken variety while SMG is the variety associated with writing. Apart from a number of improvised orthographic conventions (Chatziioannou 1996; Yiangoullis 2009; Katsoyannou et al. 2013; Coutsougera and Georgiou 2014) that have been developed by poets, writers and lexicographers in an attempt to reflect unique dialectal sounds which do not exist in SMG (i.e. post-alveolar fricatives, post-alveolar affricates), the dialect is not codified and it does not have an established standard orthographical system.

Although rare, when writing occurs in the dialect, it is usually restricted to everyday informal communication events and involves forms of writing that are closer to speech such as instant messaging and online text-based communication among teenagers and young adults (Themistocleous 2009; 2010; Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2010). Due to the wide use of the Roman alphabet in online interactions, a romanised version of written CG (rather than one based on the Greek alphabet) is also very often employed, adding further to the multiplicity of writing systems that exist for the dialect. Research on the written form of the dialect has highlighted the repercussions of the lack of a unified way to represent the dialect and pointed out the need for its codification and standardisation (Armesti et al. 2014; Papadima et al. 2014).

b. Participants

119 Greek Cypriot bidialectal students (63 boys and 56 girls) participated in the study. Students were in the fifth grade of primary education and all resided in the urban and semi-urban Limassol district. Their age range was 10-11 and all students' native variety was CG. The participants formed a sociolinguistically-homogeneous group as they were all born and raised in Limassol and all had Greek Cypriot parents. Students without Greek Cypriot parents and/or whose first variety was not CG were excluded from the analysis. In compliance with advice provided by the Cypriot Ministry of Education and Culture, we limited our sampled population to fifth graders as final-year sixth-grade pupils have additional demands associated with final exams. Our study was carried out in accordance with the recommendations of our institution's Ethics Committee as well as those of the Cypriot Ministry of Education and Culture, with written informed consent from school headteachers and students' parents or legal guardians. Access to information associated with students' familial socioeconomic and educational profiles was not available so the influence of these factors on sociolinguistic awareness could not be considered.

c. Primary data-collection tool: CG writing task

Students' sociolinguistic awareness was assessed via written texts which they were expected to produce in their native CG. Our assumption was that, because written production is less spontaneous than speech, it better reflects pupils' conscious awareness. The task aimed to shed light on students' ability to choose and produce the mesolectal register of contemporary Cypriot Greek.

During the design stages of the written task, we considered it essential for the language of the completed tasks to be characterised by non-test language (Luoma 2004). We thus chose to develop a task that would simulate the usage of written CG in a real-life situation. To achieve this, a dialogue between peers was chosen as the basis and the following scenario was presented to students for their responses.

Scenario: "Pambos and Koullis are two Cypriot pupils. Pambos lives with his family in Nicosia but they are soon relocating to Limassol. Pambos is apprehensive about this change and worries about feeling lonely in Limassol. He thus sends a message on MSN/Facebook or calls Koullis who resides in Limassol to share his worries."

Instruction: "Imagine you are Koullis! Write the imaginary dialogue you would have with Pambos. What do you think you would tell him to comfort him?"

It was thus inferred that the language of the tasks may be closely related to daily oral speech and it may also contain oral features that typically occur in online chat rooms or in telephone conversations. To assist students, explicit instructions regarding the linguistic variety they were expected to produce were provided. This guidance was as follows: (i) to write in the way they normally speak everyday outside of school with family members and friends and (ii) to use the Standard Greek alphabet to represent their pronunciation. In addition, the first three sentences of the script were provided as part of the task description such that students could

continue on from these example sentences: “Γειά σου Κούλλη, ο Πάμπος είμαι! Ίναμπου κάμνεις;;; Έπιασα σε τηλέφωνο να σου πω κάτι... (Hello Koulli, it’s Pambos! How are you? I called you to tell you something ...)”. We note that the written guidance on how to conduct the task was provided in SMG to conform with usual classroom practice. However, as the request to write in the home variety was unusual, we also ensured that students were told orally what was requested of them. This was performed in CG.

The actual topic of the task ensured that the language of the text would reflect students’ everyday CG. While the instructions allowed for certain freedom to incorporate individual language choices, the scenario of the task clearly placed the target language event closer to mesolectal registers of CG (thus excluding language close to formal SMG but also excluding language close to basilectal CG). Despite the fact that compartmentalisation of variants and registers is hazy (Tsiplakou et al. 2006), previous research has identified that Greek Cypriot speakers distinguish and recognise at least three levels of use (Sophocleous 2006; Tsiplakou et al. 2006; Papapavlou and Sophocleous 2009): (i) basilectal CG which corresponds to ‘heavy Cypriot, peasantry, βαρετά κυπριακά’, (ii) mesolectal CG which corresponds to ‘correct, tidied-up Cypriot, σωστά, σισταρισμένα κυπριακά’, and acrolectal CG which, despite approximating SMG, does not coincide with it and perhaps corresponds to what has been named Cypriot Standard Greek (Arvaniti 2010). If SMG were to be placed alongside the aforementioned levels, it would occupy the acrolectal end of the continuum (with the case of the language of school textbooks being a characteristic example). In light of this hierarchy, we note that formal SMG (primarily found in school textbooks), daily mesolectal CG (the form of language Greek Cypriots use in their daily lives), and basilectal CG (heavy Cypriot that includes features which are not part of Greek Cypriots’ active repertoire) clearly require the use of a distinct set of variants with which students are expected to be familiar.

In essence, our hypothesis was that the writing task would tend to encourage students to identify and correctly deploy (i) CG and not SMG and (ii) contemporary mesolectal CG and not basilectal CG. The students thus needed to resort to their repertoire and retrieve the unique structural features which constitute today’s mesolectal CG. This task may, at first glance, seem straightforward but the fact that contemporary mesolectal CG (which is employed by Cypriot Greeks on a daily basis) is almost exclusively associated with oral speech renders the task quite demanding. Indeed, students were often rather baffled when asked to write in their familiar home variety (D1) and this is a phenomenon which has also been observed previously by other researchers (Tsiplakou and Hadjioannou 2010).

To conclude, the writing task aimed to elicit information on students’ perceptions about what is distinctively CG, thereby providing a richer insight into the nature of their register awareness.

d. Secondary data-collection tool: interviews

Interviews were conducted to complement the writing task data. A subset of eight students, four boys and four girls, were randomly selected and interviewed individually. A semi-structured format was employed allowing for flexibility in the development of a casual, informal conversation. The issues covered in the interviews fell under two broad topics: (i) students’ perceptions of their two varieties and (ii) students’ views on their own language use.

e. Data codification and analysis

The corpus of written scripts was scanned and imported into NVIVO 10 qualitative analysis software. The corpus was manually tagged for distinctive dialectal grammatical and lexical features as well as dialectal expressions as these formed the unit of analysis. Dialectal forms were identified according to the main and most marked characteristics of CG based on previous research. Specifically, to compose a list of features, both descriptive as well as empirical studies on CG that focus on individual CG phenomena were taken into account (Newton 1972; Arvaniti 1999, Pavlou and Papapavlou 2004; Tsiplakou 2004, 2006; Varella 2006). In addition, three linguists who were native speakers of CG acted as independent raters and provided comments about the nature of a variety of features. This included assigning the features to the appropriate CG register (mesolect, acrolect or basilect).

The resulting data were statistically analysed via a general linear model approach to establish whether gender and/or class contributed significant effects. Response variables for (i) mesolectal, (ii) basilectal and (iii) hyperdialectal production were derived by weighting the number of instances per script over the total number of words in each script. As no significant effects were detected ($P > 0.24$ (1,115) for all potential predictors), these analyses are not reported. However, descriptive statistics including the mean number of mesolectal instances ($\pm 95\%$ Confidence Interval) and the percentages of scripts containing each of the three types of language use are provided.

(iii) Results

Data from students' CG texts highlighted two types of findings: (i) the expected mesolectal CG use and (ii) the unexpected non-mesolectal CG use. Both types are presented below.

a. Mesolectal features of contemporary CG: 10 most common CG items in students' D1 writing

All 119 scripts contained mesolectal CG features. The mean number of mesolectal items per script was 27.8 ± 2.5 (95% CI) and the mean number of words per script was 96.4 ± 4.6 (95% CI). As each script is the discrete work product of a single and unique student, script is the appropriate sampling unit. The frequency of each item is thus presented as the percentage of scripts containing the item. The most common features are presented in the text below and in Figure 1 (in order of frequency).

1. Palato-alveolar consonants: In their attempt to render their writing as CG as possible, 98 out of the 119 students used /tʃ/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ (palatal fricatives and affricates) 451 times.

(Examples: Έσσει καμιά μπανάνα να τες βάλω μέσα; [éʃi kamjá mbaráka na tes válo mésa] is there any shed in which I can put them? Φέρε τες κότες τζιαι τες τσούρες μου. [fére tes kótes tʃe tes tsʰúres mu] bring.IMP my chickens and my goats)

2. Future particle [en:á] and conditional [ítan na] + subjunctive: the two morphological items were used by 97 students and occurred 386 times. (Examples: Ενά μετακομώ στη Λεμεσό [ená metakomío sti lemesó] I'm going to move to Limassol. Ήταν να σου πω ότι εννά

μετακομήσω στη γητωνιά σου.[ítan na su po óti en:á metakomíso sti γiton:á su] I wanted to tell you that I'll be moving to your neighbourhood)

3. Consonant devoicing: 87 students produced 202 instances of sequences of obstruents that followed the CG phonological process of voice assimilation. (During this process, the first voiced consonant changes into a voiceless consonant to assimilate with the adjacent voiceless /k/ sound.) (Example: παιχνί**θ**κια [pexníθca] games)

4. CG-specific verb stems: 79 students produced a total of 159 such instances which involved verbs that differed morphologically from SMG. (Example: **κ**άμνετε [kámnete] doing.2PL)

5. Final [n] retention: the tendency to add a [n] sound at the end of a number of words was another strong CG phonological indicator. 70 students used this feature in 204 instances. (Example: την παρασκευή**ν** [tin paraskevín] on Friday)

6. [έν/ έni] instead of [íne]: The use of the CG form [έν/ έni] to express the 3rd person singular of the copula verb [íne]. This item was used by 67 students and occurred 150 times in total. (Example: **ε**ν τόσο ωραία [en τόσο oréa] it's so good)

7. CG-specific verb endings: This type of feature appeared in the scripts of 64 students and occurred 117 times in total. (Example: **π**άεις σχολείο [páis sxolío] go.2SG to school)

8. [έν/ έ] instead of [đen]: the form [έν/ έ] was found to be used in the place of the SMG [đen] to express negation. It occurred in 63 students' scripts 117 times. (Example: **ε**ν πάω μόνον άμαν είμαι άρρωστη [en páo mónon áman íme árosti] I don't go only when I'm unwell)

9. Elision of intervocalic fricative [γ]: such instances were encountered in the scripts of 59 students 152 times. (Example: σί(γ)ουρα [sí(γ)ura] surely)

10. CG-specific adverbs (lexical features). 55 students used adverbs that are specific to the dialect 95 times in their scripts. (Example: **δ**αμέ [ðamé] here)

As can be seen from the list above of the ten most frequently-used mesolectal CG features, the vast majority of the items found in students' CG scripts are morphological and phonological. No syntactic features were found among the 10 most recurrently used items, while only one type of lexical item was recorded.

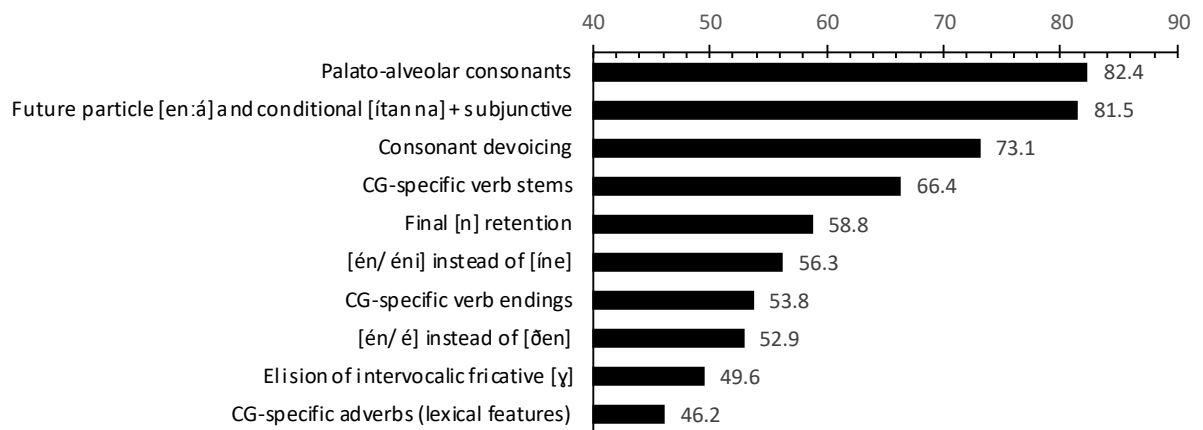


Figure 1. The ten most common mesolectal CG items as measured by percentage of student scripts which contained at least one instance of the item.

b. Non-mesolectal CG use

1. Basilectal use: 55.5% of scripts included at least one basilectal CG instance. Items found under this category were dated or obsolete and not representative of contemporary CG. Some are restricted to isolated rural areas and others are almost entirely extinct. (Examples: σκολείο [skolío] school, χέλω [célo] want.1s, εγώ [ejíó] I, γρόνια [γρόη:a] years, ευκαριστόσε [efkaristóse] thank you, τσίρης [ts^h:íris] father, ρα [ra] (form of address for female), ποά [poá] here)

2. Hyperdialectism: 15.1% of scripts included at least one hyperdialectal CG instance. Hyperdialectisms were only ever present in scripts which also contained basilectal instances. Students showed a propensity to construct regional or pseudo-regional words mostly in terms of morphophonology by over-applying, re-introducing and mis-adapting obsolete phonological and morphological features. Students' hyperdialectism does not constitute part of contemporary CG or older stages of CG. (Examples: τηλεχωνο [tilexono] telephone.1s, τους γικούς μου φίλους [tus jíkús mu fílus] my own friends, ζωολογικός τζίπος [z:oolojikós tjípos] zoo, ποχω σε [poxo se] desire.1s you, Λεμεόν [lemeón] Limassol, τωράτεν [toráten] now)

c. Sample Script

A sample script is provided below.

- Ηνταπουνε το ευκάριστο; [indapune to efkáristo] what's the good news?
- Ένα μετακομίο στη Λεμεό [éna metakomío sti lemeó] I'm moving to Limassol
- Ινταπουνη;; εν χέλω να μετακομίεις στη Λεμεσό. [indapuni en célo na metakomíis sti lemesó] what? I don't want you to move to Limassol
- Εναργά τωρά γιατί ετοιμαζούμαστε για να φύουμεν. [enargá torá jatí etimaz:úmaste ja na fíumen] it's too late now because we are getting ready to leave
- Ενά πάεις σκολείο τωράτεν στη Λεμεσό. [ená páis skolío toráten sti lemesó] are you now going to go to school in Limassol?
- Ε ναι βέβεα. Ενά σε πεχμίο. [e ne vévea ená se peçimío] Surely. I'm going to miss you

- Εγίό να εις πελέ. [ejó na is pelé] me too, crazy.
 - Ένα ξεκινίο τωράτεν να πάω στη χώρα στη Λεμεσό. [éna ksecinío toráten na páo sti xóra sti lemesó] I'm going to start going now to Limassol
 - Θα σε πιάσω τηλεφωνίω όταν φτάω Λεμεών. [tha se pcáso telefonío ótan ftáo lemeón] I'll call you when I arrive in Limassol
 - Εντά φιλούιν μου [endá filúin mu] OK (presumed), my friend
- Μετά από 3 ώρες [metá apó 3 óres] After 3 hours (narrative voice)
- Κούλη εφτάσαμεν το σπίτι μας εν τέλειο. Έσκει ένα μιάλο πάρκο δίπλα που το έσο μου. [kúli eftásamen to spíti mas en téljo éfi éna mhalo pá ko dípla pu to éso mu] Koulli, we arrived. Our house is perfect. There is a big park next to my home
 - Μακάρι να περνάς καλά τις μέρες σου στο κενούρκον έσο σου. [makári na pernás kalá tis méres su sto cenú kon éso su] May you spend good days in your new home
 - Θα περνάω καλά φιλαράκο. [tha pernáo kalá filaráko] I will have a good time, friend
 - Να μηλούμεν φίλε μου. [na milúmen file mu] Let's stay in touch
 - Μπάι. [mbái] Bye

The script features a number of mesolectal items such as the CG future particle [éna], the negative particle [en], and final [n] retention. An example basilectal item is the word [çélo]. This word has been replaced by its standard equivalent [thélo] in contemporary speech. [toráten] is a hyperdialectism. The phrases [dípla pu to éso mu] and [sto cenú kon éso su] do not conform to either mesolectal or basilectal CG use and they may be thus also be considered as hyperdialectisms despite the fact that the words in these phrases are not individually hyperdialectal.

(iv) Discussion

a. Students' sociolinguistic awareness

The participants were successful in employing an abundance of mesolectal features in their CG writing tasks. The most common mesolectal CG items recorded in students' writing were phonological and morphological. This is not surprising considering the high number of differences between the two varieties that fall under these two categories (Hadjioannou et al. 2011, Tsiplakou et al. 2006). In addition, the marked and stigmatised character of many phonological and morphological features makes them easily noticed and, subsequently, acquired and produced by CG speakers. This finding is in agreement with previous research which demonstrated that speakers are especially sensitive to phonological CG features due to the fact that these features do not form part of the SMG inventory (Karyolemou and Pavlou 2001).

However, in addition to mesolectal CG items, the language choices of many of the students were characterised by the use of an unexpected register (with 55.5% of scripts including basilectal and hyperdialectal items). Such linguistic behaviour was also observed by others (Coupland 2001, 2007; Eckert 2001; Tsiplakou and Ioannidou 2012; Tsiplakou 2011). This basilectal and hyperdialectal use rendered students' scripts register-inappropriate. This amounts to telling evidence of skewed sociolinguistic awareness. The independent raters involved in this study unanimously concurred with this judgement despite the predominance of mesolectal features. It could well be that it was the emblematic use of marked variants that

led the researchers and independent experts to characterise items as non-mesolectal and thus inappropriate (Tsiplakou et al. 2006).

Naturally, a key question is why did students stylise texts in this way when they were instructed simply to write down their language as they commonly use it? Was the use of hyperdialectism and basilectal CG an intentional practice and, if so, what is the meaning of this linguistic choice? One possible explanation may be that students' production stems from a limited linguistic and metalinguistic awareness of what the term 'Cypriot dialect' encompasses. Supplementary information drawn from interview data provided additional evidence to substantiate the claim that the students had a very vague understanding of the nature of the language that they use. Students themselves admitted that they were unable to evaluate their own language in one word and they frequently resorted to ambivalent definitions like *σχεδόν ελληνικά* (almost Greek), *περίπου ελληνικά* (more or less Greek), *όι ακριβώς ελληνικά αλλά ούτε κυπριακά* (not exactly Greek but not Cypriot either). These comments highlight that, while students were aware that their speaking diverges sufficiently from the standard variety spoken in Greece, they were nevertheless reluctant to identify their speech with the Cypriot dialect. For them, the dialect was perceived in its basilectal form alone. Consequently, they often seemed to perceive that whatever is not Cypriot is standard Greek. This finding accords well with Tsiplakou's (2011) finding that Greek Cypriot students tend to claim that they do not speak *κυπριακά* as they implicitly define CG as the basilect.

A second and related possible explanation for students' use of marked dialectal items was that their language choices were conscious and intentional. We argue that students' choices were guided by underlying intentions and were thus not random. Students' choice of text style was an instrument which allowed them to construct the identity that they perceived the task to be requesting. This is a conclusion that other researchers have also drawn (Tsiplakou and Ioannidou 2012). The scripts provide evidence that students' perceptions were considerably skewed in that, although they were asked to write in the mesolectal register, basilect and hyperdialect were used extensively. By including features that are highly marked, negatively evaluated, or even satirised by folk media, students may well be reflecting deeply-entrenched societal attitudes. Attitudinal studies carried out in Cyprus highlight that, while SMG traditionally enjoys appreciation and respect, CG is seen as an inferior linguistic system. Of course, such negative attitudes towards nonstandard dialects are common worldwide. For instance, even nonstandard-speaking parents prefer their children to be educated in the standard varieties and, in many cases, they view their own dialects as inferior (McGroarty 1996). Other parents, although desirous for their home varieties to be recognised and respected in schools, concomitantly believe that teaching these varieties would negatively affect their children's learning of the educational standard (Epstein and Xu 2003).

In an attempt to distance themselves from negative associations that accompany the dialect, students may have chosen to employ highly marked basilectal items and hyperdialectalism in their scripts. These conscious choices may be demonstrative of a desire to downplay the divergences between their own language and that of Greeks. This phenomenon has also been noted and discussed by Tsiplakou and Ioannidou (2012).

We hasten to add that, although it was hypothesised that the task would tend to elicit mesolectal CG, the observed phenomenon of bundling together of Cypriot forms is also quite predictable. As already mentioned, students were inexperienced in this sort of activity so perhaps the mixing of registers was inevitable. However, it is surprising that there was a high number of participants who produced hyperdialectisms and basilectal CG.

b. How were students able to produce CG features that are now obsolete?

The question that logically arises is how did students gain access to variants that have long fallen out of use and are no longer considered part of the contemporary CG? One plausible explanation might be the extensive coverage of CG in the media that was contemporaneous with our study. At the time of data collection, regional basilectal forms of the dialect (and the respective culture that accompanies them) were extensively featured in popular Cypriot sitcoms: the satirical element of such shows relied heavily on the language of the script. It was precisely this divergence from contemporary CG and associated lifestyle that ascribed comical qualities to these productions. The students' exposure to these shows may have played a significant role in making them at least loosely acquainted with older forms of the dialect. The data reveal that, in students' minds, the dialect was equated solely with speech forms such as those used in the media. The vast discrepancy between students' CG and the actors' CG perhaps led students to the erroneous assumption that what they themselves speak cannot be labelled 'Cypriot dialect'. This would explain why the students emulated and reproduced basilectal obsolete variants although they were specifically asked to use contemporary CG in their scripts.

We do not believe that students' use of basilectal CG is in itself an indication of basilectal dialect awareness or acquisition (Tsiplakou 2009). Indeed, we suggest that it was their limited knowledge that led to exaggerated imitations and hypercorrections.

c. Implications

Our investigations proved to be especially informative with regard to (i) how students conceptualise contemporary CG and (ii) their level of awareness concerning the internal variation and appropriate use of CG. Consequently, we can conclude that students seem to be unaware of the multiplicity of registers that compose the CG. In addition, they were unsuccessful in processing contextual information and appropriately representing mesolectal registers of their native variety in writing.

What effect does lack of sociolinguistic awareness and limited written proficiency in learners' native varieties have on linguistic cognitive development? Naturally, we do not argue that speakers need to be proficient in writing: besides, there are languages with oral-only traditions. However, it is legitimate to ask this question in relation to the speakers of the study. It would be most unfortunate if, primarily due to the deficiencies of Cypriot language policy, speakers were undergoing semidialectism. We use this term after 'semilingualism' (Baker 2001) to denote limited competence in their two proximal varieties. Studies on the island have already identified that students' written SMG is laden with CG features (Yiakoumetti 2006, 2007). Our study sheds light on the linguistic realities of students with

proximal varieties: in the absence of language-policy support for harnessing and promotion of their native varieties, students seem to be left alone to identify crosslinguistic differences and similarities between the various varieties and this lack of support can comprise their linguistic repertoires.

d. Conclusion

The Greek Cypriot sociolinguistic reality requires and supports linguistic diversity. This is due to the facts that proximal varieties are concurrently used on a daily basis and that knowledge and manipulation of these varieties is a requisite skill for Greek Cypriots. Looking at the discourse of our participants, there is a mismatch between the way that they speak and their understanding of the true features of their native variety. The participants' language choices as captured via their written production seem both outdated and unrepresentative of their current daily oral language use. This is not to say that the outdated language they produced is not valuable. On the contrary, ideally, students should be exposed to both current and bygone forms of their native variety to better appreciate its living character and the fact that linguistic varieties evolve to better serve their speakers. Students' scripts may however have served as an accurate reflection of the limitations and deficiencies of the current language educational system. The fact that students did not choose to reproduce in writing the language they use daily, whether consciously or because of inaccurate understanding of what CG entails, highlights the need for formal education about dialectal issues for speakers of proximal varieties. Students were not in a position to successfully complete the task at hand. This statement may sound extreme considering that participants did produce an abundance of mesolectal features. However, a great number of them did include a number of basilectal and hyperdialectal features which we consider to be the cause of the register-inappropriate scripts. This is disappointing considering that students were expected to write in the variety most familiar to them, their native variety. If students cannot fulfil such requests, how can they be expected to confidently and appropriately express themselves in a variety with which they are less familiar (such as a standard variety)? Support of the current language-education status quo is thus difficult to justify (Yiakoumetti 2015). Students should both be able to write their home variety and to be proud of it. This is especially important in bidialectal communities where linguistic varieties have powerful associations with empowerment and opportunities. When educational policies do not support, maintain, and promote home varieties, how can we expect bilingual advantages to transfer into bidialectal settings? If natural bootstrapping from the home variety is not facilitated, it may well be unreasonable to demand proficiency in two linguistically-related varieties. We argue that speakers of proximal varieties ought to be educated in and about these varieties to become better users of all their varieties. This recommendation accords well with UNESCO's strong commitment to quality education for all and to cultural and linguistic diversity in education (UNESCO 2003). The theoretical justification for the incorporation of the mother tongue in education is well developed and supported (Cummins 2000). In addition, there is abundant empirical evidence, mainly from bilingual settings but also from experimental interventions in bidialectal settings that demonstrate that utilising the mother tongue in formal education can be incredibly beneficial (see Lucas and Yiakoumetti 2017).

Our findings provide a salutary reminder that, if we wish for speakers of proximal varieties to be in a position to fully benefit from advantages associated with linguistic variation, we then ought to start celebrating linguistic diversity. Language policies that ignore bidialectal students' native varieties (on the grounds of lack of standardisation and prestige) are failing to fully serve these students. It is very often said that education is a key to success. Equally, many educational language policies first need to be unlocked such that they embrace current sociolinguistic realities and facilitate access to the linguistic richness that exists in bidialectal settings.

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