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(Re)creation of positive dialect appraisal and consequential dialect ideology: a study of overt attitudes towards Croatian Standard and dialect varieties

The existence of the ideology of the standard variety has hardly ever been brought into question. Most sociolinguists agree that it is precisely its abstract nature that makes the standard language variety susceptible to becoming an object of a specific ideological system of sociocultural beliefs. However, not much has been said about the possible existence and/or (re)creation of dialect ideology. Nevertheless, broad definitions of standard language ideology lend themselves to an equally efficient application to what may be termed dialect ideology.

This paper presents the results of one part of the research carried out among 2000 Croatian high school students in 2009 concerning overt attitudes towards Croatian standard and dialect varieties. Overt attitudes were elicited through the usage of direct questions about the informants' evaluation of Croatian standard and dialect varieties. Presented results may be regarded as a contribution to broader attempts to identify the nature of the relationship between the ideology of the standard variety and the ideology of dialects.

1. Cultural and linguistic context of the standardization of the Croatian language and positive dialect appraisal

Regardless of conflicting views about the adequacy of the concept of the standard language and ways in which it can be defined (Preisler 1999: 239; Brozović 1970: 15-16; Mićanović 2006: 92; Trudgill 1999: 117), throughout this paper we will use the term Standard Croatian to differentiate it from nonstandard Kajkavian, Čakavian and Štokavian dialects.

Any research that attempts to provide an insight into the relationship between speakers' evaluations of particular standard and nonstandard dialect varieties necessarily includes reference to cultural and linguistic contexts which lead to choices made (not) to promote and develop a specific variety as the standard. Such contexts might explain how particular ideologies of standard varieties arise and ways in which they are usually spread (Crowley 2003: 4; Milroy 1999: 173; Lippi-Green 1997;

Chambers 1995: 158; Mićanović 2006: 7; Milroy and Milroy 1999: 19; Leith 1997: 32-33). This is why different standardization processes correspond to different cultural and linguistic contexts (compare e.g. the situation in the English language in Cameron 1995: 41; Byram 2007: 104; Crowley 2003: 145; Honey 1997: 49).

Cultural and linguistic contexts of the standardization process of the Croatian language are characterized by several peculiarities that set it apart from all other standardization processes. Namely, the Croatian Standard as we know it today is relatively young (although the mere process of standardization lasted relatively long, according to Brozović (2006: 250), from 1750-1900), and its development is highly contextualized and submerged in the issues relating to debates about its relationship with other, ‘neighboring’ languages. Such issues are of particular importance for the analysis of speakers’ evaluations of the three major dialect groups spoken in Croatia. The most important periods for standardization of Croatian go back to the second half and especially to the end of the 19th century when the Kajkavian written variety (which was, at the time, well developed and a serious candidate for standardization) was abandoned and when the Štokavian model was adopted for further development as means of linguistic, literary and cultural unification of the territory, especially through linguistic schools in Zagreb, Rijeka and Zadar (Vince 2002). The beginning of the 20th century marked the process of stabilization of the Croatian Standard. This period was characterized by the rise of modern Kajkavian and Čakavian dialect literature which was overshadowed by the quantity of Štokavian literature, and by what appeared to be orthographic issues of Croatian in relation to Serbian but what actually corresponded to, what Brozović (2006: 254) refers to as “differences between Croatian and Serbian Neo-Štokavian Standard norms”. Although Greenberg (2008) provides a valuable insight into the standardization process and the sociopolitical context in which it occurred, he is undoubtedly very selective in his sources and believes that Croatian linguists are excessively preoccupied with creating an appropriate image of the language from 1991. In the discussion of Greenberg’s approach (Ferenčić 2006: 118) Damir Kalogjera rightfully notices that the need to emphasize the Croatian linguistic characteristics and distinguish them from others’ is not specific for the Croatian sociolinguistic context, but is a normal feature of all national languages.

Positive dialect appraisal in the context of the Croatian language can be viewed in light of dialect ideology as a counter effect to the spread of the ideology of the standard variety. The legitimacy of dialect ideology in the context of the Croatian language is attested by the concept of the “three-dialect-groups” dimension that stands at the core of the Croatian Standard. According to Brozović (2006: 261), such a dimension allows for all incoming Kajkavian and Čakavian elements into the Neo-Štokavian Standard to be viewed as perfectly legitimate. After the process of creation and establishment of a nation had finished, it seems no longer crucial to use the concept of ideology in connection to the standard variety and elevate it to the symbol of validity of existence of a particular nation. Positive dialect appraisal is thus reflected in various attempts to encourage the development and usage of (frequently neglected) nonstandard dialect varieties.

2. Language identity and the reaffirmation of regional and local (sub)identities in the context of forming attitudes towards Croatian Standard and dialect varieties

Various analyses of attitudes towards language varieties and language identities (Rašić 2007; Milas 2004; Baker 1992; De Fina 2006; Korunić 2005; Jenkins 2004; Thomas 1991; van Dijk 2006: 163; Butler 1990) point to the close connection between the two concepts. It is precisely through the mediation of attitudes towards language varieties that the ideas of prestige (usually associated with the standard) and stigmatization (usually associated with nonstandard dialect varieties) become evident. In her quantitative analysis of language attitudes towards Croatian and Italian Standard and nonstandard varieties in the culturally and linguistically complex peninsula of Istria, Sujoldžić (2008: 51) emphasizes the identity dimension in the interpretation of her results and identifies a strong regional tendency to attest individuals’ identity through “persistence of the regional codes due to their symbolic and group solidarity value and by resistance against the hegemony and symbolic domination of the standard Croatian language”. Such analyses point to the increasingly evident manifestation of regional and local Croatian linguistic (sub)identities.

3. *Covert prestige (as an expression of the solidarity dimension) in opposition to overt prestige (as an expression of the status dimension)*

Attempts to stigmatize or annul nonstandard dialect varieties never succeed as they are perceived as direct attacks on individuals' identity and system of values. Speakers of nonstandard dialect varieties are ready to abandon their stable linguistic practice and use the Standard only in cases when they have a real chance of obtaining higher social status (Leith 1997: 2). Furthermore, the standard variety is an important element of the process of political centralization which has advanced to such an extent that it has caused a counter effect – a return to autochthonous language varieties. Pressures to avoid nonstandard usage are counteracted by another form of pressure – the need to preserve one's local variety. In comparison to mass media or institutional forms of communication, personal forms of communication are much more effective in acceptance and usage of language varieties (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 25). Persistence of nonstandard varieties is largely attributed to indirect (in some cases, direct) pressures of the narrow social circle (family and friends), and that is why individuals yield more readily to informal than to institutionalized pressure.

In the context of the standard variety, we are dealing with the overt type of prestige, which is reflected in speakers' judgments about its superiority and status benefits its speakers enjoy. However, Kalogjera (2007: 264) points out that one of the reasons for rejecting standard forms might be found "in the refusal to accept the identity that might be confirmed by using these forms". The existence of the ideology of dialects might be explained by the fact that nonstandard varieties persist precisely because of the symbolic value of solidarity they have for their speakers. Dialects have recently been associated with a characteristic that had previously been considered exclusive for the standard variety – prestige, which, in the case of nonstandard dialect varieties, can additionally be defined as covert prestige. Such views are attested by Mićanović (2006: 99), who believes that "the social significance of language varieties and the perseverance of nonstandard ones cannot be explained if their covert prestige is ignored". Covert prestige of dialects is closely connected to the notion of "dialect nostalgia" (Kalogjera 2003: 172-177) which implies the need to confirm one's local identity. The concept of dialect nostalgia can be interpreted by the notion of dialect varieties regarded in an "essential" manner, that is,

viewed in such a way that their “essence is usually associated with the past, with some unspecified point in history, a sort of ‘golden age’ when identity was pure, incorrupt, unspoiled [...]” (Mihelj 2001: 150). Ascribing such purity to dialects and associating it with positive imagery of what is considered a once equally ‘pure’ overall sociolinguistic identity might be the cause of increasing Croatian dialect nostalgia.

4. Methodology of research

Analyzing attitudes towards language varieties can be carried out by using direct and/or indirect methods. Although the overall research included the application of both direct and indirect methods¹, the data that are presented in this paper concern only the application of direct methods which refer to informants expressing their attitudes directly towards language varieties.

The aim of the research carried out among 2000 Croatian high school students in September and October 2009 was to investigate the possible relationship between the ideology of the standard variety and ideology of dialects of the Croatian language. The questionnaire offered to the informants consisted of a set of statements about the standard and dialect varieties of the Croatian language. The informants were asked to express the extent of their (dis)agreement with the statements on the basis of which we were able to draw some conclusions about their overt general attitudes towards the standard and dialect varieties of the Croatian language. What will be presented in this overview are the analyses of informants’ evaluations of those statements on the basis of which we may discuss the possible reaffirmation of local linguistic identities and dialect reappraisal.

The questionnaire was administered in eight Croatian high schools and the informants were high school students aged between 16 and 18². The

¹ The research consisted of two main parts. In the first part informants were exposed to previously prepared audio material followed by a matched guise test. Due to extensive analyses, this paper focuses only on the second part of the research in which informants filled in a questionnaire presented to them without any audio stimulus.

² On relationship between students’ increasing sensitivity about academic failure due to systematic devaluation of their local dialect see Weisman (2001: 204) and on adolescents’ ability to form mature attitudes towards linguistic varieties and their social meaning see Garrett, Coupland and Williams (1998: 194).

same person administered the questionnaire and the environment where the questionnaire was administered corresponds to classrooms where regular class is held.

The questionnaire consisted of the following statements: Knowledge of the standard variety is vital for the appreciation of the Croatian literature. / Knowledge of the standard variety is vital for respecting the Croatian cultural heritage. / Writers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when writing. / Teachers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when teaching. / Students should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety in class. / Use of the standard variety enables better achievement in school and faculty. / Use of the standard variety is necessary to get ahead in your career. / My local dialect should be more present in the media (on radio and TV). / My local dialect is necessary for the vitality of my local community. / My local dialect is necessary for the preservation of the local culture and lifestyle.

For the evaluation purposes, we used Likert's five-point scale³ on the basis of which informants evaluated the statements offered to them. In order to ensure the validity and reliability of the procedure, the meanings of the points on the scale need to be presented in a clear and unambiguous way (Krosnick, Judd and Wittenbrink 2005: 36-40). Therefore, the following meanings are ascribed to the five points: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = mostly disagree, 3 = neutral (neither agree nor disagree), 4 = mostly agree, 5 = strongly agree.

The first part of the analysis consists of an overview of the scores concerning the ten items of the questionnaire and in the second part we analyzed the scores in relation to specific independent variables that were judged relevant for identifying patterns of standard and dialect ideology sustainment. These variables are: gender, parents' education and future residence.

³ Likert proposed the procedures for measuring attitudes (Milas 2004: 11; Krosnick, Judd and Wittenbrink 2005: 32-35), and his scale usually consists of numbers from 1 to 5. Although other authors (e.g. Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957) propose more complex scales, we believe that Likert's five-point scale is adequate for the purposes of our research. The reliability of Likert's scale is discussed in Baker (1992: 17).

5. *Analysis of overt attitudes towards Croatian standard and nonstandard dialect varieties*

The first step in the analysis of the results is providing an overview of the frequencies regardless of any variables.

- Knowledge of the standard variety is vital for the appreciation of the Croatian literature.
- Knowledge of the standard variety is vital for respecting the Croatian cultural heritage.

Results for these two statements were similar. As much as 41.7% of informants mostly agree and 20.1% of them strongly agree that the knowledge of the standard variety is vital for the appreciation of Croatian literature. 40.3% of informants mostly agree and 21.9% of them strongly agree that such knowledge is vital for respecting Croatian cultural heritage. The supposed incentive for the ideology of the standard as the cultural promoter of a nation has been attested in this research as informants have a positive inclination towards these statements (see figures 1 and 2).

- Writers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when writing.
- Teachers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when teaching.
- Students should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety in class.

Only 11.7% of informants mostly agree and 7.1% of them strongly agree that writers should abandon their local dialects, but as much as 24.6% of them mostly agree and 37.1% strongly agree that teachers should do the same when teaching. 41.9% of informants mostly agree and 19.3% strongly agree that students should use only the standard variety in class. The supposed basis of the standard variety as a medium of instruction and medium of general usage in public institutions such as schools has been confirmed. However, the idea that authors should promote the national cultural heritage through the use of the standard variety has not been confirmed (although many believe that standard is vital for understanding literature). Supposed incentive for the ideology of standard as the cultural promoter was thus attested, but not at the cost of writers abandoning their local dialect (see figures 3, 4 and 5).

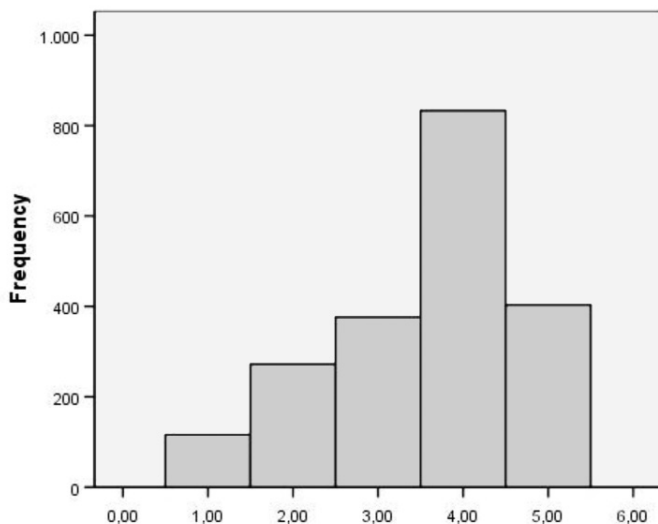


Figure 1. *Frequencies for the statement 'Knowledge of the standard variety is vital for the appreciation of the Croatian literature'*

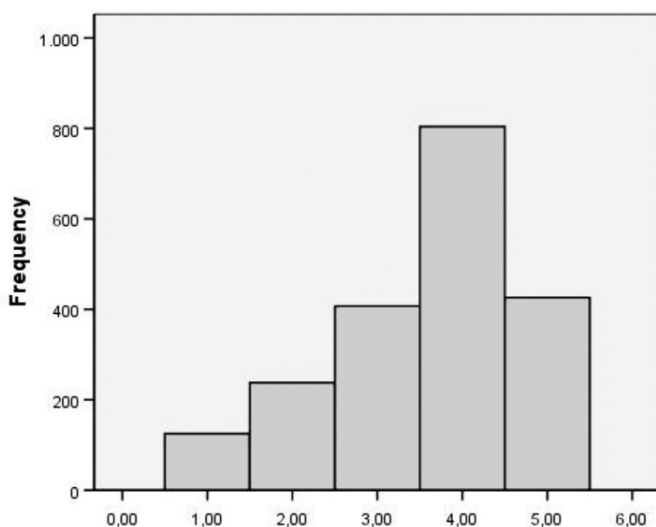


Figure 2. *Frequencies for the statement 'Knowledge of the standard variety is vital for respecting the Croatian cultural heritage'*

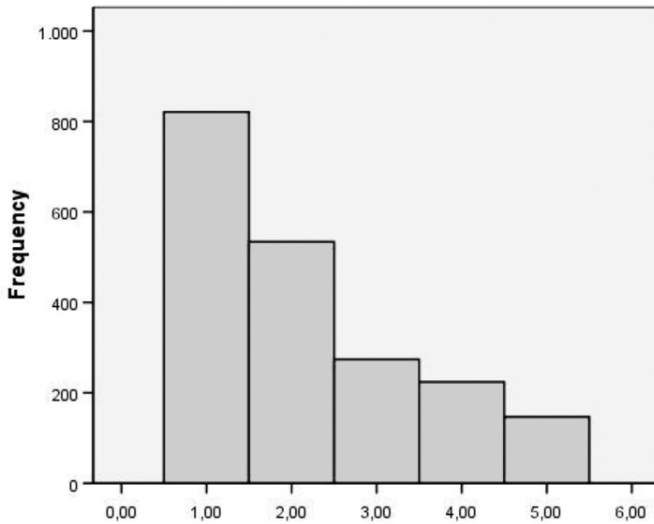


Figure 3. *Frequencies for the statement 'Writers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when writing'*

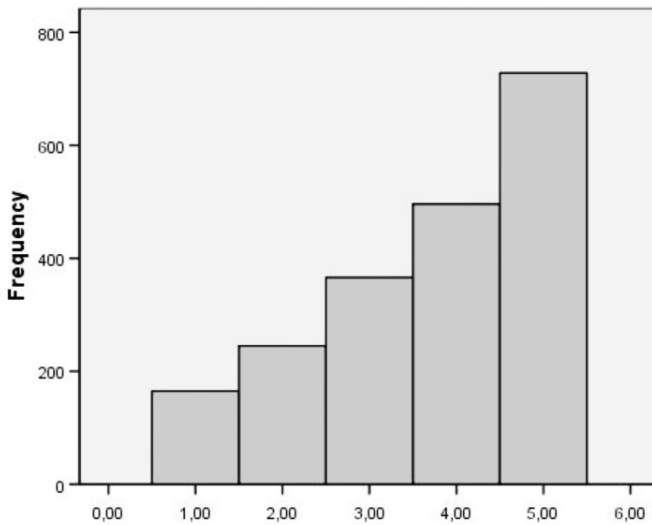


Figure 4. *Frequencies for the statement 'Teachers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when teaching'*

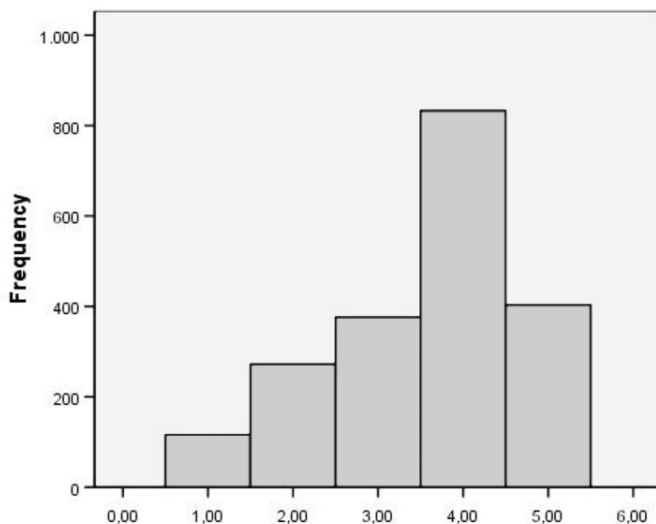


Figure 5. *Frequencies for the statement 'Students should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety in class'*

- Use of the standard variety enables better achievement in school and faculty.
- Use of the standard variety is necessary to get ahead in your career.

As much as 32.6% of informants mostly agree and 11.3% strongly agree that the use of the standard variety enables better achievement in school and faculty. Also, 15.7% of them mostly agree and 26.4% strongly agree that the use of the standard variety is necessary to get ahead in your career. Not only does this confirm the previously attested prevalence of the ideology of the standard variety in public institutions, but it also confirms the fact that the ideology is present outside these institutions – wherever there is status involved. Supposed incentive for the ideology of standard as the unquestionable authority as the medium of education, better opportunities in education and career was thus attested (status dimension conforms to the ideology of the standard variety) (see figures 6 and 7).

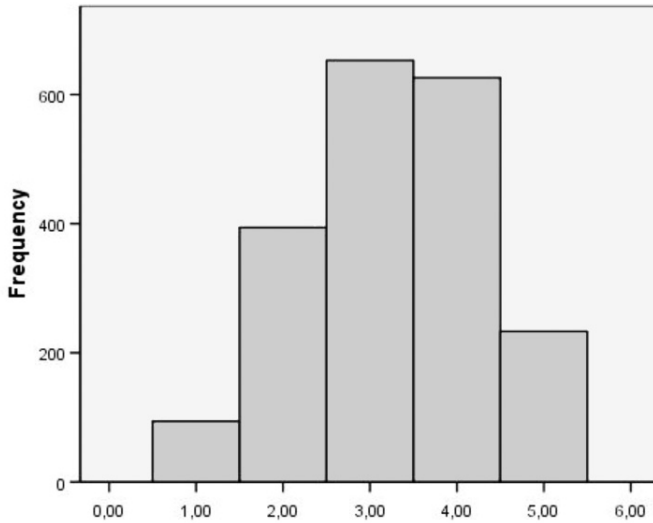


Figure 6. *Frequencies for the statement 'Use of the standard variety enables better achievement in school and faculty'*

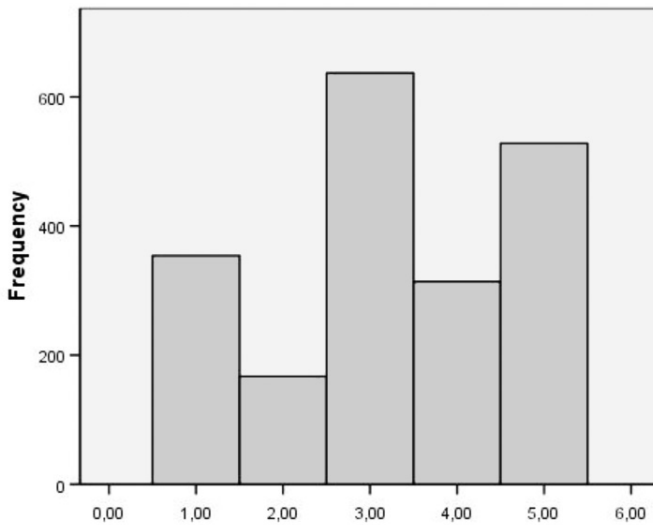


Figure 7. *Frequencies for the statement 'Use of the standard variety is necessary to get ahead in your career'*

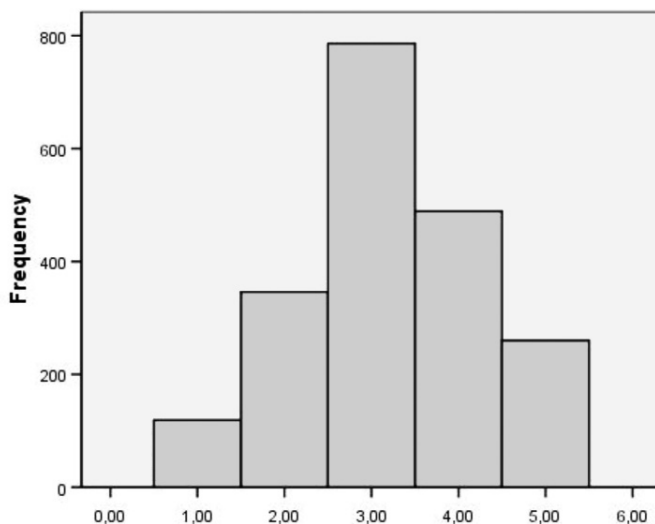


Figure 8. *Frequencies for the statement 'My local dialect should be more present in the media (on radio and TV)'*

- My local dialect should be more present in the media (on radio and TV).
- My local dialect is necessary for the vitality of my local community.
- My local dialect is necessary for the preservation of the local culture and lifestyle.

Mass media have not been judged particularly favorable for the promotion of dialects. However, informants still believe (23.8% mostly agree and 13.2% strongly agree) that their local dialect should be more present in the media (see figure 8). 37.6% of informants mostly agree and 18.6% strongly agree that their local dialects are necessary for the vitality of their local communities. Also, 35.2% mostly agree and 27.7% of them strongly agree that it is necessary for the preservation of the local culture and lifestyle (see figures 9 and 10). Preservation of the local culture and vitality of the local community was thus attested as an incentive for the ideology of dialects and the need to preserve one's local identity.

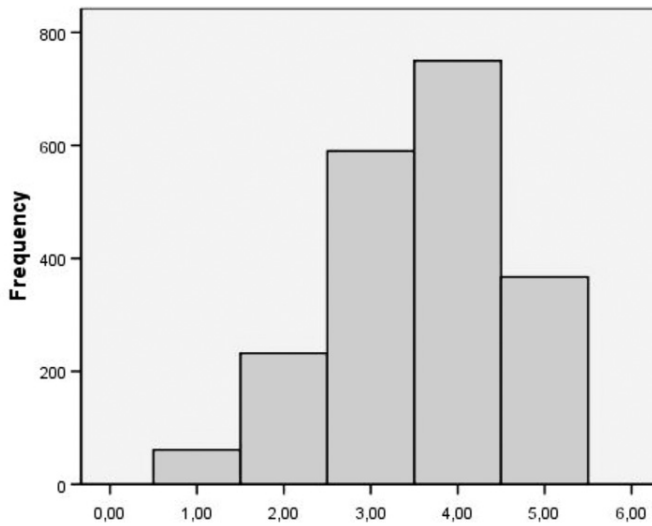


Figure 9. *Frequencies for the statement 'My local dialect is necessary for the vitality of my local community'*

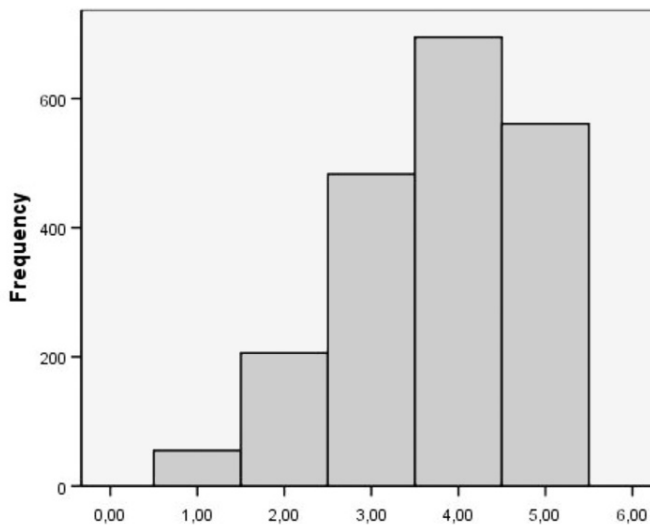


Figure 10. *Frequencies for the statement 'My local dialect is necessary for the preservation of the local culture and lifestyle'*

5.1. Gender as an independent variable

Numerous sociolinguistic investigations (not necessarily restricted to analysis of standard and dialect varieties) have found that there is a significant difference between male and female usage and attitudes towards language varieties that are socially and culturally marked in different ways. In the context of analyzing standard and nonstandard varieties, most of the research points to the fact that women tend to use standard forms more than men. Although such results represent only a part of the “gender paradox”, according to which “women are both more likely to use standard forms [...], and are also more likely to use innovative vernacular forms” (Meyerhoff 2006: 221), we are primarily interested in their attitudes and not actual usage. Since that element of the gender paradox which states that women use the standard form more occurs above the level of awareness (Meyerhoff 2006: 209) and since we used the direct method for eliciting informants’ attitudes, our hypothesis was that the analysis of their responses about the importance of the standard variety might reveal a similar pattern – female informants’ higher appreciation of the standard variety. Furthermore, in the analyses of the relationship between female and male attitudes towards standard and nonstandard varieties, Milroy and Milroy (2000: 63) point out that males favor local varieties that bear a significant importance for the identity of the local community, while the females show a greater tendency towards favoring the standard variety.

In order to explore the difference between male and female overt attitudes towards Croatian standard and nonstandard dialect varieties we applied the t-test for independent samples on the informants’ evaluations of the ten statements and found several statistically significant differences (see Appendix 1). Administered t-test did not show statistically significant differences in male and female evaluations of both the importance of the standard variety for the appreciation of Croatian literature ($t = .118$, $p > .05$) and cultural heritage ($t = -.421$, $p > .05$) and the importance of one’s local dialect for the vitality of the local community ($t = .123$, $p > .05$) and preservation of the local culture and lifestyle ($t = .346$, $p > .05$). However, in evaluations of the necessity of writers, teachers and students using only the standard variety in writing, teaching and during class, the test showed significant differences. Female informants evaluated such necessity

significantly higher than the male informants ($t=-2.776$, $p<.05$; $t=-2.356$, $p<.05$; $t=-2.654$, $p<.05$). The same trend reappears in male and female evaluations of the importance of the standard variety in better achievement in school, faculty and career opportunities, where female informants again judged the importance of the standard variety significantly higher for these purposes than the male informants ($t=-2.993$, $p<.05$; $t=-2.587$, $p<.05$). However, the evaluations concerning greater presence of the local variety in the media show the reversal in the directionality of the effect. In comparison to female informants, there is a significant statistical difference according to which males believe that their local variety should be more present in the media to a greater extent than females do ($t=2.225$, $p<.05$).

Such results confirm the hypothesis that the female gender ascribes greater importance to the standard variety and that the male gender supports greater public usage of dialect varieties. We can conclude that the ideology of the standard variety is more widespread among the female gender and that dialect ideology is more widespread among the male gender.

5.2. Parents' education as an independent variable

Differences in attitudes towards language varieties are influenced by different aspects of the individual's overall social status. One such aspect is the level of education which can be associated with the notion of class aspiration⁴. Although focusing on minority languages, Wölck's observations (2004) on language insecurity can be tested on attitudes towards standard and dialect varieties. Namely, he claims that the relationship between social classes and language maintenance is such that, in opposition to middle social classes, the lowest and highest social classes show the greatest tendency towards minority language maintenance. What we will be looking into is the relationship between evaluations of those informants whose parents finished the elementary and high school and those whose parents have a university degree. The hypothesis was that informants whose parents do not have a university degree will ascribe

⁴ The notion of class aspiration is frequently used in sociolinguistic literature and is associated with individuals who, in their attempt to climb the social ladder, accommodate their speech so that it resembles the speech of members of higher social classes to which they aspire.

greater significance to standard variety usage due to class aspiration. For this purpose we applied the correlation analysis which showed statistically significant correlation between parents' education and some of the statements⁵ (see Appendix 2). Informants whose parents have lower education more strongly agree that knowledge of the standard variety is vital for the appreciation of the Croatian literature and for respecting the Croatian cultural heritage in comparison to those whose parents have higher education. These differences are statistically significant ($r^6 = -.098$, $p < .05$; $r^7 = -.103$, $p < .05$; $r = -.112$, $p < .05$; $r = -.090$, $p < .05$).

There was no statistically significant correlation between parents' level of education and the following statements: Writers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when writing. ($r = -.012$, $p > .05$; $r = -.044$, $p > .05$) / Teachers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when teaching. ($r = -.071$, $p > .05$; $r = -.037$, $p > .05$) / Students should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety in class. ($r = -.033$, $p > .05$; $r = -.038$, $p > .05$).

Informants whose father has lower education more strongly agree that the use of the standard variety enables better achievement in school and faculty in comparison to those whose father has higher education ($r = -.112$, $p < .05$; $r = -.024$, $p > .05$). Informants whose parents have lower education more strongly agree that the standard variety is necessary to get ahead in your career ($r = -.117$, $p < .05$; $r = -.123$, $p < .05$). Those informants whose father has higher education more strongly agree that their local dialect should be more present in the media ($r = .094$, $p < .05$; $r = .069$, $p > .05$). Informants whose parents have lower education more strongly agree that their local dialect is necessary for the vitality of the local community and preservation of the local culture and lifestyle ($r = -.197$, $p < .01$; $r = -.154$, $p < .01$; $r = -.178$, $p < .01$; $r = -.112$, $p < .05$).

On the basis of these results we can conclude that informants' parents' lower education corresponds to greater awareness of the importance of the

⁵ Although correlations with statistical significance were also determined between the statements themselves, in the descriptive part of the analysis we will focus only on describing the statistical significance of correlations between parents' education as the independent variable and the statements.

⁶ The first correlation coefficient refers to the correlation between father's level of education and a specific statement.

⁷ The second correlation coefficient refers to the correlation between mother's level of education and a specific statement.

standard in appreciating national cultural heritage, for better education achievement and career opportunities. Informants' parents' lower education also corresponds to greater awareness of the necessity of the local dialect for the vitality of the local community and preservation of the local culture and lifestyle. On the other hand, informants' parents' higher education corresponds to their strong agreement that their local dialect should be more present in the media.

We can conclude that the ideology of the standard variety is more widespread among informants whose parents have lower education and that dialect ideology is evident both in theirs and in informants' responses whose parents have higher education as well.

5.3. Future residence as an independent variable

In order to explore possible differences between informants who have different views concerning their future residence, we asked them which location they would like to live at in ten years from the moment of questionnaire administration (city which is their current residence, another Croatian city or another country) and applied ten oneway variance analyses. The ANOVA analyses showed that the statistically significant difference among groups was found in the responses to the following statements: Knowledge of the standard variety is vital for respecting the Croatian cultural heritage. / Use of the standard variety is necessary to get ahead in your career. / My local dialect is necessary for the vitality of my local community. / My local dialect is necessary for the preservation of the local culture and lifestyle. For these statements Post Hoc Bonferroni test showed the following directions of correlations (see Appendix 3):

Those informants who would in ten years like to live in the city in which they currently live statistically significantly less strongly agree that the knowledge of the standard variety is vital for respecting the Croatian cultural heritage in comparison to informants who would in ten years like to live in another Croatian city ($MD^8 = -.72566$, $p < .05$) and statistically significantly even less strongly in comparison to informants who would in ten years like to live in another country ($MD = -1.24448$, $p < .05$). Those informants who would in ten years like to live in the city in which they

⁸ Mean Difference.

currently live statistically significantly less strongly agree that the use of the standard variety is necessary to get ahead in your career in comparison to informants who would in ten years like to live in another Croatian city (MD=-.94321, $p<.05$) and statistically significantly even less strongly in comparison to informants who would in ten years like to live in another country (MD=-1.23301, $p<.05$).

On the other hand, those informants who would in ten years like to live in the city in which they currently live statistically significantly more strongly agree that their local dialect is necessary for the vitality of their local community in comparison to informants who would in ten years like to live in another Croatian city (MD=.84359, $p<.05$) and statistically significantly even more strongly in comparison to informants who would in ten years like to live in another country (MD=1.13222, $p<.05$). Similarly, those informants who would in ten years like to live in the city in which they currently live statistically significantly more strongly agree that their local dialect is necessary for the preservation of the local culture and lifestyle in comparison to informants who would in ten years like to live in another Croatian city (MD=1.11295, $p<.05$) and statistically significantly even more strongly in comparison to informants who would in ten years like to live in another country (MD=1.34348, $p<.05$).

In comparison, we can say that the informants who would like to change their current residence in the future ascribe more importance to the standard variety (especially those who would like to change not only the city but the country as well). Similarly, the same informants who do not feel especially attached to the local social and cultural context ascribe less importance to the local dialect. Thus, a stronger connection to the local context represents a constitutive element of the dialect ideology, while a weaker connection contributes to the generation and sustainment of the ideology of the standard variety.

4. Conclusion

Generally speaking, the abstract nature of the standard variety makes it susceptible to becoming an object of a specific ideological system of social and cultural beliefs and is promoted as the symbol of national and cultural heritage through written forms of language. Furthermore, the

standard variety presents itself as the bearer of the overt type of prestige reflected in speakers' judgments about its superiority and status benefits its speakers enjoy through better opportunities in education and career advancement.

Pressures to avoid nonstandard dialect usage are counteracted by another form of pressure – the need to preserve one's local variety as attempts to stigmatize or annul nonstandard dialect varieties often fail because they are perceived as a direct attack on individuals' identity and system of values.

Analysis of overt attitudes points to the conflicting relationship in which the standard variety is deemed more important as the cultural promoter of the nation and is affirmed as the basic medium of instruction and medium of general usage in public institutions such as schools. However, the idea that authors should promote the national cultural heritage through the use of the standard variety has not been confirmed (although many believe that standard is vital for appreciating Croatian literature). Such findings confirm the incentive for the ideology of standard as the cultural promoter, but not at the cost of writers abandoning their local dialect. The standard variety has been identified crucial for better academic achievement and career opportunities. Although mass media are not judged particularly favorable for the promotion of the ideology of dialects, it is still believed that nonstandard dialect varieties should be more present in the media. Just as the standard variety is considered necessary for the national identity, so are nonstandard dialect varieties deemed crucial for the preservation of the local lifestyle and identity and are thus confirmed as bearers of covert prestige which emerges in the context of emphasizing solidarity of community members to preserve the local culture, lifestyle, and identity.

Gender, parents' education and future residence used as independent variables pointed to important patterns of evaluation of standard and dialect varieties. On the basis of the analysis of informants' evaluations in relation to gender, we concluded that the ideology of the standard variety is especially noticeable among the female gender and that dialect ideology is more noticeable among the male gender. In relation to parents' education as the independent variable, we concluded that the notions associated with the ideology of the standard variety are more highly evaluated among informants whose parents have lower education and that

dialect ideology is highly evaluated both in theirs and in informants' responses whose parents have higher education as well. When correlated to different aspirations in terms of future residence, informants' evaluations revealed a trend according to which feelings of stronger connection to the local community support the sustainment of dialect ideology, while opposite feelings contribute to the sustainment of the ideology of the standard variety.

The ideology of the Croatian Standard exists not only for the same reason as all other standards do, and that is the imposed belief in its superiority, but is especially evident when cultural and historical contexts of its development are taken into consideration. Research findings confirmed its prominence. However, the analysis also points to its coexistence with nonstandard dialect ideology. The counter ideology is most evident in contexts of emphasizing dialect nostalgia and the need to attest one's local cultural and linguistic identity.

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Appendix 1.

T-test for the ten statements in relation to informants' gender

	t	df	p
Knowledge of the standard variety is vital for the appreciation of the Croatian literature.	-.118	1,1998	.903
Knowledge of the standard variety is vital for respecting the Croatian cultural heritage.	-.421	1,1998	.646
Writers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when writing.	-2.776*	1,1998	.008
Teachers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when teaching.	-2.356*	1,1998	.014
Students should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety in class.	-2.654*	1,1998	.011
Use of the standard variety enables better achievement in school and faculty.	-2.993*	1,1998	.003
Use of the standard variety is necessary to get ahead in your career.	-2.587*	1,1998	.006
My local dialect should be more present in the media (on radio and TV).	2.225*	1,1998	.009
My local dialect is necessary for the vitality of my local community.	.123	1,1998	.722
My local dialect is necessary for the preservation of the local culture and lifestyle.	.346	1,1998	.690

* t is significant at the 0.05 level

Appendix 2. Correlations between the ten statements and informants' parents' education

r	FE ⁹	ME ¹⁰	A ¹¹	B ¹²	C ¹³	D ¹⁴	E ¹⁵	F ¹⁶	G ¹⁷	H ¹⁸	I ¹⁹	J ²⁰
FE	1	.843	-.098*	-.112*	-.012	-.071	-.033	-.112*	-.117*	.094*	-.197**	-.178**
ME	.843	1	-.103*	-.090*	-.044	-.037	-.038	-.024	-.123*	.069	-.154**	-.112*
A	-.098*	-.103*	1	.558***	.214**	.011	-.023	.046	.024	-.763	-.031	-.055
B	-.112*	-.090*	.558***	1	.370**	.012	-.029	.013	.035	-.022	-.111	-.038
C	-.012	-.044	.214**	.370***	1	-.043	-.102	.097*	.142*	-.022	-.071	-.062
D	-.071	-.037	.011	.012	-.043	1	.400***	.103*	.013	-.021	-.423***	-.277***
E	-.033	-.038	-.023	-.029	-.102*	.400***	1	.041***	.053***	-.029	-.013	-.066
F	-.112*	-.024	.046	.013	.097*	.103*	.041***	1	.396***	.017	.011	.023
G	-.117*	-.123*	.024	.035	.142*	.013	.053***	.396***	1	.044	.039	.069
H	.094*	.069	-.763	-.022	-.022	-.021	-.029	.017	.044	1	.014	.058
I	-.197**	-.154**	-.031	-.111	-.071	-.423***	-.013	.011	.039	.014	1	.579***
J	-.178**	-.112*	-.055	-.038	-.062	-.277***	-.066	.023	.069	.058	.579***	1

* Correlation coefficient (r) is significant at the 0.05 level

** Correlation coefficient (r) is significant at the 0.01 level

*** Correlation coefficient (r) is significant at the 0.001 level

⁹ Father's education.

¹⁰ Mother's education.

¹¹ Knowledge of the standard variety is vital for the appreciation of the Croatian literature.

¹² Knowledge of the standard variety is vital for respecting the Croatian cultural heritage.

¹³ Writers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when writing.

¹⁴ Teachers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when teaching.

¹⁵ Students should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety in class.

¹⁶ Use of the standard variety enables better achievement in school and faculty.

¹⁷ Use of the standard variety is necessary to get ahead in your career.

¹⁸ My local dialect should be more present in the media (on radio and TV).

¹⁹ My local dialect is necessary for the vitality of my local community.

²⁰ My local dialect is necessary for the preservation of the local culture and lifestyle.

**Appendix 3. Post Hoc Bonferroni test for the ten statements
in relation to the independent variable ‘In 10 years I would like to live in’**

a) In 10 years I would like to live in: b) In 10 years I would like to live in:			Mean Difference (a-b)
Knowledge of the standard variety is vital for the appreciation of the Croatian literature.	this city	another Croatian city	-.04563
		another country	-.06321
	another Croatian city	this city	.04563
		another country	-.07332
	another country	this city	.06321
		another Croatian city	.07332
Knowledge of the standard variety is vital for respecting the Croatian cultural heritage.	this city	another Croatian city	-.72566*
		another country	-1.24448*
	another Croatian city	this city	.72566*
		another country	-.51882*
	another country	this city	1.24448*
		another Croatian city	.51882*
Writers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when writing.	this city	another Croatian city	-.05115
		another country	-.09923
	another Croatian city	this city	.05115
		another country	-.11075
	another country	this city	.09923
		another Croatian city	.11075
Teachers should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety when teaching.	this city	another Croatian city	-.04465
		another country	-.07567
	another Croatian city	this city	.04465
		another country	-.56784
	another country	this city	.07567
		another Croatian city	.56784
Students should abandon their local dialects and use only the standard variety in class.	this city	another Croatian city	-.17713
		another country	-.29841
	another Croatian city	this city	.17713
		another country	-.21259
	another country	this city	.29841
		another Croatian city	.21259

Use of the standard variety enables better achievement in school and faculty.	this city	another Croatian city	-.07652
		another country	-.07532
	another Croatian city	this city	.07652
		another country	-.15694
	another country	this city	.07532
		another Croatian city	.15694
Use of the standard variety is necessary to get ahead in your career.	this city	another Croatian city	-.94321*
		another country	-1.23301*
	another Croatian city	this city	.94321*
		another country	-.48980*
	another country	this city	1.23301*
		another Croatian city	.48980*
My local dialect should be more present in the media (on radio and TV).	this city	another Croatian city	.11130
		another country	.13367
	another Croatian city	this city	-.11130
		another country	.03454
	another country	this city	-.13367
		another Croatian city	-.03454
My local dialect is necessary for the vitality of my local community.	this city	another Croatian city	.84359*
		another country	1.13222*
	another Croatian city	this city	-.84359*
		another country	.28863*
	another country	this city	-1.13222*
		another Croatian city	-.28863*
My local dialect is necessary for the preservation of the local culture and lifestyle.	this city	another Croatian city	1.11295*
		another country	1.34348*
	another Croatian city	this city	-1.11295*
		another country	.23053*
	another country	this city	-1.34348*
		another Croatian city	-.23053*

* Mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level

