

# Public and Private Language Ideologies as Reflected in Language Attitudes on the Island of Korčula

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## ABSTRACT

Since languages are such powerful means of group identification, they may be considered as constitutive of communities. Attitudes expressed toward certain linguistic varieties may thus be perceived as attitudes held toward respective community-members. However, as attitudes are not always easily accessible, and are rarely one-dimensional but rather multi-layered, an insight into overt (publicly proclaimed) and covert (privately held) ideologies can enhance understanding of language attitudes and their meaning. This paper brings the analysis of these two types of attitudes held by adolescents in three most populated places on the island of Korčula, Croatia. The analysis is based on the results obtained by means of a questionnaire eliciting, among other things, overt attitudes toward six local, regional and supra-regional varieties, and covert attitudes toward judges' local speech and the Standard variety of Croatian. Although the results confirm some expected tendencies in the evaluation of different varieties, subsequently conducted analysis of speech recognition rates offers some valuable insights and interesting implications for further interpretation of the results.

**Key words:** language ideologies, identity, language attitudes, adolescents, Island of Korčula

## Introduction

If languages are considered as constitutive of communities, then attitudes expressed toward certain linguistic varieties may be perceived as attitudes held towards respective community-members, be it in-groups or out-groups. As Garrett points out:

«...it is generally difficult to distinguish attitudes to language varieties from attitudes to the groups and community-members who use them. ...Language varieties and forms have indexical properties which allow them to »stand for« communities, metonymically. Language is often, therefore, more than just »a characteristic of« or »a quality of« a community. It is able to enshrine what is distinctive in that community, or, we might even say, constitutes that community.» (p.12)<sup>1</sup>

Investigating language attitudes is thus important in at least two respects. In micro-sociolinguistics linguistic »changes from above« are thought of as a kind of accommodation to or convergence toward a preferred, and often socially more prestigious, style or dialect. Positive attitudes (or at least some aspects of attitudes) toward a

target variety are *sine qua non* for the internalization of out-group linguistic features and hence for such linguistic adaptations on both individual and community level. This is also the reason why micro-sociolinguistic studies including some kind of investigation of language attitudes usually deal with single (or a limited number) of linguistic features. Contrary to this, macro-sociolinguistic studies (or, more specifically, those subsumed under social psychology of language) tend to investigate attitudes toward entire varieties and/or languages. Although this potentially incurs many problems, it has nevertheless proved to be a more efficient way to disclose often hidden stereotypes that govern social life »from below«. Language attitudes may be considered as part of a person's *habitus*<sup>2</sup> understood as a set of dispositions internalized during socialization and inscribed by the trajectory which generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are routinized without being consciously coordinated. As pre-reflective they are highly durable and persist through life and they are both the product of the his-

tory of the habitus, and the resource of its continuous reproduction. Members within different groups are considered to share the same habitus which determines the social identity and behavior of individuals. An important output of habitus is the person's taste, or attraction to certain practices and objects, including linguistic practices. Since it is a product of the habitus, it is both immediate and emotional, and structured by power and social positions. The attitudes internalized in the course of a lifetime can be expressed in various contexts including, but not limited to, education, labour market, legislative practices, health care, and not less importantly, inter-generational language transmission. The latter may affect, not only minority and/or endangered languages, but can also be relevant in the case of local and/or regional varieties, or can affect maintenance or abandoning even of single linguistic features. Attitudes therefore underpin virtually all sociolinguistic and social psychological phenomena such as stereotyping, positioning of »us« and »them«, or relating to different social groups. As these evaluations are socially constructed through the relation to the »other«, in terms of differences perceived in other languages or dialects and their speakers,<sup>3</sup> the most challenging aspect of language attitude research is »to assess whether specific manifestations or indices of evaluative stances to language varieties or users are reliable indicators of underlying social tendencies« (p.10)<sup>1</sup>.

As postulated by language attitude approach, evaluations of language varieties – dialects and accents – do not reflect either linguistic or aesthetic quality *per se*, but rather are expressions of social convention and preference which, in turn, reflect an awareness of the status and prestige accorded to the speakers of these varieties.<sup>4</sup> A considerable literature on language attitudes indicates their stereotypical nature as individual speakers of different varieties are usually evaluated in terms of the group to which they are seen to belong, based on their stereotypes and beliefs about members of that group. Evaluations of speakers typically fall into two or three broad categories, which reflect either speaker competence and/or status, or social attractiveness and/or solidarity. The research conducted so far has demonstrated that generally lower-class, minority, and »provincial« speech styles often have positive connotations in terms of solidarity and attractiveness, but their speakers are typically evaluated as being less competent, less intelligent, and less successful than are those who enjoy some regional, social, or majority status<sup>5,6</sup>. These findings confirm that what we perceive about a person's culture and language is what we have been conditioned by our own culture to see, and by the learned stereotypical models already built around our own, passed on to us by the generations before us and the society around us<sup>7</sup>. Thus, language attitudes tend to bear the imprint of the dominating language ideologies found in a particular speech community. The social meaning speakers make of a particular linguistic form, the ideas with which they frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map these understandings onto people, events, and activities that

hold meaning for them<sup>8</sup> are shaped by publicly circulated belief systems and mediated by an ideological and indexical interpretation of the meaning of language use<sup>9</sup>. In his discussion of the ideology of dialect in Switzerland, Watts emphasizes the importance of three factors necessary for the formation of language ideologies: a) institutionalization of such shared beliefs into an »officially sanctioned set of social procedures«; b) their connection to other non-linguistic beliefs crucial for collective identity of a community; and c) their unquestioned acceptance by a group and internalization of such beliefs by individual speakers<sup>10</sup>. All three assumptions imply that language ideologies are deeply rooted beliefs that most community members will be well aware of. Their communally shared status suggests the likelihood of their reproduction in the form of conscious and overtly expressed attitudes<sup>11</sup>. Moreover, their internalization might affect also their subconscious attitudes which are more likely to include privately held ideas concerning language practices in a given community in the form of covert ideology.

Early research on language attitudes focused mostly on evaluation of different languages often in bilingual contexts where most judges were familiar with the varieties in question. The assumption was thus that the judges knew exactly what variety (language) was spoken by a stimulus speaker they were asked to evaluate. This assumption is, however, less valid in multilingual or, even more so, in multidialectal communities in which judges may not always be aware of the differences characteristic of single varieties. Although people can and do form attitudes even about things not familiar with, such attitudes are less stable and more prone to change, and are less likely to engage the behavioral component of an attitude. While the lack of correct geographical placing of a stimulus speaker and/or recognition of a variety spoken does not necessarily invalidate judgments made by respondents as indicated by some earlier studies<sup>6,12</sup>, it nevertheless reveals certain social stereotypes, especially if misrecognitions and attributes assigned to misrecognized stimulus speakers are not completely random. This is so because recognition is inextricably linked with different dimensions of attitudes themselves, that is the recognition of a variety often occurs concomitantly with the formation of attitude towards that variety, which makes it »closely bound up with affective and evaluative processes« characteristic of attitude<sup>1</sup>.

#### *Previous research on language attitudes in Croatia*

Until recently the investigation of non-standard varieties was a field reserved for traditional dialectology in Croatian linguistics, while research into social and symbolic function of vernaculars was largely neglected<sup>13</sup>. The exception to this are few indirect studies of language attitudes<sup>14</sup>, while language attitude studies that employ direct methods have been more common in foreign language teaching, and have been conducted significantly

less with the goal of estimating attitudes toward different linguistic varieties in the context of Croatian linguistic space<sup>15</sup>.

During the last decade a series of studies on attitudes toward different varieties found in Croatia, employing both direct and indirect methods, have been performed<sup>16–20</sup>. In all these studies, the acceptance of one's own speech was proven to be an important element of identification. High ratings of one's own speech was confirmed in the study investigating language attitudes in a variegated sample of Zagreb high-school students<sup>16</sup>. As in other similar studies conducted elsewhere, this one confirmed exceptionally high ratings of a standard variety speaker in terms of competence, but also its low standing in terms of social attractiveness. The local – urban as much as rural – varieties were evaluated best for the latter dimension. In Istria, for instance, regardless of the overwhelming discursive multiculturalism, local varieties (especially the urbanlect of Pula) were perceived as the most desirable in terms of social acceptability and as a means of achieving social cohesion<sup>17,18</sup>. Regional language loyalism in Istria, however, appears to be restricted largely to speakers whose parents, like themselves, were born in Istria. On the other hand, immigrants of the first and second generation displayed a different pattern of perceptions from established residents. They were more likely to evaluate positively both Standard Croatian and Zagreb urban vernacular and less likely to endorse local Istrian varieties. Additionally, respondents of lower socioeconomic status, while significantly more positive about the social status of non-standard Croatian varieties, judged both standard varieties as very much more important for their educational career than the non-standard ones, reflecting, perhaps, the disparity noted by Bourdieu<sup>2</sup> between those who can only recognize and aspire to the power of authorized usage of a legitimate language, compared to those who have »knowledge« and are therefore able to exploit it.

Notable difference between the two mentioned studies and the one conducted on the island of Vis<sup>19,20</sup> is that on the farthest populated island in the Adriatic, urban vernaculars of the towns of Split and Zagreb were rated similarly, while the local insular varieties were evaluated best in their respective towns, both in terms of competence and social attractiveness. Imbalance in the distribution of sociopolitical power in the two main settlements on the island (main town of Vis and Komiza settlement) was reflected in non-reciprocal evaluation of the »insular Other«; whereas the judges from Komiza rated Vis speaker only slightly lower than their co-citizen, the difference was far more pronounced in the ratings of Komiza speaker by the judges from Vis. The results of these studies indicate a great deal of variation in the dialect perceptions in different parts of Croatia, which challenges the inference that there is a consolidated, single ideological set in the evaluation of the examined varieties in terms of standard/vernacular(s) dichotomy.

### *Sociolinguistic situation on the island of Korčula*

The island of Korčula is one of the largest islands (276 km<sup>2</sup>) in Croatia situated in the southernmost part of the central East Adriatic area. Its characteristic elongated shape (46.8 km in length with an average width of 5.3 km) has been an important factor that contributed to linguistic and cultural diversification on the island. Administratively the island belongs to Dubrovnik-Neretva County (with Dubrovnik being the administrative centre of the region), although culturally it is oriented more towards central Adriatic region and in particular towards the town of Split as its main urban centre. Korčula town has been the only urban settlement and the administrative centre on the island since the Venetian times. Because of its position on the eastern coast of the island, it functions as the main gravitational centre mostly for the inhabitants of the eastern (Lumbarda, Žrnovo, Pupnat, and Račišće) communities on the island, whereas Vela Luka has the main function on the western (Smokvica, Čara, Blato) part of the island. Vela Luka is the most recently founded permanent settlement (end of 18th century); before it was only the harbour of the village of Blato, which is the largest rural settlement on the island. The total population of the island was 15522 in 2011. Figure 1 represents a simplified map of the island with the major settlements.



Fig. 1. The largest settlements on the island of Korčula.

The contemporary linguistic situation in the island of Korčula is marked by the presence of two dialects of the Croatian language – Čakavian and Štokavian. It is often defined as the southern border of the Čakavian and Štokavian groups of dialects (Finka, 1971), with all settlements except for Račišće considered to belong to the Čakavian area. Račišće was founded by the Štokavian Ikavian settlers from the Croatian hinterland and western Herzegovina by the end of the 17th century. Other idioms that are generally grouped as Čakavian are, however, interspersed with Štokavian elements, but differ significantly among themselves due to the degree of Štokavian superstrate, which depended primarily on migrational flows of Štokavian speakers from the mainland, and the strength of linguistic influence they exerted on the autochthonous varieties<sup>21</sup>. The degree of dialectal interference is also high in all the insular varieties, as a consequence of modern communication and education and the strong influence of Standard Croatian (basically Štokavian) through the breaking of the island's former isolation which favoured the conservation of older linguistic (Čakavian) traits.

As on other Dalmatian islands, on the island of Korčula there are also notable differences between the only urban variety on the island on the one hand, and rural varieties on the other<sup>21</sup>. Historically, during the long period of Venetian rule (1420–1797) Venetian elements had a powerful influence on the Croatian language of the islanders, primarily in the town of Korčula, and indirectly through the urban population on the island's rural areas. This Romance influence left visible traces in the island's cultural vocabulary connected with the urban and public life, religion, shipbuilding, etc., while it was less evident in the terminology of agriculture, and flora and fauna. The fact that the town of Korčula was the seat of the Venetian rule for the island led to considerable differences between town and country in the way in which foreign elements were absorbed. While the town was always bilingual (and thus foreign elements became only slightly adapted and underwent much less change) the villages remained clearly unilingual and received foreign elements only indirectly from the town adapting them as much as possible to their own linguistic systems. Under the influence of folk etymology, popular humor, arbitrary interpretation, etc. the forms of this adaptation highly varied, and produced different specific traits in local subdialects<sup>22</sup>.

### Research questions

The aim of this paper is to identify the most common stereotypes held by adolescents on the island of Korčula toward different linguistic varieties found on the island and their speakers. More specifically, our goal was to find out possible differences in the evaluation of six varieties characterized by different geographical scales (local, regional, and supraregional) and different prestige between groups of judges depending on their origin and present place of living. The validity of subconscious (covert) attitudes toward one's local speech and the Standard variety was compared to conscious (overt) attitudes elicited by direct questions with the aim of analyzing pervasive ideologies among the youth on the Island of Korčula as an example of a Croatian micro-region. Subsequently, in order to shed light on some of the apparent inconsistencies and unexpected results, we were interested in finding out if and to what extent the recognition of speech in indirect language attitudes testing was relevant in the evaluation of stimulus speakers. We tested the recognition rates for the whole sample and for groups of judges from different places in order to compare the results of in-groups and out-groups.

### Research Methods and Sample

The data analyzed and presented here are derived from a Sociolinguistic Questionnaire\* aimed at eliciting responses to several major topics such as language atti-

tudes, domains of language use, self-identification as well as experience of a local milieu and traditions. Only parts of the analysis will be presented in this paper. Beside some general questions regarding certain demographic variables (sex, residence, origin and place of birth, and socio-economic status), these include questionnaire sections concerning covert and overt language attitudes. While overt language attitudes were measured by means of a modified Likert scale based responses (1–4) to a number of statements regarding both a locally spoken and the standard variety of Croatian, a version of the matched-guise test (MGT), often referred to as verbal-guise test (VGT) was used to detect covert language attitudes. Whereas one and the same stimulus speaker takes on different guises in MGT, VGT allows different speakers to perform in stimulus audio-recordings. The covert attitudes were measured toward three local varieties (those of Korčula, Lumbarda, and Blato), the most influential regional urbanlect of Split, the urbanlect of the Croatian capital Zagreb, and Standard Croatian. Unidirectional gradable semantic-differential scales for personality traits were accompanied by several other questions concerning the »grammatical correctness« and »pleasantness« of a variety, the supposed educational background of the speakers, their aptness to work as TV/radio speakers, and finally by two questions checking a respondent's recognition of a variety.

The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire was administered to high-school students aged 14 through 19 ( $X=16$ ,  $SD=1.19$ ) in three most populated places on the Island of Korčula: 231 (43.3%) in Korčula, 156 (29.2%) in Blato, and 147 (27.5%) in Vela Luka (total:  $N=534$ ). The sample consisted of 279 (47.4%) males and 253 (52.2%) females. The vast majority of the judges were born on the island of Korčula ( $N=417$ , 78.1%), while 17.4% ( $N=93$ ) were born elsewhere in Croatia ( $N=73$ , 13.7% of the total originating from Dalmatia), and 4.3% ( $N=23$ ) were born abroad. When the origin (place of birth) of the judges' parents is taken into consideration, it results that about a third of the sample ( $N=168$ , 31.5%) is »completely« from Korčula, i.e. both a respondent and his/her parents are born on the island; somewhat fewer ( $N=249$ , 46.7%) are born on the island but have at least one parent born elsewhere; a small minority of the judges ( $N=30$ , 5.6%) originate from Korčula but are not born there, while 16.1% ( $N=86$ ) moved to the island although neither of the parents was born there. In view of these data, a simplified version of Regionality Index (RI) devised by Chambers<sup>23</sup> was used to differentiate between judges based on their place of birth and their parents' origin.

Our RI scale shown in Table 1, consisted of five levels: true indigene, i.e. born on the Island of Korčula and having both parents from the island (RI1); born on the island and having one parent born elsewhere (RI2); born

\* A slightly modified and somewhat extended version of the questionnaire was employed as in earlier studies in Zagreb,<sup>16</sup> Istria,<sup>17</sup> and on the island of Vis<sup>19</sup>.

\*\* Chambers used a 7-point Regionality Index (RI) in his Dialect Topography project in order to be able to assess the allochthonous linguistic influence of speakers who are not natives to a region under investigation.

TABLE 1  
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE IN KORČULA, VELA LUKA, AND BLATO ACCORDING TO THE REGIONALITY INDEX

	RI 1	RI 2	RI 3	RI 4	RI 5
Korčula	26.8% (62)	20.3% (47)	21.2% (49)	5.6% (13)	25.5% (59)
Vela Luka	36.7% (54)	31.3% (46)	18.4% (27)	3.4% (5)	10.2% (15)
Blato	33.3% (52)	32.7% (51)	18.6% (29)	7.7% (12)	7.7% (12)

on the island and having both parents born elsewhere (RI3), not born on the island and having at least one parent born on the island (RI4); true interloper, i.e. neither respondent nor his/her parents born on the island (RI5). While people seem to be less mobile on the western part of the island (Vela Luka and Blato) as there are many more »true indigenes« than »interlopers«, it seems that the opposite is true for the town of Korčula, which is the largest centre situated nearest to the mainland, across approximately 1.5 km wide Pelješac Channel (Figure 1).

Although a mere 0.9% of the respondents do not declare to be of Croatian nationality, only 10.9% consider standard Croatian to be their mother-tongue. The majority of the sample (83.5%), however, prefers to identify a local variety of Croatian as their first language.

The relevant parts of the questionnaire were analyzed by means of descriptive statistics, correlation analyses, and tests of difference (t-test, Kruskal-Wallis test, and ANOVA, depending on the type of data).

## Results

The analysis was carried out in several steps. First, covert language attitudes were analyzed based on the results of verbal-guise tests towards relevant varieties. Overt attitudes toward a local variety and the standard were analyzed and subsequently compared with covert attitudes toward the same two varieties. Secondly, the effect of origin and place of residence for both covert and overt language attitudes was tested. Finally, the level of correct recognition of different (tested) varieties was analyzed in order to check for its role in reporting language attitudes.

### *Comparison of covert and overt attitudes among youth on the island of Korčula*

For the majority of recordings an adapted set of personality traits commonly used in MGT studies<sup>1,24</sup> was split into two factors by means of Principal Component Analysis: social attractiveness (sincere and direct, reliable and responsible, friendly and nice, warm and kind, witty and cheerful), and competence/status (educated, clever, apt and nimble, successful, well off, having a good job, determined and self-confident). All of the obtained scales result reliable (Chronbach  $\alpha > 0.80$  for all speech recordings).

Overall, the best perceived speaker is the one who spoke in the Standard Croatian variety ( $X=3.48$ ,  $SD=0.66$ ), followed by the speaker from Split ( $X=3.44$ ,  $SD=$

0.72) while the least favoured one is from the town of Korčula ( $X=2.82$ ,  $SD=0.66$ ). However, the differentiation of the responses into »social attractiveness« and »status« based on Principal Component Analysis (Figure 2) indicates the highest standing of the Standard variety in terms of status ( $X=3.68$ ,  $SD=0.71$ ), but also its second lowest standing in terms of social attractiveness ( $X=3.20$ ,  $SD=0.77$ ), which is just slightly above that of Zagreb ( $X=2.97$ ,  $SD=0.76$ ). The speech of the Croatian Standard speaker is rated, not only as the most »grammatical« one ( $X=4.15$  on a 1 (min) to 5 (max) scale,  $SD=1.02$ ), but also as the most »pleasing to the ear« ( $X=3.48$ ,  $SD=1.15$ ). This speaker is perceived as the most educated one ( $X=2.53$  on a scale from 1 (elementary school completed) to 3 (higher education completed),  $SD=0.57$ ). A very high ranking of this speaker is also revealed by 77.7% who believe that this person could work as a TV/radio announcer and 30.1% who would like to speak like him. Notable is, however, the discordance between the estimated social attractiveness of the Standard speaker and the pleasantness of his speech, as this variety scored highest for the latter dimension (see Table 2).

The speaker from the town of Split (most dominant urban variety) was evaluated as the most attractive socially ( $X=3.56$ ,  $SD=0.81$ ), which is also significantly superior to all the other ones ( $p < 0.05$  on a t paired-sample test). On all other dimensions this speaker received second best evaluations. The three local varieties stimulus speakers from Korčula, Lumbarda and Blato were evaluated lowest for all the variables that imply some kind of scholarship: educational level, grammatical correctness, as well as status. Among the three, the speaker from Korčula was ranked lowest in all respects. Although such a finding is not completely unexpected, it is surprising that these insular varieties are not estimated better for »pleasantness«, and come only after the Standard and the regional urbanolect of Split. The speaker from Zagreb was judged as the least socially attractive and the least pleasant, but was estimated quite high on status, presumed educational level obtained, and »grammatical correctness« (third in rank for all three variables, see Figure 2 and Table 2).

The majority of the judges thought that the stimulus speakers could not be suitable as TV/radio announcers, with the Standard variety speaker being the only exception to this (in which case 77.7% of the judges think this would be acceptable). Generally, the judges would not like to speak like any of the stimulus speakers. The only varieties that scored significantly higher than the rest are the Standard and Split varieties (30.1% and 28.7% re-

**TABLE 2**  
THE EVALUATION OF PERCEIVED GRAMMATICAL CORRECTNESS, PLEASANTNESS, COMPREHENSIBILITY, LIKEABILITY OF THE TEST VARIETIES AND COMPETENCES OF THEIR SPEAKERS

Speech Variety	Pleasantness (1–5)		Grammatical correctness (1–5)		Educational level (1–3)		»This person could be a TV/radio announcer.«		»I'd like to speak like this person.«		»I understand the speech of this person.«	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %
Korčula	2.35	1.26	1.54	0.87	1.45	0.55	11.8	87.3	14.8	84.3	76.6	22.8
Lumbarda	2.50	1.21	1.97	1.05	1.82	0.53	9.2	89.7	12.2	86.3	78.8	19.7
Blato	2.54	1.25	1.81	1.01	1.53	0.58	10.5	88.4	15.2	83.5	83.7	15.5
Split	3.37	1.12	2.65	1.03	2.17	0.51	31.5	67.6	28.7	70.4	94.2	5.2
Zagreb	2.15	1.02	2.23	1.11	1.99	0.54	9.7	89.7	2.4	96.8	54.1	45.5
Standard	3.48	1.15	4.15	1.02	2.53	0.57	77.7	21.3	30.1	69.3	96.8	3.00

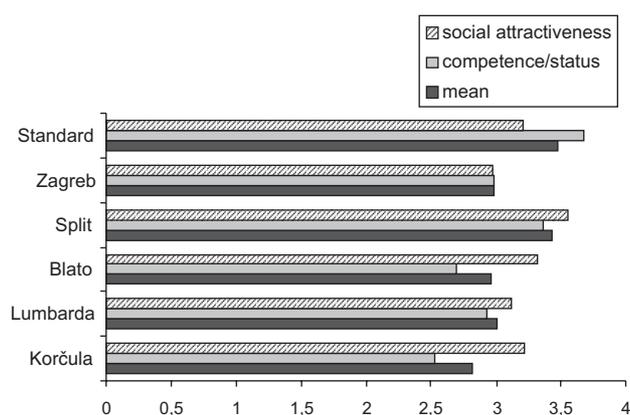


Fig. 2. Evaluation of competence/status and social attractiveness of six speakers by all judges.

spectively), but no correlation ( $p > 0.05$ ) was found between the groups wishing to speak the two varieties, which indicates that different groups of respondents clearly express different linguistic preferences.

A number of statements evaluated on a four-point Likert scale from 1 (min) to 4 (max) refer to overt perception of respondents' local speech and the Standard variety. Reliability analysis showed that the two sets of statements yield reliable scales in both cases with  $Ch. \alpha = 0.73$  for local variety set of statements, and  $Ch. \alpha = 0.75$  for those regarding the Standard. High evaluation of both the Standard ( $X = 2.73$ ,  $SD = 0.50$ ) as well as local varieties ( $X = 2.91$ ,  $SD = 0.50$ ) is quite prominent in the direct measurement of language attitudes. The appreciation of the varieties – local on the one hand, and national on the other – however, resulted as largely dependent on the context of use. While local varieties are valued primarily for their symbolic value, and as an important means of local identification, Standard variety is considered more appropriate in official contexts (e.g. public services) ( $X = 3.13$ ,  $SD = 0.76$ ). According to the local variety attitude scale ( $Ch. \alpha = 0.73$ ), local varieties are important for a local way of life, community life and local culture ( $X = 3.18$ ,  $SD = 0.75$ ), and somewhat less for traditional trades of the region ( $X = 3.06$ ,  $SD = 0.71$ ). Their primary value lies

in their symbolism of local/insular identity ( $X = 3.29$ ,  $SD = 0.69$ ), which is why the judges are »proud of the local speech as it shows who (they) are and where (they) come from« ( $X = 3.36$ ,  $SD = 0.76$ ). Although most judges think that local varieties have also practical and economic value (65.9%), the overall scores are significantly lower ( $X = 2.77$ ,  $SD = 0.85$ ) for this variable than for those referring to symbolic value of local varieties.

The Standard variety is seen as a prerequisite for accessing and mastering national culture ( $X = 3.08$ ,  $SD = 0.77$ ), and as a means that facilitates getting a good job ( $X = 3.00$ ,  $SD = 0.78$ ), but not so much for being well off ( $X = 2.76$ ,  $SD = 0.83$ ). Nonetheless, the judges generally do not consider a local variety to be determinant for one's identification with a local community ( $X = 2.30$ ,  $SD = 0.87$ ) nor do they think that »immigrants from other regions should strive to learn a local variety« ( $X = 2.24$ ,  $SD = 0.82$ ). Such open-minded attitudes are pervasive with regard to the Standard variety as well: 55.2% of judges do not agree that »it is better to speak the Standard variety all the time so as to be understood by everyone« ( $X = 2.44$ ,  $SD = 0.87$ ), and even 76.1% do not think that »other languages and dialects in the country weaken national unity« ( $X = 2.01$ ,  $SD = 0.89$ ). Attitudes expressed in this way call for cautious interpretation, though.

As the questionnaire we used elicited overt attitudes only toward one's local variety and Standard Croatian, the comparison of overt and covert evaluations could have been made only in the perception of Korčula speech and the Standard (for the group of judges from Korčula), and in the perception of Blato speech and the Standard (Tables 3a and 3b). The results of Pearson bivariate correlations indicate a pronounced tendency of the judges to rate single stimulus speakers and the varieties they spoke similarly, either positively or negatively. This can be deduced from highly significant ( $p < 0.01$ ) positive correlations found in the evaluation of different variables, both those indicating status/competence and social attractiveness, for single varieties, the Standard or the local ones. Such a tendency is most conspicuous in the evaluation of the Standard variety by all the judges and in the evaluation of the local variety by Blato and Vela

**TABLE 3A**  
THE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN OVERT AND COVERT LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF KORČULA RESPONDENTS TOWARDS THEIR LOCAL VARIETY AND STANDARD VARIETY

	Korčula Urban Variety (K)					Standard Variety (S)					Overt Attitudes (OA)	
	ST	SA	PL	GC	ED	ST	SA	PL	GC	ED	K	S
K-ST	–											
K-SA	0.428**	–										
K-PL	0.369**	0.526**	–								0.273**	
K-GC	0.392**	0.231**	0.300**	–								
K-ED	0.413**	0.213**	0.218**	0.262**	–							
S-ST						–						
S-SA						0.586**	–				–0.172**	
S-PL						0.453**	0.515**	–				
S-GC				–0.175**		0.434**	0.275**	0.389**	–			
S-ED						0.521**	0.303**	0.264**	0.479**	–		
K-OA			0.273**					–0.172**			–	
S-OA											0.304**	–

ST – status; SA – social attractiveness; PL – pleasantness; GC – grammatical correctness; ED – speaker’s education; K – Korčula variety; S – Standard variety

**TABLE 3B**  
THE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN OVERT AND COVERT LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF BLATO AND VELA LUKA RESPONDENTS TOWARDS THEIR LOCAL VARIETY (OF BLATO) AND STANDARD VARIETY

	Blato Variety (B)					Standard Variety (S)					Overt Attitudes (OA)	
	ST	SA	PL	GC	ED	ST	SA	PL	GC	ED	B	S
B-ST	–										0.195**	
B-SA	0.675**	–									0.170**	
B-PL	0.559**	0.504**	–								0.284**	
B-GC	0.514**	0.268**	0.521**	–							0.187**	
B-ED	0.434**	0.226**	0.323**	0.337**	–							
S-ST		0.243**				–						
S-SA						0.543**	–					
S-PL					0.423**	0.402**	0.455*	–				0.170**
S-GC						0.466**	0.290**		–			
S-ED						0.502**		0.256**	0.403**	–		
B-OA	0.195**	0.170**	0.284**	0.187**							–	
S-OA								0.170**				–

ST – status; SA – social attractiveness; PL – pleasantness; GC – grammatical correctness; ED – speaker’s education; B – Blato variety; S – Standard variety

Luka judges. What is particularly interesting is that besides the expected positive correlations between the ratings of a stimulus speakers’ status, his/her level of education, and »grammatical correctness« of his/her speech, the evaluations of the status and social attractiveness are always highly correlated (and this is more or less valid for all three varieties). Moreover, the aesthetic evaluation of »pleasantness of speech« is in most cases correlated with »grammatical correctness« and often with a perceived level of a stimulus speakers’ education and their perceived status (Tables 3a and 3b). Statistically

significant correlations between the evaluations of local speech and Standard are rather an exception. One of them concerns a significant ( $p < 0.01$ ) positive correlation in the group of Korčula judges between the overt evaluations of the Standard variety and the local Korčula variety (Table 3a), which is indicative of a possible co-existence of contradictory linguistic ideologies and a lack of their mutual exclusiveness. Additionally, a significant negative correlation between the grammatical correctness of the Korčula speech and the Standard variety as well as a significant negative correlation between the so-

cial attractiveness of the Standard variety and overt positive attitudes toward local speech point at the awareness of the Korčula judges of the differential functions of the two varieties.

*The role of the origin and place of residence for overt and covert language attitudes*

By means of one-way ANOVA, statistically significant differences ( $p < 0.05$ ) between judges living in three places on the island of Korčula were found in the evaluation of the stimulus speakers of the three non-insular varieties – those from Split, Zagreb, and the Standard – on semantic-differential scales (Figures 3a-3c).

While the differences in the evaluation of the Standard regard both status and social attractiveness component, the evaluation of the two urbanolects were evaluated significantly different by the three groups only in terms of status. Curiously enough, the judges from Vela Luka show the tendency of assigning the highest values to Zagreb and Standard varieties, while Blato judges in most cases assigned the lowest values to the three speakers in question (Figures 3a-3c).

Table 4 contains the values for the variables for which statistically significant differences ( $p < 0.05$ ) according to place of living were found by one-way ANOVA. The highest scores for the three sample groups are in bold. In the second set of questions in indirect attitude testing pleasantness of speech and the wish to speak like the Standard variety stimulus speaker, as well as the perception of grammatical correctness, pleasantness and education are most disputed points between the three groups. Again, Vela Luka speakers assigned the highest values for all variables concerning the audio-recordings. Besides significantly different evaluation of the status of Split speaker as mentioned above, Korčula, Vela Luka, and Blato judges differed also in their perception of comprehensibility of the same speaker.

The responses between Korčula, Vela Luka, and Blato students differed also in their wish to speak like Blato stimulus speaker in that 20.5% of Blato students answered positively to that question (compared to 15.6% in Vela Luka, and 11.3% in Korčula). The level of education of Lumbarda speaker as well as »grammatical correctness« of the variety itself were evaluated significantly more positively by Vela Luka respondents and those from Blato (Table 4). Even though the three groups did not differ significantly in overtly expressed attitudes toward their own local varieties ( $p > 0.05$  on one-way ANOVA test), they did differ again in the perception of the value of the Standard. As in indirect attitude testing, direct elicitation of attitudes only confirmed highest scores for Vela Luka group of judges ( $X = 2.79$ ,  $SD = 0.47$ ), and significantly lower in Blato ( $X = 2.62$ ,  $SD = 0.52$ ).

If statistically significant differences in the evaluation of stimulus speakers by the three groups of judges according to the place of living concern only the insular varieties from Korčula (which is not quite unexpected), we were also interested into the relevance of the respondents' origin (their and their parents' place of birth) in order to account for possible relevance of family back-

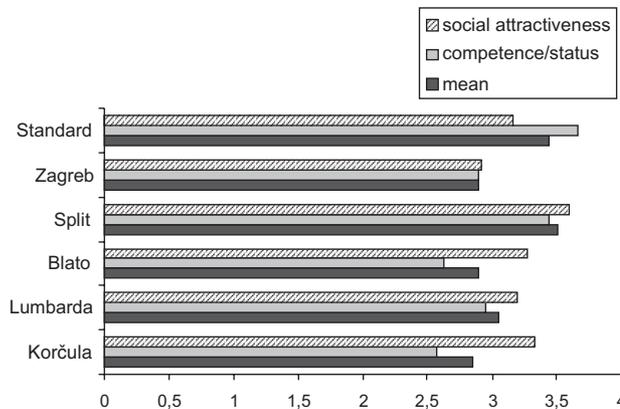


Fig. 3a. Evaluation of stimulus speakers by Korčula judges.

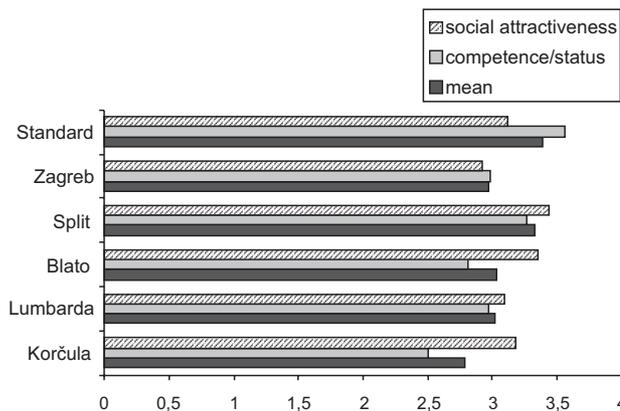


Fig. 3b. Evaluation of stimulus speakers by Blato judges.

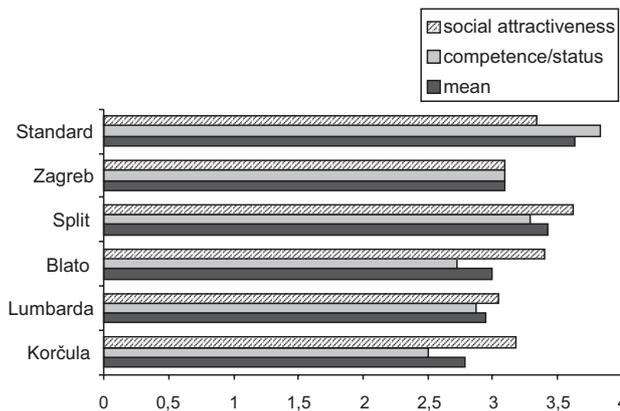


Fig. 3c. Evaluation of stimulus speakers by Vela Luka judges.

ground in forming certain language attitudes. Surprisingly enough, Regionality Index resulted as a relevant discriminant factor in the evaluation of the two insular varieties again for both status and social attractiveness (Table 5). In both cases some sort of immediate descent from the island of Korčula seems to be decisive for assigning generally higher values to both Blato and Lumbarda variety. On the basis of the results one can also hypothesize that parental place of birth is not as important

**TABLE 4**  
GRAMMATICAL CORRECTNESS, PLEASANTNESS, COMPREHENSIBILITY, LIKEABILITY OF THE VARIETIES AND COMPETENCES OF THEIR SPEAKERS BY JUDGES' PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Speech Variety	Pleasantness (1–5)			Grammatical correctness (1–5)			Educational level (1–3)			»I'd like to speak like this person.«			»I understand the speech of this person.«		
	KR	VL	BL	KR	VL	BL	KR	VL	BL	KR	VL	BL	KR	VL	BL
Korčula															
Lumbarda				1.84	<b>1.86</b>	2.28	1.76	<b>1.90</b>	1.82						
Blato										11.3%	15.6%	<b>20.5%</b>			
Split													94.8%	<b>97.3%</b>	90.4%
Zagreb	2.00	<b>2.31</b>	2.21	2.06	<b>2.38</b>	2.35	1.93	<b>2.09</b>	1.97						
Standard	3.48	<b>3.72</b>	3.25							24.7%	<b>44.2%</b>	25.0%			

Legend: KR – residents of Korčula town; VL – residents of Vela Luka; BL – residents of Blato

as a respondent's place of birth; actually, it seems that in the second generation of immigrants to the island (RI3), the need to »fit in« may be more pronounced than in RI1 and RI2 groups, and is manifested in generally the highest evaluations of local speakers. This hypothesis could further be supported by lowest evaluations of Korčula stimulus speakers by those judges who were not born on the island, although at least one of their parents was born there. Such a hypothesis could be postulated for covert attitudes only.

However, when asked directly about their opinions and beliefs concerning a local variety (but not the Standard), the degree of »rootedness« in the milieu seems to play a more significant role. Those judges who belong to at least the second generation living on the island expressed significantly better opinions about their local speech than those who do not originate from the island. While there was no significant difference in the evaluation of the Korčula speaker, the Split stimulus speaker was evaluated significantly higher by those judges who have no immediate roots on the island of Korčula.

### The role of speech recognition in language evaluation

Within the language ideological framework in order to uncover ideas that were relevant to our respondents in making the above evaluations, the study also addressed respondents' beliefs about speakers' backgrounds. Patterns of the respondents' (mis)identifications were analyzed to find out how these may relate to salient social groups. Their perceptions of who uses a particular language variety indicate the ideas with which the respondents framed their understanding of linguistic varieties within the context of social categories salient for each particular variety when they tried to determine the origin of each speaker. The regional urbanolect (Split) was recognized by the vast majority of the judges, while the figures are the lowest for the largest urbanolect of the country (Zagreb) (Figure 4). Only somewhat less than a third of the total sample recognized the speech of Korčula correctly, while the rates are higher for the other two varieties on the island. While the speech of Lumbarda is well-known for its specific vocalism and there-

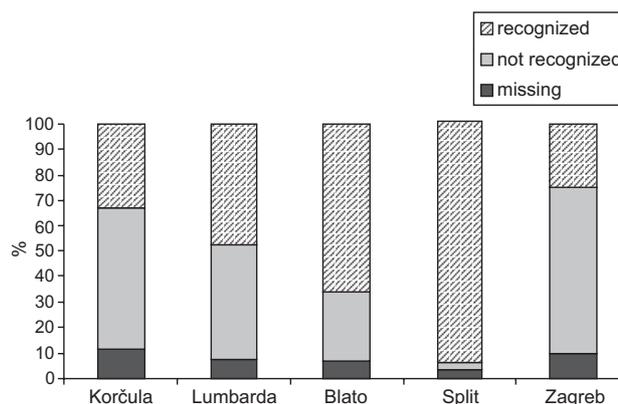


Fig. 4. Rate of stimulus speakers' recognition by all judges.

fore highly recognizable, the best recognition of the stimulus speaker from Blato may be attributed to the fact that the majority of the judges come from Blato and Vela Luka. Missing answers imply not only the absence of a response, but also »don't know« and »not sure« responses. The speech recognition rates for Standard variety are absent from Figure 4 due to an apparent attempt by the vast majority of judges to »place« the Standard into some specific geographical region of the country. Interestingly enough, 250 students thought this variety was typical of Zagreb as the capital of Croatia. Although such classification of the Standard is understandable due to Zagreb's central administrative role, it may be hard to accept the fact that 47% of adolescents in the sample are unaware of the fact that Zagreb lies in the heart of the Kajkavian region. At the same time, only slightly fewer students (44%) believe that urban Kajkavian as spoken in Zagreb is the language spoken in the rural regions of the NW Croatia. Somewhat bigger surprise was an unexpectedly low recognition rate of the urban speech of the town of Korčula. If Split speaker were not recognized almost unanimously, we could have postulated that the recognition of urbanolects expectedly poses the greatest problems in terms of their recognition. A high rate of recognition of Split variety, however, proves that the most prestigious regional urbanolect may be an exception to

this rule. This seems to be the case as the rate of recognition of the stimulus speaker from Split does not differ significantly between judges in Vela Luka, Blato, and Korčula respectively, nor does it differ between the judges depending on assigned Regionality Indices.

Expectedly, statistically significant differences between the judges from three different places on the island in the evaluation of the stimulus speakers differed significantly for non-Korčula speakers, i.e. for those speakers from Split, Zagreb and the Standard variety speaker, but it comes as a surprise that the statistically significant differences ( $p < 0.05$ ) between the three groups of judges were found also in the recognition rate for the three insular speakers from Korčula town, Lumbarda, and Blato. As expected, the judges recognized best their local varieties, be they their own or the neighbouring ones (the speech of Lumbarda in Korčula, and the speech of Blato in Vela Luka) (Figure 5). As noted earlier, the speech of Lumbarda is well-recognizable and is particularly stereotyped in the nearest town, namely in Korčula. The speech of Korčula, on the other hand, being the largest urban variety on the island is characterized by all the features normally associated with urbanolects, albeit in a lower degree than Split urbanolect, for instance. Larger than Korčula's average number of immigrants both from the rest of the island and elsewhere certainly contributed to dialectal levelling and 'mixing' due to which its speech is less recognizable, particularly to those who live on the opposite part of the island. Even though the speech of Blato was recognized by the majority of Korčula judges, recognition rates were expectedly significantly higher in Vela Luka and Blato schools.

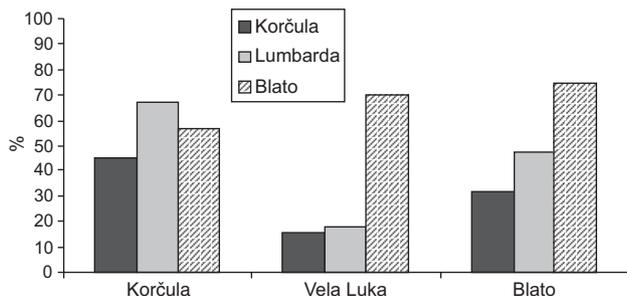


Fig. 5. Percentage of correct recognitions of the varieties (Korčula, Blato, Lumbarda) for which the three groups of judges (from Korčula, Vela Luka, and Blato) differed significantly.

According to the t-test for equality of means, in terms of the recognition Regionality Index (RI) proved to be a relevant variable only in case of the Korčula stimulus speaker ( $p < 0.05$ ). This speaker was best recognized by RI4 judges whose at least one parent was born on the island, but who are born elsewhere. The rate of correct recognition among that group was 46.7%, and is followed by the RI5 group with 39.5% recognition rate. At the same time Korčula speaker was poorly recognized by RI1 respondents (mere 26.2%), although this group was best in recognizing the speaker from Split (high 95.2%). Interestingly enough, Blato and Lumbarda stimulus speakers

were best recognized by RI3 judges, who are born on the island, but whose parents come from elsewhere (75.2% and 54.3% respectively). The highest rate of recognition of Blato and Lumbarda speakers among RI3 judges corresponds to this group's highest rating of the two speakers for social attractiveness. Overall, the correct recognition of the Standard variety was very low in all groups by Regionality Index, ranging from 1.9 to 3.5%.

To find out whether and to what extent speech recognition influences evaluation of the speakers, we tested significance of the differences in the evaluation of the test recordings between those who recognized individual varieties and those who did not recognize them. For the vast majority of items (variables) no statistically significant differences were found in the evaluation of the two groups of judges. Notable was, however, a tendency to assign higher scores to those speakers one recognizes correctly.

## Discussion and Conclusions

A general tendency to evaluate stimulus speakers in a coherent manner, either positively or negatively on a number of dimensions, can be inferred from the analysis of covert attitudes data. Such a trend is observable in a strikingly consistent evaluation of the Standard and Split speakers as well as in high correlations found in the evaluation of different dimensions regarding single speakers (e.g. Tables 3a and 3b). Standard stimulus speaker was absolutely the best evaluated speaker for all the status/competence qualities (including the level of education, »grammatical correctness«, and suitability to work as a TV/radio announcer), and also for likeability (namely, pleasantness of speech and the wish to speak like the stimulus speaker), although he was rated only fourth for social attractiveness. What makes it particularly interesting is the fact that the majority of the judges were not even aware that they were evaluating a speaker of the Standard Croatian. Many could not locate the origin of this speaker, and 47% of respondents thought the speaker was coming from Zagreb region. This raises some interesting questions regarding the value of speech recognition in language attitude studies that will be discussed below.

The stimulus speaker from Split, being a linguistic representative of the largest urban setting in the region, and speaking the most influential regional urbanolect, is expectedly rated just slightly below the Standard Croatian speaker. Moreover, the highest rating of this speaker for social attractiveness follows the trends revealed by earlier studies. In earlier language attitudes studies the largest local (or regional) urban variety was evaluated best for social attractiveness, whereas speakers of standard varieties were graded best for the status and/or competence component<sup>16,17</sup>.

Bearing in mind that the town of Korčula is the only (officially) urban settlement on the island, on the basis of earlier findings one could have expected that the speaker from Korčula would be rated best for social attractiveness. Although the third-place rating is not far from the expected, somewhat contradictory is an extremely low

rating this speaker received for likeability (»pleasantness of speech« and the wish to speak alike); only Zagreb speaker fared lower than the one from Korčula. Besides, the overall lowest ranking of the Korčula speaker in terms of competence/status is highly correlated to perceived »ungrammaticality« and low educational level of that speaker. Contrary to the low evaluation of the speaker from Korčula, the speaker from Lumbarda was perceived as superior in status to both Korčula and Blato speaker. At the same time, this speaker was considered the least socially attractive among the three speakers on the island of Korčula. This is particularly notable considering that Lumbarda is the smallest of the three settlements presented by a speaker in this verbal guise test, which implies the obtained results clash with the expected tendency that smaller varieties score better on social attractiveness dimension and much less so on status dimension.

Another unexpected finding is the pronounced inclination of Vela Luka judges to rate all the stimulus speakers (with the exception of Korčula) significantly higher than the judges from Korčula and even more so than those from Blato. Although more positive evaluation of Lumbarda speaker by Vela Luka judges could be assigned to the fact that Vela Luka is located furthest away from Lumbarda, which is why they are less prejudiced than Korčula judges who are, on the other hand, more connected to Lumbarda, and expectedly have stronger stereotypes towards Lumbarda speech. However, due to the tendency noticed among Vela Luka students to assign high values to all stimulus speakers and positively evaluate the varieties spoken by them, the explanations are not always straightforward. While in some cases such choices could easily be accounted for, the lack of exceptions in significantly higher ratings could suggest more a socio-psychological disposition to positive evaluations than some other well-defined motive.

Since the trend detected in our results is completely reversed not only in the case of unexpectedly high evaluation of Lumbarda speaker, but also in the case of the only urban variety on the island, this led us to look for potential motives of such at times surprising tendencies in the evaluation of the speakers. One of the possible ways was to look into the speech recognition variable in order to check whether the judges evaluated what we as researchers thought they evaluated.

An insight into of the relation between stimulus speech recognition and attitudes towards a relevant linguistic variety has been shown to be a potentially interesting gateway to the analysis of language ideologies pervasive in a particular linguistic community. The recognition of the Standard in our study is extremely low (1.9%), even when compared to previously obtained already modest percentage of recognition in bilingual Istria (where 7% correctly identified the Standard as nation-wide variety)<sup>17</sup>. It also differs significantly from other similar studies, like the one carried out by Garrett et al.<sup>1</sup> among teachers and students in Wales, in which over 40% of the sample correctly recognized RP (Received Pronunciation). As identified by the authors of that study the problem might be in the fact that »identifying one speaker's

provenance as »Cardiff« and another's as »RP« are qualitatively different judgments«<sup>1</sup>. While this qualitative difference was a facilitating circumstance in the Welsh study, it proved to make a correct judgment more difficult in Croatia. Despite the fact that in both cases standard varieties are more widespread in the public life, the nature and formation of the two standards is different. This withdraws the fact that different types of judgments are permitted in the two cases. However, relatively consistent patterns detected in the groups of those judges who did not recognize the standard variety (the vast majority of whom thought they were evaluating a speaker from Zagreb), call for modification of the speech recognition question by introducing »standard variety« as one of the possibilities in a multiple choice question. Another difference compared to the Welsh study is a high recognition rate of in-groups observed in our study compared to the Welsh one. Notable was, whatsoever, a tendency to assign higher scores to those speakers one recognizes correctly regardless of the kind of grouping performed in the sample. The highest rate of recognition of Blato and Lumbarda speakers among RI3 judges, for instance, corresponds to this group's highest rating of the two speakers for social attractiveness.

On the basis of the results one can also hypothesise that parental place of birth is not as important as a respondent's place of birth; actually, it seems that in the second generation of immigrants to the island, the need to »fit in« may be more pronounced in RI3 than in RI1 and RI2 groups, and is manifested by covert attitudes and in generally the highest evaluations of local speakers, although this seemingly more democratic disposition could be assigned to the tolerance of difference encountered already at home.

The relation in the perception of the Standard and Zagreb stimulus speakers has been found particularly intriguing in this study. High evaluation of the speaker from Zagreb for competence/status variables (including level of education and »grammatical correctness«), and quite low for social attractiveness and pleasantness would not attract too much attention unless we knew that almost half of the sample (44%) thought this speaker was coming from the mostly rural area of NW Croatia. Moreover, if the Standard speaker was considered by most judges as originating in Zagreb, it comes as little surprise that he was so well perceived on status and lower on social attractiveness, but how come he was perceived by a high 77.7% as suitable to work as a TV/radio announcer.

The consistent significant correlations between overt and covert attitudes obtained in the evaluation of Blato and Standard variety by Blato and Vela Luka students indicates the internalization of both local ideology valuing one's own distinctive and traditional dialect as a form of symbolic capital, and the nationally dominant ideology of the Standard as a source of cultural capital at the national linguistic market. The two varieties clearly fulfil different functions in the social life of a community so that local varieties are assigned higher symbolic value, while the Standard is perceived as having a more instrumental function. This points to the notion of equality of the two varieties and not the superiority of the Standard

norm, as predicted by Bourdieu's theory of linguistic market.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, although the correlation between overt attitudes toward a local (Korčula) variety and the Standard as evaluated by Korčula respondents does imply that positive attitudes towards local and national varieties need not be mutually exclusive, it also reveals a greater ambivalence and potential contradictions between overt and covert attitudes of Korčula respondents. However, in the questionnaire employed in this study, only one question concerning practical (instrumental) value of local varieties was posed, while there were none that refer to the possible affective value of the Standard. Although the conclusion concerning the strict differentiation of the roles played in the lives of speakers and the community as a whole by different varieties is

not unlikely, in order to confirm it a more balanced set of questions for local varieties and the Standard would be needed. Overall, data in this study are highly suggestive of the link of different ideologies and dialect perceptions. The complexity of sometimes contradictory findings clearly indicate how difficult it is to study and predict attitudes even when a number of socio-demographic and linguistic factors are controlled for in the analyses.

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### JEZIČNE IDEOLOGIJE I STAVOVI O JEZIKU NA OTOKU KORČULI

#### SAŽETAK

Budući da je jezik snažan simbol grupne identifikacije, istraživanje stavova o jezičnim varijantama podrazumijeva i stavove o njihovim govornicima. Međutim, kako takvi stavovi nisu često lako dostupni i kriju više dimenzija, uvid u izravne (javne) i neizravne (privatne) ideologije na kojima počivaju može doprinijeti razumijevanju njihova značenja. Ovaj rad analizira javne (svjesne) i prikrivene (nesvjesne) jezične stavove mladih na otoku Korčuli. Analiza se temelji na upitniku o izravnim stavovima ispitanika prema šest lokalnih, regionalnih i nacionalnih idioma te prikrivene stavove prema lokalnim jezičnim varijantama i standardnom hrvatskom jeziku. Dobiveni rezultati potvrđuju neke očekivane tendencije, ali i ukazuju na prisutnost različitih ideologija u izravnim i neizravnim stavovima ispitanika u različitim mjestima otoka Korčule, a provedena analiza stupnja prepoznavanja određenih varijanti pruža dodatne uvide za njihovu interpretaciju.