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# MULTILINGUAL ACADEMIC JOURNAL OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SCIENCES



## Language of Advertising in Bidialectal Settings: Does the Code Matter

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### Abstract

Advertisement has been defined as “a public notice [...] promoting the sales of marketable goods and services” (Vestergaard & Schrøder, 1985:2), it entered the field of linguistics and thus it is recognized as a genre by itself. By incorporating linguistic phenomena like code-mixing, foreign language features etc, advertising becomes an interesting field of study. This paper aims at investigating (a) Greek Cypriots’ attitudes towards the ‘exploitation’ of the Greek Cypriot Dialect, Standard Modern Greek and English in local advertising; (b) the influence of the medium (oral vs. written) presenting the advertisement; (c) the subsequent effects of the stereotype reflected in the product per se (local vs. foreign). The results support earlier studies that showed preference towards the standard variety rather than the dialect (Papapavlou, 1998; Papapavlou & Sophocleous, 2009). Also, the findings bring forth evidence that linguistic varieties without a standardized writing system are mainly accepted in the oral media. On the other hand, the results do not support advertisers’ firm insistence on associating different types of products with different language codes (Pavlou, 1992, 2004). The last findings may be the consequence of former language policies that did not encourage dialect literacy (Cluver, 2000).

**Keywords:** Advertising, Stereotype, Attitudes, Standard Modern Greek, Greek Cypriot Dialect, English.

### Introduction

Since the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus (1960), the linguistic situation of the island has been linked to that of identity. Although official language policy recognises Standard Modern Greek (SMG) as the official language of the Greek-Cypriot community, people never ceased using the Greek Cypriot Dialect (GCD) in their everyday life (Papapavlou & Pavlou, 1998; Karyolemou, 2001; Karoulla-Vrikki, 2007). In addition, the British administration of the island for nearly a hundred years has contributed to the influence of English (ENG) in many domains (Papapavlou, 1997; Goutsos, 2005; McEntee-Atalianis & Pouloukas, 2001; Papapavlou, 2001).

As far as the co-existence of GCD and SMG is concerned, there has been a debate whether Ferguson’s description of diglossia should be applied to this situation (Moschonas, 1996), or that of bidialectism, while other researchers support the non-existence of two distinct varieties

(Karyolemou, 2006). Whatever the case might be, GCD, just like other such cases, has borrowed heavily from many different languages—since its history has been interlinked with that of over ten conquerors (Varella, 2006)—such as Latin, French, Turkish and English (Papapavlou, 1997; McEntee-Atalianis & Pouloukas, 2001). English, as the lingua franca, has influenced many languages worldwide, not only in the form of lexical borrowing, but also, in code-switching and code-mixing (Goutsos 2005). This phenomenon gradually developed stronger and brought feelings of concern about the dominance of English and a perceived loss of the identity of the Greek-Cypriot community (Wardhough, 1992; Papapavlou, 1997; Papapavlou, 2001).

As a consequence of this fascinating linguistic situation, researchers investigated the use of these three codes—i.e. GCD, SMG, ENG—in different domains. Extended research has been conducted within the area of language use and especially in education (Papapavlou, 1994; Papapavlou & Pavlou, 2004; Goutsos, 2005; Yiakoumetti et al. 2006; Ioannidou, 2007; Papapavlou & Kouridou, 2007; Papapavlou & Pavlou, 2007; Pavlou, 2007; Yiakoumetti, 2007). Along with these studies there is a preponderance of research on language attitudes. While the most frequent conclusion is that people are more in favour of the standard variety rather than the dialect (Papapavlou, 1998), what has been recently observed is that negative feelings towards GCD are declining (Tsiplakou, 2003; Themistocleous, 2007) and the positive role of the dialect is being recognised (Papapavlou, 2007). This shift is probably the motivating force behind people's acceptance of more acrolectal features of the dialect (Papapavlou 2001; Tsiplakou et al. 2005; Papapavlou & Sophocleous, 2009). On the other hand, as far as attitudes towards English are concerned, and although there has been an increase in the use of English, GCD and SMG remain unthreatened since they are always an inseparable part of the community's identity (McEntee-Atalianis & Pouloukas, 2001).

Given the above discussion, the present paper focuses on advertising. The most triggering issue about the language of advertising is that while “with other genres we usually know where our loyalties lie; with ads we are just confused” (Cook, 2006: p. 3). Thus, we may argue that attitudes towards the language of advertising become an intriguing topic for further investigation.

### **Advertising and the Field of Linguistics**

At first sight advertising seems to be clearly and solely a component of marketing process, however nobody can deny that advertising is a form of communication. As already mentioned, advertising is not as straightforward as other genres. While it evokes ‘enjoyment’, at the same time, it bears ‘rejection’ (Cook, 2006:3). Without a doubt, as other genres, it aims at achieving a certain purpose: “[...] to persuade people to buy a product [...] amuse, inform, misinform, worry or warn” (10). Whether it aims at promoting products or even promoting identities (Martin, 2006; Piller, 2001), advertising language differs from ordinary language. Most of the times, it is so powerful that manages to enter people's everyday language use (Kelly-Holmes, 2005).

At a purely linguistic level, features appearing in advertisements concern phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics and have been extensively studied by linguists (Bruthiaux, 1996; Cook, 2006; Dyer, 1982; Harris et al. 2002; Tanaka, 1994; Vestergaard & Schrøder, 1985; Wyer, 2002). Nevertheless, linguistics goes even deeper in advertising since we also observe the phenomena of bi- / multilingualism and bi- / multidialectism. These concern the appearance of foreign languages, especially that of English, and nonstandard codes in

advertising. Although existing research on these issues is rather limited (Piller, 2003), researchers have already come up with some interesting conclusions.

### **The use of English in Advertising**

As Kelly-Holmes argues, the use of foreign languages in advertising is 'symbolic' since it is recognised as a way of "constructing identities for the product [...] rather than communicating facts" (2005:65). A general conclusion of the studies drawn on multilingual advertising is that certain languages are associated with certain products cross-culturally. Hence, French attributes fashion and elegance, Spanish is used as a sign of freedom and adventure, German signifies "reliability, precision, and superior technology" and Italian is linked to "good food and a positive attitude toward life" (Piller, 2003:172-3).

As far as English is concerned, it is the most frequent language appearing in multilingual advertising and, although it may be associated with luxury cars or chocolates, the cowboy spirit, youth culture and hip hop rebellion, "internationally, English has become a general symbol of modernity, progress, and globalization" (175). Nevertheless, the role of the lingua franca in multilingual advertisements may be different from that of any other language since it inevitably has "meaning, use and significance, to a large extent, independent of the countries in which it is spoken" (67). Piller adds that even if the recipients do not speak the foreign language used in an advertisement, they will be able to activate the stereotypes about that culture and "transfer them to the product" (2001:163). On the other hand, Piller makes a distinction between ethno-cultural stereotypes which are associated with foreign languages and the social stereotype which is attributed to the 'nonnational language' of English (2003:170). Besides, this unique role of English in advertising around the world has been supported by research within different linguistic settings (Rash, 1996; Chen, 2006; Krishnasamy, 2007; Hornikx et al., 2010; Planken et al., 2010). What is commonly observed is that the majority of people worldwide have positive attitudes towards the use of English in local advertising, which they have 'entrenched' in other domains of life too (Phillipson 1992). What is more is that all these studies foresee further integration of English into the language of advertising in the future which will be "no longer regarded or perceived as 'special'" (Planken et al., 2010:239).

### **The use of Nonstandard Varieties in Advertising**

It is claimed that although at the beginning advertising adopted a formal register, gradually it has come to adopt the characteristics of everyday communication. "Advertising today is expected to speak to people 'in their own language'" (Kelly-Holmes, 2005:107). What is ironic about this perception of modern advertising is that it applies only "to the appearance of the advertising text, not to the way in which the text is put together or how the communication takes place" (108). Such a situation leads us to the conclusion that even if people consider advertising language as equal to everyday language, they do not seem willing to accept the use of 'inferior'—native though—varieties in local advertisements. However, this does not prevent advertisers from making use of the indigenous variety to "create a feeling of community and to associate this with a particular product" (109). This mostly serves a communicative purpose whereas a foreign code is normally used symbolically (Kelly-Holmes, 2005).

Studies on the current issue include Nairobi, Catalonia and Ireland. Mutonya (2008) argues that advertisers in Nairobi use nonstandard forms to appeal to a greater number of audiences and

increase sales, but, also, to portray the contemporary identity of the community and address taboo topics. On the other hand, Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes (2006) find the standard (Castilian) to be used in print advertisements as a 'globalising' language and to show modernity. In contrast, the nonstandard variety (Catalan) seems to stand as a means of establishing either solidarity between the sender and the recipient, or, "local and often 'traditional' associations" between the product and language (255). The view is shared by Kelly-Holmes (2005) in the case of Ireland. It is claimed that the indigenous language 'adds colour' or a sense of 'Irishness', especially in advertising food, music and publishing, "with the serious business of advertising information being left to the dominant language" (139).

### **Advertising in the Greek-Cypriot Community**

The birth of advertising in Cyprus was marked by the emergence of political and economic changes that constituted a milestone in Cypriots' life. In particular, when the British took over the administration of Cyprus from the Turks in 1878, hope for financial prosperity was cultivated among the population. It was then that the colonizers permitted the publication of the first Cypriot newspaper CYPRUS which included the first commercial advertisements. At that time, these 'announcements' were promoting luxury products addressing rich and educated people; educated because the text was written in puristic Greek ("katharevousa"). However, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the archaic forms started gradually becoming simplified and, thus, addressing a wider range of audience. From the 1920s, we have the gradual introduction of Demotic Greek which finally becomes the language of literary texts in the 1960s. Nonetheless, during this linguistic transition, Cypriot dialect features have been observed in advertisements of as early as 1912, in order to create a satirical effect (Sophocleous, 2004).

The satirical as well as the comic use of the dialect still exists nowadays, even though research on the language of advertising within the Greek-Cypriot community is limited. Concerning the language of the media in general, Karyolemou (1994) investigated Greek Cypriots' language attitudes towards the codes (GCD and SMG) as they are expressed through the media. With a similar purpose, Pavlou (2004) engaged with language attitudes towards the use of GCD in the media, making an effort to substantiate how advertising language promotes the further use of the dialect.

Additionally, two other studies (Pavlou, 1992, 2001) have been specifically concerned with the language used in Greek-Cypriot advertising. The first one aimed at investigating dialect use in radio commercials of CyBC (Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation) during a ten-year period. The researcher has found that GCD is—successfully—used not only to create humorous effects, but also, to promote traditional food (eg. baklava), local products competing similar imported ones (eg. clothes) and products associated with the maintenance of traditional values (eg. a house that is considered as part of a daughter's dowry). The reason why the dialect is preferred rather than the standard in advertising such products is the need to associate these products with a certain 'native' lifestyle (Pavlou, 1992, 2004).

Moreover, Pavlou (2001) investigates not only the appearance of GCD in radio commercials, but further investigates the appearance of foreign language elements and how language choice in advertising functions as a 'carrier' of a desired Cypriot character. Based on the view that advertising serves as a powerful sociopolitical tool used to promote values and identities, Pavlou (2001) concluded that advertising promotes a kind of bourgeois society, since

products reflecting such lifestyle are advertised through the use of SMG and the introduction of foreign language elements. By contrast, the dialect is used to address the masses, promoting a traditional way of life.

In summing up, from the above-mentioned research, one realises that further investigation is essential. While previous efforts have examined the use of local and foreign varieties in advertising, none of these studies have focused on people’s view of the appearance of GCD, SMG and English features. Specifically, the aim of the current study is to investigate: a) Greek Cypriots’ reactions to the use of the three codes in advertisements, b) the nature of the product and c) the medium of presentation, and thus, provide answers to the following questions:

Do Greek Cypriots have positive attitudes towards the appearance of GCD, SMG and English in advertising? Do gender and age play a significant role?

Does the stereotypical nature of a product (traditional vs. foreign culture-specific value) affect Greek Cypriots’ attitudes?

Does the medium (oral vs. written) used to present an advertisement influence Greek Cypriots’ attitudes?

**The Study**

**Participants**

A total of 65 Greek-Cypriot adults (31 males and 34 females) between the ages of 19 and 46 participated in the main study. The participants were selected in a random way from middle-class families, living in both urban and rural areas of Cyprus.

**Questionnaire**

A two-part questionnaire was designed for the purposes of this study. The questionnaire consisted of four closed questions. In Part A, participants provided some personal information, and in Part B they were asked to answer questions related to advertisements specifically designed by the experimenters. The language selected for the GCD advertisements is closer to what is considered as ‘correct Cypriot’ (Tsiplakou et al. 2005), since the selection of a basilectal ‘heavier’ level (χωρκάτικα) might have triggered negative feelings. For Part B, the participants were asked to study the three categories of advertisements and then answer three questions for each one (see Table 1).

*Table 1. Features of self-made advertisement (Part B)*

CATEGORY I STEAKHOUSE		CATEGORY II ZIVANA			CATEGORY III CLOTHING		
SMG	SMG	SMG	SMG	SMG	SMG	SMG	SMG
	with	with	with	SMG	with	with	with
	English	GCD	English	GCD	GCD	SMG	English
	features	features	features	features	features		features

The selection of the products was based on their familiar/accustomed nature in the Cypriot setting: the steakhouse signifies luxury and otherness/foreignness, zivana - a regional drinking

spirit - is associated with local festive tradition and casual clothing is normally considered as neutral (no loyalty is attached).

The first two questions (Part B) studied attitudes towards the three codes, while, at the same time, they would reveal any influence by the nature of the product through the comparison of the results of each category. Participants were instructed to evaluate the three advertisements of each category by ranking them (numbering 1, 2, 3 from high to low). In Question 1, they were asked to evaluate the advertising text in terms of eight criteria in the areas of aesthetics, vocabulary and target audience. Similarly, in Question 2, they were asked to evaluate the advertised product in terms of five criteria of quality, price and target audience. Then, Question 3 attempted to find out whether people’s views of the codes are affected by the mode of communication—oral or written. This could be achieved through categorization of the advertisements. That is, whether they should be presented in oral media (radio, TV etc) or written media (magazine, newspaper, leaflet etc).

Finally, Part C instructed participants to rank (1, 2, 3 from high to low) three proposed advertising texts for each of the four given products. This was done in order to study attitudes towards GCD, SMG and English and detect possible influence by the stereotype generated by the product. (Details about these advertisements are found in Table 2).

**Table 2. Features of self-made advertisement (Part C)**

CYPRIOT TAVERN		CHAMPAGNE		FORMAL CLOTHING		ENGLISH BOOKSHOP	
GCD	English	GCD	English	GCD	English	GCD	English
SMG with features	SMG with features	SMG with features	SMG with features	SMG with features	SMG with features	SMG with features	SMG with features
SMG	SMG	SMG	SMG	SMG	SMG	SMG	SMG

The instrument was piloted by asking five people to complete it and make suggestions about clarity and naturalness of the language used in the advertisements. Then, the questionnaire was distributed in person to participants, accompanied by an introductory letter informing them about the general purpose of the study (see Appendix A for the questionnaire).

**Analysis**

The responses of the participants to the questions constitute rankings of different options. As such, they cannot be analyzed using the usual parametric models which involve means and standard deviations because these statistics can only be computed for ratio or interval datasets. Therefore, although some of the tables present aggregated data (i.e. averages/means), non-parametric models have been used in order to study more formally our research questions. Ordinal regressions were used to analyze the data because ordinal regressions can accommodate the rank order nature of the data.

The results are presented in tables where the coefficients are illustrated as well as their standard errors. The categorical variables were included in the model in the form of dummy variables where one category

stays out of the model and all other categories are compared to that category (also called ‘reference category’). For the language, the reference category was ENG. For the products, the reference category was Clothes. For the Gender, the reference category was Male.

**The Results**

The data collected were coded and analysed statistically. Each of the following four subsections corresponds to each of the four questions included in the questionnaire. For Questions 1, 2 and 4, mean values were initially calculated and are presented in tables and bar charts below. In both cases, 1 corresponds to the most preferred item and 3 the last preference. This indicates that the lower the mean value is, the higher the quality (eg. attractiveness, familiarity, suitability). However, as explained above, because of the ordinal nature of the data (i.e. rankings from 1 to 3), a decision was taken not to model the data using inferential statistics with the assumption of an interval dependent variable. Rather, an ordinal regression model was used to investigate whether the product (i.e. zivana, steakhouse and clothing), the language (i.e. SMG, GCD and ENG), gender (male/female) and age (in years) affected the ratings granted by the participants. For the purposes of this model, the rankings were recoded so that 1 means ‘less preferable’ and 3 means ‘more preferable’. The results of Question 3 are presented in percentages and are shown in figures. Overall, for ease of presentation, the numerical values of all results appear with two decimal digits.

**Evaluation of Advertising Texts**

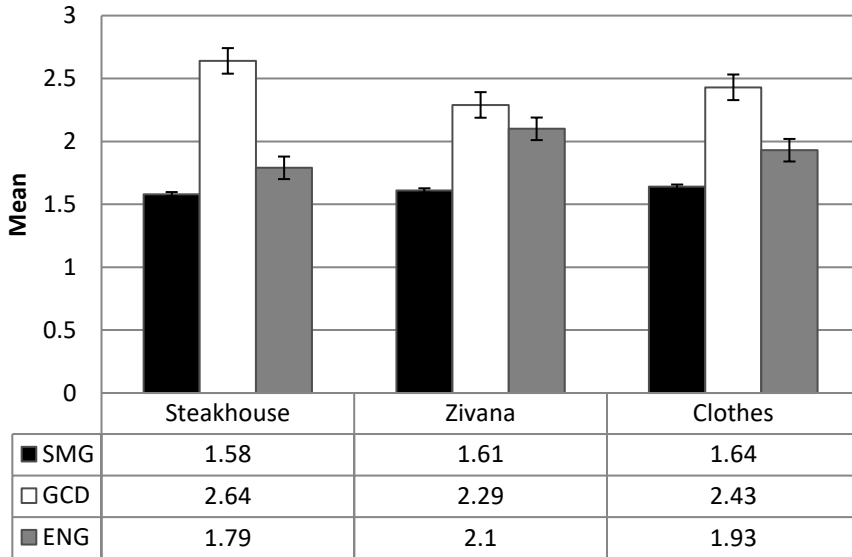
The first question of the questionnaire asked participants to express their preference of the advertising texts in each category comparatively and rank them based on criteria such as aesthetics, vocabulary and target audience. The mean values are presented in Table 3.

*Table 3. Mean evaluation of advertising texts (Question 1)*

	STEAKHOUSE			ZIVANA			CLOTHES		
	SMG	ENG	GCD	ENG	SMG	GCD	GCD	SMG	ENG
<b>AESTHETICS</b>									
<i>Pleasant</i>	1,69	1,91	2,40	2,32	1,74	1,94	2,05	1,89	2,06
<i>Modern</i>	1,72	1,54	2,74	1,51	1,84	2,66	2,60	1,71	1,69
<i>Attractive</i>	1,55	1,78	2,66	2,29	1,51	2,20	2,48	1,63	1,89
<b>VOCABULARY</b>									
<i>Suitable</i>	1,28	1,91	2,82	2,34	1,34	2,32	2,54	1,43	2,03
<i>Functional</i>	1,40	1,88	2,72	2,23	1,55	2,22	2,52	1,46	2,02
<i>Familiar</i>	1,94	2,03	2,03	2,51	1,75	1,74	2,12	1,74	2,14
<b>TARGET AUDIENCE</b>									
<i>High</i>	1,60	1,57	2,83	1,83	1,57	2,60	2,52	1,68	1,80
<i>High</i>	1,46	1,66	2,88	1,78	1,57	2,65	2,63	1,55	1,82

The mean values of each code for each product are presented in Figure 1.





**Figure 1.** Mean evaluation of GCD, SMG and English for different products (Question 1). Error bars show SE.

The results of the ordinal regression model are demonstrated in Table 4 below. The dependent variable of the model is the ratings that were awarded by the respondents to each one of the three categories. The variables Age, Gender, Language and Product were used as fixed effects in the model. The coefficients of the model show how the probability of a respondent to award rankings 1, 2 or 3 is affected by the explanatory variables (more explanations are given below).

**Table 4. Ordinal regression model (Question 1)**

Categories	$\beta$	S.E. $\beta$	Wald's Z	p
Rating $\geq 2$	0.93	0.097	9.58	<0.001
Rating $\geq 3$	-0.75	0.097	-7.73	<0.001
Gender (Female)	0.13	0.092	1.43	0.152
Language (GCD)	-0.93	0.141	-6.63	<0.001
Language (SMG)	0.61	0.135	4.47	<0.001
Product (Steakhouse)	0.30	0.111	2.67	0.008
Product (Zivana)	-0.40	0.114	-3.50	<0.001
Lang. by Prod. GCD by Steakhouse	-1.06	0.177	-5.96	<0.001
Lang. by Prod. SMG by Steakhouse	-0.15	0.162	-0.89	<0.001
Lang. by Prod. GCD by Zivana	0.79	0.169	4.69	<0.001
Lang. by Prod. SMG by Zivana	0.47	0.164	2.88	0.004
Gender by Lang. Female by GCD	-0.77	0.142	-5.46	<0.001
Gender by Lang. Female by SMG	0.20	0.133	1.52	0.127

Through a backwards deletion method, it was observed that the variable Age did not have a significant contribution to the model, so it was removed. We allowed for an interaction between the variables Gender and Language. Gender, Language and Product were used as dummy variables, where female was compared to male, ENG was compared to GCD and SMG and clothing was compared to steakhouse and zivana.

A general observation obtained from all types of analyses is that for all three products, SMG is the most preferred code, whereas GCD is the one with the least preference. However, differences are detected in the deviation between the codes' values between products and in terms of gender.

The model (ordinal regression model) of Table 4 investigated the probability of a respondent to award a score of 2 rather than a score of 1 (this is indicated by Rating  $\geq 1$ ) and a score of 3 rather than a score of 2 (this is indicated by Rating  $\geq 2$ ). Table 4 above suggests the following. For the main effects, because of the negative sign of the coefficient of GCD (-0.93), it is inferred that the respondents were significantly more likely to show lower preference towards GCD compared to ENG (i.e. they were more likely to give a lower rather than a higher rating to questions displaying ENG compared to questions displaying GCD). Moreover, because of the positive sign of the coefficient of SMG (0.61), it is inferred that the respondents were significantly more likely to show

higher preference towards SMG compared to ENG. Also, because of the non-significant coefficient of the Gender variable (0.152), it is inferred that there are no overall patterns of males awarding higher scores than females.

However, for the interactions Gender-Language and Product-Language, because of the negative sign of the coefficient of the interaction for the steakhouse and GCD (-1.06), it is inferred that the respondents were significantly more likely to show higher preference towards ENG (no significant difference was observed between ENG and SMG). Furthermore, because of the positive sign of the coefficients of the interaction for zivana and GCD, and SMG, (0.79 and 0.47 respectively), it is deduced that the respondents were significantly more likely to show higher preference towards SMG and GCD compared to ENG for that product (although the general/overall observation that the respondents showed a preference towards ENG still holds). Finally, because of the negative sign of the coefficient of the interaction for Gender and GCD (-0.77), it is concluded that female respondents were significantly more likely to show (even more) lower preference towards GCD compared to ENG.

At last, it is worth mentioning that GCD is found to be the most pleasant and familiar code in the advertisement of zivana. English is considered as the least pleasant, attractive, suitable and functional, too. Also, English is reported to be the least familiar code, but, the most modern one in advertising zivana and clothing (Table 3).

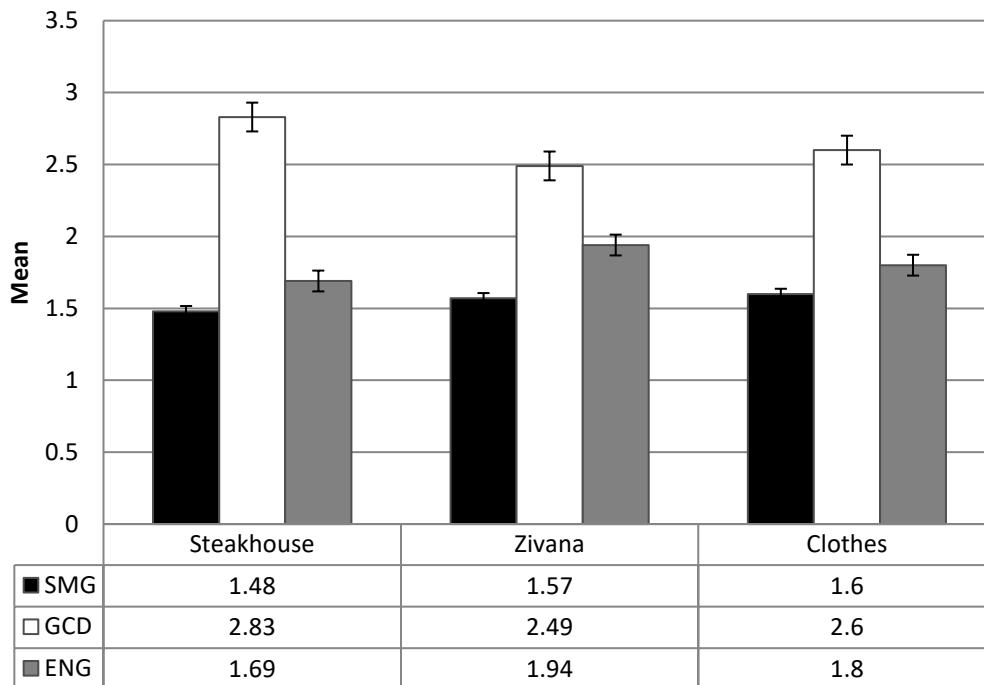
**Evaluation of Advertised Products**

The same analysis was followed for Question 2, where the participants show their preference of the advertised products of the same advertisements of each category and rank them in the same way, but, based on criteria of quality, price and target audience. The results of the second question are recorded below allowing for similar inferences to those of Question 1 (Table 5).

*Table 5. Mean evaluation of advertised products (Question 2)*

	STEAKHOUSE			ZIVANA			CLOTHES		
	SMG	ENG	GCD	ENG	SMG	GCD	GCD	SMG	ENG
<b>QUALITY</b>									
High	1,29	1,77	2,94	2,20	1,48	2,34	2,65	1,49	1,86
Reliable	1,29	1,88	2,82	2,20	1,57	2,22	2,51	1,46	2,03
<b>PRICE</b>									
Expensive product	1,69	1,52	2,78	1,66	1,66	2,68	2,57	1,77	1,66
<b>TARGET AUDIENCE</b>									
High economic status	1,63	1,62	2,75	1,80	1,55	2,65	2,58	1,72	1,69
High educational status	1,48	1,68	2,85	1,83	1,60	2,57	2,68	1,57	1,75

The mean values of each code for each product are given in Figure 2.



**Figure 2.** Mean evaluation of GCD, SMG and English for different products (Question 2).  
Error bars show SE.

The results of the ordinal regression model are demonstrated in Table 6 below.

**Table 6. Ordinal regression model (Question 2)**

Categories	$\beta$	S.E. $\beta$	Wald's Z	p
Rating $\geq 2$	1.416	0.13	10.90	<0.001
Rating $\geq 3$	-0.516	0.13	-4.10	<0.001
Gender (Female)	0.120	0.12	1.01	0.314
Language (GCD)	-1.786	0.19	-9.61	<0.001
Language (SMG)	0.509	0.18	2.89	0.004
Product (Steakhouse)	0.195	0.14	1.35	0.178
Product (Zivana)	-0.350	0.15	-2.34	0.019
Lang. by Prod. GCD by Steakhouse	-1.577	0.26	-6.13	<0.001
Lang. by Prod. SMG by Steakhouse	0.066	0.21	0.31	0.753
Lang. by Prod. GCD by Zivana	0.600	0.22	2.71	0.007
Lang. by Prod. SMG by Zivana	0.368	0.21	1.73	0.083
Gender by Lang. Female by GCD	-0.733	0.19	-3.83	<0.001
Gender by Lang. Female by SMG	0.078	0.17	0.46	0.649

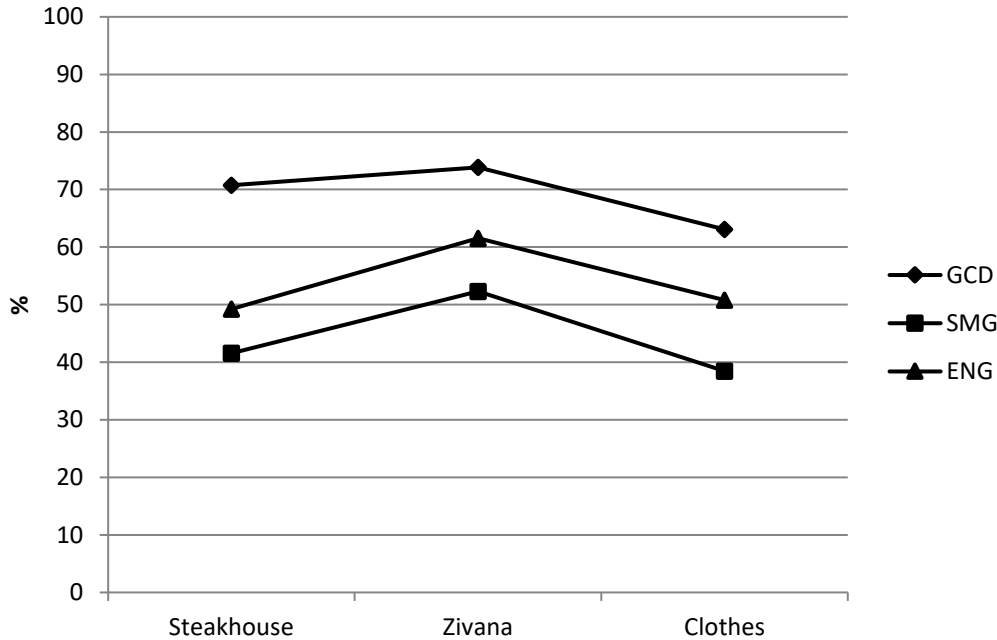
The analysis of the data obtained from the second question draws a similar picture to that of the first question. The results of Table 6 are interpreted in the same way as the results of Table 4. SMG (0.509) is the most preferred code, ENG comes second and GCD (-1.786) is the least preferred one. Age did not play a significant role in the ordering of codes as they are preferred by the participants. Neither gender differences were observed (0.314), although due to the negative coefficient of the interaction for Gender and GCD (-0.733), it is inferred (as in Question 1) that female respondents were significantly more likely to show lower preference towards GCD compared to ENG.

Regarding the interaction of steakhouse and GCD (-1.577), it is inferred that the respondents were significantly more likely to show higher preference towards ENG (no significant difference was observed between ENG and SMG). On the other hand, because of the positive sign of the coefficients of the interaction for zivana and GCD, and SMG, (0.600 and 0.368 respectively), it is inferred that the respondents were significantly more likely to show higher preference towards SMG and GCD compared to ENG. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that English corresponds to the most expensive product and to a high economic status as far as clothing and steakhouse are concerned. In advertising zivana, English and SMG are thought to correspond to equally expensive products.

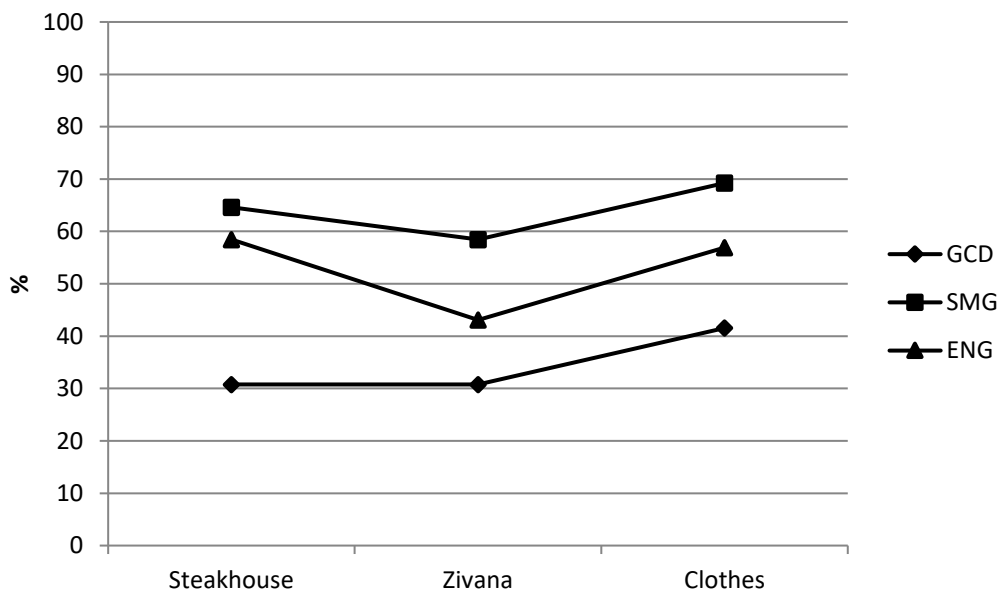
### The Influence of the Medium

Further on, Question 3 instructed the participants to categorise the advertisements according to which kind of media is most suitable for each of them to appear in. The first category included

oral media (e.g. radio or TV) and the second category concerned written media (e.g. magazine, newspaper or leaflet). Participants could write the number of the advertisements in both categories, if they regarded them suitable for both kinds. The results are presented in Figures 3 and 4.



**Figure 3.** Advertisements/Codes suitable for oral media (Question 3)



**Figure 4.** Advertisements/Codes suitable for written media (Question 3)

The initial conclusion drawn from the figures is that GCD is perceived to be more suitable for oral media while SMG is the least suitable variety, with the advertisement of zivana in SMG being the only exception. On the other hand, the opposite happens with

written media. SMG occupies the first position, whereas GCD comes at the bottom of the figure. At last, English appears in the middle position of both figures.

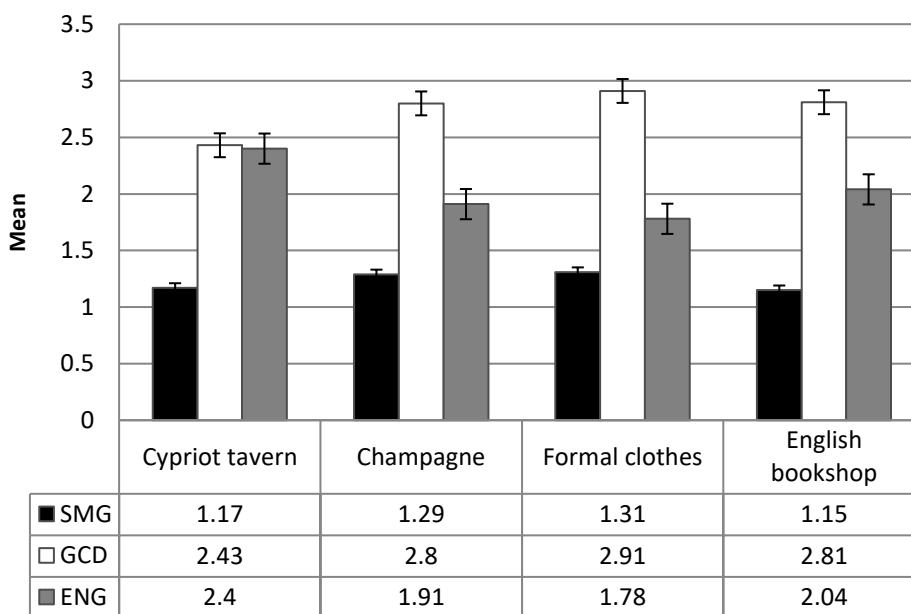
### Suitability of the Code Used

Finally, for the last question, the participants were asked to rank three advertising texts of four products, according to which they believe to be the most suitable for each product. The results of this question are presented in Figure 5.

The results show that GCD is regarded as the least suitable code for all products with the highest suitability being observed in the advertisement of Cypriot tavern and the least one in that of formal clothing. Once again, SMG is the code mostly preferred, especially for promoting the English bookshop and then the Cypriot tavern. Similarly, English still occupies the middle place with the least suitability being found in the advertisement of the Cypriot tavern. The English bookshop, champagne and formal clothing follow from the least suitable to the most suitable one, respectively. Hence, an attempt will be made at this point to interpret the obtained results and examine whether the questions posited earlier receive any support.

### Discussion and Conclusions

Bi-/multilingual and bi-/multidialectal settings have always been a challenge to linguists due to their linguistic wealth which can bring about notable conclusions. Such settings, in combination with equally intriguing domains of language use, attract experts in language studies. This landscape has provided the impetus for the present study



**Figure 5.** Mean value of GCD, SMG and English for different products (Question 4). Error bars show SE.

which focuses on advertising in the Greek-Cypriot community. Although researchers have already investigated Greek Cypriots' language attitudes, not much can be found on the language of advertising. Based on recent literature which shows that Greek Cypriots are holding a more

favourable attitude towards the dialect (Tsiplakou, 2003; Themistocleous, 2007), one may surmise that the same is happening in advertising, especially with products reflecting local culture and traditions. Similarly, it is expected that people will prefer advertisements of foreign products and luxury items to appear in English. Hence, the proposed questions will be addressed:

Do Greek Cypriots have positive attitudes towards the appearance of GCD, SMG and English in advertising? Do gender and age play any role?

From the results obtained from Questions 1, 2 and 4, which measure attitudes towards GCD, SMG and English, it can be concluded that Greek Cypriots have more positive attitudes towards SMG. English is the second preferred code in advertising, whereas the local dialect comes last (Figures 1, 2 and 5). Deviations from this pattern were found in some products of Questions 1 and 2, for some traits. However, none of them affects the above ordering of the codes. These cases will be referred to in the following section.

People's preference of SMG supports earlier studies that show greater favourability towards the standard variety rather than the dialect (Karyolemou, 1994; Papapavlou, 1998; Papapavlou, 2007; Papapavlou & Sophocleous, 2009). This phenomenon is rather universal, since investigations of different languages have shown that in many linguistic settings around the world people have more favourable views on the standard variety (Kalmar et al., 1987; Bettoni & Gibbons, 1988; Luhman, 1990; Adegbija, 1994; Beckford Wassink, 1999; Cluver, 2000; Broermann, 2007).

The findings showing that Greek Cypriots prefer English rather than the dialect raise several concerns. A possible explanation is that the dialect does not have an expected standardized writing system and it is mainly used for oral communication. However, it needs to be pointed out that written Cypriot Greek can be found in published Cypriot literature, folkloric poetry, comic strips, satirical commentaries in daily press, and among internet users in blogs and social networks. Another possible explanation of greater favourability of English over GCD is that it is considered more prestigious, as it is highly used in professional domains (McEntee-Atalianis & Pouloukas, 2001). Such a situation may be due to such factors as globalization and technological development where access is achieved through the lingua franca.

As for the factors affecting the relationship between language and attitudes in advertising, age does not appear to play a significant role whereas gender does. The general pattern showed that Greek Cypriots, regardless of gender, prefer SMG over GCD and ENG. But, women are likely to appear in less favour of GCD than men. This is not surprising since other studies (Trudgill, 1972; Trudgill, 1983; Romaine, 2003) have shown that women in general are more prone to use 'prestigious' types of language. As clarified by Romaine (2003), "[...] women, regardless of other social characteristics such as class, age, etc., tend[ed] to use more standard forms than men" (101).

Does the stereotypical nature of a product (eg. traditional or foreign culture-specific value) affect Greek Cypriots' attitudes?

The stereotypical nature or value reflected in the advertised product does not seem to constitute an important factor in the formation of people's linguistic views (Questions 1, 2 and 4). Nevertheless, minor stereotype influence is observed.

In the case of the foreign and luxurious product (steakhouse), people consider English as the most modern code, advertising the most expensive product. Moreover, in the case of a product which is of Cypriot origin and tradition (like zivana), GCD appears to be more acceptable than a foreign



variety and it is perceived the most familiar kind of language. Similarly, in Question 4, GCD is more acceptable for the Cypriot tavern than any other product. As stated earlier, English carries the label of the most modern in advertising zivana, but, the least pleasant, attractive, suitable and familiar code. This can serve as a counterbalance to the expressed concern of dominance of English since it remains a foreign element within the community. Finally, as far as the last product (clothing) is concerned, there is nothing inherent in its nature that could compel people's view towards a certain direction.

*Does the medium (oral or written) used to present the advertisements influence Greek Cypriots' attitudes?*

From the answers to Question 3 of the questionnaire, we detect influence of the medium of presentation on people's view of the advertising language. The written mode is more preferable for SMG and, then, English. GCD is the last favoured code for written media, but, it is the first appearing in oral presentation. What has more likely driven people to such a categorization is the fact that GCD is the only one of the three codes that does not have a unified and an accepted writing system; therefore, it remains visually less familiar when it appears in written form. An alternative explanation is that writing is a more formal kind of communication—where people are expected to use SMG—whereas orality is more associated with casualness and everyday life—where people normally use GCD (Papapavlou & Pavlou, 1998). Additionally, English can be found in written advertisements, but, not as often as SMG.

People's support for English more than SMG in oral media is rather interesting. This can stand as an indication of an already existing situation where the usage of SMG is considered by linguists as being inadequate. Although SMG is the official language of the state, when Greek Cypriots attempt to speak SMG, they end up with a mixture called "Cypriot Standard Greek" (Arvaniti, 2006; Karyolemou, 2006). As for the importance of English in Cyprus, Goutsos (2005) has claimed that it is related to certain social contexts. However, "shar[ing] a common understanding of their national linguistic identity, cultural heritage and language preferences", people do not allow foreign elements to weaken it (McEntee-Atalianis & Pouloukas, 2001:35). On the other hand, the present findings are a sign that English influence is constantly increasing, changing people's linguistic preferences.

In summing up, it can be concluded that while advertisers appear to support that the nature of a product requires a certain linguistic code which is best for promoting it, recipients themselves do not seem to completely share this view (Kelly-Holmes 2005). Similarly, Greek Cypriots are not absolutely negative in the use of GCD in advertising local products, but they still prefer SMG like in all other domains of life (Karyolemou, 1994; Papapavlou, 1998; Papapavlou, 2007; Papapavlou & Sophocleous, 2009). This trend is more firm in the case of written media, where SMG is the most acceptable code, by contrast to GCD which is preferred for oral communication. However, the nature of the study led to the choice of presenting the particular advertisements in writing (not orally); this may have had an impact on the obtained results.

As we may all agree, public domains such as mass communication serve as carriers of values and ideologies which, in some way, are passed to people (Pavlou, 2001). The fact that the policy has always been trying to restrict the use of the dialect in the domestic sphere has cultivated negative views of the dialect into the speakers' minds. Even the gradual use of it in promoting (only) local products is an indication of its limited use, instead of encouraging people to appreciate it. As Cluver (2000) argues:

“Negative language attitudes are, in some cases, the result of the accrual of various negative impressions of the language over several generations. It seems relatively easy to consciously change passive positive attitudes towards a language into strong nationalistic feelings. Achieving the opposite, namely changing negative attitudes into positive ones, is not always so easy” (95). At last, the results of the study indicate minor shift in how Greek Cypriots see the appearance of their dialect in advertisements (it is increasingly more accepted). This, along with recent modifications (introduced in 2010) in the school curriculum and language policy that encourage dialect use, one may expect changes in language attitudes in the near future and the gradual inclusion of dialect use in all domains of life. Continued research in this area is of paramount importance as it unravels and brings to surface those factors (prejudices, stereotypes, social intolerance, etc.) that impede the linguistic vitality of dialects and non-standard languages.

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## Appendix A (Questionnaire)

### Ερωτηματολόγιο Οι Προτιμήσεις των Κυπρίων Απέναντι στα Διαφημιστικά Κείμενα

Αγαπητοί Συμμετέχοντες,  
αυτή η μελέτη έχει ως στόχο την εξερεύνηση των προτιμήσεων των Κυπρίων απέναντι σε διαφημιστικά κείμενα διαφόρων προϊόντων, όπως αυτά εμφανίστηκαν ή θα εμφανιστούν σε διάφορα Μέσα Μαζικής Επικοινωνίας (τηλεόραση, ραδιόφωνο, τύπος κτλ). Για την εκπλήρωση του στόχου αυτού, η συμβολή σας είναι απαραίτητη. Θα είμαστε ευγνώμονες, λοιπόν, αν μπορούσατε να συμπληρώσετε αυτό το ανώνυμο ερωτηματολόγιο με μεγάλη προσοχή και ειλικρίνεια, μιας και οι πληροφορίες που θα μας δώσετε θα είναι καθοριστικές για αυτή την έρευνα, αλλά και για άλλες μελλοντικές έρευνες, τόσο για εμάς όσο και για άλλους ερευνητές. Για σκοπούς της έρευνας, τα διαφημιστικά δεν παρουσιάζονται ακριβώς όπως εμφανίζονται στα ΜΜΕ.

Σας ευχαριστούμε εκ των προτέρων για τη συμμετοχή σας στην έρευνα, που θα εμπλουτίσει τόσο τον τομέα της γλωσσολογίας όσο και της διαφήμισης.

A. Παπαπαύλου και Μ. Σατράκη, Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου

#### Οδηγίες

Το ερωτηματολόγιο αποτελείται από τρία μέρη. Αφού συμπληρώσετε τα προσωπικά στοιχεία που ζητούνται, παρακαλούμε όπως μελετήσετε προσεκτικά τις διαφημίσεις και να απαντήσετε τις ερωτήσεις που ακολουθούν.

**ΜΕΡΟΣ Α**

**ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ**

Φύλο: .....

Ηλικία: .....

Τόπος διαμονής: .....

**ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ Ι**

**α**

**JACK'S steakhouse**

Για 'σας που το φαγητό είναι απόλαυση και που πάντα ζητάτε τις πιο ξεχωριστές γεύσεις. Εκλεπτισμένα πιάτα, φτιαγμένα με υλικά άριστης ποιότητας και επιμελημένα από κορυφαίους μάγειρες.



**β**

**STEVEN'S steakhouse**

Αν δεν αρκείστε στο fast food και είστε λάτρης της gourmet κουζίνας, το Steven's steakhouse είναι εδώ για 'σας. Γεύματα από τα χέρια καταξιωμένων chef που μπορείτε να απολαύσετε σε μια chic ατμόσφαιρα.



**γ**

**KEN'S steakhouse**

Για πολυτέλεια τζαι καλό φαίν ελάτε τζαι 'σεις στο Ken's. Σερβίρουμε φαγητά από την διεθνή κουζίνα που ικανοποιούν όλα τα γούστα. Ken's steakhouse για γεμάτα στομάχια που δεν σκέφτονται...την πούγκαν τους.



**ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ ΙΙ**

**α**

**Ζιβάνα ΧΟΛΕΤΡΙΑ**

Cypriot spirit only by ΧΟΛΕΤΡΙΑ. Η προτίμηση των προγόνων μας είναι και δική μας. Αφού πέρασε τόσα tests μπορούμε να την χρησιμοποιούμε άφοβα και για τα δικά μας parties.



**β**

Ντόπια ζιβάνα μόνο από τις ΤΡΕΙΣ ΕΛΙΕΣ. Εμπνευσμένη από την παράδοση της Κύπρου και σαν κληρονομιά από τους προγόνους μας.






**γ**

Το ποτόν των παππούων μας που επέρασεν που γενιά σε γενιάν. ΠΑΛΙΟΜΥΛΟΣ γιατί τούτον μας εμάθαν οι παππούες μας τζαι τούτον ακολουθούμεν!



**ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ III**

<b>α</b>	<b>β</b>	<b>γ</b>
<b>Κατάστημα ΟΛΑ ΣΕ ΕΝΑ</b>	<b>Κατάστημα ΓΙΑ ΣΕΝΑ</b>	<b>Κατάστημα ΦΟΥΣΤΑ-ΠΑΝΤΕΛΟΝΙ</b>
<p>Για τη μάμμα, τον παπάν, την κόρην τζαι το γιόν!                  Στο κατάστημα μας μπορείτε να ντύσετε όλη την οικογένεια. Τζαι μεν έσιετε έννοιαν που θα πάτε: Δουλειά; Σπίτι; Έξοδο; Εμείς αναλαμβάνουμε για όλα!</p>	<p>Ρούχα για τον άνδρα, τη γυναίκα, το παιδί.                  Ρούχα για να φορέσεις οποιαδήποτε στιγμή της ζωής σου: στο γραφείο, στο πάρκο, για καφέ.                  Ρούχα που μπορείς να αγοράσεις ακόμα και σε περίοδο οικονομικής κρίσης.</p>	<p>Φούστες, jeans, υποκάμισα, T-shirts σε όλα τα sizes. Γεμίστε το trolley σας άφοβα. Enjoy your shopping!                  Ελάτε στο κατάστημα μας για να φροντίσουμε όλη την οικογένεια σας ντύνοντας τη με τα πιο cool ρούχα.</p>
		

**ΜΕΡΟΣ Β**

Τα παραπάνω διαφημιστικά έχουν χωριστεί σε τρεις κατηγορίες (I, II και III). Η κάθε κατηγορία αποτελείται από τρία διαφημιστικά (α, β και γ).

- Αξιολογείστε τα τρία διαφημιστικά κείμενα (α, β, γ) της κάθε κατηγορίας (I, II, III) *μεταξύ τους*, με βάση τα πιο κάτω κριτήρια. Βάλτε σε σειρά προτίμησης, χρησιμοποιώντας την κλίμακα 1, 2, 3 (1 αντιπροσωπεύει το πρώτο της κατηγορίας για το αντίστοιχο κριτήριο, ενώ 3 αντιπροσωπεύει το τελευταίο).

	ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ I			ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ II			ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ III		
	α	β	γ	α	β	γ	α	β	γ
<b>ΑΙΣΘΗΤΙΚΗ</b>									
Ευχάριστο									
Μοντέρνο									
Ελκυστικό									
<b>ΛΕΞΙΛΟΓΙΟ</b>									
Κατάλληλο									
Λειτουργικό									
Οικείο									
<b>ΚΟΙΝΟ ΤΟ ΟΠΟΙΟ ΣΤΟΧΕΥΕΙ</b>									
Υψηλό οικονομικό επίπεδο									
Υψηλό μορφωτικό επίπεδο									



2. Αξιολογείστε τα τρία διαφημιζόμενα προϊόντα (α, β, γ) της κάθε κατηγορίας (I, II, III) μεταξύ τους, με βάση τα πιο κάτω κριτήρια. Βάλτε σε σειρά προτίμησης, χρησιμοποιώντας την κλίμακα 1, 2, 3 (1 αντιπροσωπεύει το πρώτο της κατηγορίας για το αντίστοιχο κριτήριο, ενώ 3 αντιπροσωπεύει το τελευταίο).

	ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ I			ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ II			ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ III		
	α	β	γ	α	β	γ	α	β	γ
<b>ΠΟΙΟΤΗΤΑ</b>									
Υψηλή									
Αξιόπιστη									
<b>ΤΙΜΗ</b>									
Ακριβό προϊόν									
<b>ΚΟΙΝΟ ΤΟ ΟΠΟΙΟ ΣΤΟΧΕΥΕΙ</b>									
Υψηλό οικονομικό επίπεδο									
Υψηλό μορφωτικό επίπεδο									

3. Σε ποιο μέσο μαζικής επικοινωνίας θεωρείτε ότι πρέπει να προβάλλονται κάθε ένα από τα παραπάνω διαφημιστικά μηνύματα; Γράψτε τον αριθμό του κάθε διαφημιστικού (Iα, Iβ, Iγ, IIα, IIβ, IIγ, IIIα, IIIβ, IIIγ) σε όποια από τις παρακάτω κατηγορίες θεωρείται ότι είναι πιο κατάλληλη.

Λεκτικά (π.χ. ραδιόφωνο, τηλεόραση)	Γραπτά (π.χ. περιοδικό, εφημερίδα, φυλλάδα)

## ΜΕΡΟΣ Γ

4. Ποιό από τα παρακάτω κείμενα θεωρείτε πως χρησιμοποιεί την πιο κατάλληλη γλώσσα για διαφήμιση των παρακάτω προϊόντων; Βάλτε σε σειρά προτεραιότητας 1, 2, 3, με τον αριθμό 1 να αντιπροσωπεύει την πιο κατάλληλη.

### **α. Κυπριακή ταβέρνα**

- \_\_\_ Προσφέρονται όλων των ειδών οι κυπριακοί μεζέδες. Για σκάπουλλους τζαι κορούες, για νέους τζαι παππούες.
- \_\_\_ Για απολαυστικές βραδυές με νόστιμους μεζέδες εμπνευσμένους από την κυπριακή παράδοση ελάτε σε εμάς.
- \_\_\_ Αν είστε πελάτες που ζητούν super γεύματα, extra service και special προσφορές, ελάτε στην ταβέρνα μας.



### **β. Σαμπάνια**

- \_\_\_ Αν γιορτάζετε κάτι ξεχωριστό, γιορτάστε το με την πολυτέλεια που του αρμόζει.
- \_\_\_ Η πολυτέλεια στο ποτήρι σας αλλά τζαι στη ζωή σας. Ποτό για πρίγκιπες τζαι βασιλιάες.
- \_\_\_ Γιατί τίποτα δε θα μπορούσε να αποδώσει καλύτερα το glamour ενός special δείπνου.



### **γ. Ρούχα επίσημα**

- \_\_\_ Σε 'μας μπορείτε να βρείτε elegant ρούχα που δείχνουν glamour και prestige.
- \_\_\_ Ψάχνετε ρούχα μοναδικά που θα σας αναδείξουν; Μόνο σε εμάς μπορείτε να τα βρείτε.
- \_\_\_ Παντρεύεστε; Χαρτώνεστε; Έσιετε κάποιο σημαντικό γεγονός; Για ρούχα επίσημα, ελάτε κοντά μας.



### **δ. Αγγλικό βιβλιοπωλείο**

- Για bestsellers στα Αγγλικά που θα είναι το passport σας για ένα ταξίδι του μυαλού στο Buckingham Palace.
- Τζαι Εγγλέζος αν μεν είσαι, φτάνει να ξέρεις Εγγλέζικα. Αγγλικά βιβλία για τζείνους που ενδιαφέρονται για τον αγγλικό πολιτισμό.
- Είστε αγγλομαθής ή σας αρέσει να διαβάζετε αγγλικά βιβλία; Βιβλία για να βελτιώσετε τις γνώσεις σας.

