

UDK 811.163.42'282(497.57)  
81'271:316.75  
81'271(497.57)  
Izvorni znanstveni članak  
Prihvaćeno za tisak 03. 03. 2008.

*Anita Sujoldžić*  
*Institute for Anthropological Research Zagreb*  
*anita@inantro.hr*

## **Istrian Identities and Languages in Contact<sup>1</sup>**

The focus of the present study is on the interdependence of language and regional identity set within the framework of language ideology and theory of practice. It is based on a quantitative investigation of the language attitudes of 1,154 secondary students from the multicultural region of Istria, which explores their perceptions of regional and national standard varieties, and relates those perceptions to the social conditions affording status and/or solidarity value at the regional linguistic market. By investigating linguistic categorization, self-making and “othering” within the region, as well as spatial orientations of the respondents, the present study analyzes ways used by speakers to define their sense of self and to contrast themselves with others in terms of the region and in terms of the different language varieties. The results demonstrate the correspondence among the observed evaluation patterns with the strong regional movement and multicultural orientation of Istria. The emerging regional identity is characterized linguistically by persistence of the regional codes due to their symbolic and solidarity value and by resistance against hegemony and symbolic domination of the standard language.

---

### **Introduction<sup>2</sup>**

The growing popular appeal of the concept of identity across a range of scientific fields over the past decade has seen an increased focus in the scholarly literature on the notion of regional identity. Studies of regional identity have

- 
- 1 The research for this paper was supported by funding from the European Commission 6th FP (CIT4-2006-28388) for a larger programme of research within »LINEE – Languages in a Network of Excellence«, and by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport of the Republic of Croatia under grant 196-1962766-2743.
  - 2 The author is indebted to two anonymous reviewers for useful comments and constructive criticism.

also gained new impetus as conceptions of regions have increasingly been developed, particularly within the rhetoric on the Europe of Regions and as a counterbalance to globalisation. Across a range of social sciences, individual and/or collective identity has become a central concept construed through social constructionist, psychological or philosophical lenses (Bourdieu, 1990; Giddens 1991; Erikson, 1963; Hall, 1996). Though no singular theoretical position unifies all these perspectives, they all share a common assumption that identity is seen as fluid, ambiguous and fragmented, a dynamic process, multiply constructed through different discourses. The constitution of a social identity is viewed essentially as an act of power, constructed in or through difference and exclusion (Hall, 1996: 4). Conceptualized in this way, identity emerges only in relation to the 'other', defined predominantly by what one is not or what one lacks, as a counterpoint to discourses and meanings dominant in society. As defined by that which it excludes, identity is thus mediated individually and collectively by social discourse and socio-historical context.

Castells argues that history, geography, biology, institutions, memory, power and religion all play a certain part in the development of basically three different types of identity, namely legitimising identity, developed by the dominant institutions of society to reproduce and rationalize their privileges, resistance identity, emerging from actors within marginalized cultures in response to dominate discourses and power relations, and project identity, "where social actors, on the basis of whichever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by doing so, seek the transformation of overall social structure" (1997: 8).

The contexts of narratives of regional identity outlined in contemporary works thus vary from the regimes of power and ideologies that come from above to local actions of citizens and forms of resistance. They are directed toward various elements that play a role in the construction of regional identity, including culture, ethnicity, history, geography, economy and power. As Bourdieu (1991: 221) has suggested: "Struggles over ethnic or regional identity are a particular case of different struggles over classifications, struggles over the monopoly of the power to make people see and believe, to get them to know and recognize, to impose the legitimate definition of the divisions of the social world... to *make and unmake groups*." These struggles are based on the choices that individuals make in different circumstances over time, while the linguistic both conscious and unconscious choices play an important part in these processes. This role of language is emphasized by Castells (1997: 52) when he notes that "in a world submitted to culture homogenization by the ideology of modernization and the power of global media, language, the direct expression of culture, becomes the trench of cultural resistance, the last bastion of self-control, the refuge of identifiable meaning."

### **Language-as-identity**

Research on language attitudes offers a particularly suitable approach to the consideration of relationship between identity and language, if set within a wider framework of language ideology (Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity 1998:

Irvine and Gal, 2000; Lippi-Grin, 1997). Appel and Muysken already proposed that if there is a strong relation between language and identity, this relation should find its expression in the attitudes of individuals towards these languages and their users (1987, p. 16). However, identity does not reside only in language, and an insistence on language alone fails to take account of the social meaning speakers make of a particular form, the ideas with which they frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and forms and map these understandings onto people, events, and activities that hold meaning for them (Irving and Gal, 2000: 35). These ideas are shaped by publicly circulated belief systems and mediated by an ideological and indexical interpretation of the meaning of language use (Silverstein, 1992: 316). At the same time 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 (Edwards, 1985: 21).

Crucially, these evaluations are socially constructed through, not outside of, difference, through the relation to the “other”, in terms of differences perceived in other languages or dialects and their speakers (Hall, 1996). Such manifestations of ideological stances are evident both in language behavior and in overt and covert<sup>3</sup> attitudes about language, pointing to perceptions of speakers of what constitutes these varieties and who speaks them.

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 (Bayard et al., 2001; Edwards, 1995).

These interesting 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 (Kramsch, 1998, p. 68). In the context of learned behaviour and ideology, of particular interest in our research are Bourdieu’s theory of practice and its

3 These terms, attributed to Labov (1972), and later adopted by Trudgill (1974), have to do with evaluations along the lines of power on one hand and solidarity on the other. Overt prestige assigns positive values to ‘power’ traits such as education and socioeconomic status, usually to standard languages, while covert prestige assigns positive evaluations along the lines of solidarity; traits such as friendliness, integrity and social attractiveness. In this paper, they are used, however, to denote conscious and unconscious language attitudes.

key theoretical concepts field, habitus, capital, and taste (Bourdieu, 1990). While a field may be understood as a structured network of social practices and positions related to an area of production as well as the positions of agents in the field in terms of power, prestige, and influence, or their capital, a person's trajectory may be understood as the sequence of positions held by that person in one or more fields. The habitus is 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 history 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. This approach enables the analysis of the variations in the respective persons' dispositions towards other groups, based on language, gender, education and class. 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.

For Bourdieu, a language exists as a linguistic *habitus*, to be understood as recurrent and habitual systems of dispositions and a set of practices that imply not only a particular system of words and grammatical rules, but also a linguistic capital and a struggle over the symbolic power of a particular way of communicating (Bourdieu, 1991). He emphasizes the importance of language as a system actively defined by sociopolitical processes, like nation-building or state formation that create the conditions for a unified *linguistic market* where linguistic varieties are perceived in terms of their cultural, economic, social and symbolic values (i. e. capitals), while one linguistic variety acquires the status of *standard language*. Judgments of their respective value reflect the vested interests of particular social groupings, especially the elite classes as the differential prestige of linguistic varieties is closely related to the relative social status of their speakers. Through its connection with national elite groups, standard language has been granted a hegemonic position and differential prestige over other varieties, i. e. high symbolic value, reproduced through the education system which can be suitably examined within Bourdieu's theoretical framework. On the other hand, language ideology approach and linguistic attitudes toward the perceived power of all language varieties in use, particularly when read in the context of Castells' work, provide means to valorize vernacular or non-standard varieties as forms of possible resistance by individuals and groups to symbolic domination, or as alternative identifications that subvert and contradict officially imposed identities.

### **The sociolinguistic background of Istria**

This paper aims at addressing a part of the complicated identity discourse, the question of *regional identity* in Istria in the context of other spatial identifications and language attitudes. Istria is an especially fruitful area of study for

these questions as this region has seen constant ethnic, economic, and social change throughout its history that is reflected in the existence of great language diversity. This geographically unique peninsula is divided between three countries, with the largest part in Croatia and two smaller parts in Italy and Slovenia. Languages spoken in the Croatian part include a number of South-Slavic, mainly Croatian regional idioms, with the exception of Istromontenegrine spoken in the village of Peroj, and of Romance languages, such as Istro-Venetian dialects, Istroromanian and pre-Venetian Istriot dialects. To this, two standard varieties should be added, Croatian and Italian in municipalities having Italian as second official language, as well as the idioms of those who migrated to Istria after World War II, to repopulate the towns and villages left by their Italian inhabitants<sup>4</sup>. According to the 2001 census, the number of inhabitants in Istria was 206 344, including 71.9% Croats, 15.1% ethnic minorities (out of which 6.9% were Italians, 3.2% Serbs, 3.4% Bosniacs), while 4.3% declared themselves regionally as Istrians and 6.4% did not declare any nationality. For 87.2% the mother tongue was given as Croatian, and for 7.7% Italian. Most Italians, about 80% – live in urban centres where they represent only a small portion of the population.

The continuous socio-political shifts throughout the last century led to the development of a strong political regionalist movement and the emergence of a regional identity as opposed to (several) national identities, with a celebration of multiculturalism and multilingualism. That the officially proclaimed regional policy of multilingualism is yet to take hold in reality, is illustrated by the status of both Istriot and Istro-Romanian languages, which though they are represented by very small communities numbering no more than 1000 people and are listed in the UNESCO Red Book of Endangered Languages as Seriously Endangered, they have not been given due protection by either state or regional authorities.<sup>5</sup> The growing regionalism in the nineties as a reaction to Croatian nationalism after the dissolution of Yugoslavia has been reflected also in the Istrian sociolinguistic situation (Jahn, 1999). The independence of Croatia brought also a “new standardization” of the Croatian language based on purist premises<sup>6</sup>, and the linguistic reaction to this seems to be a revival of the

---

4 After Italy was defeated in World War II, a great majority of the local Italians, together with thousands of Slovenes, Croats and of nationally undefined bilingual »Istrians« »opted out« of the then Yugoslav Istria. In several waves, fearing retribution, or out of ideological and economic reasons they moved to Italy and overseas and claimed Italian or other citizenship.

5 In September 2007, the Croatian Ministry of Culture proclaimed the need to safeguard only the Istro-Romanian language as intangible cultural heritage and to provide all kind of support to it to prevent its extinction.

6 After the independence of Croatia, in the first half of the 1990s, purist tendencies against serbisms strengthened along with the process of revitalizing Croatian words, as evidenced by public language debates and a number of differential Croatian-Serbian dictionaries published at that time by both linguists and non-linguists. However, the extreme purism has never been part of the official language policy, and the purism of today can be regarded as a moderate form aimed at protecting Croatian from influences of not only Serbian, but other languages, particularly English, as well.

non-standard varieties of the Istrian peninsula and strengthening of regional cultures and idioms. The new Croatian standard tends to be seen as an alien language imposed by a centralist and nationalistic policy which is in conflict with multicultural and regional views of many Istrians. According to the research conducted by Jahn (1999: 353) the consequences are attitudinal and linguistic convergence in the name of an overall “Istrianity”, and attitudinal and linguistic divergence from the rest of Croatia, except for the part of the population who, though perhaps also having multiple identities, feel a stronger attachment to the Croatian state than to the Istrian region.

### **Research questions**

This article aims at uncovering some dimensions of regional identity through forms of *spatial orientation and identification* interrelated with *cultural, linguistic* practices among a large sample of young Istrians. The specific questions addressed include:

In which way do Istrian high-school students construct dialect perceptions, overtly and covertly? What are the social values that underpin these constructions in terms of capital? How do they create “us – them” divisions, or identity reference groups and those representing Otherness? What is the profile and content of regional identity as deduced from the language attitudes and social background of the respondents?

### **Methodology**

To elicit the respondents’ attitudes about several language varieties, both indirect and direct methods were applied. A bilingual questionnaire in Croatian and Italian was devised to collect students’ responses toward different varieties in Istria. It included a matched guise test adapted to fit the specifics of the Istrian linguistic situation, as well as a written sociolinguistic questionnaire eliciting self-reports on linguistic behaviour, attitudes and identity, from a sample of high school students in Istria. Data were collected in the students’ regular assigned classroom during one school hour (45 minutes). All parties involved (principals, teachers and students) were informed clearly about the purpose of the survey and told that participation was voluntary. The sociolinguistic questionnaire was made available in Croatian and Italian versions for students in Italian schools, with 60% choosing the Italian version.

Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian (1982: 7) define language attitudes as “any affective, cognitive, or behavioral index of evaluative reactions toward different varieties or their speakers.” The matched-guise technique, devised by Lambert (1967), although criticized for its alleged artificiality, has over time proved to be the most reliable test for detecting language attitudes and one of the most useful means for the expression of social stereotypes formed on the bases of one’s speech. Its success lies in its ability to elicit the listeners’ attitudes towards a group of speakers without them being actually aware of it (Fasold,

1984; Giles and Coupland, 1991). For the purposes of this study a text of a short message left to a friend on an answering machine was read by actors and native speakers of the respective languages, dialects or vernaculars. The contents of the message were kept as neutral as possible considering the fact that the chosen text was to contain various potentially dialectally marked linguistic features. The matched guise test involved 6 language varieties, representing two oppositions: an intralinguistic opposition (4 Croatian and 2 Italian varieties differing according to the degree of standardization) and an interlinguistic opposition (contrasting the varieties of Croatian to those of Italian):

*Standard Croatian.* The official variety heard in the media and educational contexts recorded by an actor.

*Standard Italian.* A version of the language used in the Italian media and in educational contexts as recorded by an educated resident of Rovinj.

*Non-Standard Croatian of Pula.* The urban vernacular of the city of Pula recorded by a Pula native and resident.

*Non-Standard Italian.* The Istro-Venetian local variety of Italian recorded by a speaker from Rovinj.

*Non-Standard Croatian.* A Čakavian dialect as commonly spoken in the central rural areas of Istria, recorded by a native speaker from Žminj.

*Non-Standard Croatian of Zagreb.* The urban Kajkavian vernacular of the Croatian capital of Zagreb recorded by a Zagreb native and resident.

After listening to each audio tape recording, the students completed a brief questionnaire asking them to rate both the speech variety and the speaker. They rated each recording according to a set of different speakers' qualities, which are grouped into three dimensions, i. e. *social attractiveness or solidarity* (sincere and direct, warm and kind, nice and friendly, witty and cheerful, honest and trustworthy), *status or prestige* (influential and respected, successful, well-off, having a good job) and *competence* (intelligent and capable, well-educated, successful). Scores obtained from one to five Likert scales were averaged to provide indices of social attractiveness or solidarity, of social status or prestige and of competence. The scales used in this study have been widely used in language attitude studies before (Bayard and Green, 2004) and have been proven both reliable and valid (Cronbach alpha ranges from .84 to .90 for the six varieties used in this study).

After evaluating the speakers, the respondents rated each variety for pleasantness and grammatical correctness. To reduce the uncontrolled extralinguistic factors that may have affected the results the respondents' knowledge of and familiarity with the six language varieties were also taken into account. They were asked if they understood the variety well, and whether they would like to talk the same variety as the speaker in question. To find out with which groups the respondents associated particular speakers they were also asked for an assessment of the speakers' origin using an open-ended question so as to allow them to choose whatever labels they wished.

The sociolinguistic questionnaire provided data on sociodemographic characteristics, such as gender, age, nationality and socioeconomic status (based on parents' education and perceived family affluence scale ranging from 1 (not at

all well off) to 5 (very well off). The origin of the students was categorized according to the regionality index based on the data on respondents' place of birth and that of their parents, as well as length of residence in Istria. It is a metric used for distinguishing indigenes, those subjects born and raised in the survey region, from newcomers, those who arrived there as adults, as well as the various degrees in between (subjects born outside but raised in the survey area, etc.). This regional variation is used as an important independent factor that is expected to affect identity as well as linguistic and cultural attitudes.

The questionnaire covered various levels of possible spatial identifications (local, regional, national and European), indicated as a score from one to four in response to direct questions "*How much do you feel attached to your place of birth (place of residence, Istria, Croatia and Europe)?*" An additional question asked for reasons for that attachment offering 18 reasons to be evaluated for their importance on a scale from 1 to 4 (e. g. family, friends, customs, language, way of life, natural landscape, living standard, employment and education possibilities etc.). The identity questions included also perceived probability of living in Istria, Croatia or Europe at the age of 30 as well as the importance of the future integration of Croatia in EU (on a scale from 1 to 4) both for Croatia and Istria and to the students themselves.

A set of 25 questions elicited students' overt attitudes toward local and standard varieties, and bilingualism as forms of capital (cultural, social, economic and symbolic) measured on an agreement scale from 1–4 (e. g. "*Our local vernacular is important to our way of life, our community and local culture; A good knowledge of the standard language is a way to understanding national literature and culture; The official bilingualism in Istria is its wealth.*"). Additional questions referred to mother tongue, competence in local varieties (self-reported degree of understanding and speaking on a scale from 1 to 4) and language use in different domains (at home, with friends, vineyards and fishing, shops, post-office, hospital, church, school and talking to strangers).

Means and standard deviations (SD) were calculated on each item in the questionnaire. Any mean values greater than 2.5 obtained on a four-point scale or greater than 3.0 on a five-point scale would indicate a positive inclination. After the initial descriptive statistical analyses, the group of identity variables, the group of overt language attitudes and the group of covert language attitudes were subjected to factor analyses to reduce the great number of variables into factors. However, owing to space limitation, these factor analyses will not be presented in this article, although references will be made to them when necessary and only composite means calculated for each factor as a whole will be used. The factors obtained by performed principal component analyses were used as predictors in regression analyses to explain some aspects of the reported covert language attitudes. Also, both overt and covert linguistic factors were used as predictors of the identification of respondents with Istria, Croatia and Europe.



## The sample

This study forms part of a larger study<sup>7</sup> analyzing local and regional varieties as markers of identity in the region of Istria, Croatia. A total of 1229 completed questionnaires were collected in 2007 from 8 different schools. The sample was randomly drawn from high schools markedly different in status ranging from prestige public gymnasiums and secondary technical schools to those focusing on economy, industry or medicine. The choice of schools reflects diverse proportions of students by their origin, ethnicity, mother-tongue and socioeconomic levels.

To ensure measurement validity, initial data cleaning was carried out by the researcher. As a result, 75 problem questionnaires were excluded because the credibility of the responses was dubious (e. g., the same answer to all questions). A total of 1.154 questionnaires was used for statistical analysis, including 15 to 18 years old students, 58% female and 42% male, from five Croatian high schools (63.17%) and one Italian high school (14.12%) in the city of Pula (77.29%), one Italian school in the city of Rovinj (6.85%), and one Croatian high school in the city of Pazin (15.86%).

Table 1 gives counts and frequencies for the socio-demographic variables used in the statistical models that follow. The composition of the sample patterned evenly in terms of age and sex. The table shows that although only 15 percent of the students were born outside the region of Istria (7% in other parts of Croatia and 8% in other countries, mostly Bosnia, Serbia and Albania), 48 percent of their parents were born outside according to their regionality index. The table also reveals that a high proportion of students consider one of the local dialects as their mother-tongue (55% Croatian and 7% Italian dialect), with 6% of those reporting two dialects/languages as their mother-tongue, with actual bilingual practice increasing to 16% obtained under reported languages spoken at home. About 24% consider Standard Croatian as their mother-tongue and report it as spoken at home.<sup>8</sup> The socioeconomic status was measured by the level of parental education which indicates more social than economic status and by the respondents' perception of their family affluence. As the question of national affiliation is often confused with citizenship, another question elicited respondents' potential feelings of belonging to one or more ethnicities. The contrasted data on self-stated nationality and those of ethnic belonging revealed that actually about 25% of the students had mixed feelings of ethnic belonging (as compared to only 2% of those declaring mixed nationality), while 70.2% reported belonging only to Croatian ethnicity and 4.3% only to Italian or another ethnicity.

---

7 »LINEE – Languages in a Network of Excellence« (Thematic Area on Culture, Language and Identity). Project supported by European Commission 6th FP (CIT4-2006-28388).

8 When declared as mother-tongue Standard Croatian refers to a štokavian variety that is more or less close to the standard based on a štokavian dialect, and perceived as such in contrast to Istrian čakavian dialects.

**Table 1:** Demographic characteristics of the sample

	<b>Total n=1154</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>School</b>		
Croatian	<b>912</b>	<b>79</b>
Italian	<b>242</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Gender</b>		
Female	<b>667</b>	<b>58</b>
Male	<b>487</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>Age</b>		
14–15	<b>256</b>	<b>22</b>
16	<b>253</b>	<b>22</b>
17	<b>360</b>	<b>31</b>
18–19	<b>285</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Parental education</b>		
elementary	<b>152</b>	<b>13</b>
secondary	<b>553</b>	<b>48</b>
university level	<b>449</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Economic status</b>		
below average	<b>90</b>	<b>8</b>
average	<b>794</b>	<b>69</b>
above average	<b>270</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>Place of residence</b>		
Pazin	<b>55</b>	<b>4</b>
Rovinj	<b>64</b>	<b>6</b>
Pula	<b>588</b>	<b>51</b>
Other places in Istria (villages)	<b>447</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Place of birth</b>		
Istria	<b>984</b>	<b>85</b>
Other parts of Croatia	<b>75</b>	<b>7</b>
Other country	<b>95</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Regionality index</b>		
RI1: born in Istria; both parents from Istria	<b>602</b>	<b>52</b>
RI2: born in Istria; one parent born in Istria	<b>261</b>	<b>22</b>
RI3: born in Istria; both parents born outside	<b>122</b>	<b>11</b>
RI4: not born in Istria; one or both parents born in Istria	<b>42</b>	<b>4</b>
RI5: not born in Istria; both parents born outside	<b>127</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Nationality</b>		
Croatian	<b>998</b>	<b>86</b>

Italian	<b>70</b>	<b>6</b>
Other	<b>54</b>	<b>5</b>
Mixed	<b>18</b>	<b>2</b>
None	<b>14</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Mother tongue</b>		
Istrian Croatian dialect ( <b>ICD</b> )	<b>631</b>	<b>55</b>
Istrian Italian dialect ( <b>IID</b> )	<b>84</b>	<b>7</b>
Standard Croatian ( <b>CS</b> )	<b>278</b>	<b>24</b>
Other	<b>97</b>	<b>8</b>
Two dialects/languages	<b>64</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Language(s) spoken at home</b>		
Istrian Croatian dialect ( <b>ICD</b> )	<b>556</b>	<b>48</b>
Istrian Italian dialect ( <b>IID</b> )	<b>57</b>	<b>5</b>
Standard Croatian ( <b>CS</b> )	<b>290</b>	<b>25</b>
ICD+IID	<b>100</b>	<b>9</b>
ICD+CS	<b>86</b>	<b>7</b>
Other	<b>65</b>	<b>6</b>

## Results

### Descriptive analyses

Table 2 and Table 3 provide descriptive statistics for the identity variables used in this study. Table 2 presents answers to the question that asked respondents about degrees of their 'attachment' to their place of birth, residence, region, country and to Europe, and separately to the question that asked them to choose only one place for which they feel the strongest attachment. Out of different levels of spatial identifications the strongest attachment is found for the local level (place of residence and place of birth) and regional level (Istria). The national identification follows with a slightly lower degree of attachment, while the European level indicates the lowest level of strength. The strong local and regional identification obtained, however, is non-exclusive and seems to imply multiple simultaneous and hierarchically nested levels of all spatial identifications as indicated by relatively high levels of students also strongly or moderately attached to national and supranational levels. Identification, however, patterned in favor of local and regional labels for the choice of the most important level of identification, given that those claiming a regional identification made up 88% (place of birth, residence and region taken together in the last column), and those claiming a national identification accounted for only 9%, while the percentage of the lowest degree of attachment is found for the supranational level (only 3%).

**Table 2:** Spatial identification of respondents

	Degree of attachment				Rank	Mean	S. D.	Reported highest degree of attachment (%)
	None	Low	Moderate	Strong				
<b>Place of birth</b>	7.20	11.87	31.80	49.13	<b>2</b>	3.24	0.91	30.40
<b>Place of residence</b>	4.16	8.67	28.25	58.23	<b>1</b>	3.46	0.76	46.34
<b>Istria</b>	5.72	17.16	38.56	38.56	<b>3</b>	3.10	0.88	11.17
<b>Croatia</b>	5.64	18.37	41.68	34.32	<b>4</b>	3.06	0.85	9.07
<b>Europe</b>	15.17	33.62	36.22	14.99	<b>5</b>	2.52	0.92	3.02

**Table 3:** Mean values of reasons for spatial attachment

	Reasons	Means
1.	Social reasons	3.538 (1)
2.	Culture/Language	2.608 (4)
3.	Economic reasons	2.640 (3)
4.	Symbolic (affective)	2.814 (2)

Note: Composite means obtained from 4-point scales.

Table 3 shows the mean values of the composite indices of reasons given for the spatial attachment. The attachment to place is in this way defined as a phenomenon comprising different components of emotional and cognitive experience or symbolic relations of people to concrete places. By means of a factor analysis the initial 18 variables were grouped into four categories of motives: social, cultural, economic and symbolic. As shown by their composite means, the highest importance is given to social reasons of spatial attachment including family, friends and memories, which affect the respondents personally. Second in importance are affective reasons with symbolically embedded meaning related to nature, climate and place of birth. Considerably less important are rational economic reasons (standard of living, employment, education or inheritance), while the lowest degree of importance is found for cultural reasons of collective significance, including tradition, customs, mentality and language.

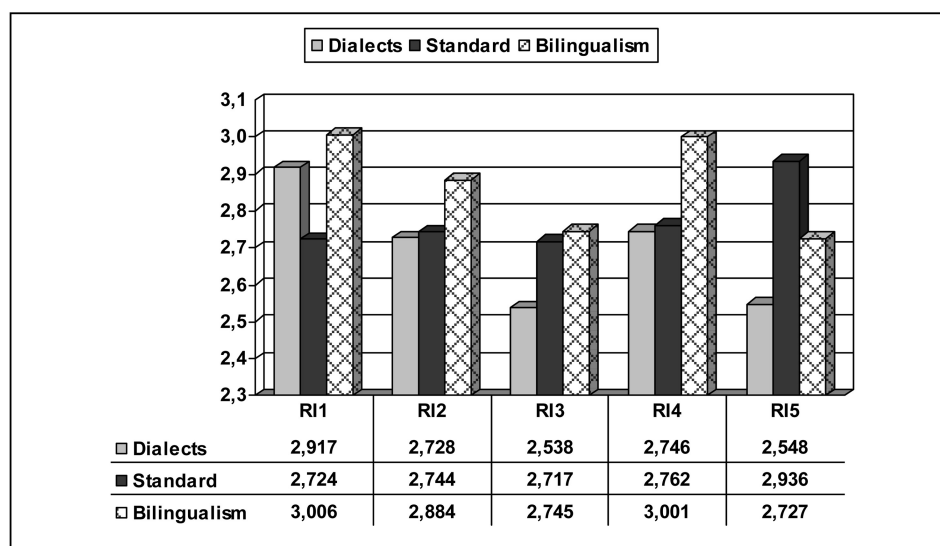
By means of another factor analysis the 25 variables of overt language attitudes were grouped into indices of perceived cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital embedded in local dialects, standard languages and bilingualism. It can be seen in Table 4 that as expected for the whole sample of respondents the primary value of local dialects is symbolic, related to local and regional identity, while their value as other forms of capital is clearly less significant. On the other hand, the standard language is primarily viewed as a form of social capital enabling communication with co-nationals in other parts of

the country, as well as economic capital in terms of education and future employment. Though its value as cultural capital is considerably higher than that obtained for local dialects, its symbolic value in terms of identity is much lower.<sup>9</sup> Overall, dialects are rated lower than the standard language except for their symbolic value, while bilingualism is rated comparatively high for all forms of capital with an emphasis on its economic and social value.

**Table 4:** Mean values of overt attitudes toward language varieties as forms of capital

	<b>Local dialects</b>	<b>Standard</b>	<b>Bilingualism</b>
1. Cultural	2.629 (4)	2.813 (3)	2.809 (4)
2. Economic	2.731 (3)	2.902 (2)	3.055 (1)
3. Social	2.770 (2)	2.993 (1)	2.959 (2)
4. Symbolic	3.010 (1)	2.429 (4)	2.889 (3)

Note: Means are obtained from 4-point scales (the minimum is 1.0, with 2.5 being the mid-point).



**Figure 1.** Mean values of overt language attitudes by regionality index

A more detailed analysis of the overt attitudinal heterogeneity among these students by their regionality index, presented in Figure 1, predictably reveals the tendency for the groups to be significantly differentiated from one another in terms of their evaluation of dialects, standard language and bilingualism. The general tendency is a predictable linear effect, with those with closer ties

9 To compare the means within the varieties and between them, one-way ANOVA was used. The significance value obtained was  $p < 0.0005$ . It shows that the differences between both forms of capital and between dialects and standard language are highly significant.

to Istria (Regionality index 1, 2 and 4) being more positive in their evaluation of local dialects and bilingualism and less positive in their evaluation of the standard language. For the first and partly second generation of immigrants to the region (RI5 and RI3) the situation is the reverse. Predictable though the findings are for the regionality index, they underline the importance of attitudes and stereotypes internalized within the primary socialization group.

Table 5 lists the 6 language varieties used in the matched guise test and provides rank-orderings for quality dimensions examined.<sup>10</sup> The table shows that the range of speaker ratings from the whole sample of respondents is the highest for social attractiveness and the lowest for status or prestige, with competence in the middle of the range. A comparison of the rank orderings predictably shows that the Istrian varieties (*Pula vernacular* and *local Croatian dialect*) are rated far higher on their relative scales for attractiveness than for prestige or competence. The least socially attractive varieties are *Zagreb vernacular* and *Standard Croatian*, both clearly perceived as non-Istrian. While *Zagreb vernacular* ranks far higher on its relative scale for social status and competence than attractiveness, *Standard Croatian* is also one of the least prestigious varieties together with the *local Croatian dialect*. On the other hand, *Standard Italian* is strongly favoured in all dimensions and ranked as highest for both social status and competence, while *local Italian dialect* has mid-table-rankings for all three dimensions with somewhat lower ratings of its social attractiveness.

**Table 5:** Mean ratings of 6 language varieties by perceived social solidarity, status, competence, grammatical correctness and pleasantness

	<b>Social solidarity</b>	<b>Status</b>	<b>Competence</b>	<b>Grammatical correctness</b>	<b>Pleasantness</b>
1. Standard Croatian (CS)	3.103 (6)	2.552 (5)	2.761 (5)	<b>3.155 (1)</b>	2.418 (6)
2. Standard Italian (IS)	3.382 (3)	2.905 (2)	<b>3.054 (1)</b>	3.132 (2)	2.728 (2)
3. Pula vernacular (PV)	<b>3.715 (1)</b>	2.764 (3)	2.904 (3)	1.985 (5)	<b>3.159 (1)</b>
4. Istrian Croatian dialect (ICD)	3.502 (2)	2.140 (6)	2.594 (6)	1.910 (6)	2.645 (5)
5. Istrian Italian dialect (IID)	3.311 (4)	2.566 (4)	2.795 (4)	2.319 (3)	2.720 (3)
6. Zagreb vernacular (ZV)	3.293 (5)	<b>2.998 (1)</b>	2.951 (2)	2.280 (4)	2.648 (4)

Note: Composite means obtained from 5-point scale items (the minimum is 1.0, with 3.0 being the mid-point).

While in accordance with similar studies some of the results are quite expected in terms of higher ratings of local varieties for social attractiveness, the most conspicuous thing in the analysis of the total sample is the overall low ranking of *Standard Croatian*, for all dimensions analyzed expect for gramma-

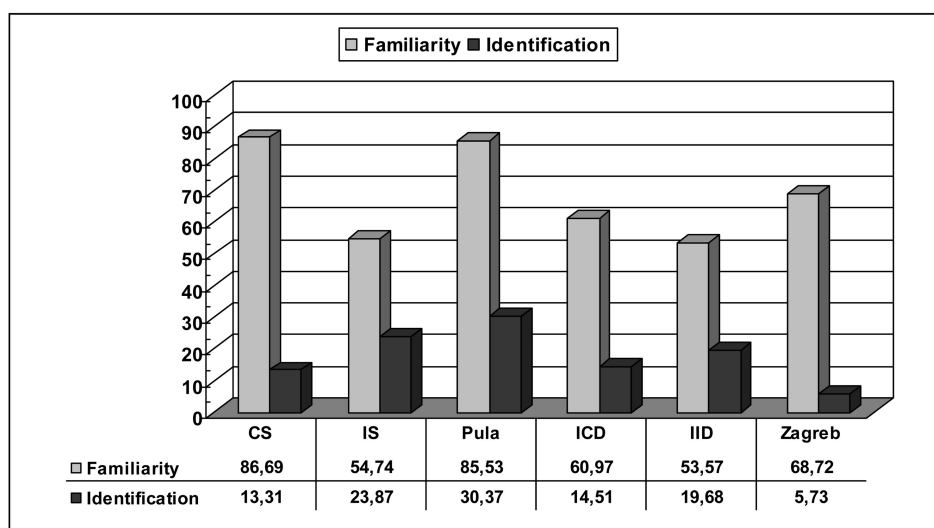
<sup>10</sup> The performed confirmatory factor analysis suggested only two factors for almost all varieties, with competence traits loading on the same factor with status traits. The implication is that competence per se is not viewed as a clear-cut dimension separate from the other two, as it appears to be in other language attitude studies. Instead, it forms an integral part of the status dimension. However, these are kept separate here as they provide different types of information.

tical correctness. It seems, instead, that *Zagreb vernacular* functions as the nationally identified elite variety of the capital, attracting higher status and competence. Similarly, the urban *vernacular of Pula*, the capital of Istria seems to be perceived as regionally the most prestigious variety. At the same time the grammatical correctness of *Standard Croatian* predictably has the highest ranking, together with *Standard Italian* which seems to reflect a “standard language ideology” at work, even for those respondents who rated the former speaker negatively overall (Lippi–Green 1997). Interestingly, both the Zagreb vernacular and the local Italian dialect have mid–table positions in terms of grammatical correctness, while the local Croatian varieties of Pula and central Istria are ranked very low for their correctness.

In terms of intralinguistic opposition the ratings are, thus, not quite consistent with the general findings of other matched guise studies, where higher status ratings are assigned to the dominant group of standard language speakers, and the higher ratings of solidarity are usually found for the ingroup local varieties. On the other hand, the interlinguistic distinction is clearly visible with both Italian varieties being rated more prestigious than the Croatian ones, though the ranking for social solidarity of the local Italian variety is unexpectedly lower than that of the Standard Italian. As to pleasantness of the varieties, it roughly follows the pattern of social attractiveness with significantly lower overall ratings and with the exception of local Croatian dialect which in spite of a high rating for social solidarity, is viewed as rather unpleasant in comparison to other varieties.

Earlier language attitude studies have shown that there is often a difference in response to speakers of different varieties based on a respondent’s stereotypes of the speakers and the social situation of both the speakers and the respondents. The above average results on perceived solidarity indicate that the most salient in–groups for the respondents are those geographically and culturally closest to them, i. e., speakers from Pula and central Istria. According to the perceived competence, the speakers of Standard Italian and urban varieties of Zagreb and Pula are associated with education and capability, while the speakers of Zagreb vernacular and Standard Italian are associated with assumed high socioeconomic status and prestige.

The average scores above indicate that the amount of experience and knowledge are powerful factors regarding attitudes. The respondents’ knowledge of varieties was measured by a question on whether they understood a particular speaker well, while their identification with each speaker was obtained by the question: *Would you like to speak in this way?* The percentages of those who understood well the varieties and those who identified with the speaker are given in Figure 2. As can be seen from the figure, the respondents’ knowledge of six varieties generally does not seem to have a significant impact on their self–stated identification with particular speakers.



**Figure 2.** Percentage of respondents' familiarity and self-identification with 6 language varieties.

Within a 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, presented in Table 6, 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.

**Table 6:** Identification of speakers' origin by respondents

% of identified speakers by origin	Croatian Standard	Italian Standard	Pula vernacular	Local Croatian dialect	Local Italian dialect	Zagreb vernacular
<b>Pula</b>	17.1	9.5	<b>31.5</b>	6.6	all coastal cities <b>40.7</b>	2.2
<b>Istria</b>	3.6	6.5	Pazin 28.0 Other 34.1	Central Istria <b>50.8</b> Other 29.7	12.5	2.6
<b>Croatia</b>	Croatia 7.1 Zagreb 24.4 Other 30.4	0.0	4.6	9.7	1.0	Zagreb <b>35.1</b> Zagorje 36.7 Other 17.0
<b>Outside Croatia</b>	8.9	Italy <b>79.2</b> Other 2.5	0.6	1.9	Italy 40.3 Other 3.3	4.8
<b>No answer</b>	8.4	2.3	1.3	1.3	2.2	1.6

As can be seen from the table, the task of identifying the Standard Croatian speaker origin was clearly the most difficult one for the respondents. This



finding is particularly interesting not only for a high percentage of missing answers (8%) and a rather low percentage of respondents who identified it correctly as a nation-wide general variety (about 7%), but also for an unexpectedly high percentage of those who identified this speaker as non-Croatian (9%), most frequently as Bosnian or Serbian. Though the open-ended question allowed any comment, only one respondent wrote that it was the standard language. On the other hand, the labels of origin for this speaker within Croatia most frequently referred to urban centres of Zagreb and Pula as well as the region of Slavonia (14.1% within the category –Other places) where the Štokavian varieties perceived as identical to the standard language are used.

The speaker of *Zagreb Kajkavian vernacular* is either correctly assigned to Zagreb or identified with a wider Kajkavian area in northern Croatia (over 70%). It seems that for both the latter speaker and that of the Standard Croatian, a considerable number of respondents, unable to identify the varieties in question, simply chose areas associated with less familiar varieties, including those outside Croatia.

A significantly higher percentage of correctly identified speakers of Istrian, both Croatian and Italian varieties, indicate that these categories are salient for the respondents, although the Standard Italian speaker is assigned an Italian origin by 80% of respondents, while the speaker of Italian dialect is ambivalently viewed as both Istrian (53%) and Italian (40%). The local Croatian dialect is clearly associated with the central, rural part of Istria, and quite differentiated assignments for the speaker from Pula suggest that this variety tends to be perceived as a region-wide Istrian variety.

In order to find out whether the identification patterns observed actually affected the ratings of the six language varieties, or whether they just evoked stereotyped responses without the respondents consciously assigning the speaker to a particular reference group, one-way ANOVAS were performed which showed that these differences indeed reached statistical significance for all three dimensions of social attractiveness, social status and competence (see Appendices 1–3) and they played a relevant role in determining the overall attitudes toward particular speakers.

### **Predictors of covert language attitudes**

In continuing the analysis further, we considered whether sociodemographic factors, spatial identification and overt language attitudes were potentially explanatory of covert language attitudes and of identities assigned to the six speakers. A 6 between-subjects multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed on the three factor-based dependent variables: social attractiveness or solidarity, status and competence. The results are presented in Appendices 1–3. The independent sociodemographic variables were school, gender, age, parental education, place of residence, nationality and regionality index. The independent linguistic factors included mother tongue and overt language attitudes toward local dialects, standard languages and bilingualism. For each va-

riety its perceived grammatical correctness and pleasantness, respondents' knowledge of the variety and identification with the speaker as well as speakers' origin identification were also used as predictor variables.

The combined results for **social attractiveness and solidarity** include statistically significant variation according to almost all predictor variables, as shown in the columns of Appendix 1.<sup>11</sup> While age appears as significant predictor only for Standard Italian, with younger respondents being significantly more positive about this speaker and variety, *gender* strongly differentiates respondents' evaluations, with all but one variety (Standard Croatian) showing significant differences. There is a general tendency for girls to give higher evaluations of attractiveness to all varieties. As for *school*, the respondents from the Croatian schools are significantly more positive in their evaluations of the attractiveness of the local Croatian dialect and Zagreb vernacular, though they tend to rate the Standard Croatian speaker less positively than those attending Italian schools, who are also predictably more positive about the local Italian dialect. Higher *parental education* positively affects the ratings of the speakers of the Pula vernacular and the local Italian dialect.

Differences in solidarity by *place of residence* are significant for four varieties. Residents from Rovinj tend to judge Standard Croatian negatively, but together with the residents from Pazin they rate the local Croatian dialect positively. Residents from Pula are distinguished from other groups by finding both Standard Croatian and Standard Italian attractive, but on the other hand they evaluate the local Croatian dialect and Zagreb vernacular negatively in terms of their attractiveness and solidarity.

According to the *regionality index*, predictably respondents with the strongest Istrian ties (RI1 and RI2) show more pronounced ingroup loyalty than all other groups. They are significantly more positive than all other groups in their evaluations of the attractiveness of both Italian varieties, the Pula vernacular and the Croatian local dialect, while they tend to perceive the Standard Croatian speaker as unattractive. Interestingly, *nationality* and/or ethnicity turned out to be among the least significant variables, with only respondents of Croatian nationality being significantly more positive than other groups toward the Standard Italian speaker, and those of mixed nationality rating Pula vernacular significantly higher. The patterns of *spatial identification* indicate strong significant relationships between the identification with Istria and appreciation of all three local Istrian varieties, between the identification with Croatia and positive evaluation of Zagreb vernacular, but negative rating of local Italian dialect, and between European identification and appreciation of the Standard Italian speaker.

Among the *linguistic factors* the most significant is predictably the perceived *pleasantness* of all the varieties, while perceived *grammatical correctness* is significant only in connection to the two standard varieties. The *knowledge of or familiarity* with the varieties also emerges as a powerful variable differentiat-

11 In all appendices data are provided only for significant effects, leaving non-significant cells blank.

ing respondents' solidarity evaluations, with all but 1 (Standard Italian) of the 6 varieties showing significant differences. Generally, more familiar varieties are found more socially attractive, with the exception of Standard Italian which is judged positively even by respondents who do not understand it well. On the other hand, the respondents' self-stated identification with speakers turned out to be significant only for the two standard varieties.

Positive *overt attitudes* toward local dialects are significantly positively related to the evaluation of Pula vernacular and both local dialects, while overt attitudes toward bilingualism are not only positively related to the evaluation of Standard Italian and the local Italian dialect, but also to the appreciation of Standard Croatian. Most notably, overt attitudes toward the standard variety do not significantly affect the ratings of the Standard Croatian speaker.

The *language spoken at home* significantly affects the perceived attractiveness of the speakers in a more or less predictable ways. Respondents who speak local Croatian dialect at home, evaluate this variety more positively than other groups, but they also appreciate Pula vernacular and prefer the Standard Italian speaker over the Standard Croatian one. Also, those who speak the Italian local dialect are more positive about this variety, but at the same time significantly less appreciative of the Croatian local variety than other groups. The most appreciative of the local Italian dialect are, however, bilingual respondents who speak both Italian and Croatian local varieties at home. Respondents who speak a version of Standard Croatian at home are significantly less positive about Pula vernacular and the local Croatian variety, while those who speak another language at home (other than the Istrian Croatian and Italian varieties) evaluate Zagreb vernacular positively, but they tend to view the local Croatian dialect negatively.

While all the above variables may give some insight into the possible identifications of our respondents, the geographical *identification of speakers* sheds some light on social groups actually rated by them. The social groups identified by the respondents included in the results of the regression analysis (Appendix 1) are marked either by the significant beta coefficients obtained or only by the direction of non-significant ones. They reveal that the speakers of all but one Croatian variety are found significantly more attractive only if they are perceived to originate from Pula or other parts of Istria, as indicated by either significant coefficients or positive though non-significant directions of some coefficients, while other perceived locations or groups are evaluated negatively, particularly if their origin is viewed to be outside Croatia. There are, however, two exceptions. First, the speaker of Zagreb vernacular is rated positively for all assumed origin locations except those outside Croatia, being also the only speaker who is evaluated positively when associated with wider Croatia. Though ratings of this speaker are positive when correctly associated with the town of Zagreb, the most positive evaluations are given to her assumed origin in a wider region of northern Croatia (Zagorje) where Kajkavian dialect is spoken. Another exception is a positive rating of the Standard Croatian speaker when assigned to Zagreb. Interestingly, the speaker of local Croatian dia-

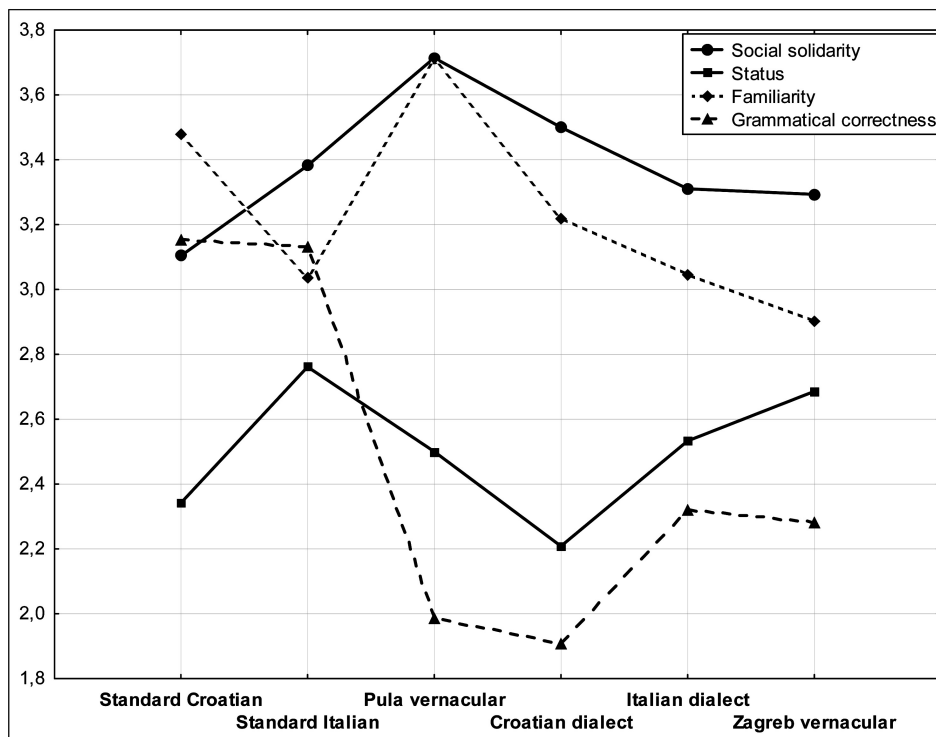
lect is evaluated negatively if correctly assigned to central Istria, but viewed positively if associated with Pula or Istria as a region.

Secondly, there is a clear difference in the ratings of the two speakers of Italian varieties. The speaker of Standard Italian is judged significantly more positively if perceived as an Italian, and negatively if associated with Pula, while a positive, though not significant association with wider Istria indicates that for a number of respondents (6.5% as shown in Table 7) speakers of this variety are also seen as Istrian. The speaker of the local Italian dialect is on the contrary judged more positively if associated with Pula and wider Istria, though the assumed Italian origin is also regarded positively, albeit non-significantly.

The whole-sample results for **social status or prestige** also include statistically significant variation according to all variables, except for respondents' identification with speakers, though with some different patterns from the results for social solidarity, as shown in Appendix 2. Among the non-linguistic factors the most powerful variable in differentiating status evaluations of all varieties is *school*, with the general pattern that students of Croatian schools regularly afford more positive prestige values to all varieties than those from the Italian ones do. *Gender* actively differentiates ratings of only three varieties. While the higher evaluation of the Standard Italian speaker by girls follows the general trend observed for solidarity, the reverse occurs in regard to the speakers of Pula vernacular and Croatian local dialect. In other words, boys, relative to girls, attribute higher prestige to their own varieties. They also tend to be younger and to have parents with lower level of education.

As to differences in perceived status by *residence and regionality*, they are less significant than those for solidarity. Respondents living in Pazin and Rovinj tend to attribute lower status to Standard Croatian as compared to those from Pula, who are also significantly more positive than all other regional groups in their evaluations of the prestige of the local Italian dialect. Also respondents with clearly Istrian roots (RI1) are significantly more negative than all other groups in their judgments of Standard Italian and local Croatian dialect. As to *nationality*, respondents belonging to nationalities other than Croatian and Italian tend to attribute higher status to local Italian dialect than other nationalities, while those of a mixed nationality are significantly differentiated from all other nationalities in judging negatively the status of Standard Italian, Pula vernacular and local Italian dialect.

The patterns of *spatial identification*, though less significant than for social attractiveness, still indicate that those who identify with Istria attribute significantly higher status to Pula vernacular than other groups, while European identification is significantly related to a higher status of Standard Italian. Additionally, the respondents who identify with Croatia are significantly more positive in regard to the status of local Croatian dialect, while there were no significant effects for other varieties.



**Figure 3.** Regression means of perceived social solidarity, status, grammatical correctness and familiarity of varieties

The significant variation according to the *language spoken at home* indicates that speakers of local Croatian dialect attribute a significantly higher status to Zagreb vernacular than other speakers, those who speak Croatian Standard at home negatively evaluate the prestige of Pula vernacular, while those who speak a non-Istrian language or dialect at home are significantly more negative about the status of the local Croatian dialect than other speakers. The *overt* attitudes toward local dialects exert significant positive effects for the evaluation of the status of all non-standard varieties, and those toward bilingualism add significantly to positive ratings of Standard Italian, while attitudes toward the standard language are again non-significant.

As to other linguistic variables, both grammatical correctness and perceived pleasantness strongly differentiate evaluations of status and prestige of all six speakers. The regression means presented in Figure 3 clearly illustrate these significant effects, markedly different for standard and non-standard varieties. The finding for grammatical correctness confirms strong prejudicial attitudes related to the ideology of the standard language purity and perfection that have been socialized in spite of comparatively low overall ratings of Standard Croatian. The fact that two socially most attractive varieties (PV and ICD) are considered as grammatically incorrect greatly affected their status evaluations.

Additionally, the finding that knowledge of varieties produced a marked effect only for Zagreb vernacular indicates that status evaluations are less based on familiarity with varieties than on certain stereotypical social assumptions and ideological profiles. Such attitudes are also reflected in the negative status regression coefficients found for socially attractive speakers from Pula (PV and IID), Istria (IID) and Kajkavian Zagorje (ZV), while speakers assigned to Zagreb (CS and ZV) are perceived as having significantly higher socioeconomic status and prestige than other groups.

The results for **competence**, though generally similar to those obtained for status, reveal overall stronger effects of all variables (Appendix 3). *School* again proves to be the most powerful differentiating variable, producing predictable significant main effects in all six varieties. Again, *gender* actively differentiates ratings for three varieties, this time in harmony with the same general pattern observed for social attractiveness, with girls judging the speakers of the two standard varieties and Zagreb vernacular as more competent than boys do. *Age* differences are only strongly associated with significant variation in judging the competence of the local Croatian dialect speaker, with older groups being progressively less positive. Respondents whose parents have lower *education* significantly tend to perceive the speakers of the two standard varieties as being more educated and competent, than those whose parents have higher education levels.

While respondents living in Pazin significantly more than other groups view Standard Croatian speakers as educated and competent, those living in Rovinj rate significantly more negatively both standard varieties and both local Istrian dialects than other groups do. On the other hand, Pula residents are significantly more inclined than other residential groups to perceive the speakers of Standard Italian and both local Istrian dialects as competent and educated. As to the *regionality index*, respondents originating from Istria tend to be significantly more negative about the competency of the two standard speakers than other groups, like second generation immigrants who rate significantly more positively the speakers of Standard Italian and local Croatian variety. While the pattern of the effects of spatial identification is the same as the one obtained for status or prestige, respondents of Croatian nationality are more inclined to view the speaker of Pula vernacular as educated and competent, but at the same time they judge significantly more negatively the competency of the speaker of local Italian dialect. The same speaker is rated, however, significantly more positively by respondents belonging to various nationalities, other than Croatian or Italian.

As compared to the results on status, stronger effects were obtained also for all linguistic variables used as predictors, with some notable differences. According to the *language spoken at home* those who speak local Croatian dialects tend more than other groups to perceive the speakers of Standard Italian and Zagreb vernacular as competent, while at the same time, together with those who speak Standard Croatian at home, they are more inclined to judge the speaker of Italian dialect as uneducated and incompetent. Those who at home speak languages or dialects other than Istrian varieties are significantly

more negative about the competency of the speaker of local Croatian dialect. *Overt language attitudes* toward local dialects strongly affect the judgments of all speakers, except the Standard Croatian one, and positive attitudes toward bilingualism add to higher ratings of four speakers regarding their competence. Again, both grammatical correctness and pleasantness significantly affect the evaluations of all six varieties. As compared to status evaluations, familiarity with varieties produces significant effects for all varieties except for Standard Croatian, while self-stated identification with speakers of two standard varieties is statistically significant as observed previously for social attractiveness. Speaker identification follows the same pattern of differentiation as observed for the status dimension with minor differences.

## Conclusions

The above results of multiple regression analyses provide an answer to the central question of this paper: what is the role of language use and language attitudes in various levels of identification of the Istrian students? Summarizing the socio-demographic and linguistic effects on language attitudes, these results indeed indicate the consistent association of spatial identification with all three dimensions measured. The proportion of the variation in the linguistic attitudes that are accounted for by identification factors is the strongest for solidarity and less significant for the measures of status and competence. Overall, data in this study are thus highly suggestive of the inextricable link between social identities and dialect perceptions. The complexity of sometimes contradictory findings clearly indicate how difficult it is to study and predict attitudes and their relationship to identities even when a number of socio-demographic and linguistic factors are controlled for in the analyses.

Nevertheless, the attitudinal results of the solidarity, status and competence scales suggest that respondents perceived dialects in a sort of patterned fashion where some tendencies emerged. They reveal that Istrian students clearly prefer their regional varieties as markers of group solidarity and social attractiveness as well as symbolic capital. That people prefer their most salient in-group has been confirmed by other similar studies in Croatia and elsewhere (Šimičić and Sujoldžić, 2004). High ratings for status and competence of Zagreb vernacular and Pula vernacular speakers, as compared to overall low evaluations of Standard Croatian, indicate that speakers from Zagreb are identified with the center of power and status, while the expected prestige of the standard variety seems to be delegated to Pula vernacular which appears to act as a regional approximate standard version, affording to its speakers also cultural and economic capital in the regional linguistic market. The low ratings of Standard Croatian clearly suggest that most Istrian students do not share the value system implied by the standard variety, do not identify with it and do not see it as a source of capital in the regional market (Haarman, 1989: 178). It seems that they see Standard Croatian as something which they learn at school but which has little relevance to their everyday lives outside the edu-

cational context. However, these findings should be further explored through qualitative data to obtain more reliable inferences on their attitudes.

On the other hand the overall positive attitudes toward Italian Standard demonstrate that it represents social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital as a second language, not only for Italian nationals, but also for the dominant Croatian majority. Its prestige may be only partly due to the widely appreciated pleasantness and melodiousness of the Italian language, and should be mostly attributed to socioeconomic reasons and, as already indicated by Jahn (1999), to the closeness to Italy, which in economically difficult times offers possibilities for work. This particularly refers to the relationship to the town of Trieste, which already grounded historically and economically, has been reinforced under the influence of migrants from Istria. Besides, long-term contact experience and exposure can greatly influence attitudes, as argued by Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 62): “Communities not only evaluate but may appropriate some part of the linguistic resources of groups with whom they are in contact and in tension, refiguring and incorporating linguistic structures in ways that reveal linguistic and social ideologies.”

However, a great deal of variation within social identities and the dialect perceptions obtained challenge the inference that there is a consolidated, single ideological set in the evaluation of the examined varieties and their speakers. The differences by origin of respondents are particularly illuminating in terms of the working of the habitus as manifested by prevalent, and generally unconscious, assumptions and expectations. Regional language loyalism in Istria appears to be restricted (at least as part of a coherent regional movement) largely to speakers whose parents, like themselves, were born in Istria, resident for the most part in the central, interior part of Istria and western, urban bilingual areas of Istria such as Rovinj, and therefore most likely to take up a regionally-anchored identity construct over a nationally-anchored one. Together with those who expressed their inclination to supranational, European identification these respondents are very well disposed to diversity, as manifested by their support of bilingualism in the community. For them, bilingualism clearly serves as capital, converted into notions of educational success and social mobility, as well as providing distinction in the regional linguistic market. Besides, it also acts as an important symbol of one’s tolerance of diversity and multiculturalism.

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 vernacular speakers and less likely to endorse local Istrian varieties or to be positive toward bilingualism.

Interesting differences were also obtained in relation to gender, with female respondents affording more social attractiveness to all varieties, displaying in this way a more open and inclusive stance toward diversity than male respondents. Male respondents, however, while less favourable towards other speakers, were significantly more positive toward the status of regional local Croatian varieties. These findings are similar to those obtained by another attitude



study (Coupland and Bishop, 2007: 82), which indicate that men tend to make more favourable judgements of their own speech and to endorse a less inclusive regional identity.

Additionally, respondents of lower economic status, arguably indexed by parental education, 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 (1997: 62) between those who can only recognize and aspire to the power of authorised usage of a legitimate language, compared to those who have 'knowledge' and are therefore able to exploit it.

In terms of linguistic categorization and Othering, the obtained patterns of identification indicate that the main distinction made seems to be not between different national groups or different languages but rather between Istrian and non-Istrian speakers. Illustratively, several respondents even commented for speakers of Zagreb vernacular and Standard Croatian that they come "from anywhere but Istria" or "from the other side of Učka mountain" which is perceived as a symbolic border between Istria and the rest of Croatia. This is also affirmed by the pattern of speaker identification, showing that while respondents could with a high degree of precision correctly assign speakers of regional varieties, they were considerably less successful in labeling speakers (and cultural identities associated with them) of the other non-Istrian varieties.

Generally, speakers identified by respondents as originating from Istria, regardless of the variety they spoke, were rated significantly higher for group solidarity, but more negatively in terms of status and competence, except for those coming from Pula as compared to rural areas of Istria. On the other hand speakers identified as coming from Italy were rated significantly more positively in all three dimensions regardless of the actual variety in question, as compared to those assigned to other parts of Croatia or other countries. These findings suggest that with the emigration of autochthonous population, particularly those of Italian nationality who after the Second World War settled in nearby Trieste, and with strengthened socioeconomic relations with Italy, the regionally-based identity subordinates the assumption of national or political boundaries and expands spatially. The prevalent construct of regional identity, thus, simultaneously increases the importance of the regional border in the construction of linguistic categorization, and results eventually in the formation of one, basically homogenous, geographic, historical and cultural area, in spite of its administrative and political division between the three states.

In the national context, the emerging regional identity is characterized linguistically by persistence of the regional codes due to their symbolic and group solidarity value and by resistance against the hegemony and symbolic domination of the standard Croatian language. Although differential ratings of local Croatian and Italian dialects for group solidarity by the respective nationalities might imply that the meaning of "Istrianity" for some of them is not quite

identical (considered to be either more Croatian for the first or more Italian for the latter), the findings of the study demonstrate not only the correspondence among the observed evaluation patterns with the strong regional movement but also the affirmation of a strong multicultural and inclusive orientation of Istria, as corroborated by the support of bilingualism within the region. This orientation seems to imply that the identity of resistance might develop into a project identity (Castells, 1997: 8) leading to redefinition and transformation of social structure. The content of this identity for young Istrians is clearly not a mathematical sum of co-existing nationalities or cultures, but rather lies in their permanent interaction through all social, historical and political changes and tensions.

## Bibliography

- Appel, Rene, Pieter Muysken. 1987. *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Banovac, Boris. 2004. (Re)konstrukcija socijalnog prostora periferije, *Revija za sociologiju*, 3–4: 95–112.
- Bayard, Donn, Ann Weatherall, Cynthia Gallois and Jeffrey Pittam. 2001. PaxAmericana? Accent attitudinal evaluations in New Zealand, Australia and America. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 5: 22–49.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and symbolic order*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Castells, Manuel. 1997. *The Power of Identity*. Massachusetts: Blackwell.
- Coupland, Nicolas, Hywel Bishop. 2007. Ideologised values for British accents. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11/1: 74–93.
- Edwards, John. 1985. *Language, society and identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Edwards, John. 1999. Refining Our Understanding of Language Attitudes. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 18/1: 101–110.
- Erikson, Erik. H. 1963. *Childhood and Society*. New York: Norton. (2nd edition).
- Fasold, Ralph W. 1984. *The sociolinguistics of society*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giles, Howard, Nikolas Coupland. 1991. *Language: Contexts and Consequences*. Pacific Grove, California: Brooks/Cole.
- Hall, Stuart. 1996. 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?' *Questions of Cultural Identity*. In Hall, S., du Gay, P. (eds) London, Sage. 1–17.
- Haarmann, Harald (1989), *Functional Aspects of Language Varieties – A Theoretical-Methodological Approach*. U: Ulrich Ammon (ur.), *Status and Function of Languages and Language Varieties*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter. 153–193.
- Irvine, Judith T., Susan Gal. 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In Paul V. Kroskrity (ed.) *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press. 35–83.
- Jahn, Jens-Eberhard. 1999. New Croatian language planning and its consequences for language attitudes and linguistic behavior – the Istrian case. *Language & Communication*, 19: 329–354.
- Kramsch, Claire. 1998. *Language and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Labov, William. 1972. *Language in the inner city: studies in the black English vernacular*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lambert, Wallace E. 1967. A social psychology of bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23: 91–109.
- Lippi-Green, Rosina. 1997. *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States*. New York: Routledge.
- Ryan, Ellen Bouchard, Howard Giles, Richard J. Sebastian. 1982. An integrative perspective for the study of attitudes toward language variation. In Howard Giles (ed.) *Attitudes towards Language Variation: Social and Applied Contexts*. London: Edward Arnold. 1–19.
- Schieffelin, Bambi B., Kathryn A. Woolard and Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.). 1998. *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory* (Oxford Studies in Anthropological Linguistics, Volume 16). New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1992. The uses and utility of ideology: Some reflections. *Pragmatics*, 2: 311–323.
- Šimičić Lucija, Anita Sujoldžić. 2004. Cultural Implications of Attitudes and Evaluative Reactions Toward Dialect Variation in Croatian Youth. *Collegium Anthropologicum* 28/1: 97–113.
- Trudgill, Peter. 1974. *The social differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Woolard, Kathryn, Bambi Schieffelin. 1994. Language ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 23: 55–82.
- Woolard, Kathryn. 1998. Introduction: language ideology as a field of inquiry. In Schieffelin, Bambi, Woolard, Kathryn and Kroskrity, Paul (eds.), *Language ideologies: practice and theory*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. 3–47.

### *Istarski identiteti i jezici u kontaktu*

Rad se bavi proučavanjem međuovisnosti jezika i regionalnog identiteta u okviru teorijskih pretpostavki ideologije jezika i teorije prakse. Analiza se temelji na kvantitativnom istraživanju jezičnih stavova prikupljenih od 1154 učenika i učenica iz ukupno osam srednjih škola u višejezičnoj, multikulturnoj Istri. U središtu pažnje su društveno, kulturno i simboličko značenje povezano sa statusom i/ili solidarnošću na regionalnom jezičnom tržištu, koje se očitava iz stavova ispitanika o hrvatskim i talijanskim regionalnim i standardnim varijetetima te načini društvene kategorizacije povezane s prostornom identifikacijom. Rezultati upućuju na podudarnost jezičnih stavova s regionalnom i multikulturnom orijentacijom Istre. Jezična obilježja dobivene slike regionalnog identiteta upućuju na vitalnost regionalnih kodova kao oblika simboličkog i društvenog kapitala uz otpor prema simboličkoj dominaciji standardnoga hrvatskog jezika.

**Key words:** language attitudes, regional identity, language domination, language ideology, Croatian, Istria

**Ključne riječi:** jezični stavovi, regionalni identitet, jezična dominacija, ideologija jezika, hrvatski jezik, Istra

Appendix 1: Significant standardized least square coefficients obtained by MANOVA's for social attractiveness with socio-demographic, identity and linguistic factors as independent variables (\* p < .05. \*\* p < .01. \*\*\* p < .001)

Significant predictors (social attractiveness)	Standard Croatian	Standard Italian	Pula vernacular	Croatian dialect	Italian dialect	Zagreb vernacular
School (Croatian)	-.098*			.086*	-.106**	.077*
Gender (Male)		-.115***	-.124***	-.075*	-.085***	-.146***
Age		-.084**				
Parental education			.104***		-.072*	
Place of residence:						
Pazin				.151*		
Rovinj	-.186**			.182**		
Pula	.153**	.117*		-.272***		-.119*
Regionality index:						
RI1		.075**	.078*	.096*	.097**	
RI2			.070*		-.073*	
Nationality						
Croatian		.070*				
Mixed			.096**			
Spatial identification						
Istria			.110**	.111**	.104**	
Croatia					-.099**	.095**
Europe		.084*				
Language at home:						
ICD	-.088*		.073*	.093*	.175**	
IID		.096*		-.093*	-.075*	
CS			-.104*			.132**
Other				-.073*		
ICD + IID					.125***	
Overt language attitudes						
Local dialects			.116**	.124**	.111**	
Bilingualism	.075*	.148***			.119***	
Grammatical correctness	.082**	.164***				
Variety pleasantness	.369***	.434***	.467***	.404***	.489***	.372***
Familiarity with variety	.112***		.144***	.103***	.068*	.101***
Identification with speaker		.057*				
Speaker identification						
+.078* Pula		-. Pula	+ Pula	+ Pula	.128** Pula	+ Pula
+ Istria		+ Istria	- Pazin	- Central Istria	+ Istria	+ Istria
+ Zagreb		.106*** Italy	- Istria	+ Istria	- Croatia	+ Zagreb
- Croatia		- Other	- Croatia	- Croatia	+ Italy	.145*** Zagorje
- Other places			-.058* Out of Croatia	-.098** Out of Croatia	-.087** Out of Croatia	+ Croatia
- Out of Croatia						-.057* Out of Croatia
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>.26***</b>	<b>.36***</b>	<b>.34***</b>	<b>.29***</b>	<b>.36***</b>	<b>.27***</b>

**Appendix 2:** Significant standardized least square coefficients obtained by MANOVA's for social status with socio-demographic, identity and linguistic factors as independent variables (\* p < .05. \*\* p < .01. \*\*\* p < .001)

Significant predictors (social status)	Standard Croatian	Standard Italian	Pula vernacular	Croatian dialect	Italian dialect	Zagreb vernacular
School (Croatian)	.068*	.186***	.137***	.107***	.108***	.082*
Gender (Male)		-.076*	.075*	.065*		
Age			-.076*	-.104***		
Parental education			-.064*	-.086*		
Place of residence:	Pazin	-.067*				
	Rovinj	-.072*				
	Pula			.075*		
Regionality index:	RII	-.086*		-.066*		
Nationality						
Other					.091**	
Mixed		-.067*	-.073*		-.075*	
Spatial identification						
Istria			.065*			
Croatia				.060*		
Europe		.080*				
Language at home:						
ICD						115**
CS			-.059*			
Other				-.076*		
Overt language attitudes						
Local dialects			.106**	.131*	.084**	.072*
Bilingualism		.113***				
Grammatical correctness	.250***	.199***	.205***	.177***	.258***	.214***
Variety pleasantness	.145**	.109**	.193**	.209***	.155***	.185***
Familiarity with variety						.095**
Speaker identification	+ Pula	- Pula	- Pula	+ Pula	- Pula	+ Pula
	+ Istria	+ Istria	+ Pazin	- Central Istria	- Istria	+ Istria
	.073* Zagreb	+ Italy	+ Istria	+ Istria	+ Croatia	.071* Zagreb
	+ Croatia	+ Other	- Croatia	- Croatia	+ Italy	- Zagorje
	-.092* Other places		+Out of Croatia	- Out of Croatia	+ Out of Croatia	+ Croatia
	- Out of Croatia					+ Out of Croatia
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>.17***</b>	<b>.19***</b>	<b>.19**</b>	<b>.17***</b>	<b>.18*</b>	<b>.19*</b>

**Appendix 3:** Significant standardized least square coefficients obtained by MANOVA's for competence with socio-demographic, identity and linguistic factors as independent variables (\* p < .05. \*\* p < .01. \*\*\* p < .001)

<b>Significant predictors (competence)</b>	<b>Standard Croatian</b>	<b>Standard Italian</b>	<b>Pula vernacular</b>	<b>Croatian dialect</b>	<b>Italian dialect</b>	<b>Zagreb vernacular</b>
School (Croatian)	.165***	.198***	.279***	.190***	.192***	.164***
Gender (Male)	-.060*	-.173***				-.105***
<b>Age</b>						
<b>Parental education</b>						
<b>Place of residence:</b>						
Pazin	.132*					
Rovinj	-.228**					
Pula	.149**					
<b>Regionality index:</b>						
R11	-.062*					
R14	.060*					
<b>Nationality:</b>						
Croatian			.065*			
Other						
<b>Spatial identification</b>						
Istria			.159***			
Croatia						
Europe						
<b>Language at home</b>						
ICD			.064*			
IID						
CS						
Other						
<b>Overt language attitudes</b>						
Local dialects			.201***			
Bilingualism						
<b>Grammatical correctness</b>						
Local dialects			.075*			
Bilingualism			.149***			
<b>Variety pleasantness</b>						
Local dialects			.306***			
Bilingualism			.239***			
<b>Familiarity with variety</b>						
Local dialects			.074**			
Bilingualism			.062*			
<b>Identification with speaker</b>						
Local dialects			.075**			
Bilingualism						
<b>Speaker identification</b>						
Local dialects						
Bilingualism						
Other						
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>						
Local dialects			.35***			
Bilingualism			.37***			
Other			.39***			
Total			.33***			
Total						.29***