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I explore the ways in which language ideologies are transformed when they are transplanted to diasporic settings as a result of migration. I examine the labelling of Cypriot Greek features as *slang* by young British-born speakers of Greek Cypriot heritage. Drawing on the analysis of data collected in a Greek complementary school in London, I suggest that *slang* is applied to Cypriot Greek through a process of re-enregisterment that redefines the contrast it forms with Standard Greek in the model of the *slang* vs *posh English* binary, which is local to the London context and is constructed along the lines of the ideological schemata of properness and correctness that also define the opposition between Cypriot Greek and Standard Greek in Cyprus. I propose that the policy and practice of teaching Greek in the school is a key enabler in this process as it constructs Standard Greek as a language that can and must be written and Cypriot Greek as a language that can only be spoken but never written. This allows complementary school pupils to draw links with institutional discourses they are exposed to in mainstream education about the inappropriateness of including elements of slang in their writing.

Keywords: slang; enregisterment; Cypriot Greek; diaspora; standard language ideology

Introduction

Recent decades have witnessed remarkable advances in our understanding of the complex and dynamic linguistic practices of multilingual speakers in large urban areas and the creative ways in which they draw on their rich linguistic repertoires to construct their identities, index their senses of belonging, negotiate their positionings in wider societal contexts (local, national, transnational) and ideological discourses, and even

create new linguistic varieties that transform the linguistic ecology of cities (Rampton 2005, 2006; Harris 2006; Blommaert 2010, 2013; Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Cheshire et al. 2011; Madsen 2013, 2015, 2016; De Fina, Ikizoglu and Wegner 2017). There is now an emerging body of literature that seeks to shift the research focus away from the impact of linguistic diversity on the majority languages of cities such as English towards the study of "diversity within diversity" (Smakman and Heinrich 2018, 5). The shift draws on work that challenges traditional views of diasporic communities as homogeneous and monolithic social entities and highlights diaspora-internal complexities, diversities and differentiations, including in language (Amelina and Barglowski 2019; Anthias 1998; Pepe 2020; Wei 2018). This leads to a new sociolinguistics of diaspora that is interested in "the role of migration in transforming linguistic practices, ideologies, and identities in different national, economic, and sociopolitical contexts" (Rojo and Márquez Reiter 2015, 1).

In this article, I examine an instance of one such transformation: the use of the label *slang* by young British-born speakers of Greek Cypriot heritage to refer to Cypriot Greek, the non-standardised variety of Modern Greek that originates in the island of Cyprus and is spoken as a community language among the UK's Greek Cypriot diaspora. Drawing on data collected in a Greek complementary school in north London, I suggest that *slang* is applied to Cypriot Greek through a process of re-enregisterment that redefines the binary contrast it forms with Standard Greek in the model of the *slang* vs *proper English* binary, which is local to the London context and is constructed along the lines of the ideological schemata of properness and correctness that also originally define the opposition between Cypriot Greek and Standard Greek in Cyprus. I see the policy and practice of teaching Greek in Greek complementary schools in London as a key enabler in this process as it constructs Standard Greek as a language that can and

must be written and Cypriot Greek as a language that can only be spoken but never written.

Theoretical Standpoints

Tensions between standardised and non-standardised linguistic varieties result from differences in the position they occupy on linguistic hierarchies, which legitimise, privilege, valorise and promote standardised varieties while at the same time stigmatising, devaluing and marginalising non-standardised ones (Philipson 1992, 2009; Fairclough 2014; Piller 2016). Educational systems play a key role in propagating linguistic ideologies and hierarchies of this type (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001, 419), "fixing the message in stone" (Lippi-Green 2012). This is also the case of complementary schools in diasporic settings. Simon describes complementary schools as "sites of identity construction through which the community identity is preserved, defended, renegotiated and reconstructed in light of discourses circulating within the wider society" (2018, 4; cf. Creese et al. 2006; Li 2006; İssa and Williams 2009; Lytra and Marin 2010; Lytra 2011). By their very existence, complementary schools challenge monolingual ideologies that permeate wider society as they promote the learning of languages other than the societal majority language. At the same time, they reproduce ideologies and discourses about the different value and hierarchisation of standardised and non-standardised linguistic varieties through everyday activities, practices and interactions both in and outside classroom settings (Lytra et al. 2008; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Çavuşoğlu 2010, this volume; Harrison 2019; Matras & Karatsareas 2020).

 I will interpret the transformations of the hierarchical relation between Cypriot Greek and Standard Greek using Agha's (2003, 2007, 2015a) notion of enregisterment, which he defines as "processes and practices whereby performable signs become

recognized (and regrouped) as belonging to distinct, differentially valorized semiotic registers by a population" (2007, 81). Johnstone (2016, 633–634) identifies six key components in any process of enregisterment:

> A (a linguistic form or some other potentially meaningful act) is enregistered with B (a register) by C (an agent) in terms of D (an ideological schema) because of E (an interactional exigency in which calling attention to the enregisterment of or enregistering one or more forms serves some rhetorical function) and F (a sociohistorical exigency that gives rise to metapragmatic practices).

Malai Madsen (2013, 120) points out that registers are constructed, maintained and developed through language users' overt explicit evaluations, labelling, descriptions and use of the register's characteristic features. In this ontological system, Agha sees slang as an ideological framework that defines and evaluates speech repertoires as "deviant with respect to one or more presupposed standards" (2015b, 308). As a register, slang exists at a value boundary in that it is negatively valorised compared to a standard that acts as the baseline (even though slangs have been shown to have covert prestige; see Davie 2019; Kis 2006; Schoonen and Appel 2005 among others). This happens through metapragmatic evaluations, which are routinely produced and institutionalised in social practices oriented towards and replicate the standard baseline, crucially including schooling (Agha 2015b, 312–313).

Metapragmatic evaluations can be understood as discursive phenomena only if one considers the individual speech events in which they occur as part of larger "linked chains of speech events, across which linguistic forms, narrated objects, evaluative stances, and other non-referential phenomena move" (Wortham and Rhodes 2015: 165; see also Agha and Wortham 2005; Wortham 2005; Agha 2007; Urban 2001). Evaluations of repertoires such as seen in the use of labels like slang build on resources and knowledge that are established at speech events that have taken place at a different

time and a different place, and are presupposed at the speech event at hand. Evaluative stances therefore travel across interlinked speech events, which form trajectories (Wortham 2006) or pathways (Wortham and Reyes 2015) that (re)produce stereotypical associations between linguistic signs and repertoires, on the one hand, and social typifications about the non-linguistic characteristics of their users, on the other. As speakers draw on presupposed knowledge across different (but interlinked) speech events over space and time (at different points on the trajectory or pathway), these associations may shift, giving rise to new and heterogeneous processes of enregisterment.

Research Context

The Cypriot Greek Register Continuum

Cypriot Greek speakers construct the relationship between Cypriot Greek and Standard Greek in terms of the binary contrast Κυπριακά [cipriaˈka] 'Cypriot' vs Ελληνικά [elːiniˈka] 'Greek' (or καλαμαρίστικα [kalamaˈristika] 'pen-pusher speak'; Tsiplakou 2004). Recent scholarship has, however, highlighted that speakers' linguistic repertoires and everyday linguistic practices are much more complex and dynamic than this antithetic opposition implies. Speakers have access to and creatively make use of a hierarchised continuum of registers, which differ with respect to the degree to which they incorporate lexical, phonological and grammatical features from the regional varieties of Cyprus (Arvaniti 2006/2010; Katsoyannou et al. 2006; Sophocleous 2006; Tsiplakou et al. 2006; Karyolemou 2007; Papapavlou and Sophocleous 2009). They routinely move along this continuum, combining more basilectal (i.e., Cypriot) features with more acrolectal ones, that is, features that are (perceived to be) part of the standardised variety. They create mixed utterances depending on pragmatic

considerations, thus constructing their identities and indexing their ideological

positionings as Greek speakers of Cyprus.

At the lower end of the continuum lies a register labelled (τέλεια/πολλά)

χωρκάτικα [(ˈteʎ:a/poˈl:a) xorˈkatika] '(totally/very) villagey' or βαρετά (κυπριακά)

[vareˈta (cipriaˈka)] 'heavy (Cypriot)', which incorporates the highest number of

regional Cypriot features. Speaking *xorkátika* is a stigmatised linguistic practice,

generally thought to have lower value than educated speech. It is also taken to index

specific non-linguistic social characteristics and behaviours captured collectively under

the label χωρκαθκιόν [xorkaˈθcon] 'villageness', which encapsulates notions of rurality

and a general lack of sophistication and manners. The (excessive) use of contextually

inappropriate basilectal features is therefore seen as rendering speech impolite, incorrect

and even incomprehensible to speakers of the standardised variety who are invariably

from Greece (Papapavlou and Sophocleous 2009; see also Terkourafi 2007). Depending

on the domain and occasion of communication, however, *xorkátika* can be used

performatively and in a non-stigmatising way to index novel and emerging identities,

including hybrid identities. This is seen, for example, in the use of basilectal features in

social media and other forms of computer-mediated communication (Themistocleous

2009, 2010, 2015; Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2014; Tsiplakou 2009) or in the

filmic deconstruction of traditional stereotypes about rural life (Tsiplakou and

Ioannidou 2012).

Language in the UK's Greek Cypriot Diaspora
Members of the UK's Greek Cypriot community are multilingual and multidialectal.

Their repertoires include a range of both standardised and non-standardised varieties of

Greek and English. In terms of the Greek part of the repertoire, Cypriot Greek is the

most widely and naturally used variety, especially among older speakers and speakers

who received little or no schooling in (Standard) Greek. Standard Greek is less present in everyday life. Its use is confined to formal and official aspects of community life such as in complementary schools, the Greek Orthodox Church, community media and public communications (Karatsareas 2019). In Karatsareas (2018), I showed that, contrary to previous claims, the hierarchisation of the two varieties known from the Cyprus context is present in the diasporic context. In the UK, too, Standard Greek is seen as a prestigious, proper and correct variety and Cypriot Greek is stigmatised as *xorkátika* 'villagey' and *varetá* 'heavy.' Some speakers stereotypically portray British Cypriot Greek especially as an archaic and rural version of the language that was brought over from Cyprus to the UK a long time ago and has remained unchanged ever since, a sort of *xorkátika* frozen in time.

Greek Complementary Schools

Greek complementary schools in the UK seek to foster the maintainance of Greek as well as strengthen awareness of Greek and Greek Orthodox religious, national and cultural identity in pupils with a Greek heritage, including pupils with both a Greek and Greek Cypriot background. They are largely independent educational establishments, supported by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Cyprus (and until 2011 of Greece, as well), the UK's Greek Orthodox church and local Greek Cypriot associations of parents. The pupil population is largely composed of British-born children with a Greek Cypriot heritage, but this is currently changing with the arrival of increasing numbers of children born in Greece who relocated to the UK with their parents due to the 2008 financial crisis. Teachers are from Cyprus or Greece.

All aspects of teaching and school life are guided by strong Hellenocentric principles that emphasise the Greek element of Cypriots and Cyprus, which is seen as "an unredeemed part of the imagined community of Hellenism" (Philippou and Klerides

2010, 221) whose geographical centre is Greece. As in Cyprus (Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou and Kappler 2011), Standard Greek, associated with Greece and especially Athens, is the language of literacy and also the language of the Modern Greek GCSE and A-level examinations, which many complementary school pupils sit. This creates challenges for pupils who may only have Cypriot Greek as the only Greek variety in their repertoires, an issue that community educators have raised in the past (Roussou 1991; Mettis 2001, 705; Pantazi 2011; Georgiou & Karatsareas, forthcoming; Ioannidou et al. forthcoming; cf. Çavuşoğlu 2010, this volume).

Aims, Methods and Data

I draw on in-class language usage data collected by a fieldworker in Gefyri Greek School, in North London. Over a period of three months (January–March 2018), the fieldworker observed and audio-recorded classroom teaching, and in-class teacher/pupil and pupil/pupil interactions on a weekly basis. Observations focused in years five, six, and the pre-GCSE class. Here, I analyse two extracts from the audio recording of Greek language teaching in year six. This class was taught by Ms Eleni, an Greek Cypriot teacher with a first degree in education who at the time of the observation was pursuing postgraduate studies in a prestigious London university. The class had nine pupils aged between 11 and 12. With the exception of one pupil who was born in Greece and had arrived at the UK two years before, all other pupils were born in London. Seven pupils had Greek Cypriot heritage and two pupils had Greek Greek heritage. The extracts analysed below were collected on the same day. Ms Eleni had assigned an English-to-Greek translation task to her pupils. She marked the pupils' work and led a feedback session, during which she commented on their Greek writing with the aim of improving it and bringing it to a standard appropriate for the GCSE examination.

Extract 1. Participants: Alexis, Danai, fieldworker, Georgia, Melina, Ms Eleni (teacher), Natalia. Cypriot Greek features are indicated in bold.

1.	Ms Eleni	**άλλον** που παρατήρησα εδώ αυτό το έγραψε η Στέλλα λέει πρώτα μου άρεσε να μένω **δαμαί** και το **κρύον εν** με πειράζει	**something else** I observed here this was written by Stella it says at first I liked living **here** and I do**n't** mind the **cold**
2.	Melina	δεν μου πειράζει	I don't mind
		…………. ………………	
3.	Ms Eleni	τι ερώτησα πριν **εξίχασα**	what did I ask you before **I forgot**
4.	Melina	what is **δαμαί**	**here**
5.	Ms Eleni	μπράβο (γέλια) το **δαμαί** πώς **μπορούμεν** να το **γράψουμεν**; έλα Γεωργία μου	well done (laughter) how **can we write here**? yes Georgia dear
6.	Georgia	is it κάτι σαν εδώ;	something like here
7.	Ms Eleni	εδώ μπράβο εδώ σημαίνει ντάξει; άρα αν **θέλουμεν** να **πούμεν δαμαί μπορούμεν** να το **γράψουμεν** και ως εδώ εντάξει; στην Κύπρο πώς λέμε το εκεί;	here well done it means here ok? so if **we want** to **say here we can** also **write** it as here ok? how do we say there in Cyprus?
8.	Alexis	εκεί	there
9.	Melina	εκεί	there
10.	Ms Eleni	κάποιες φορές λέμεν **τζειαμαί**	sometimes we say **there**

11.	In unison	oh yeah yeah	
12.	Alexis	that's what I say **τζειαμαί**	**there**
13.	Melina	I don't say that I say εκεί	there
14.	Ms Eleni	εντάξει εκεί ωραία όταν πρέπει να το **γράψουμεν** να **λέμεν** όμως εκεί	ok there good when we have to **write** it let's **say** there though
15.	Melina	I don't say **τζιαι**	**and**
16.	Ms Eleni	όταν **μιλούμεν** με κάποιον **φίλον** μας παιδιά ή με **κάποιον παππούν που** την Κύπρο **εννα πούμεν τζειαμαί**	when **we talk** with a **friend** of ours children or with **a grandpa from** Cyprus **we will say there**
17.	Alexis	of course	
18.	Fieldworker	Μελίνα γιατί δε λες τζιαι;	Melina why don't you say **and?**
19.	Natalia	τζιαι doesn't sound like it sounds like like Greek slang	**and**
20.	Danai	like village	
21.	Melina	it sounds like gangster village like you know there are slang words	
22.	Danai	also Greek slang	
23.	Melina	yeah I just say και	and
24.	Natalia	it's like village	
25.	Melina	I never say **τζιαι**	**and**

26.	Ms Eleni	δηλαδή νομίζεις ότι περίμενε εν κάτι **κακόν** να είσαι από **χωριόν** και να χρησιμοποιείς;	so you think that wait is it **bad** to be from a **village** and to use it?
27.	Melina	no cause I'm from a village but	
28.	Ms Eleni	but it sounds from village you say	
29.	Melina	you know people from Greece it just doesn't sound right	
30.	Ms Eleni	ναι	yes
31.	Danai	exactly so it's the proper way to say it	
	………….	………………	
32.	Ms Eleni	what do you mean by saying it's the proper way?	
33.	Natalia	because people like you know in English the way to talk properly it's by saying I'm not talking slang it's by talking properly	
34.	Melina	like you say innit	
35.	Natalia	by not dropping your ts so if you say like you know when people say water wa[ʔ]er	
36.	Melina	I say wa[ʔ]er	

37.	Natalia	instead of water so that would be **τζιαι** you say **και**	**and**	and
38.	Melina	yeah but I say wa[?]er it's just more quick		
39.	Ms Eleni	yeah but how you associate slang and dialect because it's not the same thing		
40.	Melina	it just doesn't sound right saying **τζιαι** it sounds more like it sounds like you are supposed to say **και** and you are not supposed to say **τζιαι** but some people do say it	**and** and **and**	
41.	Ms Eleni	you are not supposed to say **τζιαι** in a context where people are not able to understand	**and**	
42.	Danai	say if you go to like a really posh place and you say like **τζιαι** they won't really	**and**	
43.	Melina	they'd be like they're a bit urgh		
44.	Danai	they don't talk like that		

From Village Talk to Slang

In Extract 1, Ms Eleni has isolated a sentence including a mix of Cypriot and Standard

Greek features and asks how δαμαί [ðaˈme], the Cypriot Greek expression meaning 'here', can be written (turn 5). Δαμαί presents pupils with a spelling challenge: it ends in an [e] sound, which in Greek can be spelled with either an epsilon <ε> or the alpha-iota digraph <αι>. Ms Eleni's request, however, does not concern the word's orthography. Georgia rightly understands that what Ms Eleni is after is the Standard Greek equivalent of 'here', εδώ [eˈðo]. She offers it in turn 6 and is rewarded by Ms Eleni, who then goes on to ask what the Cypriot Greek equivalent of the standardised εκεί [eˈci] 'there' is. In that, Ms Eleni recognises the pupils' multidialectal repertoire and actively draws on it. Her request seems to imply that this is a legitimate object of study and legitimate academic knowledge. However, while the Cypriot part of the binary is explicitly mentioned in turn 7, the standard is implicitly present. Ms Eleni does not mention Greece as the part of the world associated with Standard Greek nor does she refer to the standard using the glossonymic label Ελληνικά [elːiniˈka] in either Greek or English. Rather, it is expected that pupils will know what the other member of the binary is.

When Ms Eleni provides the Cypriot Greek form for 'there' τζειαμαί [tʃaˈme] (turn 10), she is met with agreement and confirmation from all pupils apart from Melina, who sees this as an opportunity to distance herself from it. She goes on to distance herself also from the practice of saying τζιαι [tʃe] instead of και [ce] for 'and' (turns 13 and 15). What the two frequently-used forms have in common is the [tʃ] sound. [tʃ] is not found in the Standard Greek phonetic inventory. It is highly marked as distinctively Cypriot by Cypriot Greek speakers, who associate it with rurality and a low level of education (Papapavlou 2001), and has been argued to be among a set of Cypriot features that are likely to be standardised by teachers (Ioannidou 2009; Ioannidou and Sophocleous 2010). It is remarkable that the disowning of the Cypriot

forms comes from a pupil. Ms Eleni attempts to legitimise and even defend the use of τζειαμαί, however only when speaking and only with interlocutors that 'we' can speak informally with. When 'we' are bound by the expectations of written language, εκεί is to be used (turns 14 and 16).

The strength of Melina's rejection triggers the fieldworker's question in turn 18, which is met with responses from Natalia, Danai and Melina (turns 19–21). Danai refers to the ideological schema of rurality, Natalia assigns Cypriot Greek to the sphere of Greek slang, and Melina does both. Danai and Natalia adopt each other's positions (turns 22 and 24), while Melina reaffirms her rejection of τζιαι and casually presents και as the only version of 'and' in her repertoire (turns 23 and 25). When challenged by Ms Eleni to elaborate on her views, Melina flounders and alludes rather vaguely to the schemata of correctness, only to be supported by Danai who contributes a reference the schema of properness (turn 31).

The mention of properness triggers a further request for elaboration from Ms Eleni. This taps into binary contrasts that the pupils are familiar with as multidialectal speakers of English. In the remainder of the extract, they become a lot more engaged in explaining what is wrong with τζιαι. Natalia quickly frames the discussion within the context of English and defines properness as an expressed commitment of avoiding slang (turn 33). Melina enriches this definition with an English example, *innit*, the non-standard contraction of *isn't it*. Natalia adds *t*-glottalisation to the list of examples, reproducing a common prescriptive instruction addressed to speakers who replace [t]s with glottal stops and using the contrast between the standard and non-standard pronunciations of *water* as a familiar illustration. Both *innit* and *t*-glottalisation are among the most well-known linguistic features of London's contemporary urban vernacular (Rampton 2011), which young speakers widely term *slang* (Harris 2006;

Kerswill 2013). The use of *innit* especially has been argued by Harris to be "synonymous with slang" (2006: 99) for young speakers in London.

Natalia then goes on to align the English and Greek oppositions: Standard English *wa*[t]*er* is linked to Standard Greek και, and non-standard English *wa*[ʔ]*er* is linked to Cypriot Greek τζιαι (turns 35 and 37), perplexing Ms Eleni. Melina reiterates the previously mentioned allusion to the schema of correctness, adding a reference to inappropriateness that shows her register awareness. Danai supports Melina in defining, with some vagueness, the context in which the Cypriot Greek form is not to be used: 'posh place', where the use of τζιαι would be out of place and met with disapproving exclamations.

The oracy vs literacy binary

The notion that Cypriot Greek cannot be written is a thread that underlines teachers' practices at the school. As a non-standardised variety, Cypriot Greek lacks a universally agreed writing system. Recent years have, however, witnessed an unprecedented growth in the use of Cypriot Greek in print (see Hadjioannou, Tsiplakou and Kappler 2011, 15–16 and references therein), but the Greek Cypriot educational system does not always reflect these societal developments. One context in which Greek Cypriot pupils in Cyprus typically see Cypriot Greek in print is if/when they work on literary analyses of poems written in the first half of the 20th century by poets such as Demetres Lipertes and Pavlos Liasides, which are included in the so-called Cypriot Anthology (Κυπριακό Ανθολόγιο).

Gefyri Greek School receives copies of the Cypriot Anthology from Cyprus's Ministry of Education, but it is up to the teachers whether they will use it in their teaching of Greek. Ms Eleni did not, and her pupils never encountered Cypriot Greek in print. This allows her to construct it as an unwritable language that can only be spoken

as opposed to Standard Greek which is the written language. In line with this oracy vs literacy binary contrast, she corrects pupils' writing when it includes Cypriot features. When pupils produce Cypriot features in their speech, she is more flexible, especially with phonological features, which she categorises as characteristic of a Cypriot accent. She does, however, standardise Cypriot morphological features and lexical expressions, providing the Standard Greek equivalents and instructing pupils to use those in their writing.

Extract 2. Alexis, Aris, Melina, Ms Eleni, Natalia. Cypriot Greek features are indicated in bold.

1.	Ms Eleni	λοιπόν ο Άρης και πολλοί από εσάς όχι μόνο ο Άρης στα ρήματα **έβαζεν έναν** νι στο τέλος δηλαδή έλεγε **δούλευεν έπαιζεν γελούσεν** (laughter) που είναι πάρα **πολλά ωραίον** εντάξει; άρα στην **Κύπρον** παιδιά όταν **λέμεν γελούσεν έπαιζεν** και τα λοιπά **βάζουμεν** πάντα **έναν** νι στο τέλος εντάξει; στην **Ελλάδαν** τι κάνουν; πώς το λένε;	so Aris and many of you not just Aris **put a** nu at the end of verbs that is he said **worked played laughed** (laughter) which is **very nice** ok? so in **Cyprus** children when **we say laughed played** et cetera we always **put a** nu at the end ok? what do they do in **Greece**? how do they say it?
2.	Natalia	**έπαιξεν**	**played**
3.	Melina	leave out the n	
4.	Alexis	έπαιζε	played

#	Speaker	Original	Translation
5.	Ms Eleni	μπράβο they leave out νι άρα δεν βάζουν το νι εντάξει;	well done so they don't put the nu ok?
6.	Aris	έπαιζε	played
7.	Ms Eleni	σε ποιο μέρος της εξέτασης in which part of the exam are we allowed to use Cypriot dialect?	in which part of the exam
8.	Pupils	speaking	
9.	Ms Eleni	ωραία στο speaking **μπορούμεν** να **χρησιμοποιούμεν** το dialect αλλά στο writing part δύσκολα εντάξει; άρα Άρη μου και στους υπόλοιπους το λέω όταν έχετε να μεταφράσετε κάποιο ρήμα [interruption] π.χ. πολλοί από εσάς όταν μου γράφατε ρήμα βάζατε **έναν** νι στο τέλος	good at the speaking part **we can use** the dialect but it's difficult in the writing part ok? so Ari dear I'm also telling the rest of you when you have to translate a verb [interruption] for example many of you when you wrote verbs you added **a** nu at the end
10.	Ms Eleni	πού βάζουν νι είπαμε; στην Κύπρο εντάξει;	where did we say people put a nu? In Cyprus ok?
11.	Alexis	στην Κύπρο	in Cyprus
12.	Ms Eleni	άρα όποτε πάτε να γράψετε κάτι να μη βάζετε το νι εντάξει; άρα όταν **γράφουμεν** δεν είναι ανάγκη να **βάζουμεν** το νι όταν **μιλούμεν** όμως	so every time you have to write something don't put the nu ok? so when **we write** there's no need to **put** the nu but when **we speak** it's very

είναι πάρα πολύ natural **μπορούμεν** να το **πούμεν** εντάξει; όταν μιλάς Αλέξη μου βάζεις το νι όταν μιλάς να το βάζεις εντάξει;	natural **we can say** it ok? when you speak Alexis dear add the nu ok?

Extract 2 begins with Ms Eleni listing verb forms that pupils wrote in their Greek translations. All forms have an /n/ at the end, which is another Cypriot feature that is stereotypically marked as such. She describes the feature and evaluates it very positively, in a pre-emptive attempt to mitigate potential negative consequences of the impending correction on the students who produced the /n/-forms. She goes on to place /n/ on the Cypriot vs Greek binary and rewards pupils who are able to offer the corresponding standard form without it (turn 5). While Ms Eleni's original conceptualisation of the distinction is a regional one, the discussion quickly moves on to a different type of grounding: the oracy vs literacy binary. She reproduces the theme that Cypriot Greek can be used in speaking but not in writing. She constructs this a rule that compartmentalises speaking and writing as two distinct parts of the GCSE formal examination, which students have internalised (turn 8). She explicitly instructs pupils not to use /n/-forms in their writing but to 'naturally' use them when speaking. In that, she adheres to the institutional guideline enshrined in the Cyprus Educational Mission curriculum, which states that the use of Cypriot Greek is allowed on behalf of the pupils but only in oral communication (2018, 16). This provision echoes a widely held assumption in the sector that candidates sitting the Modern Greek GCSE and A-level examinations will not be penalised if they use Cypriot Greek speech features in the oral

part of the examination but they will be penalised if they use them in the written part. Having not previously encountered Cypriot Greek in print, Ms Eleni's pupils accept this state of affairs without any resistance or contestation. As an anonymous reviewer correctly observes, Ms Eleni's comparison of Cypriot /n/-forms and standard /n/-less forms does not include any references to the morphological contexts in which the alternation is found (in this case, past tense forms in the third person singular). It seems that Ms Eleni's expects her pupils to be aware not only of the alternation as a whole but also of the specific grammatical contexts of its occurrence.

Concluding Discussion

The main finding presented in this article can be summarised using Johnstone's (2016) formula as follows: in Ms Eleni's classroom, Cypriot Greek features such as the palato-alveolar articulation of /k/ as [tʃ] were enregistered with a register of speech labelled *slang* by British-born Greek Cypriots in terms of properness and correctness because of the need to explain why Cypriot Greek forms such as τζειαμαί 'there' and τζιαι 'and' are dispreferred in favour of their Standard Greek equivalents εκεί and και and because of the pupils' experiences of discourses about standardised and non-standardised varieties of English. The analysis of the in-class interactions between Ms Eleni and her pupils showed how slang was creatively established as a register that deviates from the presupposed standard language gradually through a pathway of linked contributions: from Ms Eleni's establishing of the oracy vs literacy binary as the guiding principle for disambiguating between forms that can and cannot be written in the school contexts; to Melina's rejection of Cypriot Greek forms and the researcher's request for explanation; to the pupils' elaborations as they responded to Ms Eleni's requests for clarifications. Throughout the process, pupils expressed attitudes towards slang as a deviant register, while some positioned themselves interactionally with respect to other pupils present by

making it clear that they do not use certain forms that other pupils do.

The pupils' metapragmatic evaluations suggested that they had internalised the hierarchised binary contrasts that standardised and non-standardised varieties form within both the Greek and the English parts of their linguistic repertoires: Standard Greek is opposed to and more valuable than Cypriot Greek; posh English is opposed to and more valuable than English slang. In contrasting Cypriot Greek with Standard Greek forms, pupils reproduced labels and ideological schemata that have been transplanted from the original Cyprus context to the London diaspora: Cypriot Greek is *xorkátika*, a villagey form of language (rurality) that does not sound right (correctness). However, pupils' accounts did not go into much depth about the content of these notions or about how they are linked to non-linguistic characteristics and behaviours, creating the impression that pupils were repeating labels and ideas that they had been exposed to in their families and communities in other, previous and presupposed speech events in the pathway, without necessarily relating to them in an experiential way.

In contrast, pupils actively transferred meaning from the relation that holds between non-standard and standard forms in English to the relation between Cypriot Greek and Standard Greek forms, producing a four-part analogy: τζειαμαί and τζιαι are to εκεί and και what *wa*[ʔ]*er* is to *wa*[t]*er*. Calling into play English allowed pupils to elucidate the hierarchisation of the two Greek varieties, enrich it with examples and link it not only to the knowledge they have acquired as multidialectal speakers of English but also to social expectations about the functional compartmentalisation and context-dependent use of standardised and non-standardised varieties of English (cf. Harris 2006; Preece 2009, 2015). The relevance of the ideological schemata of correctness and properness to the set-up of both the Cypriot Greek/Standard Greek and the *slang*/*posh* English binaries made it possible for pupils to apply the label *slang* to Cypriot Greek

forms and associate Standard Greek forms with poshness. In that, we see the abandonment of the traditional, rural designation *xorkátika* and the adoption of a modern, urban categorisation.

The grounding of the opposition between Cypriot Greek and Standard Greek forms on the oracy vs literacy binary by the teacher is of paramount importance in this process. It enables pupils to draw connections with widespread and powerful institutional discourses they are exposed to in their mainstream schools, which converge with the ideology that underpins Ms Eleni's policy and practice in terms of constructing non-standardised features as elements that corrupt written speech; cf. Dumas and Lighter's early criterion of defining slang as language whose "presence will markedly lower, at least for the moment, the dignity of formal or serious speech or writing" (1978: 14). Cushing (2019) has documented the ways in which mainstream schools in the UK design and implement educational policies aiming to ban the use of non-standardised forms in English on behalf of their pupils. Teachers routinely apply the label *slang* to non-standardised forms and construct them as 'poor', 'incorrect', 'improper' language, primarily motivated by the idea that not only writing but also speaking Standard English will increase pupils' employment and economic opportunities and their prospects for academic success, not least in the GCSE and A-level examinations. The result of this convergence between mainstream and complementary education is a novel transformation and relabelling of Cypriot Greek in London's diaspora but crucially one that continues to devalue it, stigmatise its use in contexts reserved for the standard language, and perpetuate the idea that it is an inferior form of language compared to Standard Greek. It is interesting, however, that in the classroom that I analysed here, it is the pupils who echoed dominant linguistic ideologies, whereas Ms Eleni appeared to be more lenient about the acceptance of non-

standardised forms and was also ready to discuss issues of bidialectalism and language variation with her pupils. This contrasts with Ioannidou's (2009) and Ioannidou and Sophocleous's (2010) findings on Cyprus classrooms as well as with Cushing's (2019) findings on mainstream schools in the UK.

It has to be noted that the construction of Cypriot Greek forms as *slang* has been documented by Tsiplakou (2004, 2011) as well as by Katsoyannou and Christodoulou (2019), albeit in Cyprus and not in the London diaspora. In Cyprus, the label is applied to basilectal expressions that have fallen out of use and/or relate to an antiquated and rural way of life but which have been reclaimed by younger speakers and are thus constructed as youth speak by older and younger speakers alike. Evidence of this disconnect between the current and the original contexts of use of such vocabulary is found in the semantic shifts particular words have undergone and the fact that younger speakers seem to be unaware of the original, rural meanings; for example, βόρτος [ˈvortos], a word originally meaning mule, is now used to mean an overweight person. Tsiplakou identifies in these uses the construction of "facets of a non-adult, non-mainstream, 'subcultural' identity" and "a marker of ingroup solidarity par excellence in virtue of its marginalizing role, of its function as a marker of exclusion from the mainstream" (2011: 130). These are clear parallels with the construction of Cypriot Greek as slang by the British-born pupils that I analysed in this article, as the use of Cypriot features subverts the imposition of the standard language in complementary schools and acts as an index of belonging to a group whose language is excluded from this and other institutional settings within the Greek Cypriot diaspora. However, there are also important differences. British-born pupils apply the label slang to phonological features and lexical items that are not necessarily basilectal such as the palato-alveolar articulation [tʃ] in τζιαι [tʃe] 'and', which – although not strictly acrolectal – could be

found in mesolectal registers including in the emerging urban Cypriot koiné. These are not reclaimed linguistic elements but frequent features that abound in everyday speech and are used by all age groups, not just young speakers. Semantic shifts of the kind we see in Cyprus in words like βόρτος are also not observed in London. The difference between the two *slangs* is perhaps what is behind Ms Eleni's reaction to the pupils' labelling, which suggests that we are dealing with two distinct instances of re-enregisterment, each shaped by different and context-specific sociolinguistic dynamics.

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Acknowledgements